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Stories of African American male principals following the intra district desegregation plan

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Stories of African American male principals following the intra district desegregation plan in the
St. Louis Public Schools

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A Dissertation Submitted to The Graduate School at the University of Missouri-St. Louis
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Education with an emphasis in Education Leadership and Policy Studies

August 2014

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Candice C. Carter-Oliver

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Abstract

Consequences of school desegregation on African American families, educators, and communities in the United States are well documented in education research today. The State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center-St. Louis located at the University of Missouri-St. Louis encompasses multiple records of school desegregation.

The symbolic 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* decision which determined the dual education system of St. Louis City illegal had a lasting impact upon the students, teachers, and principals it served. The work of this dissertation is to tell of the stories in writing of specific African American men who served as principals during the 1960s through the 1980s in the St. Louis Public Schools. The terms African American and Black will be used interchangeably throughout this research study when describing this racial group. These stories allow a lens to learn of experiences while serving as principal during this time period. While select archival data is available and was consulted in this research, it is important to write and tell about the history from primary resources so that others inclusive of historians and educators are able to learn of interactions, daily decisions, thoughts, and context of which these former African American male principals endured.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) has served as the theoretical framework in which this study was developed and examined. The findings of these untold written stories of five Black male former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case of *Brown v Board of Education* in St. Louis Public Schools has added to the body of knowledge in the field of education. Consistent findings depicted a singular focus on improving academic achievement, informal communication between central office administration and principals relative to desegregation efforts, personnel decisions regarding selection and placement of principals and

teachers as well as student discipline. Clear tenets of CRT are embedded in the interviewees' stories and past experiences.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

All cultures, all people, tell stories about themselves, and it is these stories that help provide the meanings that make a culture. In its most basic sense, this is what history is: the stories we tell about our prior selves or that others tell about us (Howell and Prevenier 2001). Consequently, historians choose or volunteer what they believe is important to tell about the past. For the purpose of this research, depicted findings of untold written stories of five Black former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education* were explored. The terms African American and Black will be used interchangeably throughout this research study when describing this racial group. These stories framed a time period between 1960 and 1987, were told in written form, and explored the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan in 1981.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) serves as the theoretical framework by which the study was explored. CRT is a useful view to examine the repeatedly subtle way in which race and racism operate in normal society (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). A CRT analysis is deemed appropriate in this historical research design study because CRT is applicable to certain aspects of the decisions made by the St. Louis Public Schools Board of Education; consequently, the decisions and impact upon the teachers, students, and administrators following the intra district desegregation plan. Utilizing CRT is central because it not only analyzes social injustices through a racial prism, but it also seeks to remedy these social injustices through progressivism (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004).

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is used as an analytical framework in this historical research study. CRT is interdisciplinary in nature, incorporating intellectual traditions and scholarly perspectives from law, sociology, history, ethnic studies, and women's studies to advance and give voice to the ongoing quest for racial justice (Bell, 1987; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). Solórzano (1998) notes, "A Critical Race Theory in education challenges ahistoricism and the unidisciplinary focus of most analyses, and insists on analyzing race and racism in education by placing them in both a historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods" (p. 123). CRT insists that the researcher examines race and racism in education in both past and present contexts. There is no single definition for CRT; rather a multitude of descriptions of which many scholars agree, as several tenets of CRT to include racism as normal in American society.

CRT at its root considers racism as a normal and permanent part of American life, often lacking the ability to be distinctively recognized, and thus is difficult to eliminate or address (Delgado, 1995; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Delgado and Stefancic 2000; Solórzano, 1998). Racial microaggressions, "subtle insults (verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual) directed toward people of color, often automatically or unconsciously" (Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso, 2000, p. 60), replace more overt demonstrations of racism in most settings.

CRT rejects the notion of a colorblind society as some persons describe. "Instead of tackling the realities of race, it is much easier to ignore them by embracing colorblind ideologies ... it creates a lens through which the existence of race can be denied and the privileges of Whiteness can be maintained without any personal accountability" (Harper and Patton, 2007, p. 3).

According to Solórzano (1998), "CRT recognizes that the experiential knowledge of women and men of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in the field of education" (p. 122). The lived experiences of people of color are valid and their accounts offer different interpretations of policy and events than those of the dominant culture, thus allowing voice to counter narratives.

In addition, CRT suggests that civil rights gains for African Americans should be interpreted with measured enthusiasm. CRT scholars argue that White people have been the main beneficiaries of civil rights legislation (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Bell (1995) has proclaimed, "Whites simply cannot envision the personal responsibility and the potential sacrifice inherent in the conclusion that true equality for Blacks will require the surrender of racism-granted privileges for Whites" (p. 22). The interest of African Americans in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of Whites. Such is relevant to this historical research study in that Black principals' stories may reflect direct and/or indirect implications of achieving racial equality in schools as per the intra district desegregation plan.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a useful perspective to examine the subtle way in which race and racism operate (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). A CRT analysis is deemed appropriate in this study because CRT is applicable to certain aspects of the decisions made by the St. Louis Public Schools Board of Education; consequently, the decisions that impacted the teachers, students, and administrators.

The Research Question

In this historical research design study, the researcher sought to answer the following research question: What can one learn and conclude from conducting purposeful sampled

interviews to develop an understanding of the effects of the Brown v Board of Education landmark case in the St. Louis Public School system? Many untold written stories exist as to the impact of this legislation, and the researcher sought to tell the stories of five Black former male principals who served between the years of 1960 and 1987. Thus, the researcher sought to further understand how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of the 1954 Brown v Board Education case and whether the landmark decision of the Brown v Board of Education case provided equity in St. Louis Public Schools as intended. Equity as defined as the fair and just distribution of resources will be explored in the study (Guinier, 2004).

Multiple forms of popular culture and other qualitative and historical studies exist relative to this topic. *Learning in a burning house: Educational inequity, ideology, and (dis)integration* (2011) by Sonya Douglass Horsford, *Cities, politics, and policy: A comparative analysis* (2003), and Amy Stuart Wells and Robert Crain in *Stepping Over the Color Line: African-American students in White suburban schools* (1997) provided a history and analyses of effects of the Brown decision.

Stepping over the color line: African-American students in White suburban schools, authored by Wells and Crain (1997), has addressed racial relations and the impact of the landmark decision of Brown v Board of Education in 1954 within the Saint Louis Public Schools. Written in 1997, the authors depicted a compelling story about Saint Louis related to race, racism, and justice within the Saint Louis Public school system. Contents include topics of the desegregation plan within the city schools of St. Louis, White flight, and economic deprivation, as well as visionary educators and reform efforts. This book provided an in-depth look at a journey that involved inequality in public education and members who sought to either

uphold injustice or eradicate its existence. Such scholarship provides relevancy to the researcher's current historical research study and the major impact upon public schools following the United States Supreme Court's major decision.

While Wells and Crain provided a depiction of their five-year long data collection methods and two-year culminating writing experience, embedded is their main research question. Wells and Crain addressed the desegregation plan of the city, also known as the intra city plan of St. Louis, enacted in 1980 as a result of the earlier landmark *Brown v Board Education* decision. The desegregation plan or agreement provided Black students the right to choose to attend predominantly White suburban schools in an effort of supporting integration (Wells and Crain, 1997). Former Saint Louis Public Schools Superintendent Jerome Jones argues that the desegregation plan had been a bane and blessing. This historical research study will conclude findings relative to the intra district desegregation plan that fundamentally changed the St. Louis Public School system.

The Purpose of the Study

Consequences of school desegregation on African-American families, educators, and communities in the United States are well documented in education research today. The State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center-St. Louis located at the University of Missouri-St. Louis encompasses multiple records of school desegregation to include photos, letters, court documents, and newspaper clippings. The purpose of this dissertation is to tell the stories of specific African American men who served as principals during the 1960s and 1980s in the St. Louis Public Schools. The terms African American and Black will be used interchangeably throughout this research study when describing this racial group. While archival data is available and was consulted in this research, it is important to share the history from primary

resources so that others inclusive of historians and educators are able to learn of interactions, daily decisions, thoughts, and context of which these former African American male principals endured. Historical reviews support the contention that desegregation had a significant effect on the number of Black school principals (Fultz, 2004; Patterson, 2001; Tillman, 2004). The stories of these African American male principals will aid others in developing an understanding of implications following the *Brown v Board of Education* landmark case and ultimately the intra-district desegregation plan. The *Brown v Board of Education* landmark case had major implications on schools, policies, and practices across the United States (Daughterity and Bolton, 2008). Because the St. Louis Board of Education had to move in a direction that aligned itself toward meeting legislation requirements, it established feeder schools and schools of emphases that would appear as though it was following and upholding legislation (Wells and Crain, 1997). This dissertation is designed to share experiences of five African American former principals.

Preemptive measures taken by state and local governments to avoid desegregation pre-*Brown*, coupled with White flight and massive resistance to African-American children integrating into historically all White schools after *Brown*, illustrate what many have described as a climate of racism and White self-interest that existed post-*Brown* (Horsford, 2011).

Article XXI: Segregation of the Revised Code of St. Louis 1926 included the segregation ordinance of March 3, 1916 (Appendix G) as noted below:

“The St. Louis government passed this segregation ordinance requiring that Blacks and Whites live on separate blocks. In addition, churches, schools, and other buildings had to be used in segregated fashion. All building permits were to be issued only after specific statements had been made as to whether buildings were to be occupied by White or colored persons” (Vexler, 1974, p. 102).

A longstanding separate but equal culture existed in the city of St. Louis schools pre-Brown. Educators, legal scholars, and historians have encountered multiple narratives that portray the Brown v Board of Education of 1954 as the great equalizer in public education and offered examples of how the Brown decision impacted integration (Springer Science and Business Media, 2009). After decades of fighting for racial justice, Civil Rights attorney and law professor, Ogletree, (2004) reflected on the Brown decision:

With fifty years of hindsight, I believe that the tragic lesson of the two decisions in Brown v Board of Education is that one described the aspirations of American's democratic liberalism and the other actually defined the reality of grudging educational reform and the power of racism as a barrier to true racial progress in twentieth-century, and for that matter, twenty-first century America (p. 306).

For the purpose of this historical research study, the researcher sought to reveal untold written stories of African American principals at the time, specifically five Black former principals who served following this landmark legislation between the years of 1960 and 1987. The researcher was able to use oral interviews and existing archives located in a former elementary school that now serves as an archival location for St. Louis Public School documents to gather data for analyses.

This historical information provides context, which is essential for accuracy; although interviewees were eyewitnesses, their perspectives could be distorted, and their memories incorrect. By collecting evidence from a multitude of sources, the historian may come to a different conclusion" (Ritchie, 2003). These oral interviews and archives will serve as the data sources to interpret and support the researcher's findings. Sources are artifacts that have been left by the past. These sources exist either as relics, what we might call remains, or as

testimonies of witnesses to the past (Howell and Prevenier, 2001). For the purpose of this research, the researcher will be consulting witnesses and archival artifacts relative to the historical study. The five steps involved in the conduct of historical research were completed.

They included:

1. Identification of the research topic and formulation of the research problem or question.
2. Data collection or literature review.
3. Evaluation of materials.
4. Data synthesis.
5. Report preparation or preparation of the narrative exposition. (Ritchie, 2003).

Fundamental rules and principles apply to all types of oral history interviewing:

completion of homework, preparation, construction of meaningful but open-ended questions, no interruption of responses, follow up on what was heard, a thorough understanding of equipment, prompt processing of recordings, and a practice of ethics in interviewing.

This historical research study of implications of the Brown decision utilized analyses of oral interviews and archival data sources relevant to the impact of the intra-district desegregation plan as a means of supporting integration post the landmark decision of the Brown v Board Education in 1954 is the design of the research. This historical research study was conducted in the St. Louis metropolitan area. All data collection was completed in the city of St. Louis.

“The Oral History Association promotes oral history as a method of gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with participants in past events and ways of life. It encourages those who produce and use oral history to recognize certain principals, rights, technical standards, and obligations for the creation

and preservation of source material that is authentic, useful, and reliable” (Ritchie, 2003, p. 252).

It was the researcher’s mission to explore and provide others with an understanding of how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of the 1954 *Brown v Board Education* case, and whether the landmark decision of the *Brown v Board of Education* case provided equity in St. Louis Public Schools as it intended. Jo Ann Robinson, author of *Education As My Agenda: Gertrude Williams, Race, and the Baltimore Public Schools* (2005), depicts a view noting characteristics of all-Black schools as havens of community support, cultural affirmation, community, caring, and interdependency among African American constituencies. Prior to the *Brown v Board of Education* landmark decision in 1954, African American principals were committed to the education of Black children according to Robinson. They worked with each other and Black communal leaders to establish schools of which they worked within in segregated contexts. Consequently, there was an extreme level of commitment on the part of most Blacks to better their schooling (Robinson, 2005).

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court in *Brown v Board Education* (1954) rendered a unanimous vote in declaring that the separate but equal doctrine in public education was unconstitutional. Under the leadership of Chief Justice Warren, the United States Supreme Court mounted an increasingly aggressive campaign to ameliorate the condition of racial minorities in the United States during the pre-Brown era (Urofsky, 2005).

The untold stories of these five Black male former principals allow others to examine the implications of this major landmark decision and the lives it impacted in the city schools of St. Louis. Themes and patterns were explored to possibly include inadequacy, race, and equal opportunity within the interviews conducted. The researcher’s role was to transcribe the data to

note common findings among the five African American male former school principals. The responsibility of transcriber is to reproduce as closely as possible what they hear on recordings. Transcribers should never rearrange words or delete phrases for stylistic purposes (Ritchie, 2003).

Delimitations

It is important to note the attributes of the researcher in any study. Currently, the researcher serves as Assistant Superintendent of Schools within the Normandy School District located in St. Louis, Missouri. Prior, the researcher was the principal of Jefferson Elementary School in the Normandy School District and principal of Woodward Elementary School located in southern St. Louis within the St. Louis Public Schools. As a former principal, the researcher understands the urgency to advance the education of students daily. Moreover, the researcher holds a passion toward finding solutions to underperforming public schools as well as the changes undergone by practitioners following fundamental changes in legislation.

The researcher's own personal experiences and racial background carried significance in this study. As a practicing educator who is African American, there may be potential direct or indirect influence upon interviewees. Interviewees may feel as though they may speak more or less candidly because of shared backgrounds. In addition, interviewees may believe that the researcher will understand and be able to discern and affirm decisions of the former Black principals and of others mentioned in their stories more clearly considering having shared similar roles in education. Consequently, the researcher arranged interview questions chronologically with a combination of both open and closed ended questions in order to provide a construct for authenticity. "People tend to recall things chronologically. Set the state with general questions

and then follow with more specific, pointed questions” (Ritchie, 2003, pg. 92). The structure of the interview can lend itself to fewer biases (Ritchie, 2003).

Because the researcher’s study is historical, but provided in present time, the interviewees’ thoughts may be viewed as presentist. “Presentism, defined by historians, is making generalizations about present conditions in the Black community based on events of the past” (Alridge, 2003, p. 27). This fallacy of presentism as Fischer (1970) states is the historian’s mistake of over-reading the past into the present or forcing contemporary values and views onto the past. It will be these limitations that the researcher delimits in order to provide validity and reliability to the research study. The transparency within the study of the researcher’s own personal demographics will allow the reader to connect and trust the findings of research. In addition, “scholars should study the historical and ideological milieus within which ideas evolve and understand their various manifestations” (Alridge, 2003, p. 27). Consequently, historians note a struggle with conducting historical research. Limitations rooted in the quest of objectivity are discussed in Howell and Prevenier’s (2001), *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*.

The most visible difference from the past is how diverse history writing is today. Today, scholars approach change and causality concerns very differently from their predecessors (Howell and Prevenier, 2001). Historians treat a much greater range of topics, and they do so by employing a much wider variety of theories and methods (Howell and Prevenier, 2001). This allows the researcher to study the five, male African American former principals’ untold written stories as a means of moving beyond what has been considered traditional work of the historian. With the application of historical research across disciplines and the involvement of the social sciences, this allows others to develop understandings of the past in a better way.

Scholars who agree with the evolution believe “that history could teach us lessons and provide us models for living a good and useful likely; that by studying history we could discover immutable laws of human behavior; that our objects of study were self-evident, our methods reliable, our skills adequate; that we could securely know how we came to be who we are; that we could, in fact, really know what happened in the past” (Howell and Prevenier, 2001, p. 145).

Howell and Prevenier (2001) take a moderate position relative to views. The authors agree that it is not possible in the early twenty-first century to do history as it has been done in the past. They also share some of the uncertainties about method, theory, and the nature of historical knowledge that frustrate so many. The authors note a struggle of objectivity and the status of fact in historical research.

That no such objectivity is possible, of course, no researcher should know this better than the professional historian. Ironically, however, there is perhaps no scholarly discipline in the humanities or social sciences in which the goal of pure ‘objectivity’ has been more ardently sought, more obsessively worried over” (p. 146).

According to Howell and Prevenier’s (2001) work, finding objectivity for the historian is to construct interpretations responsibly, with care, and with a high degree of self-consciousness about our disabilities and the disabilities of our sources. In addition, we must learn to recognize that historians can only read sources from the standpoint of their position—a position that in turn is individualistic. This position is revealed to our readers and displays our limitations, “thus implicates our audiences in the histories we write, making our readers see how we see as well as what we see” (Howell and Prevenier, 2001, p. 145). In conducting this historical research, the researcher can produce useful knowledge about the past, or at least about our access to that past.

Such will be conveyed throughout the researcher's own research as the researcher depicts findings of untold written stories of five Black former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education* in the St. Louis Public Schools. These stories have never been told in written form and can provide additional information on the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan. These stories can add to the paucity of research that currently exists.

Conclusion

Consequences of school desegregation on African-American families, educators, and communities in the United States are well documented in education research today. Preemptive measures taken by state and local governments to avoid desegregation pre-*Brown*, coupled with White flight and massive resistance to African-American children integrating into historically all White schools after *Brown*, illustrate what has been described as a climate of racism and White self-interest that existed post-*Brown* (Horsford, 2011).

Prior to the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* decision, the state of Missouri was a de jure school segregation state. Separate but equal schools for White and African American students were mandated by both the state constitution and state statutes. Schools in Missouri adhered strictly to the mandate of segregation, but in that context Missouri was somewhat of a leader among states requiring segregated opportunities. Whereas state funding for separate schools was grossly unequal in many states of the Deep South, at least until the United States Supreme Court's 1950 ruling in *Sweatt v Painter*, the state funding formula used in Missouri financed schools for Black and White students equally (Daughterity and Bolton, 2008, p. 177).

Missouri considered itself a good faith state and ahead of other states in its separate but equal implementation (Wells and Crain, 1997). Consequently, post-Brown efforts of desegregation would be slow and lengthy in time. Educators, legal scholars, and historians have encountered multiple narratives that portray the Brown v Board of Education of 1954 as the great equalizer in public education and offered extensive examples of how the Brown decision was a noteworthy promise of educational equality and integration (Springer Science and Business Media, 2009).

Chapter 2

Introduction

Historians choose or volunteer what they believe is important to tell about the past. For the purpose of this research, depicted findings of untold written stories of five Black former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education* were explored. These accounts framed a time period between 1960 and 1987, were told in printed form, and explored the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan in 1981.

CRT served as the theoretical framework by which the study was explored. CRT is a useful perspective to examine the subliminal way in which race and racism operate in normal society (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). Utilizing CRT is central because it not only analyzes social injustices through a racial prism, but it also seeks to remedy these social injustices through progressivism (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004).

Brown v Board of Education 1954

Thurgood Marshall's decision to challenge segregation as part of the roll back of *Plessy v Ferguson* in 1896 came to fruition in the 1950s. Marshall was well known for being particularly skilled at maintaining morale among his coworkers, his demonstrable traits of courage, his legal expertise, and his common touch (Patterson, 2001). Also known as Mr. Civil Rights, Marshall would later be known as a pivotal ingredient to the deemed success of the *Brown v Board of Education* United States Supreme Court landmark decision. According to Siddle-Walker and Tillman (2009), during the pre-Brown era, African American principals were

seen as highly committed to the education of Black children. They were committed to the advancement of Black children, collaborated with other Black leaders to establish schools for these children, and worked in all-Black schools, usually in substandard conditions (Siddle-Walker, 2009; Tillman, 2002). Post-Brown African American principals helped to implement desegregation and educate African American children in the face of resistance (Patterson, 2001). Consequently, there was an extreme level of commitment on behalf of most Blacks to better their schooling pre and post-Brown eras (Siddle-Walker, 2009; Tillman, 2002).

According to Tillman, the Black community continued to hold Black principals in high regard. Tillman (2002) in *African American principals and the legacy of Brown* discusses such passion in research. Notable similarities among principals' leadership in the pre-Brown and post-Brown eras included relentless efforts of improving resources and the quality of Black schools. The education of Black students as a priority, interpersonal caring, and resistance were dominant themes in the research on post-Brown principals (Tillman, 2002). Moreover, Black principals were considered an authority and an expert on educational, social, and economic issues. Culture appeared to strongly influence the leadership within both eras to a large degree (Tillman, 2002).

Black principals included their own cultural norms in their leadership, which supported the community's beliefs and further grounded the theory of Black principals as authorities of Black schools. Tillman (2002) has defined culture as a group's individual and collective ways of thinking, believing, and knowing, which includes their shared experiences, skills, values, forms of expression, social institutions, and behaviors. Although schools were segregated pre and post-Brown, the Black community valued schools.

In the pre and post-Brown eras, Black principals served as models of servant leadership. Servant leadership is defined as leaders who exhibited relentless efforts on behalf of Black children and worked tirelessly to aid the achievement of Black children. Tasks such as building and maintaining schools for Black children were taken on by Black principals (Tillman, 2002). Booker T. Washington is noted as one of the earliest known Black principals where he implemented curriculum to include reading, writing, and computation rather than sewing, cooking, and cleaning. Common themes existed among Black principals to include:

- Black principals worked to provide education to Black children in hostile conditions.
- Black principals exerted passive and direct resistance to overt hostility including working around discriminatory legislation.
- Black principals led significant change.
- Black principals worked to improve teacher quality (Tillman, 2002).

Following the decision of *Brown v Board of Education* in 1954, much was gained and much was lost for Black schools and their respective communities. The tradition of excellence in African American school leadership was dramatically changed by desegregation especially in the south (Horsford, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Tillman, 2002). Consequently, the dismantling of this system (segregated schooling) interrupted their favored status within the community. Moreover, the community's high regard for Black principals changed. Now that the neighborhood surrounding Black schools was considered by society a low economic area, Black principals found their work in requesting additional funding and eliciting higher levels of parental engagement—a harder task from pre-Brown (Tillman, 2002).

John Spencer (2009), author of *A 'new breed' of principal: Marcus Foster and urban school reform in the United States*, seeks to regain some of the attributes of Black schools post the landmark decision of *Brown v Board of Education* (1954), and as principal of Gratz High School in the late 1960s is well known for his impact on schools.

Spencer described Foster's leadership style as "a more active and inspirational role" in the school setting rather than the traditional office principal. It contrasts the "principal's office as a White male domain" to that of an African American principal who implemented and energized what was called a total school community where parents, staff, students, and other members of the community were expected to respond to students' individual needs and help them to grow academically (Spencer, 2009).

According to Spencer, as a result of Foster's *new breed* status, his reputation emerged. Prior to his arrival, Gratz High School served a predominantly Jewish neighborhood. The neighborhood had undergone demographic change resulting in the move of White and middle-class Blacks to low-income Black residents and immigrants--suburbia at its finest. Foster, like many pre-Brown Black principals, was an active change agent who worked relentlessly to better educate children. Foster's deep faith in the capacity of all students to learn, whatever their background, and his commitment to engaging all members of a school community in the life of the school helped to gain his reputation and ultimately retain his position of tenure (Spencer, 2009). Other stories of principals are present in research pre and post the *Brown v Board of Education* decision.

Vanessa Siddle-Walker (2009) wrote an analysis of a Black principal, Ulysses Byas, who served the Gainesville, Georgia school system in the 1950s and 1960s as high school principal of

Fair Street. Through his tenure, Byas documented his recollection of experiences as a Black professor otherwise known as high school principal.

In Hello Professor: A Black principal and professional leadership in the segregated south, Siddle-Walker (2009) discussed Byas' ability to play Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, a phrase that explains his dual role in obliging the White superintendent of the school district in which he served by behaving appropriately and less intelligent with the contrary of secretly designing specific and strategic plans to improve the quality of education for Black students (Siddle-Walker, 2009). While Whites in the Gainesville community thought that giving Black students a new facility (Fair Street High) would entertain Brown efforts or portray that Whites were seeking advancement of education in Blacks, Byas quickly recognized that the new facility was merely a way to look like Whites cared about educating Black students (Siddle-Walker, 2009). The new facility would not be fully equipped nor possess the resources for Black students as they did for White counterparts. White superintendents often made decisions in ways that reflected their beliefs that the Black school would be the recipient of either paternalistic benevolence or benign neglect but did not deserve equality (Siddle-Walker, 2009).

An example of a White superintendent who made a decision that reflected benign neglect was described in Siddle-Walker (2009). Siddle-Walker (2009) described Byas' efforts in conducting a comprehensive curriculum survey. The curriculum survey would reveal to the community and stakeholders' input on the needs of the new high school facility as well as gain him support. The White superintendent granted Byas permission believing that it would quiet Blacks in the community in their previous efforts of obtaining a truancy officer and if needed serve as a means to blame any future insufficiencies on Byas. However, Byas outsmarts the superintendent. He conducts the survey with committee leadership among Black teachers and

community residents and provided the superintendent as well as the media and school community a copy. The final survey document recommended to both the superintendent and school board a list of needed resources to educate Black students.

Byas had learned tactful and effective ways in manipulating situations to render solutions in his favor at an early age (Siddle-Walker, 2009). He gained survival skills from a single maternal home, became a risk-taker by establishing his own radio, and felt that there was nothing he couldn't achieve. Because of unfulfilled opportunities, he ultimately drops out of school; however a love of teaching emerges. Under the apprenticeship of a Black professor he admired, Byas learned effective ways in leading a school and promoting equity for students of color (Siddle-Walker, 2009).

These stories allow us to look into the lives of African American former principals in order to explore effects of the Brown v Board of Education decision. The untold stories of the five former St. Louis Public School principals provided further information discover the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public School system following the intra district desegregation plan.

St. Louis Public Schools and Public School Integration

The demand in St. Louis Public Schools for school housing of African American students became visible prior to 1950 (Weathersby, 2011). The St. Louis Public Schools operated a dual school system, White and Negro, for quite some time due to the state mandated de jure segregation. The growth in African American student population caused overcrowding in the Negro schools and necessitated appropriate action by the St. Louis Board of Education.

Crowding was a byproduct of neighborhoods located on the fringes of the expanding Black residential area turning over from largely White occupancy to virtually Black occupancy. As these neighborhoods resegregated, the age structure of the area changed dramatically. A large share of the new African American residents were young families with elementary-age children, and these families replaced fleeing Whites, many of whom did not have elementary-age children. The process, then, inexorably led to crowding in the elementary schools, some of which operated at twice their capacity (Daughterity and Bolton, 2008, p. 184-5).

Board officials appeared unprepared for the large increases in African American students. In 1948, Board President Elmer Putney said: “Completely equal facilities for Negro pupils cannot be afforded because we will not have the money to provide them with more modern buildings (Weathersby, 2011), equipment, and a more numerous teaching staff” (*St. Louis Post Dispatch*, July 14, 1948, p. 7A). Three years earlier, St. Louis Public Schools Superintendent of Instruction, Phillip J. Hickey commented to a newspaper reporter, “If we get anymore Negro pupils, I will tell you frankly I simply don’t know where I am going to put them” (*St. Louis Post Dispatch*, June 14, 1945, p. 3A). During this time period, there was a concerted effort to reduce the number of individual school districts throughout the state (Wells and Crain, 1997).

State law consolidated local school districts in 1948, cutting the statewide total by more than half and reducing the number in St. Louis County from over 80 to about 30. These districts were independent of the underlying municipal pattern—indeed, nearly half (35 of 74) of St. Louis County municipalities in 1956 fell into more than one school district, and 5 of these fell into at least four school districts. But fragmentation remained a persistent issue. In the long battle over school desegregation in greater St. Louis, for example, the City’s embattled Board of

Education was the defendant of record and suburban school districts remained largely on the legal sidelines. County school districts and municipalities dug in against an effort to reorganize the metropolitan area into 20 integrated schools districts and were able to segregate pockets of African American students (most notably in Kinloch) until in 1975 they were compelled to redraw boundaries by the courts (Gordon, 2008).

Some argue that this fragmentation was by design. Thus, inviting a prolonged pattern of local piracy as political units sought to maximize local wealth and tax bases. Additionally, fragmentation would support separate but equal measures (Wells and Crain, 1997).

In the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education*, the United States Supreme Court ruled that separate facilities could never be equal, thus the decline of de jure racial segregation and the rise of de facto racial segregation in the nation's schools would soon result (Freeman, 1972). The Board of Education of the city of St. Louis appeared to meet this new law with a sense of relief for its implications on the dual school system, which had been operated for close to one hundred years. The operation of the dual school system had presented unique challenges to the Saint Louis Public Schools in the years since the beginning of the Second Great Migration. The percentage of African Americans to the total population of St. Louis increased from 11.4% in 1930 to 18.0% in 1950 (Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940).

With the overcrowding of the Negro schools, specifically the elementary schools, the St. Louis Board of Education made decisions to change the designation of some White schools to Black schools prior to 1954 in order to reflect the change in developing African American residential areas. These changes drew the ire of White residents and prompted lawsuits to challenge the authority of the St. Louis Board of Education (Bartholomew Papers, 1941).

When Daniel Schlafly, a wealthy White businessman and devout Catholic who sent his own children to parochial schools, became elected to the St. Louis Board of Education in 1953, he recalled that some of his White neighbors accused him of ruining the public schools and the neighborhood with the inclusion of Black children (Schlafly, 1995).

Intra District Desegregation Plan

The intra district desegregation plan otherwise known as the intra city plan began with a group of Black parents residing in the city of St. Louis. Collectively, the group has been called the Liddell Plaintiffs inclusive of the notable Minnie Liddell and Caldwell. The Liddell Plaintiffs filed suit against the St. Louis City Board of Education members in 1972. The parents charged that school board members were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution by perpetuating a segregated school system in the city (*Metropolitan organization: The St. Louis case*, September, 1988, p. 114). Minnie Liddell recalls the political climate in the early 1960s:

I was personally becoming very concerned about what was going on in St. Louis compared to some of the things that were happening in other parts of the country. But we never, ever had any desire to do anything about it. We were just complacent—that is just the way it was here (Wells and Crain, 1997).

Following four years of litigation, the initial outcome of the suit was a court order requiring St. Louis City's Board of Education to propose some acceptable method for desegregating the schools under its charge. In doing so, the board proposed and began its first desegregation plan in 1975.

The 1975 plan did not satisfy the Liddell Plaintiffs. The original plaintiffs continued to press, and even expanded their case against the St. Louis City Board of Education, finding support from the Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education and the United States Department of Justice. Consequently, in 1980 eight years after the original suit, the United States Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the plaintiffs claims and ordered the St. Louis City Board of Education to launch a desegregation plan more expansive than its 1975 implementation (Schlafly, 1995). Attorney William P. Russell represented Minnie Liddell in consultation with Michael J. Hoare on behalf of Earline and Lillie Mae Caldwell. As a result, the intra city plan or intra district desegregation plan began a new middle school system design, mandatory reassignment of students for more uniform racial balance in schools, and the enrichment of compensatory and remedial programs in the schools with majority Black children (University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1988). Additionally, the 1975 Consent Decree would create the district's first magnet school program (Wells & Crain). Most Whites who had not left for the suburbs strongly opposed the 1980 intra district school desegregation plan, which reassigned students, most of whom were Black, to the south side and centrally located schools. The plan ensured there would no longer be all-White schools in the St. Louis system, which was at a point of 79 percent Black (University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1988). flight had already begun.

After 1970, the depopulation of the City accelerated, falling by almost 170,000 (from 622,236 to 452, 801) by the 1980 census, and by more than 100,000 more (to 348,189) by 2000. By this time, Whites were fleeing the inner suburbs as well, and population growth was concentrated in the western reaches of St. Louis County and beyond. In a sense, the suburban color line had drifted west from the City limits to encompass much of near

northeastern St. Louis County (Wellston, Bridgeton, Normandy, Jennings, Ferguson, Bellefontaine Neighbors) south and east of Lindbergh Boulevard (Gordon, 2008).

The no longer all-White schools impacted the lives of Black students, Black teachers, and Black administrators during this time. The five African American principals who led during this change for integration told their stories related to their encounters among students, parents, administrators, and the community. Their immediate and post reactions and responses to their respective communities were shared. Their conversations with parents and their colleagues were explored and analyzed.

A Chronological History of St. Louis Public Schools 1950-1983

In 1950, The St. Louis metropolitan area consisted of a population of about 857,000 while the St. Louis County population consisted of about 406,000 (Gordon, 2008). White student population of the St. Louis Public Schools was at seventy-five percent compared to a Black student population of about twenty-five percent (University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1988). During this time, St. Louis Public Schools operated the second largest segregated school district in the United States (University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1988). There were members of the pre-Brown Black society who managed to build separate but equal communities; communities that were the most successful at maintaining a separate but equal society had equivalent but segregated school systems. Despite common misconceptions, communities such as these described did exist and St. Louis, Missouri was one of the most successful examples (Daughterity and Bolton, 2008).

Following the May 17, 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* landmark decision, the St. Louis Board of Education adopted an intra district desegregation plan. Based on the neighborhood concept, high schools were integrated in January of 1955 while elementary

schools were integrated in September of 1955. Shortly following this integration, classes began for gifted education (Wells and Crain, 1997). Other major fundamental changes would occur following the desegregation plan implementation. In 1957, St. Louis Public Schools introduced a three-track high school system. Track one was named for above average students, track two for average students, and track three for below average students. Though the desegregation plan outlined ways to desegregate the school district, a total of thirty-five of forty-one all Black schools had no White teachers in 1966 during the time (Wells and Crain, 1997). Additionally, on December 18, 1957 fifty White students refused to attend Central High School after a dispute between White and Black girls (Vexler, 1974). Two years later, Reverend John J. Hicks was elected to the St. Louis City Board of Education. He was the first Black to win a city-wide election (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November, 1964).

Later in 1967, The St. Louis Public Schools peaked in enrollment of approximately 116,000 students with one hundred sixty-four elementary schools and branches, twelve high schools, one technical school, and one teachers' college (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 25, 1955, sec. A.). Despite the school district's desegregation plan efforts and implications, in 1980, the Eighth District Court unanimously overturned Judge Meredith's decision and found the St. Louis City Board of Education and the State of Missouri as constitutional violators (Wells and Crain, 1997).

During the 1960s and early 1970s, the nation's courts handed down a steady number of orders requiring school districts to eliminate root and branch the vestiges of segregation and promote more racial mixing in the nation's schools. The St. Louis and Kansas City School Districts had accomplished neither of those objectives. Vestiges of the segregated system persisted in both cities, where (most) schools that had been Black prior to the

Brown decision remained entirely African American twenty years later having never enrolled a single White student (Daughterity and Bolton, 2008, pg. 187).

The St. Louis Public Schools and the state of Missouri were held liable for maintaining a segregated school district and had not fulfilled with its 1950's neighborhood school concept the elimination of a segregated school district (Wells and Crain, 1997). Additionally, the appeals court stated that the St. Louis Public Schools Board of Education had in fact contributed to segregation. Consequently, the federal court ordered the development and implementation of a new comprehensive plan to integrate the St. Louis Public Schools by the 1980-81 school years (Schlafly, 1995).

Subsequently, in the fall of 1980, an intra district desegregation plan was implemented in St. Louis Public Schools with middle school configuration and high school feeder patterns in an effort to integrate middle and high schools (Schlafly, 1995). Schools of emphases were created for racially isolated schools and magnet school programming expanded. To support integration efforts, the St. Louis Board of Education hired its first African-American superintendent of schools, Jerome Jones, in 1983 (Schlafly, 1995).

Critical Race Theory

CRT was used as an analytical framework in this historical research study. CRT is interdisciplinary in nature, incorporating intellectual traditions and scholarly perspectives from law, sociology, history, ethnic studies, and women's studies to advance and give voice to the ongoing quest for racial justice (Bell, 1987; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). Solórzano (1998) noted, "A Critical Race Theory in education challenges ahistoricism and the unidisciplinary focus of most analyses, and insists on analyzing race and racism in education by placing them in both a historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods" (p. 123).

Critical Race Theory sprang up in the 1970s, as a number of lawyers, activists, and legal scholars across the country realized, more or less simultaneously, that the heady advances of the civil rights era of the 1960s had stalled and, in many aspects, were being rolled back. Realizing that new theories and strategies were needed to combat the subtler forms of racism that were gaining ground, early writers, such as Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, and Richard Delgado, put their minds to the task. They were soon joined by others, and the group held its first workshop at a convent outside Madison, Wisconsin, in the summer of 1989 (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

CRT insists that the researcher examines race and racism in education in both past and present contexts. There is no single definition for CRT, but many scholars agree on several tenets of CRT to include racism as normal in American society (Ladson-Billings, 2000). CRT at its root considers racism as a normal and permanent part of American life, often lacking the ability to be distinctively recognized, and thus is difficult to eliminate or address (Delgado, 1995; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Solórzano, 1998). Racial microaggressions, "subtle insults (verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual) directed toward people of color, often automatically or unconsciously" (Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso, 2000, p. 60), replace more overt demonstrations of racism in most settings.

CRT rejects the notion of a colorblind society as some persons describe.

Instead of tackling the realities of race, it is much easier to ignore them by embracing colorblind ideologies ... it creates a lens through which the existence of race can be denied and the privileges of Whiteness can be maintained without any personal accountability (Harper and Patton, 2007, p. 3).

The lived experiences of people of color are valid and their accounts offer different interpretations of policy and events than those of the dominant culture, thus allowing voice to counter narratives. According to Solórzano (1998), "CRT recognizes that the experiential knowledge of women and men of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in the field of education" (p. 122).

CRT includes major tenets such as counter-storytelling, the permanence of racism, Whiteness as property, interest convergence, the Black-White binary, and the critique of liberalism (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). In addition, an interesting tenet of CRT suggests that civil rights gains for African Americans should be interpreted with measured enthusiasm referred to as the interest convergence dilemma. CRT scholars argue that White people have been the main beneficiaries of civil rights legislation (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Bell (1995) proclaimed, "Whites simply cannot envision the personal responsibility and the potential sacrifice inherent in the conclusion that true equality for s will require the surrender of racism-granted privileges for Whites" (p. 22). The interest of African Americans in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of Whites. Similarly, American racial thought today is equal to that of race and African Americans. The -White binary as CRT scholars define constitutes s as race while other minority groups align with the term race when similar and aligning problems present themselves.

One of the more contentious issues in American racial thought today is whether the very framework we use to consider problems of race reflects an unstated binary paradigm or mind-set. That paradigm, the -White binary, effectively dictates that non-Black minority groups must compare their treatment to that of African Americans to redress their grievances. The paradigm holds that one group, Blacks, constitutes the prototypical

minority group. “Race” means, quintessentially, African American. Other groups, such as Asians, American Indians, and Latinos/as, are minorities only insofar as their experience and treatment can be analogized to those of Blacks (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

The Black-White binary was examined in this study to determine whether race automatically equated to African Americans, which held firm. CRT is a useful perspective to examine the regular subtle way in which race and racism operate (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). A CRT analysis was deemed appropriate in this study because CRT is applicable to certain aspects of the decisions made by the St. Louis Public Schools Board of Education; consequently, the decisions and impact upon the teachers, students, and administrators.

Permanence of Racism

In ways so embedded that it is rarely apparent, the set of assumptions, privileges, and benefits that accompany the status of being White have become a valuable asset to Whites. Consequently, Whites have sought to attain and protect the set of assumptions, privileges, and benefits—by fraud if necessary. Whites have come to expect and rely on these benefits, and over time these expectations have been affirmed, legitimated, and protected by the law (Harris, 1991). Permanence of racism as per scholars is so entrenched into the ordinary actions of society that it impacts institutions such as education in subtle ways.

First, racism is ordinary, not aberrational—normal science, the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country.

Second, most would agree that our system of White-over-color ascendancy serves important purposes, both psychic and material, for the dominant group (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p. 7).

In this research study, the permanence of racism was explored through the lens of the five Black male principals. Further, Whiteness was considered normative. Whiteness is also normative; it sets the standard in dozens of situations. It may even be a kind of property interest. Other groups, such as American Indians, Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans, are described as non-White.

That is, they are defined in relation or opposition to Whiteness—that which they are not. Literature and the media reinforce this view of minorities as the exotic other. Minorities appear in villain roles or as romantic, oversexed lovers. Science fiction movies and television programs portray extraterrestrials with minority-like features and skin color (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p. 84).

Whiteness as Property

Critical Race Theory scholar, Harris (1993), defined Whiteness as property as having access to three types of rights. These rights include the rights to use and enjoyment, the rights of reputation, and the rights to exclude. These rights have unseemly been passed down from generation to generation in efforts of maintain exclusivity of Whiteness.

The property right of use and enjoyment positioned Whiteness as a resource that was used and experienced in order to maintain certain privileges. Because of its duality, Whiteness was both intangible and tangible. Intangible in the way that Whiteness allowed one to assert power and tangible in the use of financial resources to accumulate material possessions (DeCuir-Guncy, 2006). While traditional views of property have included tangible evidence such as slavery, there are other intangible evidence that support Whiteness as property to include access, resources, and reputation.

In the semantics of popular culture, Whiteness is often associated with innocence and goodness. Brides wear White on their wedding day to signify purity. ‘Snow White’ is a universal fairy tale of virtue receiving its just reward. In talk of near-death experiences, patients almost always report a blinding White light, perhaps a projection of a hoped-for union with a positive and benign spiritual force. In contrast, darkness and Blackness often carry connotations of evil and menace. One need only read *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad to see how strongly imagery of darkness conveys evil and terror. We speak of a Black gloom. Persons deemed unacceptable to a group are said to be Blackballed or Blacklisted. Villains are often depicted as swarthy or wearing Black clothing (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p. 84).

This entitlement and connotation was explored throughout the responses of the interviewees or five Black male former principals following the landmark case of *Brown v Board Education*. Critical Race Theory tenets to include Whiteness as property aided the researcher in the examination of race and racism in education.

Interest Convergence

By the end of the 1950s, it was apparent that compliance with the Brown mandate to desegregate the public schools would not come easily or soon. “States in the deep south had not begun even token desegregation and would take United States Supreme Court action to reverse the years-long effort of the Prince Edward County School Board in Virginia to abolish rather than desegregate its public schools” (Bell, 1980, p. 528).

With the passing of Brown, the fight for desegregated schools had just begun. It would take years for states to integrate schools.

While a prerequisite to the provision of equal opportunity, condemnation of school board evasion was far from synonymous with that long-promised goal. Certainly, it was cause for celebration when the court recognized that some pupil assignment schemes, freedom-of-choice plans, and similar desegregations plans were in fact designed to retain constitutionally condemned dual school systems (Bell, 1980, p. 530).

Such would be the rationale for the creation of the intra city desegregation plan of the St. Louis Public Schools, which found prior efforts unconstitutional. While some African Americans found themselves in integrated schools, their White counterparts benefited from personal and professional gain as well as self-interest both tangibly and intangibly. Because racism advances the interests of both White elites (materially) and working class Caucasians (psychically), large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). CRT incorporates skepticism of triumphalist history, and the insight that favorable precedent, like *Brown v Board of Education*, tends to deteriorate over time, cut back by narrow lower-court interpretation, administrative foot dragging, and delay (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

Conclusion

The findings of untold written stories of five Black male former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education* in the St. Louis Public Schools between the years of 1960 and 1987 added to the body of knowledge in the field of education. These stories explored the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan. The interviewees were purposely selected and volunteered their time and effort to relay their thoughts and knowledge. This historical research study was conducted in the St. Louis metropolitan area. All data collection was completed in the city of St. Louis.

According to Ritchie (2003), although interviewees are eyewitnesses in a study, their perspectives could be distorted, and their memories incorrect. The multiple interviews and archival analyses of primary documents to include newspapers, public written documents, and Board of Education archives allowed the researcher to interpret accurate findings inclusive of patterns and themes (Merriam, 2009).

It was the researcher's mission to seek to explore and provide others with an understanding of how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of the 1954 *Brown v Board Education* case through the lens of these five former African American principals thus adding to the existing body of knowledge relative to the impact of the intra district desegregation plan in the St. Louis Public Schools. This voice of color may provide an understanding to White counterparts matters that they are unaware of. Critical Race Theory allows the notion of a unique voice of color.

Coexisting in somewhat uneasy tension with antiessentialism, the voice-of-color thesis holds that because of their different histories and experiences with oppression, Black, American Indian, Asian, and Latino/a writers and thinkers may be able to communicate to their White counterparts matters that the Whites are unlikely to know. Minority status, in other words, brings with it a presumed competence to speak about race and racism. The 'legal storytelling' movement urges Black and brown writers to recount their experiences with racism and the legal system and to apply their own unique perspectives to assess law's master narratives (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p. 10).

Chapter 3

Introduction

Historians choose or volunteer what they believe is important to tell about the past. For the purpose of this historical research study, the researcher depicted findings of untold stories of five Black male former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education*. These stories had never been told in written form and discovered the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan.

The Researcher's Role

The researcher chose to reveal the untold written stories of five male Black former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case of the decision of *Brown v Board Education* to seek to understand and provide others with information relative to K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis following the impact of the landmark decision. Specifically, the purposeful sampled participants told of their experiences directly impacted by the intra- district desegregation plan enacted in 1980 and implemented in 1981.

The researcher's own personal experiences and racial background carried significance in this study. As a practicing educator who is African American, there may have been potential direct or indirect influence upon interviewees. Interviewees may have felt as though they could speak more or less candidly because of shared backgrounds. In addition, interviewees may have believed that the researcher understood and was able to discern, affirm, and/or concur with beliefs and decisions of the former Black principals and of others mentioned in their stories more clearly considering having shared similar roles in education. An example of such could have developed relative to the Critical Race Theory construct of interest convergence.

“The interests of Blacks are only realized when they converge with the interest of Whites,” according to legal scholar Derrick Bell, who in his book *Silent Covenants* (2004) questioned the altruistic motivation behind *Brown*” (Horsford, 2011, p. 56). Bell argued that interest convergence, the phenomenon whereby the rights of Blacks are acknowledged and guarded only if White lawmakers believe their decisions will benefit their own desires, is rooted in much of historical racial study. Bell outlines the following:

- The interest of Blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when that interest converges with the interest of Whites in policy-making positions. This convergence is far more important for gaining relief than the degree of harm suffered by Blacks or the character of proof offered to prove that harm.
- Even when interest-convergence results in an effective racial remedy, that remedy will be abrogated at the point that policymakers fear the remedial policy is threatening the superior societal status of Whites, particularly those in the middle and upper classes. (p. 69).

Constructs such as interest convergence could have emerged by which the role of the researcher may have provided an indirect assumed understanding of the construct based on shared roles in education.

Research Design

The Oral History Association has developed standards, principals, and guidelines to raise the consciousness and professional standards of all historians. There are interviewing skills to be learned. There are right and wrong ways to conduct an oral history. The historical research design was selected because “it is the systematic collection and objective evaluation of data

related to past occurrences that may help to explain present events” (Howell and Prevenier, 2001).

The historian’s basic task is to choose reliable resources, to read them reliably, and to put them together in ways that provide reliable narratives about the past (Howell and Prevenier, 2001). Reliable resources were determined by the researcher to follow a process to include choosing an appropriate resource that depicted relevant information, searching databases and files effectively and efficiently ensuring a completed editorial process, evaluating resources critically, and citing research by use of the American Psychological Association (APA). These reliable narratives proved to be advantageous for others in the field of education and other related sectors.

Through a detailed analysis of historical archival data specifically newspapers, public written documents, and Board of Education archives along with the interviews of five male former Black principals in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan, the researcher understood and ultimately provided others with an understanding of how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of Brown v Board of Education. The purposeful sampled participants told of their experiences directly impacted by the intra district desegregation plan while the archival data supported and/or denied claims presented in interviews. Subsequently, the researcher focused on the facts that mattered in the historical research design study.

Historians are, of course, interested only in the facts that pertain to the events they consider important, or interesting. While such selectivity is an essential part of the historian’s job, it is not simply the analytical process that leads historians to treat some information as data and to ignore other sorts. It is also a reflection of the judgments

historians implicitly make about what kind of events actually matter (Howell and Prevenier, 2001, p. 85).

It was necessary for the researcher to include a description of selected data in order to provide the reader with an understanding of relativity. The description of selected data was written in narrative form to include type, date, and relevance to research study.

The researcher used CRT as an analytical framework in this historical research study because CRT is applicable to certain aspects of the decisions made by the St. Louis Public Schools Board of Education; consequently, the decisions and impact upon the teachers, students, and administrators following the intra district desegregation plan. CRT is interdisciplinary in nature, incorporating intellectual traditions and scholarly perspectives from law, sociology, history, ethnic studies, and women's studies to advance and give voice to the ongoing quest for racial justice (Bell, 1987; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). Solórzano (1998) notes, "A Critical Race Theory in education challenges ahistoricism and the unidisciplinary focus of most analyses, and insists on analyzing race and racism in education by placing them in both a historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods" (p. 123). There is no single definition for CRT rather multiple descriptions that affirm the complexity in which CRT is applied.

CRT at its root considers racism as a normal and permanent part of American life, often lacking the ability to be distinctively recognized, and thus is difficult to eliminate or address (Delgado, 1995; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; 2000; Solórzano, 1998). Racial microaggressions, "subtle insults (verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual) directed toward people of color, often automatically or unconsciously" (Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso, 2000, p. 60), replace more overt demonstrations of racism in most settings.

According to Solórzano (1998), "CRT recognizes that the experiential knowledge of women and men of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in the field of education" (p. 122). The lived experiences of people of color are valid and their accounts offer different interpretations of policy and events than those of the dominant culture, thus allowing voice to counter narratives.

CRT scholars argue that White people have been the main beneficiaries of civil rights legislation (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Bell (1995) proclaims, "Whites simply cannot envision the personal responsibility and the potential sacrifice inherent in the conclusion that true equality for Blacks will require the surrender of racism-granted privileges for Whites" (p. 22). An example of such may present itself with the expansion of magnet schools in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan of 1980 and schools of emphases created for racially isolated schools.

CRT is a useful perspective to examine the often, indirect way in which race and racism operate (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). CRT is applicable to certain aspects of the decisions made by the St. Louis Public Schools Board of Education; consequently, the decisions and influence upon the teachers, students, and administrators impacted by the intra district desegregation plan.

Data Sources

This researcher's purpose of study was to examine archival data specifically newspapers, Board of Education archives, and public written documents relative to the intra district desegregation plan as well as interview five male former Black principals who served in the St. Louis Public Schools following the Brown v Board of Education landmark decision. These identified participants had direct experiences with the intra district desegregation plan implemented in the fall of 1980 and serve as primary resources. In an effort to understand and

provide others with information of how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of the 1954 *Brown v Board Education* case through the lens of these five former African American principals, two primary sources of data were accessed. The two primary sources were (1) archival information and (2) interviews of the five former Black principals.

An archive is defined as any well-defined collection of texts. Texts including records of communication in various media: print (magazines, books, and newspapers), video, speech, tape recordings, etc. (Notre Dame, n.d.). Archival analysis is defined as a methodology to assess the worth of records based on the potential for future consultation. These sources are thus those materials from which historians construct meanings. “Put another way, a source is an object from the past or testimony concerning the past on which historians depend in order to create their own depiction of that past. A historical work or interpretation is thus the result of this depiction” (Howell and Prevenier, 2001, p. 19). For this historical research design study the main types of archival data to be examined were St. Louis Board of education official Board minutes, local newspaper articles from the period as well as newspaper articles from the daily *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and any relative books and journal articles detailing events during the period.

The official Board minutes of the St. Louis Board of Education offered insights into the actions of the Board in addressing issues arising from its desegregation plan efforts as well as efforts in its creation. Given the rich history of de jure segregation in the city of St. Louis and the state of Missouri, an investigation of Board minutes may prove advantageous in determining the St. Louis Board of Education’s disposition toward desegregation in the school system and the decisions made relative to the intra district desegregation plan. These official Board minutes were found at the St. Louis Public Schools Archives located in southwestern St. Louis, Missouri,

at 1615 Hampton Avenue. The building, now utilized for record storage for the school district, is the former Gratiot Elementary School which was constructed and opened in 1882. The State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center St. Louis located at the University of Missouri St. Louis, 222 Thomas Jefferson Library, One University Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri was utilized as well as a location to retrieve archival data.

Data Collection

“Oral evidence is also an important source for historians. Much comes from the very distant past, in the form of tales and the sagas of ancient peoples, or from the premodern period of Western history in the form of folk songs or popular rituals. Such evidence also comes, however, from our own day, in the form, for example of protest songs or other kinds of artistic performances. The interview is another of the major forms of oral evidence produced in our age” (Howell and Prevenier, 2001, p. 23).

The five purposeful sampled interview participants were contacted by either email or phone to gain consent following an approved investigation review board (IRB) process through the University of Missouri-St. Louis. A complete IRB application was rendered to the review board, which detailed a complete application for review by the human subjects committee. Participants were expected to denote per signature their informed consent to participate in this research study. Interview questions were semi structured and estimated an individual interview of approximately one and a half hours. Questions were general and specific, and open-ended allowing the interviewee to avoid responses indicative of yes or no answers alone. Each interview began with pre-formulated questions. Any ad-hoc questions based on the participants' responses were included in this section of the writing. Specific exploration types of questions were asked next. These questions were semi structured and allow the participant to elaborate

should he desire. An estimated length of time to complete all five interviews was four months. Interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed. The use of a recording device during the interviews assisted the researcher with transcription and aided the researcher in remembering the interviewee's commentary more thoroughly. Recorded interviews also allowed the researcher to capture cues and variances in participants' voice, tone, and speed of response. Additionally, misspellings of the interviewees' responses were corrected to provide ease to the reader. Included are interview questions and the IRB general consent for participation in this historical research study.

Interview Questions

Pre-formulated question:

You have been identified as an African American male who served as principal in the St. Louis Public Schools following the implementation of the intra district desegregation plan. Please tell me about what experience or experiences you encountered as a Black principal during this period?

Ad-hoc questions

Based on responses from the pre-formulated question.

Specific explorations (semi-structured questions):

- 1. In what ways do you think racial justice issues are relevant to K-12 education?*
- 2. Were issues of racial justice discussed or raised in the K-12 schools you attended? If yes, how?*
- 3. Were issues about equity and racial justice addressed during your preparation to become principal? If yes, what do you think you learned from those discussions or experiences?*

4. *What led you to the principalship? Were mentors established at this time? If so, please name them and describe their impact upon you.*
5. *When you began the principalship, did you have to confront any issues of racial justice? If yes, what were those issues and how did they influence your approach to leading? Do you recall examples of containment of African American students? If so, please describe.*
6. *What challenges did you experience when leading as a principal during the intra district desegregation plan implementation relevant to integration following the intra district desegregation plan?*
7. *What successes did you experience when leading as a principal during the intra district desegregation plan implementation relevant to integration following the intra district desegregation plan?*
8. *Did your school district address issues of racial justice in education between 1960 and 1987? If yes, what is your opinion about those programs or initiatives?*
9. *What other memorable stories might you be able share in regards to racial justice and the intra district desegregation plan during your time of tenure as principal?*

Data Analysis

Data compiled from archival sources and interviews was analyzed using the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory (CRT). A CRT analysis was deemed appropriate in this historical research design study because CRT is applicable to certain aspects of the decisions made by the St. Louis Public Schools Board of Education; consequently, the decisions and impact upon the teachers, students, and administrators following the intra district desegregation plan.

The researcher transcribed completed interviews and consulted archival data relevant to the historical research design study. “Editing and rearranging interviews for clarification and cutting away tangential material are appropriate so long as the original meaning is retained” (Ritchie, 2003). Transcription allowed the researcher to construct inter-rater reliability. The interest convergence tenet of CRT was explored which suggests that civil rights gains for African Americans should be interpreted with measured enthusiasm. Bell (1980) argued that these basic rights were granted only inasmuch as they did not pose a major disruption to a ‘normal’ way of life for the majority of Whites.

According to DeCuir and Dixson (2004), “CRT implies that race should be the center of focus and charges researchers to critique school practices and policies that are both overtly and covertly racist” (p. 29). “Through the use of CRT, the researcher, will explore and provide others with information of how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of the 1954 Brown v Board Education case through the lens of these five former African American principals thus adding to the existing body of knowledge relative to the impact of the intra district desegregation plan in the St. Louis Public Schools.

Limitations

There were two limitations in carrying out this study. The first limitation was gaining access to the St. Louis Public Schools archives. When attempting to be granted permission for review, there were three persons to whom I had to seek approval. It is not customary to allow open access to these archives. In fact, it is to the researcher’s advantage that the researcher is a former employee of the St. Louis Public Schools and conducting research that may add to the existing body of knowledge relative to the education field and other related fields. The second limitation was ensuring the completion of the five interviews completed with purposeful sampled

participants. Because the selected participants served as principals during the intra district desegregation plan between the years of 1960 and 1987 following the Brown v Board of Education, a participant's life span could have hindered completing the research the study. Fortunately, all purposeful selected participants were able to complete the research study.

Conclusion

Consequences of school desegregation on African-American families, educators, and communities in the United States are well documented in education research today. Preemptive measures taken by state and local governments to avoid desegregation pre-Brown, coupled with White flight and massive resistance to African-American children integrating into historically all White schools after Brown, illustrate what many have described as a climate of racism and White self-interest that existed post-Brown (Horsford, 2011). Educators, legal scholars, and historians have encountered multiple narratives that portray the Brown v Board of Education of 1954 as the great equalizer in public education and offered extensive examples of how the Brown decision was a noteworthy promise of educational equality and integration (Springer Science and Business Media, 2009). Further research suggests that some of the problems of Black education in the post-Brown era stem from negative consequences of school desegregation. After decades of fighting for racial justice, Civil Rights attorney and law professor, Charles Ogletree, (2004) reflected on the Brown decision:

With fifty years of hindsight, I believe that the tragic lesson of the two decisions in Brown v Board of Education is that one described the aspirations of American's democratic liberalism and the other actually defined the reality of grudging educational

reform and the power of racism as a barrier to true racial progress in twentieth-century, and for that matter, twenty-first century America (p. 306).

In this historical research design study, the researcher revealed untold written stories of pioneers at the time, specifically five Black former principals who served following this landmark legislation. The researcher was able to compare oral interviews to existing archives located in a former elementary school that now serves as an archival location for St. Louis Public School documents. These oral interviews and archives served as the data sources to interpret findings.

The findings of these untold written stories of five Black former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education* in the St. Louis Public Schools added to the existing body of knowledge in the field of education and other related fields. These stories explored the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan. As stated previously, it was the researcher's mission to explore and provide others with information of how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of the 1954 *Brown v Board Education* case through the lens of these five former African American male principals. Let their stories unfold.

Chapter 4

Introduction

Historians choose or volunteer what they believe is important to tell about the past. For the purpose of this historical research study, the researcher depicted findings of untold stories of five Black male former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education* in the St. Louis Public Schools. These stories have never been told in written form and discovered the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan.

Historical reviews support the contention that desegregation had a significant effect on the number of Black school principals (Tillman, 2004). The stories of these African American male principals now in their early and late seventies will aid others in exploration of implications following the *Brown v Board of Education* landmark case and ultimately the intra district desegregation plan of the St. Louis Public Schools.

This chapter includes transcriptions of former Black male principals' experiences during the period of 1960 to 1987, which encompassed the implementation of the St. Louis Public Schools intra district desegregation plan. Pseudonyms, Black male principal one, two, three, four, and five were given in an effort of ensuring confidentiality within the study. The researcher's identification was named CCO as denoted throughout all transcriptions. One common theme that emerged among the interviewees was a clear understanding their role as principal when leading during the intra district desegregation plan.

Understanding the role of St. Louis Public Schools Principals during the Intra district desegregation plan and Critical Race Theory

As a theoretical framework, Critical Race Theory (CRT) explores the ways in which power and privilege operate in society and the impact upon race, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality (Bell, 1995). Additionally, CRT provides a unique framework in the development of this research on Black principals who provided support for teachers and students and by acknowledging past disparities that impact the education system. In this study, race has been highlighted to bring attention to its role and the role of racism in education. CRT argues that racism is ordinary, the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country. Second, CRT asserts that the system of White-over-color ascendancy serves important purposes, both psychic and material, for the dominant group (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

The ordinariness means that racism can be difficult to address or cure because it is rarely acknowledged. Color-blind, or formal, conceptions of equality, expressed in rules that insist only on treatment that is the same across the board, can thus remedy only the most blatant forms of discrimination (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

The system of White-over-color ascendancy, generations of racism, sometimes referred to as interest convergence or material determinism adds a further dimension. Because racism advances the interests of both White elites (materially) and working class Caucasians (physically), large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it. Consider, for example, Derrick Bell's shocking proposal that *Brown v Board Education*, considered a great triumph for African Americans, may have resulted more from the self-interest of elite Whites than from a desire to help Blacks (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

While tenets of CRT are embedded throughout the stories and responses of the five Black principals known as BMP1, BMP2, BMP3, BMP4, and BMP5, increasing student achievement

within their respective schools would be the common pursuit across all five Black male principals interviewed for this study. Despite the changes undergone as a result of the intra-district desegregation plan, the interviewees would each clearly articulate their role and responsibility as creating and maintaining conditions in which learning would take place for both students and staff. One Black male principal stated the following:

...the schools ranked in the upper quartile of schools academically and that was my goal. My goal was to demonstrate that...the teachers demonstrated and implemented strategies in both the affective and cognitive areas that were strong enough and effective enough to have Scullin competing with or either ranking second or third and a year or two tied as the first ranking school academically in the district...similar experiences at Mallinckrodt so it wasn't very long before I was beckoned for an administrative job as an area assistant superintendent. My first love was teaching. My second was principal. The higher you go, the more challenges (laughter).

Another Black male principal would share similar sentiments.

Blow Middle was considered a melting pot...we had kids coming from every area of the city...all over...and bussed in...gangs were prevalent and the kids would all be bussed into one location. There were no boundaries set or considered...so...this was a unique challenge to Blow. This was a problem initially...so, I was tasked to make the school community one...rather than six or seven individual groups. I believe we were successful in bridging the gap. We would activities that would provide harmonious situations...and over time...the problems in the community would not spill over into the schoolhouse...we dealt with the students in a fair manner...equally you know...and with time, the students learned that the school was for learning and not to resolve communal issues.

Black male principal one (BMP1) stated that his memorable experiences would be that of classroom experiences that equated to student performance. It would be the classrooms that deserved the term excellence as he described as evidence of increasing student achievement.

BMP1 states:

The best thing that has happened to me in over fifty years in education are classroom experiences. Secondly, as a building principal, to see teachers establish standards for student performance, expect those, and instruct, guide, care, in a manner that those expectations were reached. Those were memorable experiences and those let me know the positions I should take as principal, when to intervene directly and firmly, and when to recognize that was what was happening in classrooms from an instructional standpoint deserved the term excellence.

BMP2 discussed the high expectations of attendance and discipline and celebrated students routinely in the forms of assemblies, presentations, and extravagant graduation ceremonies while BMP1 and BMP3 shared the goal of increasing student achievement and discussed the staff's involvement in the quest.

We had a lot of auditorium meetings. Students and teachers understood the expectations and all the children were treated fairly. We spent a lot of time with children...the lunches...the recesses...the classrooms... and we had a very good attendance at our PTO meetings. Our parents wanted to know about the Black principal, so they were very eager to come to the PTO meetings to learn more about me and my beliefs in terms of leading the school. So, it was business. It was all business and when you walked into the school...it was most impressive. In fact, I'd venture to say that it was superior.

The successes are that we had a lot of activities and we had a lot of shows and presentations. We had a lot of music programs. I'd say that our students loved and parents truly loved the school. The kids just enjoyed school. I can remember that we took pictures of every event and eighth graders would sell potato chips during the lunch period...this was a tradition...this is how they would go to Jefferson City...and we would have color days and we'd take our eighth graders every year to the Salad Bowl restaurant. It was a big day you know at school and so my memorable stories are really around all of the interactions and good times that we had with students between those years and the students truly enjoyed being a part of Mullanphy.

Students' achievements would be the singular focus of the male Black principals.

Achievements met through perfect attendance, the number of scholarships awarded, A's on report cards, and stellar sporting events would yield positive results for children. Strategies that BMP3 implemented and improved were his means to achievement.

So, we would do all types of specialty things to get the parents out...and once we got the parents out...then we would have various conversations...but...it was not a hostile environment between Blacks and Whites...we tried to do things through perfect attendance...scholarships...all A's...sporting events...we made a big deal out of attendance. I made a big deal out of attendance of staff. At one point when I went into Sumner High School, one of my first questions was how many teachers had perfect attendance last year...and...uh...there was only three. Well, that says something. You know...if your staff is not there on a regular basis...then...how do you criticize your kids for not being there on a regular basis...so...the next year, we had about sixty with perfect attendance.

BMP3 quoted percentages of students and staff from year to year to denote the incremental improvements over time as noted above. These rich narratives provided a means in understanding the experiences of the principals who could have felt marginalized, ill-supported, and resisted, yet chose not to (Solozano & Yosso, 2002).

Critical race theorists have built on everyday experiences with perspective, viewpoint, and the power of stories and persuasion to come to a deeper understanding of how Americans see race. They have written parables, autobiography, and counterstories and have investigated the factual background and personalities, frequently ignored in the casebooks, of well-known cases such as Korematsu (the Japanese-internment case) or Plessy v Ferguson (the separate-but-equal case). Other scholars have examined narrative theory, in an effort to understand why certain stories work and others do not (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

The everyday experiences of the five former Black male principals provide power for the reader to develop a deeper understanding of how the intra city desegregation plan was implemented as told through the actions, conversations, and decisions among the Black principals with central office personnel, teachers, parents, and students.

BMP4 stated his successes were also in student achievement. Through after school activities and a strong parent teacher organization, BMP4 was able to experience success in achievement and believes the consistency of high expectations for both staff and students resulted in positive outcomes for children.

My successes were probably in staff and achievement. I think those would be areas of success. I was able to work with my staff to ensure children learned. At that time, we would have after school types of things, and I had a strong PTO at the time. I can remember my first PTO meeting where Bob (Robert) Wentz, the superintendent at the

time, showed up at the meeting unannounced and he was so pleased to see all of the parents that were there... White and Black... at the time to come out to the school. Those were some of the successes that I can... that I can remember.

High expectations as evidenced by examples of student and staff attendance, teacher collaboration, and discipline were discussed in great length. Conversations with parents both Black and White were conducted to support the growth of all children.

Parent teacher organization meetings were held in efforts of sharing the principals' vision and academic expectations of the school all of which allowed the administrative teams the time to focus more on improving the quality of teaching in the classroom.

...and we had a very good attendance at our PTO meetings. Our parents wanted to know about the Black principal, so they were very eager to come to the PTO meetings to learn more about me and my beliefs in terms of leading the school. So, it was business. It was all business and when you walked into the school... it was most impressive. In fact, I'd venture to say that it was superior.

BMP5 articulated student achievement as working to improve the quality of education so that kids performed better and felt that he, along with his teachers, worked relentlessly to improve the quality of education as evidenced by a professional development focus and adding to the number of resources for children and families.

...and over the years I have had some in-services that are good... just great... I mean the cat's meow... everybody would walk out feeling like this was a good in-service... everyone would walk out of the room feeling good with charts all over the walls... you know... we're going to do some things... you go back to teachers' classrooms and they go back to teaching the way they were taught... and that's a problem at the middle school and at the

secondary level...and...I don't know how we are going to change that until we discuss the structure in which we educate our kids.

Another principal would stress the importance of professional development as well.

My personal philosophy is that of staff...teachers were a team. The teachers and I worked to improve the quality of education to allow students to perform better.

Professional development was a focus and staff development was vital. Every school had a plan and that plan was monitored by district office. It had to be approved. It had a lot of flexibility in terms of approaches that may be unique, but materials were never a concern. We had all kinds of materials that varied. We could implement programs and supplemental materials to the curriculum that would improve performance. We worked within our budgets and allotments and kinds of things.

Fairness was the primary strategy for working with integrated populations of students and staff, and the consistency of exemplifying fairness in both written and oral communications would support dealings related to discipline and assigning of students to classroom teachers.

Well...when you talk about racial justice...you are kind of implying that there might be a disparity between the academic progress or progress toward discipline and...uh...most of the discussion that occurred in reference to students was being evenhanded and...uh...refined in your student code of discipline...okay and making sure that you're consistent and you're fair...and as long as you're consistent and fair...uh...most folk be it the teacher, the parent, or the student...uh...they feel that they are getting a fair shot...so in that vain...this was primarily the philosophy and the objectives that were taken toward dealing with justice and fairness.

This, in turn, allowed the principals to not encounter a myriad of complaints from disgruntled parents. It, too, was the glue and the foundation for what would be deemed a successful principalship during the time.

Well you know... I guess you learn things pretty much on the job. Most school districts throw you the keys and you sink or swim...uh...but, I found out that you do a number of in basket things and you are constantly in-serviced by your district superintendent...so...in reference to various preparatory things...and you are constantly being communicated to...in different meetings and seminars...and you are being debriefed on things...from my standpoint it was not a wide cultural difference in the way I would react to students...when parents knew where I was coming from...it was really just applying the rules and regulations fairly...uh...I tried to run a tight ship on schooling...from the standpoint that...you control your school by being in the halls—visibility—and uh...with your staff...and uh...if you have staff buy in to that type of philosophy...from the standpoint of that type of control of your school...the visibility aspect...then...uh...then you can get a situation where you have teachers who can teach and students who can learn.

After all transcriptions were completed, the researcher sought to determine common themes. The researcher listened to the audio recordings again and again and placed the transcriptions into a supplementary research tool known as Wordle. It analyzes words in text to produce an illustration of a word cloud, which in turn represents words of high frequency (see appendices A-E). Students, teachers or staff, justice, children, and school were all largely displayed in the word clouds. Each of the Black male principals committed themselves to the aforementioned groups or cause.

Your staff. Any achievement that anyone gets is not a one win thing...everyone on your staff has some strengths...and as a leader...what you are going to have to do is build on those strengths...and...everybody doesn't bring the same strengths to the table...even though that person may be a tenured teacher or the person that has a good rapport within the building and within the community they have some strong things they have some other things...you are successful when you can identify those things as quick as you possibly can...work on the strengths...try to build on those strengths and then try to improve those areas that are weak...and...most times we're not at the point where you could find somebody else...I mean you'd have to wrap them in some paper... but that paper takes time...uh...but...if you can wrap yourself around the leadership and organizational piece...get your people to tie into what you are trying to do then...you'll be successful.

The role of the five Black male principals of the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan was to establish and maintain a school environment where children succeed under their helm. Clear evidence of students' achievements, high expectations of staff, and welcoming, fun environments presented itself. With integrated student bodies and/or staff, the role of the Black male principal remained consistent. Despite internal and external changes in staff placement, the role of the Black male principal held firm—increasing student achievement. Student achievement was interpreted and defined by the principals as the successes, accomplishments, and achievements of the students and staff. Throughout the word clouds, there are prominent thus frequent words displayed to include students also noted as kids and children, school(s), staff, principal, and time. The Wordles are examples of this finding.

Chapter 5

Introduction

This research study revealed common themes, which are depicted in this chapter. Interviewees' responses were reliable—in that, consistent, common responses were given. Discipline or teaching students positive behavior, promoting academic achievements of students, and the placement of teachers and principals were where common themes emerged. This chapter includes transcriptions from former Black male principals' experiences during the period of 1960 to 1987, which encompassed the implementation of the St. Louis Public Schools intra district desegregation plan. The former principals were assigned pseudonyms, Black male principal one, two, three, four, and five in an effort of ensuring confidentiality within the study. Common themes emerged relative to involuntary choice, discipline, academic achievement, and acts carried out by the personnel division.

Research Reveals Common Themes Related to Roles and Critical Race Theory

Per the interviewees depictions of their time leading as principals during the intra district desegregation plan of St. Louis Public Schools, it is evident that its impact resulted in different ways upon schools, principals, and teachers. Commonalities included involuntary choice, discipline, academic achievement, and acts carried out by the personnel division.

At the time of the intra district desegregation plan, area superintendents were charged with the identification and placement of principals who would lead schools in the integration efforts of the district.

There were no group meetings...the only effort that I am aware of that addressed teachers being moved from a north side school to a south side school to enhance

integration but more specifically be an excellent model for the Caucasian students was the spill that they got from the personnel division. The personnel division held either individual or small group meetings and...(sigh)...Ms. Jones you've been identified as a teacher who would be of greater value of effectiveness and service to students in the district in the role of fourth grade teacher at Shenandoah School. I have your records before me...and you are outstanding...beyond that I am not aware of anything. These were competent people...I want to be clear about that.

The area superintendents would identify Black males that had a reputation of strong leadership. The five Black male principals' appointments to the principalship would symbolize the district's efforts to integrate schools and intended to serve as a demarcation of the system's new integration efforts. The area superintendent as charged by Superintendent Kottmeyer would arrange a meeting to inform the Black male principal of the decision to support the integration efforts as described.

Well...you...know...there are several people that I could say were very good, but your primary mentors are the people that you work with on a day to day basis...and you are looking at how people do certain things...and you are putting yourself in the situation of what you would not do if you were in the same position...and...if you build that kind of reference on circumstances like these over the course of career...then...how people reacted...how this worked out with certain situations and was there some backlash as a result of it...it builds a great basis for your input on how you would move in that kind of situation...so...I had uh...a strategy of some things that I just would not do...because I saw some negative influences doing it that way.

Little to no formal training was included and most learned their successes on the job through trial and error as told by BMP1 and BMP3. These Black male principals took pride in their work and respected the area superintendents as well as charge.

The area superintendents, Janning, Rufus Young, Julius Dix, Clifford Evans...very competent men...and they were all men on the north side...(sigh)...very confident, very caring, I can't think of any who were willing to buck the system...(sigh)...when I say buck the system...I think they went along with rather than challenged at that time.

One of the major tenets of CRT includes Whiteness as property. According to Grant (1995), the concept of Whiteness as property is very abstract.

Although we usually think of property as our belongings or possessions, property also consists of rights in things that are intangible...These include the product of one's labor, potential earning from a graduate degree, job entitlement...It also includes expectations (e.g., being treated a certain way, knowing your race will not work against you in opportunities for jobs and other special events) and privileges (e.g., the entitlement and advantages granted to an individual or group.)

A deliberate pattern to place African American principals in these integrated schools to support integration efforts could be viewed as racism. What was clear from the interviews were the differences in implementation of the intra district desegregation plan thus the implications upon schools. As told by BMP1:

A greater impact was teachers. Many of those assignments happened to two categories of teachers...seasoned teachers who had demonstrated over the years a high level of competence and new teachers...African American teachers who were coming into the system. In some schools, the staff was impacted because White teachers were told to

move to predominantly Black schools while new or novice Black teachers to the field would accompany them. These White teachers were identified as being solid teachers and the new Black teachers would be able to begin their careers in integrated schools. In other schools, busses would support the integration efforts to transport Black kids to White schools.

Black male principal two stated:

Well...if you are talking about the desegregation plan...I, in the St. Louis Public Schools, between the years of 1980 to 1989 was principal of Mullanphy School which was grades sixth through eighth. We had about three hundred students...anywhere between three to four hundred students. We had students who were bussed both White and Blacks and we had students to walk to school both Whites and Blacks. Our staff was mainly White, and I did have help. I had an assistant principal and clerical staff. I had a custodian, too, all whom were Black. The students were very bright...very bright...and we had very little in fact no discipline problems. Students were pulled from both the north side and the south side population, so we have students to come from...from all over so there was a combination of students.

Utilizing CRT is central to this research study because it not only analyzes social injustices through a racial prism, but it also seeks to remedy these social injustices through progressivism (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). CRT advocates for policies to ensure that individuals who have been historically disenfranchised are given equal access to opportunities such as opportunities in educational leadership, a field that has been overwhelmingly dominated by White men (Ortiz, 1982). The five Black male principals' appointments to the principalship

would symbolize the district's efforts to integrate schools and intended to serve as a demarcation of the system's new integration efforts.

The personnel division at the time would be the communicator of these decisions.

... it was then called the personnel division of St. Louis Public Schools....this was before the days of HR. Yea...it's called personnel. The personnel staff at 911 Locust Street which was the central office at the time...I suspect they had a mechanism or a plan to identify teachers who would serve...(laughter)...the White students without any question and any Black students who would be in the classes which would be minor at the time....the plan would be to find teachers either new, seasoned, proven or impressive to go to those schools.

None of the principals interviewed would remember or note conversations that included them in the process rather meetings that would tell of the decisions to be rendered.

Yes, his name was Gene (G-E-N-E) Janning (J-A-N-N-I-N-G)... White male...area superintendent of north side schools...or a cluster of north side schools at that time. He called me in and after a couple of (pause) shadowing White male principals...I was assigned to a position that was entitled supervising teachers...(sigh)...you had all of the responsibilities of the principalship, but the idea was to identify schools...all with sizes of about five hundred students...I served as supervising teacher a couple of years prior to the principalship. Most of the Black females (African American) women that I know of during my vintage that became principals...a prerequisite to that assignment was supervising the reading clinic. They were somehow supposed to be (laughter) the saviors for students who needed additional reading skills and many of them performed extremely

well in that capacity at the reading clinic, which was the old Enright building across the street from Soldan High School.

Reinhold Janning, commonly known as Gene Janning, would be the key communicator with the Black male principal as noted by the interviewee. As these Black principals would encounter teachers, students, and families daily, a common theme continued to emerge—academic achievement and discipline.

Each Black male principal explained their primary role as improving student achievement and insisting upon providing excellent teachers in the classroom. They talked about assemblies for achievement, attendance rewards, and community nights. BMP1 stated that both Scullin and Mallinckrodt would rank in the upper quartile of schools academically.

These teachers demonstrated and implemented strategies in both schools in the affective and cognitive areas that were strong enough and effective enough to compete with or tie in ranking at second or third and a year as the first ranking school in the district.

All principals discussed the importance of fairness among students and that it proved beneficial to appropriating disciplinary action to all kids particularly White kids. Two principals stated that they encountered more inappropriate actions of students with integrated student populations compared to the predominantly Black student populations they served prior and stated that the integration wouldn't be the cause rather communal and family concerns that would find themselves surfacing at school.

Blow Middle was considered a melting pot...we had kids coming from every area of the city...all over...and bussed in...gangs were prevalent and the kids would all be bussed into one location. There were no boundaries set or considered...so...this was a unique challenge to Blow. This was a problem initially...so, I was tasked to make the school

community one...rather than six or seven individual groups. I believe we were successful in bridging the gap. We would activities that would provide harmonious situations...and over time...the problems in the community would not spill over into the schoolhouse...we dealt with the students in a fair manner...equally you know...and with time, the students learned that the school was for learning and not to resolve communal issues.

CRT challenges the notion of White privilege, and its theoretical underpinnings are embedded in the lived experiences of people of color (Lynn, 2002; Taylor, 2000). White privilege would be the root cause of some of the communal and family concerns that surfaced at the school. BMP1 stated that he suspended both African American and White students at Mallinckrodt, a magnet school and BMP3 would do the same.

I couldn't do one without the other...there was no corporal punishment at the time...you know they got rid of the stick, but we treated all kids with respect and fairness...as that was the way you did things.

What was evident amongst all five Black male principals was their commitment to all children and teacher excellence. Each mentioned their staff and highlighted far more strengths than weaknesses among them.

Well, I was at Clark school from 1980 to 1988...that was my tenure there...we had an integrated staff and I would randomly select children's placement in terms of the classrooms, so the classes were integrated...there was no containment. I didn't have all the Black kids in one area and all the White kids in another area. I would randomly select children. There were really no problems with the teachers. I had a very mature staff...a staff that was very mature. They were about the business of kids, so there weren't many issues at all with the teachers.

DeCuir and Dixson (2004) posited that CRT has an activist aspect, the end goal of which is to bring change that will implement social justice. The Black male former principal of Clark School supported social justice measures by randomly selecting children's placement in classrooms where an integrated staff was present. The decision to not contain students or place Black students with Black teachers and vice versa constituted a CRT activist aspect.

Chapter 6

Introduction

Historians choose or volunteer what they believe is important to tell about the past. For the purpose of this historical research study, the researcher depicted findings of untold stories of five Black male former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education* in the St. Louis Public Schools. These stories have never been told in written form and discovered the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan.

The stories of these African American male principals now in their early and late seventies aids others in exploration of implications following the *Brown v Board of Education* landmark case and ultimately the intra district desegregation plan of the St. Louis Public Schools. Their experiences are important as they involve the daily interactions among people who were directly affected by the intra district plan. Additionally, these stories capture their views of the plan and its lasting impact upon K-12 schooling in the St. Louis Public School system.

This chapter highlights communication between central administration and principals and includes transcriptions from former Black male principals' experiences during the period of 1960 to 1987, which encompassed the implementation of the St. Louis Public Schools intra district

desegregation plan. These former principals were assigned a pseudonym, Black male principal one, two, three, four, and five in an effort of ensuring confidentiality within the study.

Communication between central administration and principals surfaced multiple times throughout the study. Consequently, communication was highlighted in the findings of this chapter.

Communication between Central Administration and Principals and Critical Race Theory

Principals noted no formal written plan of the intra district desegregation plan of the St. Louis Public Schools.

None that I am aware of. Because there are some principals who may have experienced more impact with respect to teachers being transferred, students leaving, (sigh), but to the best of my knowledge the.... it was then called the personnel division of St. Louis Public Schools....this was before the days of HR. Yea...it's called personnel. The personnel staff at 911 Locust Street which was the central office at the time...I suspect they had a mechanism or a plan to identify teachers who would serve...(laughter)...the White students without any question and any Black students who would be in the classes which would be minor at the time....the plan would be to find teachers either new, seasoned, proven or impressive to go to those schools.

No archival data could be found as well in written form that was provided to principals at the time; however, the Federal Court Order on May 21, 1980, outlined the implementation of the school district's desegregation plan (Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1981). Principle elements of the plan included:

1. Clustering of elementary schools

2. Reassignment and transportation of high school students
3. Continuation of existing magnet schools and the creation of six new magnet schools
4. Creation of specialty programs to be offered to all students in the district
5. North St. Louis schools would be offered development and enrichment programs including remedial and compensatory features
6. Sharpening the provisions applicable to permissive transfers
7. Commitment by the board to seek and develop inter district plans of voluntary cooperation with schools districts of St. Louis County
8. Adoption of a singleton type of faculty assignment plan to equalize proportion of minority and majority faculty in each school
9. Regular reporting to the court
10. Monitoring of the plan
11. Citizen participation in implementation

What would result from the Federal Court Order of 1980 were meetings and conversations that would result in implementation. The area superintendents who were White males at the time would be the primary oral communicators while the personnel division would be responsible for solidifying assignments. Black male principal five stated the following:

The greatest challenge that I had was not being able to participate as principal in the selection of staff at my school. At the time, central office was located at Locust, and it would place teachers in vacancies throughout the schools. There was minimal participation from the principals in that process...so in terms of the racial justice...I think we continue to work to improve the quality of education for all students both Black and White.

Delgado and Stefancic (2012) assert :

One premise of legal storytellers is that members of this country's dominant racial group cannot easily grasp what it is like to be non-White. Few have what W.E.B. Du Bois described as double consciousness. History books, Sunday sermons, and even case law contribute to a cultural hegemony that makes it difficult for reformers to make race an issue. How to bridge the gap in thinking between persons of good will whose experiences, perspectives, and backgrounds are radically different is a great challenge (p. 45).

I was called in by the area superintendent and was dealt with in a very straightforward kind of way...you've been identified as a Negro...the area superintendent had been charged to identify and hire principals and conduct meetings pertaining to such.

One could hypothesize that the lack of formal written communication to the principals was deliberate; however, the principals would allude that the culture of the St. Louis Public Schools at the time was aligned to this type of communication and didn't pose a concern. It was not unpopular for area superintendents to come to schools unannounced either. Black male principal four described a time in which he recalled his area superintendent arrived to Clark School unannounced to learn and share of the district's efforts toward integration.

At that time, we would have after school types of things, and I had a strong PTO at the time. I can remember my first PTO meeting where Bob (Robert) Wentz, the superintendent at the time, showed up at the meeting unannounced and he was so pleased to see all of the parents that were there... White and Black...at the time to come out to the school. Those were some of the successes that I can...that I can remember.

Black male principal one alluded to onsite verbal communication by central administration as well.

There were no group meetings...the only effort that I am aware of that addressed teachers being moved from a north side school to a south side school to enhance integration but more specifically be an excellent model for the Caucasian students was the spill that they got from the personnel division. The personnel division held either individual or small group meetings and...(sigh)...Ms. Jones you've been identified as a teacher who would be of greater value of effectiveness and service to students in the district in the role of fourth grade teacher at Shenandoah School. I have your records before me...and you are outstanding...beyond that I am not aware of anything. These were competent people...I want to be clear about that.

The area superintendents would only be completing what they had been asked to do. Another major tenet of CRT includes the permanence of racism. Bell (1992) wrote “racism is likely permanent, and periods of seeming progress are often followed by periods of resistance and backlash as society reasserts White dominance” (p. 541). With the passing of the Brown v Board of Education decision, resistance would follow and the enactment of the intra city desegregation plan in 1980 is an example. It was at this point that the St. Louis Public Schools attempted to truly integrate schools due to prior unconstitutional efforts.

It would be understood that the identified Black male principals would be expected to increase student achievement and provide high expectations of both staff and students despite any reservations of the plan's implications upon students, staff, and parents. Black male principal three described an experiences that he recalled when seeking to attain the role as principal and not being selected for the position due to lack of experience.

When I got my certification as a secondary principal...uh...I was administrative assistant...and I worked at Soldan High School...uh...I applied for a principal's position...and...after the interview one of the assistant superintendents said, "you know that was one of the best interviews I've ever heard" ...uh...coming from a person coming up...and I thought I was going to get the job...I didn't get the job...uh...and the person called me a couple days later and said "you didn't get the job" ...but your interview was great, but we felt that you needed additional seasoning as an assistant principal...well, I was at Soldan High School, and Soldan High School was the high school I graduated from...so...you know I wanted to be there to work with the kids and the neighborhood...Soldan High School was predominantly African American at the time...and...when I went to McKinley...as I indicated to you before...the breakdown was about eighty percent Afro American and twenty percent White...there were some things that were different...uh...in my dealing with students...I never had to deal with incest. I never had to deal with alcoholism to the point that it was prevalent particularly in the White community...uh...I never had to deal with the issue of Black males possibly intimidating Whites...so from that standpoint when I reflect back on it...and I was McKinley for seven years as an assistant principal...uh...they were correct. I was not ready to be principal at that point...and see...each neighborhood...we were dealing with students walking to school at that point...is a little bit different...it brings a set of social norms that you might not be exposed to particularly in an all Afro American community...uh...that's my story.

Black male principal one's interview alluded to high expectations of principals as well.

The experience at Scullin and Mallinckrodt did differ significantly as it pertains to discipline. Scullin... after the teachers were convinced that I had their welfare and parents and students at heart, we adopted a policy...teachers bought into a policy of no out of school suspensions at Scullin. At least ninety percent of the staff bought into that not verbally, but with action and effectiveness. So, the discipline was not really an issue. Teachers knew that their evaluations would reflect their effectiveness or lack of as it related to classroom management. So, while the teachers at Scullin were very supportive of each other...there was also a strong element of competitiveness. So, it was...okay if you can do it, I can do it. If you can handle all of your sixth graders, then I can too. We did not do out of school suspensions and we did not do in house suspensions. I was responsive to requests for moving a student from one sixth grade classroom to another. At that time, we had over a thousand students at Scullin, and we had at least four classrooms at each grade level so I was responsive to plans that the sixth grade team or the eighth grade team came to me...individual teachers knew there would not be a favorable response if they came to me individually, but if they came as a team and outlined a plan for the child that would enhance both his behavior and his academic efforts, I said yes. And of course, I felt that because Scullin was the only school that I am aware of at that time that had no out of school suspensions, I made it known vocally at principals' meetings that I wanted no credit for that...that teachers did this. At Mallinckrodt, it was a completely different...well...first of all, the staff was different to a certain extent...very competent, but different. That did not work at Mallinckrodt because I had a much stronger PTA/PTO at Scullin with parents that understood the educational process and enhanced that process by engaging in homework...visiting the

school...supporting the school one hundred percent. At Mallinckrodt, (sigh)...I did suspend both African American and Caucasian students. I couldn't do one without the other. But, staff agreed that out of school suspension was more harmful to the child than any assistance. Suspension was definitely the last resort, but it did occur and there was lots of pushback from both African-American and Caucasian parents as to why an out of school suspension was necessary. Coming from a school where parents had applied for them to be there, been accepted in that process, so Mr. BMP1, you've got the cream of the crop...so why would it ever be necessary for you to eliminate learning...but my procedure there was to call a parent in and let him or her know that the student was spending much more time...too much time in my office where he was not receiving any academic work except the assignments that he brought from the classroom and that if the student continued to not manage his behavior in the areas where he could, then he would deny himself the privilege of attending which may include suspension so hopefully he won't do that to himself.

The permanence of racism and the concept of Whiteness as property could be a part of the process as it relates to the placement of African American candidates in administrative positions. Black male principal two described an experience where he was encouraged to become a principal by his female supervising teacher.

I was at Farragut before I was at Mullanphy. Ms. Washington, then my supervisor, came to check on me...in fact...she pulled me out of the classroom and she led me to become a principal. She was from the reading clinic. She had been a part of the reading clinic and women that were part of the reading clinic were selected individuals...many of them went to become principals...her name was Charlene Hunter...the reading clinic worked with

low readers and they had a lot of books and we did a lot of things with children in the reading skills. She was a person who helped me to attain the principalship.

Chapter 7

Introduction

This chapter includes issues related to minority staff hiring and integration and depicts transcriptions from former Black male principals' experiences during the period of 1960 to 1987, which encompassed the implementation of the St. Louis Public Schools intra district desegregation plan. While some schools remained predominantly White in children and staff, others were integrated by staff and some both staff and students. These former principals were assigned a pseudonym, Black male principal, in an effort of ensuring confidentiality within the study. The researcher continued to identify herself as CCO.

Issues related to Minority Staff Hiring and Integration and Critical Race Theory

Each Black male principal would be impacted in different ways by the intra district desegregation plan of the St. Louis Public Schools. While some schools remained predominantly White in children and staff, others were integrated by staff and some both staff and students. Black male principal three stated:

Well, when you talk about Sumner...Sumner was located in the Ville neighborhood, and it was a predominantly Afro American school...so...we had a few White kids, but it was predominantly Afro American. McKinley was on the near south side and at the time the composition...uh...consisted about eighty percent Afro American, twenty percent White...uh...and...uh...both schools were neighborhood schools...and...uh...the Afro American community came from the Darst-Webbe apartment complexes at that time...many of the White students lived in the McKinley neighborhoods...uh...so, all of

the students walked okay. This is really a neighborhood school concept...okay there was some bussing going on with various other schools, but it basically didn't affect me.

Another Black male principal described issues related to integration in his experiences.

My first principalship was the....Scullin Elementary School on Kingshighway. The plan that you are referencing...I began as a teacher and then became principal of Scullin serving youngsters K-8. But as a principal, there was a mixture of attitude and behaviors and actions relative to (sigh)...students being transferred...bussed...in most instances to predominantly White or all White schools. Many of the parents at Scullin were satisfied with the quality of education that was there before I became principal and my challenge and objective was to not only maintain this quality, but to advance it. The impact of the school in terms of students leaving to...uh....attend intra....was minor. A greater impact was teachers. The teachers who were involuntary transferred to south St. Louis schools (pause) to teach integrated classes. Fortunately, I didn't lose many teachers to this at all. I can't think of any teachers who were involuntary assigned. Many of those assignments happened to two categories of teachers...(sigh)...seasoned teachers who had demonstrated over the years a high level of competence and new teachers...African-American teachers who were coming into the system okay so...

A third Black male principal described his experience as the following:

I was principal of Blow Middle School for seven years. Blow Middle serviced students grades six through eight. I was an assistant principal of Turner Middle for nine years prior from about 1978 to 1987...I went to Blow in 1987. Turner Middle was located on the north side and was about ninety-eight percent Afro American. Blow Middle was seventy thirty...you know...seventy percent Black and about thirty percent White. The

quality of schools at the time...well the perception at the time was that the south schools had better equipment, received more resources, and had better services than the north side. They didn't necessarily have better scores, but the perception was that they had more resources for staff and students. The north side of the district had more Black kids, and the south side of the district had more White kids. In terms of staff...there was very minimal integration of staff at Turner. I had more White teachers at Blow.

One Black male principal elaborated on his experience by describing the placement of new Black teachers and experienced or seasoned White teachers in the schools where integrated staffs were present. He described meetings that would take place to assign these new Black teachers and seasoned White teachers in schools. These meetings would take place in the personnel division of the St. Louis Public Schools central office.

There were no group meetings...the only effort that I am aware of that addressed teachers being moved from a north side school to a south side school to enhance integration but more specifically be an excellent model for the Caucasian students was the spill that they got from the personnel division. The personnel division held either individual or small group meetings and...(sigh)...Ms. Jones you've been identified as a teacher who would be of greater value of effectiveness and service to students in the district in the role of fourth grade teacher at Shenandoah School. I have your records before me...and you are outstanding...beyond that I am not aware of anything. These were competent people...I want to be clear about that.

These teachers would be great teachers as he described and would work with the administration to educate all children. None of the Black male principals mentioned any mistreatment of White or Black children by the staff rather staff working together as a team.

Fighting...it was pretty much evenly distributed among the African American students and the Caucasian students. We had an in school mechanism that dealt with misbehavior. We had multi classrooms at each grade level, which afforded me the opportunity to work with grade level teachers to work with the student in a manner that would keep in the school. I had to send a message that fighting would not be tolerated so as the school year progressed there was less of it. I also had to send a message that after a student was moved from one classroom to a second classroom to in a very few instances a third classroom, I worked hard at an agreement...that it would be tremendously unfair to the student and to other students if I allowed the misbehavior to continue.

BMP4, principal of Clark School from 1980 to 1988, led an integrated staff and would randomly select children's placement in classrooms as he described.

I didn't have all the Black kids in one area and all the White kids in another area. There were really no problems with the teachers...they were about the business of kids...so there weren't many issues at all with teachers.

The fairness that the administrative teams displayed would be the model for the students, staff, and parents to replicate.

Well, uh...again we treated children fairly. I don't recall any major issues related to racial justice uh...the challenge we had was some parents not being able to drive to south St. Louis...Mullanphy being on the southern side of school district...the challenge was that some could not drive to south St. Louis and so we would do what we could in ensuring that we had times available for parents particularly those parents who lived on the north side to get to school...we provided great attention to that...so...that was a

challenge that we had at Mullanphy. In terms of racial justice, the only things that I can think of is that back then...the White kids smoked and the Black kids didn't. Smoking was a big thing back then...and that was probably the biggest challenge...we would have discussions about that...though we allowed the kids to smoke...we had discussions about how the kids would interact in regards to the smoking...in that....the Black kids would go off...and these would be the times when the kids would be most segregated in the school. It would be mostly when kids smoked. We found that that was a demarcation of a time when each culture would do things differently at the time.

Conclusion

The findings of these untold written stories of five Black male former principals who served post the United States Supreme Court landmark case decision of *Brown v Board of Education* in the St. Louis Public Schools between the years of 1960 and 1987 have added to the body of knowledge in the field of education. The role of the Black male principal following the *Brown v Board of Education* ruling during the intra district desegregation plan was clearly defined as creating and maintaining learning conditions in schools in order to improve academic achievement for students. It along with discipline, personnel decisions, and communication from the central office administration to principals were common and consistent themes throughout the interviewees' responses. Consequently, these consistent findings depicted a part of the culture within the St. Louis Public Schools at the time. Even more telling were the issues related to minority staff hiring and integration efforts. The selection of the Black male principal would inherently be a sign of the district's integration efforts to fully comply with the legislation along with placement of White teachers in Black schools and bussing of students from northern to southern schools. All of which impacted the students, teachers, and administrators during this time period.

These stories depicted the implications upon teachers, students, and administrators in the St. Louis Public Schools following the intra district desegregation plan. Critical Race Theory (CRT) served as the theoretical framework in which this study developed. Clear tenets of CRT are embedded in the interviewees' stories and past experiences.

During the past decade, Critical Race Theory has splintered. Although new subgroups, which include a well-developed Asian American jurisprudence, a forceful Latino-critical (LatCrit) contingent, and a feisty queer-crit interest group, continue to maintain relatively

good relations under the umbrella of Critical Race Theory, meeting together at periodic conferences and gatherings, each has developed its own body of literature and set priorities; however, past groups and theorists charted the course. Critical race history has drawn from European philosophers and theorists, such as Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida, as well as from the American radical tradition exemplified by such figures as Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Cesar Chavez, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Black Power and Chicano movements of the sixties and early seventies. It also incorporated skepticism of triumphalist history, and the insight that favorable precedent, like *Brown v Board of Education*, tends to deteriorate over time, cut back by narrow lower-court interpretation, administrative foot dragging, and delay (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

Despite the barriers of the aforementioned, these interviewees volunteered their time and effort to relay their thoughts and knowledge to the researcher and were eager to share of their experiences. According to Ritchie (2003), although interviewees are eyewitnesses in this study, their perspectives could be distorted, and their memories incorrect. Through cross analysis, the researcher found archival evidence of primary documents to include photos, newspaper articles, and the lack of Board of Education minutes to support the researcher's interpretations and findings inclusive of patterns and themes.

Stories serve a powerful additional function for minority communities. Many victims of racial discrimination suffer in silence or blame themselves for their predicament. Stories can give them voice and reveal that others have similar experiences. Stories can name a type of discrimination; once named, it can be combated. If race is not real or objective, but constructed, racism and prejudice should be capable of deconstruction; the pernicious

beliefs and categories are, after all, our own. Powerfully written stories and narratives may begin a process of correction in our system of beliefs and categories by calling attention to neglected evidence and reminding readers of our common humanity (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

It was the researcher's mission to seek to explore and provide others with an understanding of how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of the 1954 *Brown v Board Education* case through the lens of these five former African American principals thus adding to the existing body of knowledge relative to the impact of the intra district desegregation plan in the St. Louis Public Schools. It is the researcher's hope that the reader's understanding has been broadened and deepened as a result of this historical study.

Distinctive similarities were present throughout the interviewees' responses. Student achievement and student success as measured by student and staff attendance, test scores, grades, and a focus on fairness and discipline along with committed staffs would all emerge. Students, kids, teachers, and schools would be terms used frequently to describe the focus of their work and leadership style. All principal interviews would result in this finding. Equally important are the differences among the five former Black male principals serving post the United States Supreme Court landmark case of *Brown v Board of Education*.

Differences would be found in the interviewees' responses relative to encounters and situations indicative of their school's geographic location and instructional programming. Specifically, principals with integrated student populations encountered more racial issues among students. Fairness would be term used to provide action that required a disciplinary measure. One Black male principal notes the quantity of student suspensions in an integrated

school as higher than those of the predominantly Black school to which he led. Additionally, the integrated student populations resulted in more justification to White parents and central office administrators of daily decisions such as placement of students to teachers than those of predominantly Black schools.

Many critical race theorists argue that the form and substance of scholarship are closely connected. These scholars use parables, chronicles, stories, counter-stories, poetry, fiction, and revisionist histories to illustrate the false necessity and irony of much of current civil rights doctrine. Delgado suggests that there are at least three reasons for naming one's own reality in legal discourse:

1. Much of reality is socially constructed.
2. Stories provide members of outgroups a vehicle for psychic self-preservation.
3. The exchange of stories from teller to listener can help overcome ethnocentrism and the dysconscious conviction of viewing the world in one way (Ladson-Billings, G. & Tate, W., 1995, p. 57).

To capture the untold stories of these five former African American principals allows readers the ability to make their own judgment of the implications of the intra district desegregation plan on the St. Louis Public Schools, and perhaps view their world in a new or different way. "Narratives provide a language to bridge the gaps in imagination and conception that give rise to the differend. They reduce alienation for members of excluded groups, while offering opportunities for members of the majority group to meet them halfway" (Delgado and Stefancic, p. 51). Through stories, Whites are better able to understand the plight of African Americans and the impact of racism in everyday living.

Although CRT began as a movement in the law, it has rapidly spread beyond that discipline. Today, many in the field of education consider themselves critical race theorists who use CRT's ideas to understand issues of school discipline and hierarchy, tracking, affirmative action, high stakes testing, controversies over curriculum and history, and alternative and charter schools (Taylor & Ladson-Billings, 2009).

It was the researcher's mission to seek to explore and provide others with an understanding of how K-12 public schooling in the city of St. Louis was impacted by the landmark decision of the 1954 *Brown v Board Education* case through the lens of these five former African American principals. A final element of CRT concerns the notion of a unique voice-of-color.

Coexisting in somewhat uneasy tension with antiessentialism, the voice-of-color thesis holds that because of their different histories and experiences with oppression, Black, American Indian, Asian, and Latino/a writers and thinkers may be able to communicate to their White counterparts matters that Whites are unlikely to know. The legal storytelling movement urges Black and brown writers to recount their experiences with racism and the legal system and to apply their own unique perspectives to assess law's master narratives (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

What remains evident in this research study is the focus on student achievement by the means of working with and through teachers and students to accomplish the school's goals despite the barriers of race and racism that both directly and subliminally impacted the lives of students, staff, and administration. This evidence was made known through the former principals' recollections, thoughts, and nostalgic experiences to which the field of education may be grateful. Appendices A-E or word clouds support the consistent evidence of the focus on

students, teachers, and schools as indicated by the large display of words thus frequency of the terms used across interviews. Additionally, Appendix G includes chronology of St. Louis political events that support that directly or indirectly impacted decisions made within the St. Louis School Public Schools by the administration such as the first Black city-wide mayor.

Those were memorable experiences and those let me know the positions I should take as principal, when to intervene directly and firmly, and when to recognize that what was happening in classrooms from an instructional standpoint deserved the term excellence.

The Iowa Basic scores at the end of the year along with other assessments—teacher made and otherwise—reflected that performance.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study generated three additional inquires and opportunities for future research that could be studied thus adding to the body of knowledge in education. These recommendations are in no order of importance rather emerged throughout the study as the research study concluded itself.

While this study focused on the Black male principal and their experiences following the implementation of the intra city desegregation plan within the St. Louis Public Schools, one might discover or study the experience of Black females. What kind of experiences did Black females identified as supervising teachers from reading clinics endure? The comparison of male to female might allow for the discovery of disparities as it pertains to race and gender.

Political scientists ponder voting strategies coined by critical race theorists, while women's studies professors teach about intersectionality—the predicament of women of color and others who sit at the intersection of two or more categories. Ethnic studies

courses often include a unit on Critical Race Theory, and American studies departments teach material on critical White studies developed by CRT writers (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

Interviewing former female reading clinic supervisors who would later assume the role of principal would provide additional information to the researcher and reader.

Another recommendation would be to explore the notion of containment within the new integrated schools. While all Black principals would allude to fairness and high expectations for all students, would such a philosophy mirror with their White counterparts? The notion of fairness could be applied across race to determine consistency of implementation.

A final recommendation would be to explore the creation, practices, and implementation of the magnet schools program in the St. Louis Public Schools. Many assert as one Black male principal interviewed that the magnet school program was an enhancement to the St. Louis Public Schools. The discovery of these enhancements specifically would allow for an in-depth understanding of the magnet school program's implications upon non-magnet schools and other area school districts.

Sociologists, scholars of American studies, and even health care specialists use critical theory and its ideas. Unlike some academic disciplines, Critical Race Theory contains an activist dimension. It tries not only to understand our social situation but to change it; it sets out not only to ascertain how society organizes itself along racial lines and hierarchies but to transform it for the better (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

Consequently, there were personal implications that emerged from this research study.

Personal Implications

The personal experience of writing this dissertation has proven to be overwhelmingly rewarding both personally and professionally. Personally, I learned more about my own strength, tenacity, and perseverance. Along the writing journey, its completion became less of my personal desire and more of the desire to complete for family and friends. It was their encouragement and support in the form of time and resources that would give me the fuel to continue the pursuit. Although personally rewarding as described, the writing of this dissertation aided me professionally even greater.

As I engulfed myself into the research particularly that of CRT, I found myself testing its tenets to daily decisions and practice in my own place of work. There were times when I was clearly able to recognize racism in the forms of Whiteness as property and interest convergence. I also found myself having more authentic conversations about race with colleagues in education politics, personnel decisions, and practices. There seemed to be a comfort and ease in the delivery of information. This has proven to be rewarding for me and as the Assistant Superintendent of Schools noted as CCO in the research study in the Normandy School District, has allowed me to view and test current practices, personnel decisions, and internal and external politics through a critical race theorist's lens. In such, this research study has allowed me the opportunity to better lead and teach others of the importance of race and racism in society so as to work toward social justice and achievement for all children.

But if racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures as deeply as many critical race theorists (crits) believe, then the “ordinary business” of society—the routines, practices, and institutions that we rely on to do the world's work—will keep minorities in subordinate positions. Only aggressive, color-conscious efforts to change

the way things are will do much to ameliorate misery. As an example of one such strategy, one critical race scholar proposed that society “look to the bottom” in judging new laws. If they would not relieve the distress of the poorest group—or, worse, if they compound it—we should reject them (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012)

This research study has greatly impacted my ability to make change in the education sector so as to benefit all children and children of future generations.

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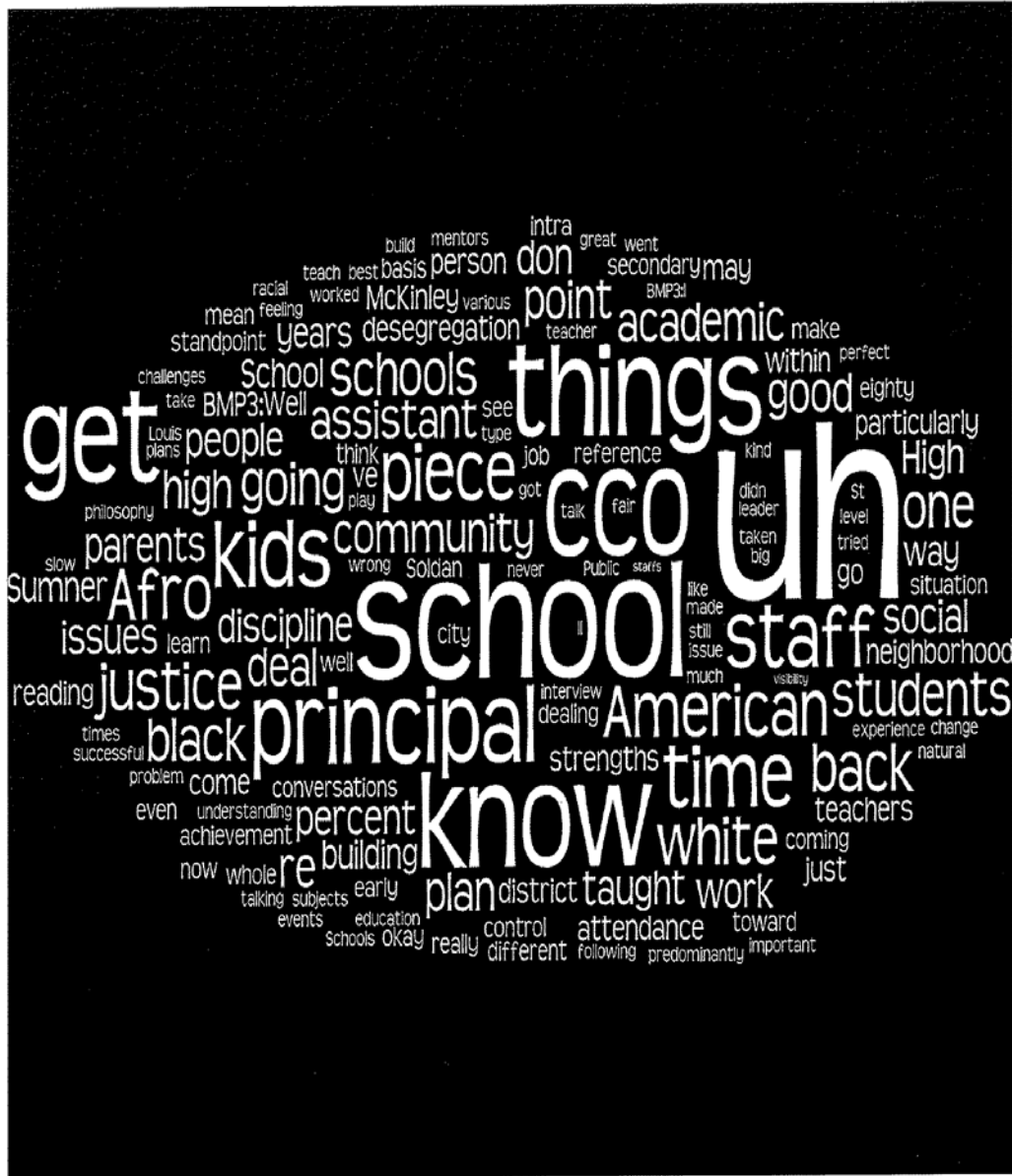
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Appendix C



Wordle depicts most frequent responses inclusive of principal, know, school, and things.

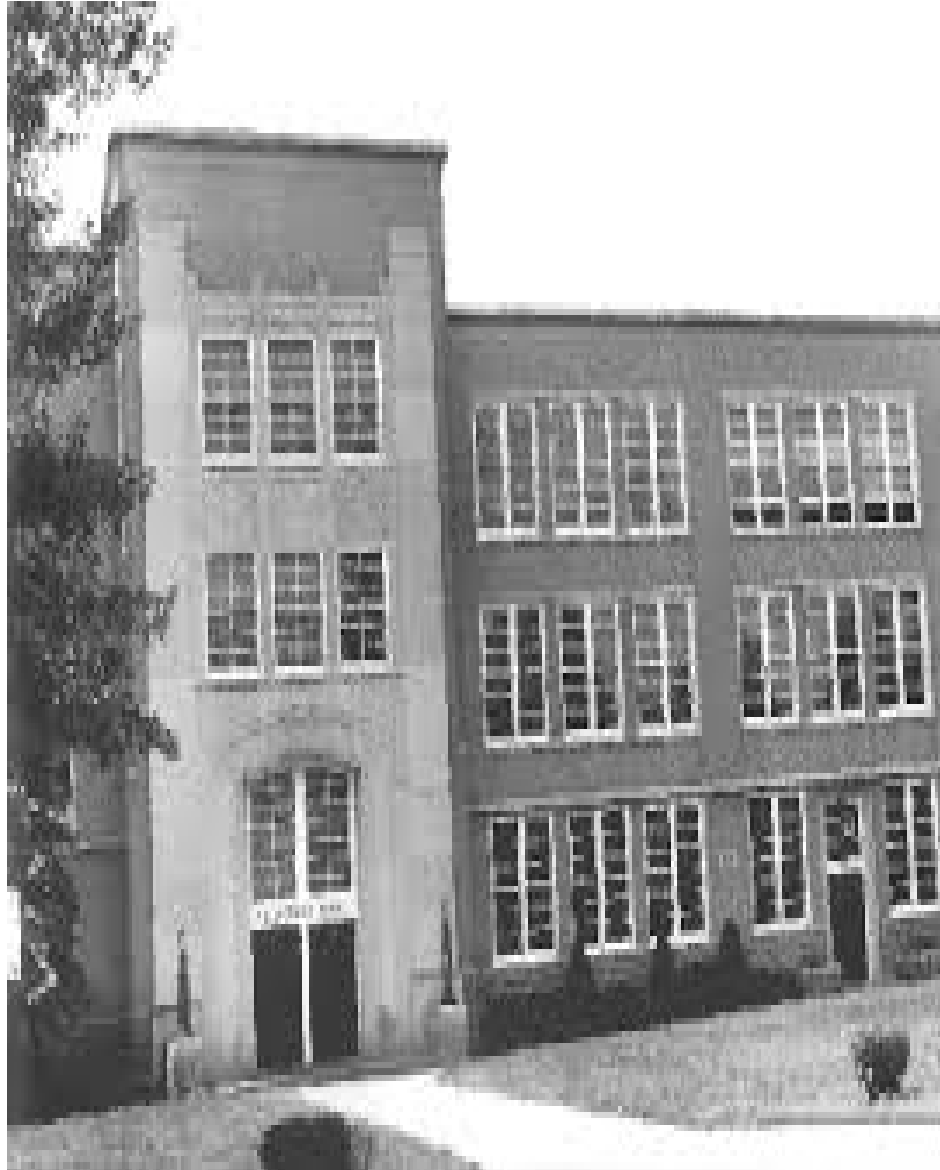
Appendix D



Wordle depicts most frequent responses inclusive of different, kids, children, and justice.



Clark Elementary School (now closed) 1020 Union Boulevard, built 1906



Mallincrodt Elementary School 6020 Pernod, built 1952



McKinley High School 2156 Russell, built in 1904



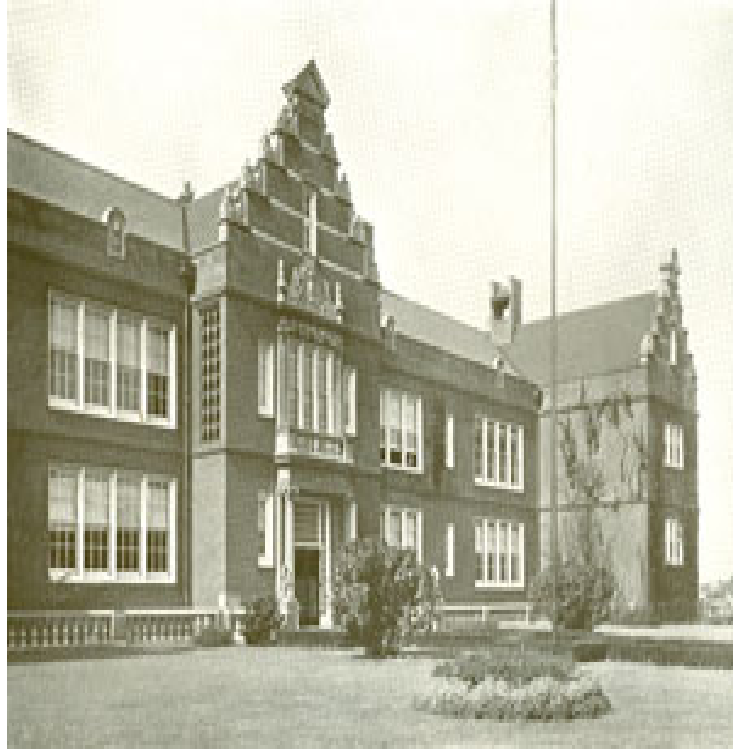
Mullanphy Elementary School 4221 Shaw, built in 1915



Scullin Elementary School (now closed) 4160 North Kingshighway Boulevard, built in 1927



Sumner High School 4248 Cottage, built in 1910



Blow Middle School 516 Loughborough, built in 1902

SEGREGATION ORDINANCE, MARCH 3, 1916

The St. Louis government passed this segregation ordinance requiring that blacks and whites live on separate blocks. In addition, churches, schools and other buildings had to be used in segregated fashion. All building permits were to be issued only after specific statements had been made as to whether buildings were to be occupied by white or colored persons.

(Source: Revised Code of St. Louis 1926 . . . St. Louis, 1928.)

ARTICLE XXI

Segregation

Sec. 3819. Who prohibited. -- That, from and after the passage of this ordinance, it shall be unlawful for any white person to use as a residence, or place of abode, any house, building, or structure, or any part thereof, located in any colored block, as the same is hereinafter defined, and it shall also be unlawful for any colored person to use as a residence or place of abode, any residence or place of abode, any house, building, or structure, or any part thereof, located in any white block as the same is hereinafter defined. Provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall preclude persons of either race employed as servants by persons of the other race from residing upon the premises on which they are so employed, and that nothing herein contained shall be construed or operate to prevent any person who, at the date of the passage of this ordinance, shall have acquired a legal right to occupy as a residence, any building or portion thereof, from exercising such legal right, and that nothing in this ordinance contained shall be construed to apply to the use of any building or structure, except such as are, or hereafter may be, located within either a white or a colored block, as hereinbefore defined.

Sec. 3820. Block-meaning -- . . . "White block." A white block shall be construed to mean a block, as hereinabove defined, which was such at the date of the passage of this ordinance, or which at any time hereafter shall become a block, in which white persons are residing and in which no colored persons are residing, except such, if any, as may be employed as servants by white residents therein, as provided in section 3819 hereof; also any block which may hereafter be formed, in which at the date of the passage of this ordinance, there were no residents, or which at any time hereafter may become a block in which white persons are residing and in which no colored persons are residing, except such, if any, as may be em-

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ployed as servants by white residents therein, as provided by section 3819 hereof.

"Colored block." A colored block shall be construed to mean a block as hereinabove defined, which at the time of the passage of this ordinance, or since, shall have become or which shall hereafter become a block in which colored persons are residing, and in which no white persons are residing, except such, if any, as may be employed as servants by colored residents therein, as provided in section 3819 hereof; also any block as the same is hereinabove defined, heretofore formed, or any block which may be hereafter formed, in which at the date of the passage of this ordinance there were no residents, but which since the passage of this ordinance shall have become or which at any time hereafter may become a block in which colored persons are residing, and in which no white persons are residing, except such, if any, as may be employed as servants by colored residents therein, as provided by section 3819.

* * *

BUILDINGS USED AS CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, ETC.

Sec. 3821. Buildings used as churches, etc. -- That after the passage of this ordinance, no buildings or portion of any building, in the city of St. Louis, shall be used as a church or for the purpose of conducting religious services, or for a school, a theater, a dance hall, or assemblage hall, by white people in a colored block, as the same is hereinabove defined, and after the passage of this ordinance, no building or portion of a building in the city of St. Louis, shall be used as a church or for the purpose of conducting therein religious services, or for a school, a theater, a dance hall, or an assemblage hall, by colored people in a white block, as the same is defined in this ordinance; provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall apply to any building or portion of a building which at the time of the passage of this ordinance is being used as a church or for the purpose of conducting religious services, or for a school, a theater, a dance hall or an assemblage hall, or which at the time of the passage of this ordinance any person or persons or corporation shall have acquired the legal right to use as a church or place for conducting religious services, as a school, a theater, a dance hall, or an assemblage hall.

* * *

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August 12. Buses and street cars were halted by a wildcat strike of the Motor Coach Employees Union for a seven-cent hourly pay raise awarded by an arbiter. V. Julian was named to operate the state-seized Public Service Company. The strikers returned to work on August 14, after receiving an ultimatum from Governor Smith.

November 25. Plans were outlined for the proposed St. Louis-Kansas City Turnpike.

1951 January 22. As the Teamsters Union and management agreed on an impartial chairman for the wage dispute board, 125 striking bus drivers returned to work.

June 5. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch acquired the Star-Times.

June 21. Bill Veeck got an option to buy the St. Louis Browns (American League Club). It would stay in St. Louis. He assumed control on July 5.

1952 May 5. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch was awarded a Pulitzer Prize.

August 27. The board of aldermen passed a nineteen-month one-half percent tax on corporate profits and earnings of all persons working in the city, including non-residents.

1953 January 28. F.M. Saigh was sentenced on tax evasion. He indicated he would sell the St. Louis Cardinals. Its vice-president, W. Walsingham, was to be acting president.

February 20. August A. Busch, Jr. bought the St. Louis Cardinals for \$3.75 million and pledged not to move the franchise.

April 7. Professor Raymond R. Tucker was elected mayor of St. Louis.

April 9. The Cardinals bought Sportsman's Park and renamed it Busch Stadium.

September 29. The American League approved moving the franchise of the St. Louis Browns to Baltimore. A syndicate headed by Clarence W. Miles bought Bill Veeck's interest for \$2,475,000. The team was to be called the Orioles.

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- November 5. Pope John XXIII gave his approval to the plans for the Pius XII Memorial Library at St. Louis University, which was to house microfilms of the Vatican Library manuscripts.
- 1954 February 23. Senator Edwin C. Johnson introduced a bill, aimed at Cardinals President Busch, to make professional clubs owned by alcoholic beverage manufacturers liable to anti-trust laws, charging that Busch was planning to use the broadcasts of the games to create a beer monopoly. The bill was withdrawn May 26, but Senator Johnson said he would warn all clubs against such a possible monopolistic charge.
- March 5. Municipal employees voted to end their strike after Mayor Tucker pledged that a new pay plan would be studied.
- October 2. A referendum was passed establishing a standing tax on earnings of individuals and businesses which opened the way for a public improvements program. A \$100 million bond issue was planned. The tax was expected to yield \$8 million yearly.
- 1955 March 31. Joseph Pulitzer, editor and publisher died. Joseph Pulitzer, Jr. became editor and publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.
- May 2. Daniel R. Fitzpatrick of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch won a Pulitzer Prize.
- August 6. Private interests announced a plan for a \$15 million redevelopment project to include apartments, commercial buildings and a park.
- December 12. St. Louis University received a \$1,087,500 grant from the Ford Foundation, and Washington University received a \$2,009,800 Ford grant.
- 1956 November 24. City efforts to prevent deterioration were discussed. Reforms included a three-way slum clearance, housing and industrial expansion drive. ✓
- 1957 April 3. Mayor Raymond R. Tucker was re-elected.
- July 20. A three thousand acre industrial district was proposed for a city-owned site eight miles north of downtown St. Louis to be financed by the issuance of \$25.8 million

in bonds by the Illinois-Missouri Bi-State Development Agency.

September 1. Officials and civic leaders opened a drive to form a metropolitan district government.

December 18. Fifty whites refused to attend Central High School after a dispute between white and black girls. Police dispersed the crowd.

1958 June 19. The city received a \$38,009,636 federal loan for its urban renewal project.

September 13. The price of the Sunday issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch rose from fifteen to twenty cents.

1959 February 27. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch bought the Globe-Democrat building and printing equipment. It announced plans to move in and print both papers although they would remain separate.

April 23. Voters rejected a tax rise proposal. As a result, a \$2 million cut in the \$35 million budget was forecast.

May 23. Rev. John J. Hicks was elected to the board of education. He was the first black to win a city-wide election.

July 24. A bill was signed doubling the income tax to 1 percent. A \$4.5 million revenue rise was expected.

November 3. The St. Louis voters rejected the proposal to set up a metropolitan district with St. Louis County to administer certain services.

1960 The population of St. Louis was 750,026.

March 23. Three hundred city workers struck over pay. The strike ended March 25.

August 28. The board of education acted to reorganize the administration as a result of a grand jury probe that led to indictment of ex-board President McCaffrey and his son. The jury found that some members of the board had improperly used craftsmen hired by the buildings department to do personal work for them.

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- December 17. The Civic Center Redevelopment Corporation announced plans for a thirty-one block renewal project near the main downtown shopping district, which would include an athletic stadium, a motel, parking facilities, office buildings and commercial facilities.
- 1961 April 4. Mayor Raymond Tuckman was re-elected to a third term.
- April 6. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch announced a price rise from five to seven cents.
- October 7. Chester E. Stovall was sworn in as welfare director. He was the first black to hold a top city post.
- 1962 October 27. The St. Louis Public Service Company agreed to sell its properties to the Missouri-Illinois Bi-State Development Agency for \$19,450,000. The Bi-State agency was to purchase fourteen other lines. This was a move toward public ownership of transit lines.
- November 6. Voters rejected a merger with St. Louis County.
- 1963 May 11. A charge was made that St. Louis public school administrators were encouraging a return to segregation by permitting whites to transfer from public schools in their home districts, yet were refusing like privileges to the blacks.
- June 18. It was announced that the Louvre would lend the painting Whistler's Mother to the St. Louis Museum for the city's bicentennial the following spring.
- July 26. The St. Louis education board adopted a limited open enrollment plan. The black members dissented. ✓
- October 9. Rev. John J. Hicks, a black, was elected board of education president. ✓
- November 15. Blacks protesting inequality ended their boycott of St. Louis stores. ✓
- 1964 January 27. CORE asked President Johnson not to take part in the city's two hundredth anniversary celebration because of racial troubles. ✓

ST. LOUIS

February 11. President Johnson signed a bill authorizing production of two hundredth anniversary medals for the city and announced that he would attend the celebration.

February 14. President Johnson attended the two hundredth anniversary celebration of St. Louis. Police arrested eighty-six CORE demonstrators as they began to march toward the president. President Johnson planted a tree to symbolize the city's entry into its third century and visited the Gateway Arch.

June 29. It was announced that the Turner Construction and W.J. Moran companies were to handle the \$38 million downtown redevelopment project.

July 6. Five hundred persons, mostly blacks, attacked policemen answering the call of a sick woman in a black neighborhood. Six officers were hurt, and four rioters were held.

October 4. The St. Louis Cardinals won the National League pennant.

October 15. The Cardinals won the seventh and deciding game of the World Series, defeating the New York Yankees.

December 21. Mayor Tucker announced that he would seek an unprecedented fourth term.

1965 March 9. A.J. Cervantes won the Democratic mayoral nomination, upsetting Mayor Tucker's bid for a fourth term.

April 6. A.J. Cervantes was elected mayor.

October 28. The final keystone of the Gateway Arch was inserted.

1966 January 22. The United States Labor Department charged that the AFL-CIO building unions had illegally barred work on the visitors center beneath the Gateway Arch since January 10, when three blacks, members of the Independent Unions Congress, were hired. It asked the Justice Department to act. The AFL-CIO Building and Trades Council denied bias, holding that its members never work on jobs with non-AFL-CIO members.

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January 27. Busch Stadium was donated to the Boys Club. The new stadium would be completed in May.

February 3. A federal court heard the National Labor Relations Board petition to enjoin the AFL-CIO Building Trades Council walkout.

February 4. The Justice Department filed the first "pattern of practice" suit under the Fair Employment Practices section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act against the AFL-CIO Building Trades Council. On February 7 the federal court issued a temporary injunction barring the council and member locals from trying to stop the contractor from doing business with a company employing blacks.

May 12. The new stadium was opened.

May 21. A \$52-million privately financed Mansion House Center apartment-office complex was being built as the first stage in the city's riverfront business district rehabilitation program.

July 9. Civil rights demonstrators announced that they planned to stall cars on the traffic routes to the All-Star Baseball Game in St. Louis.

September 28. Vandals smashed windows in St. Louis after CORE protested the slaying of a black robbery suspect, R. Hayes, by policemen. The coroners called the killing "justifiable." Demonstrations continued in the following days, with CORE demanding an investigation.

October 17. The St. Louis Police Commissioner's Board cleared the detective in the slaying of R. Hayes.

1967
January 25. St. Mary's College, Kansas, moved to St. Louis University and became its divinity school.

February 9. The Gateway Arch won the civil engineering outstanding achievement award from the American Society of Civil Engineers.

May 6. The NLRB ruled illegal the refusal of three AFL-CIO Unions to work with three black plumbers of the independent union on the Gateway Arch. ✓

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May 30. The Model Cities Agency received funds to plan a downtown renewal program.

July 24. The Gateway Arch was opened to visitors.

August 26. The Gateway Arch received the American Steel Construction Institute Award.

September 18. The Cardinals won the National League pennant.

October 12. The Cardinals defeated the Boston Red Sox in the World Series, 4-3.

1968

January 24. A black, William Cobbs, received a police award for setting up a loudspeaker which drowned out a speech by Stokely Carmichael in 1967. This had prevented a serious incident from developing out of a volatile situation.

August 17. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. ended a tour of black areas after members of the Black Liberators appeared armed with rifles. Two members of their group were arrested when they refused to put away their arms.

September 5. Eighteen members of the Black Liberators and Zulu 1200's were arrested on suspicion of arson and firing into police and business buildings after the arrest of Liberator founder Charles Koen, along with four members of his group.

September 15. The Cardinals clinched the National League pennant.

October 10. The Detroit Tigers defeated St. Louis, 4-3, in the World Series.

1969

April 1. Mayor A.J. Cervantes was re-elected.

1970

The population of St. Louis was 622,236.

July 12. Mayor Cervantes issued a ninety-eight page fact book to refute the charges of Life magazine on May 24, 1970 that he and others in his administration had business and personal ties with gangsters who were operating in the city. Cervantes had filed a \$12 million libel suit against Time, Inc., publisher of Life, and D. Walsh, author of the article on May 25.

Appendix H

Black male principal one (BMP1)

CCO: You have been identified as an African-American principal who served in the St. Louis Public Schools during the intra district desegregation plan following the landmark case of *Brown v Board of Education*. This interview is designed to learn of your experiences encountered as a principal during this period. In what ways do you think racial justice issues are relevant to K-12 education based on the aforementioned?

BMP1: My first principalship was the....Scullin Elementary School on Kingshighway. The plan that you are referencing...I began as a teacher and then became principal of Scullin serving youngsters K-8. But as a principal, there was a mixture of attitude and behaviors and actions relative to (sigh)...students being transferred...bussed...in most instances to predominantly White or all White schools. Many of the parents at Scullin were satisfied with the quality of education that was there before I became principal and my challenge and objective was to not only maintain this quality, but to advance it. The impact of the school in terms of students leaving to ahhh....attend intra....was minor. A greater impact was teachers. The teachers who were involuntary transferred to south St. Louis schools (pause) to teach integrated classes. Fortunately, I didn't lose many teachers to this at all. I can't think of any teachers who were involuntary assigned. Many of those assignments happened to two categories of teachers...(sigh)... seasoned teachers who had demonstrated over the years a high level of competence and new teachers...African-American teachers who were coming into the system okay so...(pause)

CCO: What preparatory work was done, if any, to prepare teachers for such?

BMP1: None that I am aware of. Because there are some principals who may have experienced more impact with respect to teachers being transferred, students leaving, (sigh), but to the best of my knowledge the.... it was then called the personnel division of St. Louis Public Schools....this was before the days of HR. Yea...it's called personnel. The personnel staff at 911 Locust Street which was the central office at the time...I suspect they had a mechanism or a plan to identify teachers who would serve...(laughter)...the White students without any question and any Black students who would be in the classes which would be minor at the time....the plan would be to find teachers either new, seasoned, proven or impressive to go to those schools.

CCO: In what ways do you think racial justice issues are relevant to a K-12 education? Were issues of racial justice discussed or raised in the K-12 schools that you attended?

BMP1: I attended segregated schools in Wentzville, Missouri (sigh)... I attended high school in St. Charles, Missouri, which was the closest high school to accommodate African American students...but, we won't go there we'll stick to St. Louis. At that time in St. Louis, there were several all Black schools that had excellent and maintained excellent academic records. Scullin was one of them, but there were others...Gundlach, Ashland...ahh...Dr. Beckwith continued that excellence at Williams School....so there were several of them. Another interesting topic which may not have any relevance to your study is that of the practice of reassigning African American students to all White schools and keeping those students segregated within those schools....ahh...yes. That was an impact that...ahh...in fact...that was my first teaching experience...transferring students from Laclede Elementary School to a North St. Louis school...Lowell...at that time.

CCO: So, in what ways do you think racial justice issues are relevant today? My research is historical, but there may or may not be some implications that we can think about and discuss in terms of what took place then and what is taking place now.

BMP1: One of the biggest challenges for State Departments of Education that are staffed with persons who really care is...dealing with African...minority students...the majority of that minority are African American. The urban K-12 student brings challenges of poverty with them that persons with only a peripheral experience with that are not equipped to understand...whether they've been assigned to teach the students or whether they have been assigned to provide resources to those students at the state or local level so those students for the most part are being neglected either knowingly or unknowingly simply because their plight is not understood. And when it is understood, it is not reckoned with in a meaningful way. Reckoned with means the resources and not always money, but the resources that are needed to really make a difference never reaches the student. I think now we have a classic example of that with our state legislators not having the desire or the understanding.

CCO: Ahh...what led you to the principalship? Were mentors established at that time?

BMP1: Let me address the second part of your question first. No, I did not have a mentor. There was a program that DESE has for new principals...a mentoring program...anyway, I did not have one. There are two factors that led me to the principalship. The first one was that I felt that I could be of service in a beneficial way to more students if I was working with more teachers than just my colleagues. Assisting teachers in greater numbers was my desire if I were at the helm. Another motivation was...I was called in by the area superintendent and was dealt with in a very straightforward kind of way....Mr. BMP1,

you've been identified as a Negro...our superintendent at the time was Kottmeyer...he had charged the area superintendents to identify and hire...notice I didn't say train...identify and hire...(sigh)...I did receive some training with an assignment that the area superintendent thought would be beneficial for me.

CCO: Do you remember that area superintendent's name?

BMP1: Yes, his name was Gene (G-E-N-E) Janning (J-A-N-N-I-N-G)...White male...area superintendent of north side schools...or a cluster of north side schools at that time. He called me in and after a couple of s(sigh)ers of (pause) shadowing White male principals...I was assigned to a position that was entitled supervising teachers...(sigh)...you had all of the responsibilities of the principalship, but the idea was to identify schools...all with sizes of about five hundred students...I served as supervising teacher a couple of years prior to the principalship. Most of the Black females (African American) women that I know of during my vintage that became principals...a prerequisite to that assignment was supervising the reading clinic. They were somehow supposed to be (laughter) the saviors for students who needed additional reading skills and many of them performed extremely well in that capacity at the reading clinic, which was the old Enright building across the street from Soldan high school.

CCO: When you began the principalship, did you have to confront any issues of racial justice? Do you recall examples of containment of African American students?

BMP1: As principal of Scullin Elementary School...the student population was at least 95% African American. We had a few Caucasian students whose parents just refused to move out of the district and also some special education students that were bussed into Scullin school...so that did not become an issue for me until I became selected as principal of a

magnet school in 1976. The magnet schools were indeed an enhancement for the St. Louis Public School district rather...a hefty amount of money was allocated to the district to start those schools...the White parents who anticipated an upward mobility for their students academically and socially chose to apply for the magnet schools. My magnet school assignment was the Mallinckrodt Elementary School K-8...(sigh)...the student body was slightly predominantly Caucasian for awhile and those parents were very involved...very vigil...sometimes very accusing...for example...if I didn't assign a student at any grade level to the teacher that they had the most confidence in...then I was not behaving well. So, there were instances when I did not behave well.

CCO: So, am I hearing you say that at the magnet school, you experienced more issues relative to race and racial justice?

BMP1: Oh...yes...most definitely. I had a mechanism...I developed a mechanism for assigning students to classrooms that was acceptable for the district superintendent and central office. I got some push back, but I was never told once I shared my rationale to make any changes or to do otherwise. But a lot of time was spent addressing the issue of I said no...lots of time...lots of phone calls...lots of efforts to reason with parents as to why.

CCO: What success did you experience when leading as a principal? What were your lasting expressions on the school and school community?

BMP1: At both of those schools, the schools ranked in the upper quartile of schools academically and that was my goal. My goal was to demonstrate that...the teachers demonstrated and implemented strategies in both the affective and cognitive areas that were strong enough and effective enough to have Scullin competing with or either ranking second or third and a year or two tied as the first ranking school academically in the district...similar

experiences at Mallinckrodt so it wasn't very long before I was beckoned for an administrative job as an area assistant superintendent. My first love was teaching. My second was principal. The higher you go, the more challenges (laughter).

CCO: Discipline... can you describe for me discipline efforts, discipline plans, what was the climate and culture like in the schools that you served as principal?

BMP1: The experience at Scullin and Mallinckrodt did differ significantly as it pertains to discipline. Scullin... after the teachers were convinced that I had their welfare and parents and students at heart, we adopted a policy...teachers bought into a policy of no out of school suspensions at Scullin. At least ninety percent of the staff bought into that not verbally, but with action and effectiveness. So, the discipline was not really an issue. Teachers knew that their evaluations would reflect their effectiveness or lack of as it related to classroom management. So, while the teachers at Scullin were very supportive of each other...there was also a strong element of competitiveness. So, it was...okay if you can do it, I can do it. If you can handle all of your sixth graders, then I can too. We did not do out of school suspensions and we did not do in house suspensions. I was responsive to requests for moving a student from one sixth grade classroom to another. At that time, we had over a thousand students at Scullin, and we had at least four classrooms at each grade level so I was responsive to plans that the sixth grade team or the eighth grade team came to me...individual teachers knew there would not be a favorable response if they came to me individually, but if they came as a team and outlined a plan for the child that would enhance both his behavior and his academic efforts, I said yes. And of course, I felt that because Scullin was the only school that I am aware of at that time that had no out of school suspensions, I made it known vocally at

principals' meetings that I wanted no credit for that...that teachers did this. At Mallinckrodt, it was a completely different...well...first of all, the staff was different to a certain extent...very competent, but different. That did not work at Mallinckrodt because I had a much stronger PTA/PTO at Scullin with parents that understood the educational process and enhanced that process by engaging in homework...visiting the school...supporting the school one hundred percent. At Mallinckrodt, (sigh)...I did suspend both African American and Caucasian students. I couldn't do one without the other. But, staff agreed that out of school suspension was more harmful to the child than any assistance. Suspension was definitely the last resort, but it did occur and there was lots of pushback from both African-American and Caucasian parents as to why an out of school suspension was necessary. Coming from a school where parents had applied for them to be there, been accepted in that process, so Mr. BMP1, you've got the cream of the crop...so why would it ever be necessary for you to eliminate learning...but my procedure there was to call a parent in and let him or her that the student was spending much more time...too much time in my office where he was not receiving any academic work except the assignments that he brought from the classroom and that if the student continued to not manage his behavior in the areas where he could then he would deny himself the privilege of attending which may include suspension so hopefully he won't do that to himself.

CCO: What were some of the type of infractions? What kinds of behaviors were demonstrating that warranted an out of school suspension?

BMP1: Fighting...it was pretty much evenly distributed among the African American students and the Caucasian students. We had an in school mechanism that dealt with misbehavior.

We had multi classrooms at each grade level, which afforded me the opportunity to work with grade level teachers to work with the student in a manner that would keep in the school. I had to send a message that fighting would not be tolerated so as the school year progressed there was less of it. I also had to send a message that after a student was moved from one classroom to a second classroom to in a very few instances a third classroom, I worked hard at an agreement...that it would be tremendously unfair to the student and to other students if I allowed the misbehavior to continue.

CCO: Did the school district do any work around educating or addressing the issues...meaning the plan is put into place...is there anything that the district did comprehensively or district wide that was done to support students and parents and staff for the transitions?

BMP1: There were no group meetings...the only effort that I am aware of that addressed teachers being moved from a north side school to a south side school to enhance integration but more specifically be an excellent model for the Caucasian students was the spill that they got from the personnel division. The personnel division held either individual or small group meetings and...(sigh)...Ms. Jones you've been identified as a teacher who would be of greater value of effectiveness and service to students in the district in the role of fourth grade teacher at Shenandoah School. I have your records before me...and you are outstanding...beyond that I am not aware of anything. These were competent people...I want to be clear about that.

CCO: What's your assessment of the area superintendents? Were they accurate in the persons they selected for new assignments? How visible were they?

BMP1: The area superintendents, Janning, Rufus Young, Julius Dix, Clifford Evans...very competent men...and they were all men on the north side...(sigh)...very confident, very

caring, I can't think of any who were willing to buck the system...(sigh)...when I say buck the system...I think they went along with rather than challenged at that time.

CCO: Any other memorable experiences or stories you'd like to share?

BMP1: The best thing that has happened to me in over fifty years in education are classroom experiences. Secondly, as a building principal, to see teachers establish standards for student performance, expect those, and instruct, guide, care, in a manner that those expectations were reached. Those were memorable experiences and those let me know the positions I should take as principal, when to intervene directly and firmly, and when to recognize that what was happening in classrooms from an instructional standpoint deserved the term excellence. The Iowa Basic scores at the end of the year along with other assessments—teacher made and otherwise—reflected that performance.

CCO: Well, our interview is complete.

BMP1: Well, good. It was my pleasure. Thank you.

CCO: Thank you.

Black male principal two (BMP2)

CCO: You have been identified an African-American male who served as principal in the St. Louis public schools following the implementation of the intra district desegregation plan. Please tell me about experiences you encountered as a Black principal during this time period.

BMP2: Well...if you are talking about the desegregation plan...I, in the St. Louis Public Schools, between the years of 1980 to 1989 was principal of Mullanphy School which was grades sixth through eighth. We had about three hundred students...anywhere between three to four hundred students. We had students who were bussed both White and Blacks and we

students to walk to school both Whites and Blacks. Our staff was mainly White, and I did

have help. I had an assistant principal and clerical staff. I had a custodian too all whom were Black. The students were very bright...very bright...and we had very little in fact no discipline problems. Students were pulled from both the north side and the south side population, so we have students to come from...from all over so there was a combination of students...

CCO: Thank you. In what ways do you think racial justice issues are relevant to K-12 education? Were issues of racial justice discussed or raised in the K-12 schools you attended? If yes, how?

BMP2: Well...at the time...when you say racial justice...all kids were treated fairly. That's how we did things at Mullanphy. We treated all the kids the same and fairly. There was no corporal punishment at the time...you know they got rid of the stick...but we treated all kids with respect and fairness...and that was the way you did things. Our kids would have graduated at Shaw's Garden...after graduating from Mullanphy...they went to Shaw's Garden...and we would have the most elaborate eighth grade graduations. We were known for our eighth grade graduations. We had great experiences with that. The children took pride at Mullanphy in being a part of that, so when we say racial justice...the fairness of treating kids equally both Whites and Blacks and having things the kids enjoy doing in coming to school is what matters...we didn't have many issues because the kids wanted to be together and enjoyed being together...uh...we had checkers, we had games, drill teams, we had a lot of activities so the children so that children felt welcomed at school.

CCO: Were issues about equity and racial justice discussed during your preparation to become a principal?

BMP2: I was at Farragut before I was at Mullanphy. Ms. Washington, then my supervisor, came to check on me...in fact...she pulled me out of the classroom and she led me to become a principal. She was from the reading clinic. She had been a part of the reading clinic and women that were part of the reading clinic were selected individuals...many of them went to become principals...her name was Charlene Hunter...the reading clinic work worked with low readers and they had a lot of books and we do a lot of things with children in the reading skills. She was a person who helped me to attain the principalship. So, at Mullanphy, we had very clear consequences. We had a lot of auditorium meetings. Students and teachers understood the expectations and all the children were treated fairly. We spent a lot of time with children...the lunches...the recesses...the classrooms... and we had a very good attendance at our PTO meetings. Our parents wanted to know about the Black principal, so they were very eager to come to the PTO meetings to learn more about me and my beliefs in terms of leading the school. So, it was business. It was all business and when you walked into the school...it was most impressive. In fact, I'd venture to say that it was superior.

CCO: When you began the principalship, did you have to confront any issues of racial injustice? If yes, what were those issues and how did they influence your approach to leading? Do you recall any examples of containment of African-American students?

BMP2: Well, uh...again we treated children fairly. I don't recall any major issues related to racial justice uh...the challenge we had was some parents not being able to drive to south St. Louis...Mullanphy being on the southern side of school district...the challenge was

that some could not drive to south St. Louis and so we would do what we could in ensuring that we had times available for parents particularly those parents who lived on the north side to get to school...we provided great attention to that...so...that was a challenge that we had at Mullanphy. In terms of racial justice, the only things that I can think of is that back then...the White kids smoked and the Black kids didn't. Smoking was a big thing back then...and that was probably the biggest challenge...we would have discussions about that...though we allowed the kids to smoke...we had discussions about how the kids would interact in regards to the smoking...in that...the Black kids would go off...and these would be the times when the kids would be most segregated in the school. It would be mostly when kids smoked. We found that that was a demarcation of a time when each culture would do things differently at the time.

CCO: What successes did you experience leading as a principal during the intra district desegregation plan relevant to the intra district desegregation plan?

BMP2: The successes are that we had a lot of activities and we had a lot of shows and presentations. We had a lot of music programs. I'd say that our students loved and parents truly loved the school. The kids just enjoyed school. I can remember that we took pictures of every event and eighth graders would sell potato chips during the lunch period ...this was a tradition...this is how they would go to Jefferson City...and we would have color days and we'd take our eighth-graders every year to the Salad Bowl restaurant. It was a big day you know at school and so my memorable stories are really around all of the interactions and good times that we had with students between those years and the students truly enjoyed being a part of Mullanphy.

CCO: Thank you. Are you involved in any racial justice opportunities today that are of the plight of K-12 education?

BMP2: Yes, today I am a councilman in University City, deacon at my church, and I am very active...very active member of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity and we meet the first Tuesday of every month, so I do remain active in issues particularly as it relates to education and the education of all children.

CCO: Well, it's been a pleasure and I like to thank you for giving of your time.

BMP2: Thank you.

Black male principal three (BMP3)

CCO: You have been identified as an African-American principal who served in the St. Louis Public Schools during the intra district desegregation plan following the landmark case of Brown v Board of Education. This interview is designed to learn of your experiences encountered as a principal during this period. In what ways do you think racial justice issues are relevant to K-12 education?

BMP3: Well...when you talk about racial justice...you are kind of implying that there might be a disparity between the academic progress or progress toward discipline and...uh...most of the discussion that occurred in reference to students was being evenhanded and...uh...refined in your student code of discipline...okay and making sure that you're consistent and you're fair...and as long as you're consistent and fair...uh...most folk be it the teacher, the parent, or the student...uh...they feel that they are getting a fair shot...so in that vain...this was primarily the philosophy and the objectives that were taken toward dealing with justice and fairness.

CCO: What school were you principal of?

BMP3:I was principal of McKinley High School and Sumner High School.

CCO: Both high schools?

BMP3Yes, both high schools grades nine through twelve.

CCO: Please let me know what years of tenure within these schools.

BMP3:McKinley was...uh...82 to 87 and Sumner was 87 to 95. I was assistant to the superintendent for seven years following 95 in St. Louis Public Schools.

CCO: So, what types of conversations did you have with students, teachers, and others during the time of the intra city desegregation plan?

BMP3:Well, when you talk about Sumner...Sumner was located in the Ville neighborhood, and it was a predominantly Afro American school...so...we had a few White kids, but it was predominantly Afro American. McKinley High School was on the near south side and at that time the composition...uh...consisted about eighty percent Afro American, twenty percent White...uh...and...uh...both schools were neighborhood schools...and...uh...the Afro American community came from the Darst-Webbe apartment complexes at that time...many of the White students lived in the McKinley neighborhoods...uh...so, all of the students walked okay. This is really a neighborhood school concept...okay there was some bussing going on with various other schools, but it basically didn't affect me.

CCO: So, were issues of racial justice and equity addressed in your preparation to become principal?

BMP3:Well you know... I guess you learn things pretty much on the job. Most school districts throw you the keys and you sink or swim...uh...but, I found out that you do a number of in basket things and you are constantly in-serviced by your district

superintendent...so...in reference to various preparatory things...and you are constantly being communicated to...in different meetings and seminars...and you are being debriefed on things....from my standpoint it was not a wide cultural difference in the way I would react to students...when parents knew where I was coming from...it was really just applying the rules and regulations fairly...uh...I tried to run a tight ship on schooling...from the standpoint that...you control your school by being in the halls—visibility—and uh...with your staff...and uh...if you have staff buy in to that type of philosophy...from the standpoint of that type of control of your school...the visibility aspect...then...uh...then you can get a situation where you have teachers who can teach and students who can learn.

CCO: So, what led you to the principalship? Were there mentors established for you? What was your desire to become a principal?

BMP3:I don't know that I had the desire at the very outset. It was just a natural transition. I taught elementary school, and I taught social studies. I coached football. I coached baseball. I was an athletic director and as administrative assistant...then I was an assistant principal...principal...so a natural progression. I've always been a person that has been active, and I have good organizational and management skills...so...it just worked out.

CCO: Were there any mentors that you'd like to name that were influential?

BMP3:Well...you...know...there are several people that I could say were very good, but your primary mentors are the people that you work with on a day to day basis...and you are looking at how people do certain things...and you are putting yourself in the situation of what you would not do if you were in the same position...and...if you build that kind of

reference on circumstances like these over the course of career...then...how people reacted...how this worked out with certain situations and was there some backlash as a result of it...it builds a great basis for your input on how you would move in that kind of situation...so...I had uh...a strategy of some things that I just would not do...because I saw some negative influences doing it that way.

CCO: So, when you began the principalship did you have to confront any issues related to social justice? If yes, what were those issues that may or may not have influenced your approach to leading?

BMP3: When I got my certification as a secondary principal...uh...I was administrative assistant...and I worked at Soldan High School...uh...I applied for a principal's position...and...after the interview one of the assistant superintendents said, "you know that was one of the best interviews I've ever heard"...uh...coming from a person coming up...and I thought I was going to get the job...I didn't get the job... uh...and the person called me a couple days later and said "you didn't get the job"... but your interview was great but we felt that you needed additional seasoning as an assistant principal... well, I was at Soldan High School, and Soldan High School was the high school I graduated from...so...you know I wanted to be there to work with the kids and the neighborhood...Soldan High School was predominantly African American at the time...and...when I went to McKinley...as I indicated to you before...the breakdown was about eighty percent Afro American and twenty percent White...there were some things that were different...uh...in my dealings with students I never had to deal with incest. I never had to deal with alcoholism to the point that it was prevalent particularly in the White community...uh...I never had to deal with the issue of Black males possibly

intimidating Whites... so from that standpoint when I reflect back on it...and I was at McKinley for seven years as an assistant principal...uh...they were correct. I was not ready to be a principal at that point...and see...each neighborhood...we were dealing with students walking to school at that point...is a little bit different...it brings a set of social norms that you might not be exposed to particularly in an all Afro-American community...uh...that's my story.

CCO: What challenges did you experience when leading as a principal during the intra district desegregation plan that's relevant to the plan.

BMP3: Well...you know... the question is such that the social justice piece of it really didn't come into play. I mean that it comes into play, but the challenges that any principal faces is how can you improve academic achievement and your challenge is how can you get to the academic achievement piece when you're putting out fires on the discipline piece...and you are not going to be able to get to the academic piece until you are able to use your staff around you to help you deal with the environment of the school...as quick as you can do that...and you have to realize that at that time...this is prior to instructional coordinators...when you know you had principals, two assistant principals, and that was it...so...you work on lesson plans...you work on the objectives on the board...uh...but when you're talking about the justice piece...the justice piece is a subset to the academic piece...so as soon as you get the discipline piece in control... with the control of your building...the discipline plan and dealing your team...then you...you...are working.

CCO: So, I'm going to make the assumption that you were successful...(laughter)...so what do you attribute to your successes?

BMP3: Your staff. Any achievement that anyone gets is not a one win thing...everyone on your

staff has some strengths...and as a leader...what you are going to have to do is build on those strengths...and...everybody doesn't bring the same strengths to the table...even though that person may be tenured teacher or the person that has a good rapport within the building and within the community they have some strong things they have some other things...you are successful when you can identify those things as quick as you possibly can...work on the strengths...try to build on those strengths and then try to improve those areas that are weak...and...most times we're not at the point where you could find somebody else...I mean you'd have to wrap them in some paper... but that paper takes time...uh...but...if you can wrap yourself around the leadership and organizational piece...get your people to tie into what you are trying to do then...you'll be successful.

CCO: So what were some of the conversations that you may have happened with other building administrators or your colleagues or even central office persons regarding the plan?

BMP3:I can't think of any pertinent examples in reference to staff...you know you have school improvement plans that you lay out with your conversations with your staff and work those plans to make improvement...as a principal...often times when you hear people talk about education today...often times they come back with "I don't know how you can deal with that...the kids today are so this that and the other...well the kids are really not this that and the other...the kids are still pretty good kids...uh...there are a few kids that you spend an inordinate amount of time with uh...so...uh...you have to get with your staff, get with your administrators to see how effective you are so that you can deal with that group that is causing the most issues...so...that you can spend some better time with the whole group to make the necessary improvements...and...that's what I tried to do.

CCO: So, within the desegregation plan or outside of it, working with your staff to work through the challenges must be complete...and this is to ensure that learning can take place.

BMP3: See my experience is not an experience that you can break down in Black and White. At Sumner High School, the children mainly Afro American...you're dealing with the issues of the Afro American community...now...at McKinley...it was a different situation because it was eighty percent Afro American and twenty percent White...so...uh...White or other...but even with eighty percent Afro American, you're talking about the majority being Black...so the majority half-way rules in terms of the culture within your school...

CCO: So, where there still Black history events and similar events geared toward the Black community?

BMP3: Yes...well...because they said at the time the Black history piece...uh...the Black was still becoming beautiful...so...we realized that there were some things that society had left out of the Black story...so...I think every...that's easily...resolved depending on the leadership of your school. If you have a leader that is reluctant to take chances in that way or in areas of culture...than you'll have some people who may want to fight you on it...if you a leader who fosters inclusion and diversity...then you'll have no problem.

CCO: In what ways did your Black and White parents interact with each other?

BMP3: The hardest thing at the time for me was building a rapport with parents. There was no hostility. The problem was getting the parents out. And one of the things that I found out early was the best way to get parents involved was through the students. So, we would do all types of specialty things to get the parents out...and once we got the parents out...then we would have various conversations...but...it was not a hostile

environment between Blacks and Whites...we tried to do things through perfect attendance...scholarships...all A's...sporting events...we made a big deal out of attendance. I made a big deal out of attendance of staff. At one point when I went into Sumner High School, one of my first questions was how many teachers had perfect attendance last year...and...uh...there was only three. Well, that says something. You know...if your staff is not there on a regular basis...then...how do you criticize your kids for not being there on a regular basis...so...the next year we had about sixty with perfect attendance. We gave each teacher staff pins to where on their lapels....see you've got to have kids feeling good about coming to school...because particularly in the high school...kids basically come to school on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. They are slow on Monday and slow on Friday.

CCO: Did your school district address issues related to social justice following the intra district desegregation plan?

BMP3:Brown v Board of Education in 1954 and implemented in the city 1956...57...uh...in the early sixties, St. Louis Public Schools started integrating staffs all over the city...it's interesting because prior to that there was corporal punishment in the schools...where you know in the Afro American community...when the kid acted up...you'd beat his behind...well...you know...I won't get into the right or wrong of it...but...it occurred...and for Afro Americans it was called discipline. When the schools were integrated with staffs moved from one part of the city to other...corporal punishment was taken away....some educators say...the decline of discipline seemed to occur with that type of movement...now...some say they weren't going to have these White teachers beating on these Black kids...or vice versa...but...uh...at the time there had been a rise

of union activity...particularly in urban districts across the country...you know new mandates and things so...protocols...you know that with the push for accountability...things have changed...with the push toward closing the achievement gap...we have put all of our marbles...on the academic side...no more recesses...and kids learn better when we have natural breaks...blow things off and come back to the activities...but...we have gone whole hog from 8 to 3. Then, we have Saturday school and extended summers....a number of things...don't get me wrong academics are important...but when you look back on it...I don't know if that total movement has been in the best interest of children's learning...that's my take...

CCO: So, I'm hearing you say that the emphasis of accountability has left other important matters out?

BMP3: Yes...physical education is almost a non issue at this point even on the secondary level...I mean how much P.E. does a kid get...they get one unit in four years...when I was in high school, we did P.E. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday...so...you know...Tuesday and Thursday you went to study hall...now that could have been cut out because it became a play issue...uh...I think we have gone a little to far...the arts, the industrial arts...they've taken a back seat...you know...to the academic piece...don't get me wrong...the academic piece is important...if you are running a race and I'm fifteen years behind you...the only way I am going to catch you is if you slow down and I accelerate...now the whole philosophy on what we're doing is we accelerate...but...are we closing the gap...and that's questionable...that's questionable at this point...if I knew all of the answers...I'd make some big time money in consulting (laughter), but...uh...the common denominator in every subject is reading...and reading for

understanding...and see...the quantity units in high school are not set up for reading...you go back to the early 1900s when they started the whole Carnegie model...you go back and look at how you were taught and how I was taught...and particularly at the secondary and college level...you were taught by subjects and you became experts in those subjects....and...as we have matriculated through schools...we've made decisions that...so...we go out and get a degree in social studies or other subjects....and when I come back to the classroom...how do I teach...I teach how I was taught...and over the years I have had some in-services that are good...just great...I mean the cat's meow...everybody would walk out feeling like this was a good in-service...everyone would walk out of the room feeling good with charts all over the walls...you know...we're going to do some things...you go back to teachers' classrooms and they go back to teaching the way they were taught...and that's a problem at the middle school and at the secondary level...and...I don't know how we are going to change that until we discuss the structure in which we educate our kids...uh...the other thing is you have a middle school...who can you hold accountable...the English and math...okay that's one third of your building...how do you hold the rest of the staff accountable...the other folks are ice skating or they feel that they don't have a buy in to the test...how do change that....the sound money is on early childhood and building on the reading and reading for understanding...when you get past the sixth grade and you can't read...and we're talking about moving the seventh, eighth, grade not knowing how to read for understanding...you are almost lost at that point...unless we change the $E=MC^2$ formula...you know...on how we reach these kids...and whether that ties into social justice as the answer...it ties into the need in an urban community...that's my

speech.

CCO: Well, thank you...thank you very much. This concludes our time here.

Black male principal four (BMP4)

CCO: You have been identified as and the African-American former principal who served in the St. Louis public schools during the desegregation plan referred to as the intra city plan of the St. Louis Public Schools please share with me your experiences as a leader during that time.

BMP4: Well, I was principal of Clark school...Clark school grades K through five. We had integration where kids were bussed in from other parts of St. Louis particularly south St. Louis. Clark school was located across from Soldan High School off of Union and we pretty much operated the same with the White children and Black children you know the children were different but we operated the same. I got along with all kids and all teachers we...we got along very well.

CCO: Were issues of equity and racial justice addressed during your preparation to become principal? If so, what do you think learned from those discussions or experiences?

BMP4: Well, in terms of racial justice...again, we operated the same with the White children...I mean the children were different, but we operated the same with fairness. Integration did bring different behaviors. There were...uh...uh...there were were different behaviors. It was an uneventful time. I mean day-to-day things were somewhat different, but for the most part remained the same. We...we noticed that the dress was different among the children...we would notice that some of the incidents among the children were different...some of the White children would bring obscene pictures on cards to school...things that I hadn't seen from the Black kids. We did notice that some

things were different, but we operated pretty much the same.

CCO: When you began the principalship, did you have to confront any issues of racial justice?

If so, what were those issues and how did they influence your approach to leading? Do you recall examples of containment of African-American students?

BMP4: Well, I was at Clark school from 1980 to 1988...that was my tenure there...we had an integrated staff and I would randomly select children's placement in terms of the classrooms, so the classes were integrated...there was no containment. I didn't have all the Black kids in one area and all the White kids in another area. I would randomly select children. There were really no problems with the teachers. I had a very mature staff...a staff that was very mature. They were about the business of kids, so there weren't many issues at all with the teachers.

CCO: What successes did you experience when leading as a principal during the intra district desegregation plan?

BMP4: My successes were probably in staff and achievement. I think those would be the areas of success. I was able to work with my staff to ensure children learned. At that time, we would have after school types of things and I had a strong PTO at the time. I can remember my first PTO meeting where Bob (Robert) Wentz, the superintendent at the time, showed up at the meeting unannounced and he was so pleased to see all of the parents that were there...White and Black...at the time to come out to the school. Those were some of the successes that I can...that I can remember.

CCO: In what ways do you think racial justice issues are relevant to K-12 education today?

Were issues of racial justice discussed in the K-12 schools that you attended?

BMP4: Well, I think that racial justice is different today than it was...in that today, we are

fighting for both equity and excellence...our plight is different in that we have integrated per legislation, but not by socio economic status. So, that requires change.

CCO: So, what do you foresee as being different challenges of today? Do you have any memorable stories that you would like to share in regards to racial justice and the intra city desegregation plan?

BMP4:I can remember a story where we had some kids to...to get into it with some White kids...calling them White trash. Everyone wanted to know what I was going to do about it. Well, it was simple in terms of what I was going to do. This was a big deal at the time. I was going to be fair which was apply appropriate consequences to all the kids that were involved in the situation, so again when we...when we... are fair and we operate in a way that was...was good for all kids...you know...our decisions couldn't stand a lot of scrutiny...and...and...as long as they passed the regulations and the policy...then we were good.

CCO: Well, I want to thank you for providing me an opportunity to interview you especially with the care of your sick wife.

BMP4:Well, I thank you.

Black male principal five (BMP5)

CCO: You have been identified as and the African-American former principal who served in the St. Louis public schools during the desegregation plan referred to as the intra city plan of the St. Louis Public Schools please share with me your experiences as a leader during that time.

BMP5: I was principal of Blow Middle School for seven years. Blow Middle serviced students grades six through eight. I was an assistant principal of Turner Middle for nine years prior from about 1978 to 1987...I went to Blow in 1987. Turner Middle was located on the north side and was about ninety-eight percent Afro American. Blow Middle was seventy thirty...you know...seventy percent Black and about thirty percent White. The quality of schools at the time...well the perception at the time was that the south schools had better equipment, received more resources, and had better services than the north side. They didn't necessarily have better scores, but the perception was that they had more resources for staff and students. The north side of the district had more Black kids, and the south side of the district had more White kids. In terms of staff...there was very minimal integration of staff at Turner. I had more White teachers at Blow.

CCO: In what ways do you think racial justice issues are relevant to K-12 education? Were issues of racial justice discussed or raised in the K-12 schools you attended? If yes, how?

BMP5: Well...the quality of schools depends greatly upon the resources that it has to support students and families. The adults...the materials...the books and things...the parent participation...all of this helps to improve the quality of education that is received by the student. The greatest challenge that I had was not being able to participate as principal in the selection of staff at my school. At the time, the central office was located on Locust, and it would place teachers in vacancies throughout the schools. There was minimal participation from the principals in that process...so in terms of the racial justice...I think we continue to work to improve the quality of education for all students both Black and White. I can't recall issues or at least I can put my finger on issues of racial justice in my own K-12 experiences that are similar to this.

CCO: What led you to the principalship? Were mentors established at this time? If so, please name and describe their impact upon you.

BMP5: After completion of my master's degree...the area superintendent, Dr. Dix, at the time encouraged me to complete an application for the principalship...I completed it...and went through a series of interviews...the school superintendent was Jerome Jones...and through the process...testing, stages of evaluation, etcetera...the superintendent would determine if you got the job or not. The personnel division would hire you as final for the vacancy and would place principals in various vacancies throughout the schools. The candidates were chosen based on ability, evaluations, and assessments. I happened to be chosen to work in a White area...Blow Middle was considered a White area because it was on the south side.

CCO: Were issues about equity and racial justice addressed during your preparation to become principal? If yes, what do you think you learned from those discussions or experiences?

BMP5: No, issues of racial justice and equity were addressed in my preparatory work...you pretty much learn on the job and from others' experiences.

CCO: When you began the principalship, did you have to confront any issues of racial justice? If yes, what were those issues and how did they influence your approach to leading? Do you recall examples of containment of African American students? If so, please describe.

BMP5: Blow Middle was considered a melting pot...we had kids coming from every area of the city...all over...and bussed in...gangs were prevalent and the kids would all be bussed into one location. There were no boundaries set or considered...so...this was a unique challenge to Blow. This was a problem initially...so, I was tasked to make the school community one...rather than six or seven individual groups. I believe we were

successful in bridging the gap. We would activities that would provide harmonious situations...and over time...the problems in the community would not spill over into the schoolhouse...we dealt with the students in a fair manner...equally you know...and with time, the students learned that the school was for learning and not to resolve communal issues.

CCO: So, am I hearing you explain a challenge in regards to the integration efforts of the desegregation plan? If yes, were there other challenges?

BMP5: Well...the major concern that I had was not having control of selection of staff...I wanted more autonomy and involvement in the selection of personnel. This was the greatest challenge. When you have the right staff, you are able to work with others to solve situations and problems...so...I had greater concern with that.

CCO: I see. What successes did you experience when leading as a principal during the intra district desegregation plan implementation relevant to integration?

BMP5: My personal philosophy is that of staff...teachers were a team. The teachers and I worked to improve the quality of education to allow students to perform better. Professional development was a focus and staff development was vital. Every school had a plan and that plan was monitored by district office. It had to be approved. It had a lot of flexibility in terms of approaches that may be unique, but materials were never a concern. We had all kinds of materials that varied. We could implement programs and supplemental materials to the curriculum that would improve performance. We worked within our budgets and allotments and kinds of things.

CCO: Are you active today in addressing any issues relative to racial justice and equity in schools?

BMP5: I'm retired. I did do some consultant work a few years back in the St. Louis Public Schools. I was a mentor for new principals and worked with principals of schools who were underachieving to get new strategies to improve test scores. I did that for six years...two years at three schools.

CCO: What other memorable stories might you be able to share in regards to racial justice and the intra district desegregation plan during your tenure as principal?

BMP5: I don't have any stories that stick out...other than working to improve the quality of education for all the kids...and for providing the resources to staff to do so. You see...we knew at the time that our role was improve student achievement, and we did that through a number of ways...you see...working with your staff will provide you with the answers and solutions that you need...so...when we had the gang issue...we dealt with it...you know so...

CCO: Well, I'd like to thank you for allowing me the time to interview you today. Your contribution has been most helpful.

BMP5: Thank you.



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Informed Consent for Participation in Research Activities

“Investigating the untold stories of African American former principals following the intra district desegregation plan within the St. Louis Public Schools

Participant _____ HSC Approval Number _____

Principal Investigator Candice C. Carter-Oliver PI's Phone Number 314-869-3397

1. You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Candice C. Carter-Oliver and Dr. Matthew Davis. The purpose of this research is to investigate the experiences of former African American male principals in the St. Louis Public Schools following the implementation of the intra district desegregation plan. By examining what helped form a disposition towards social justice during the 1960s and 1970s, this study hopes to describe the experiences in communities, schools, and perhaps universities that promoted a greater commitment to social justice during a time of desegregation, White flight, and economic change.
2. a) Your participation will involve
 - Being contacted by the researcher to arrange a convenient time and place to conduct the interviews.
 - Being interviewed once by the researcher. The interview is expected to last one hour.
 - Having the interview digitally audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher.
 - Sharing documents that you deem relevant to your social justice identity.
 - Receiving copies of transcripts and preliminary interpretations of your interview answers for your review, comments and corrections.

Approximately 5 African American males may be involved in this research.

- b) The amount of time involved in your participation will be approximately one hour for the interview and one to two hours (at your determination) to review interview transcripts and preliminary interpretations.

3. There are no anticipated risks associated with this research.
4. There are no direct benefits for you participating in this study. However, your participation will contribute to the knowledge about social justice in K-12 education and may help society.
5. Your participation is voluntary and you may choose not to participate in this research study or to withdraw your consent at any time. You may choose not to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. You will NOT be penalized in any way should you choose not to participate or to withdraw.
6. We will do everything we can to protect your privacy. As part of this effort, your identity will not be revealed in any publication or presentation that may result from this study. In rare instances, a researcher's study must undergo an audit or program evaluation by an oversight agency (such as the Office for Human Research Protection). That agency would be required to maintain the confidentiality of your data.
7. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, or if any problems arise, you may call the Investigator, Candice C. Carter-Oliver, 314-869-3397 or the Faculty Advisor, Dr. Matthew Davis, 314-516-5953. You may also ask questions or state concerns regarding your rights as a research participant to the Office of Research Administration, at 516-5897.

I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I will also be given a copy of this consent form for my records. I consent to my participation in the research described above.

 Participant's Signature

 Date

 Participant's Printed Name

 Signature of Investigator or Designee

 Date

 Investigator/Designee Printed Name