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REVIVING THE RULES, ROLES, AND RITUALS OF RESILIENCY

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in the
College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By

Don C. Offutt

Lexington, Kentucky

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and Dr. Sharon Brennan, Associate Professor, Curriculum and Instruction

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

REVIVING THE RULES, ROLES, AND RITUALS OF RESILIENCY

This descriptive case study of a historical period in education in the Commonwealth of Kentucky identifies the resiliency factors utilized by the first class to desegregate the Bowling Green, Kentucky, public school system. The participants in the study (n=10) were members of the first African American class to integrate the Bowling Green school system in 1965.

Critical Race Theory provided the tenets undergirding the research study. The qualitative research methods included conducting semi-structured interviews with participants; studying documents and artifacts from the era; having conversations with community members and educators; and collecting, archiving, and housing Bowling Green African American education documents, artifacts, and memorabilia.

During the semi-structured interviews conducted a half century later, participants' verbal, facial, and body expressions exemplified the pain and discomfort they experienced throughout this transition. Participants described how the use of resiliency factors learned from their families, teachers, churches, and community enabled them to analyze, interpret, navigate, compete, and graduate. Participants indicated their encounter with the historically segregated, white school system was confusing, conflicting, and in some instances, contentious. The experience was disorienting for all participants.

Participants also reported achievement gap conflicts were encountered from the first day of the desegregated school year. Their explanations of the internal and external motivational resources and resiliency factors that they employed provides historical basis for discussions of achievement gap issues today. Their description of this unprecedented historical encounter shares resemblances to present day achievement gap issues. Findings from a study on resiliency conducted by Brown (2008) suggest present day achievement gap conflicts may be cultural and psychological conflicts that can be identified, measured, and analyzed by academic indicators.

KEYWORDS: Resiliency, Socialization, Critical Race Theory, Achievement Gap

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_11/18/2020_______________________________
Date

REVIVING THE RULES, ROLES, AND RITUALS OF RESILIENCY

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The Bowling Green Public Schools in the Commonwealth of Kentucky was one of the last public-school systems in the nation to desegregate in 1965. Desegregation was initiated with the closure of its historically black (African American) high school, which opened during Reconstruction in 1865-1866 when the Bowling Green Reconstruction Schools were established. As with other desegregation efforts across the nation, statements from the black community ranged from disappointment to anger (Wilson, 2008). Critics posited a century of black education capital was not allowed into the strategizing, planning, and implementation of Bowling Green, Kentucky's public-school desegregation when it was imposed on residents. One hundred years of black education capital was simply dismissed (Wilson, 2008).

This dismissal was not just happenstance or the mere act of a misguided segregated school board. It was guided by the interpretation and application of the second *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, generally referred to as *Brown II* in 1955. Many citizens may be unaware of the second *Brown* decision. However, they are aware of its impact. In particular, this decision fueled the nascent civil rights movement in this nation. The decision defined and authorized the implementation of the first *Brown* decision. The concept for the remedy was encapsulated in the court's phrase, "all deliberate speed" (Brown, p. 294). On the precipice of the Civil Rights movement in the United States, the Supreme Court rendered its especial decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* striking down legal segregation in the American system of schooling. In essence, the court concluded that segregation in public education was inherently unequal, due to the violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and therefore was unconstitutional. To wit:

> *"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by*

> *reason of the segregation complained of deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." (Brown, p. 254, 1954).*

The decision by the court, viewed by many as concussive, led to prescriptive measures as was enacted in *Brown II* a year later. In essence, *Brown* was a cluster of cases (Kansas, Delaware, Virginia, South Carolina, and Washington, D.C.) argued together under the aegis of *Brown v. Board of Education.*

Taken from English legal precedence, the Latin concept of *festinalente* or "make haste slowly" was adopted by Kentucky in general and Bowling Green in particular as related to the *Brown* decision (Ogletree, 2004). In effect, this decision directed desegregation to be a state's right concern. Kentucky instituted this remedy immediately (Coleman, 1956) and maintained it for a decade (Office, 1965).

The accumulated black education capital that had accrued over a century in Bowling Green's African American schools was comprised of community organizing for schooling, constructing school buildings, constructing education systems, building curriculums, developing instructional practices, and building guidance counseling and extracurricular programs. This cache of education capital held immense value (Blyden, 1881; Woodson, 1915; K.N.E.A., 1916; Gay, 1988; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Siddle-Walker, 1996; Morris, 2002; Doyle, 2005; Book, 2008). This education capital provided vision and equipped and enabled black students to engage, navigate, and matriculate through elementary, secondary, post-secondary, and vocational education. As described by Mickey (2008), this capital also provided the substance of resiliency that enabled these students to succeed during a difficult educational experience. Utsey (2007) attributes a lack of resiliency as a contributing factor to black students' persistent academic and matriculation problems today.

Problem Statement

A half century after Bowling Green public-school desegregation, African-American students continue to be disproportionately represented in problematic educational categories. They can be identified in these categories as early as elementary school and are seemingly incapable of getting out of these problematic tracts (Kunjufu, 1995; Garcia, 2020).

The twin nostrums of societal segregation and its attendant school segregation have a long and deep-seated history in the United States. Accordingly, in the city of Boston, Massachusetts in

1972, African Americans engaged in struggles against various forms of discrimination in the meaningful provision of public schooling. Ultimately, African Americans would move to petition the state legislature for redress regarding access to schooling based on inequality and discrimination. In *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849), the Commonwealth's Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools were permissible under the state's constitution; thus, adhering to the subsequent "separate but equal" doctrine enunciated in the infamous precedent setting case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

Following this legal decision, segregation in its legal sense, i.e., *de jure*, began to develop in many southern states under the guise of *Jim Crow laws* in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The high court decision in Plessy also ruled that separate facilities for blacks and whites were permissible provided the facilities were of equal quality. Concomitantly, in Northern states it was influenced by discrimination, as well as the history of enslavement in the southern states. While segregation continued to have a storied existence for many years, a rather precipitous decline occurred during the latter part of the 1960s and 1970s due in large measure to the civil rights movements and related initiatives. Although, various parts of the nation would chip away at segregation, both societally (Griffin, 2017; Wells, 2018; Garcia, 2020) and legally (Kluger, 2004; Russo & Harris, 2004).

By studying the resiliency traits and skills of the first class of black students to desegregate the Bowling Green Public Schools system, we can identify and retrieve the traits and skills that motivated these students to graduate. Reviving and applying these traits and skills to achievement gap issues may initiate solutions. Resiliency may be the most effective way to approach closing the achievement gap. It focuses on what is victimizing the victims instead of the victims. The present-day public education system is plagued with stories and statistics of it being incapable of educating high percentages of African American students (Kunjufu, 1995). These same students seem incapable of avoiding the pitfalls of the education system and, once ensnared, they have no resiliency to escape (McDevitt, 2007). This education contributes to and sustains a racial under caste (Alexander, 2012; Ballantine, 2009). Common terminologies used to describe these pitfalls include the schoolhouse to jailhouse pipeline, the achievement gap, and special education/at risk (Coates, 2015). The ethos or philosophy of the Kentucky public education system for African Americans was based on struggle, overcoming those struggles, accomplishment, pride, and uplift…. not just for self, but the race (Doyle, 2005; Siddle Walker, 1996; Tilford-Weathers, 1982). Policies to help students develop and internalize resiliency traits and skills may impact endogenous and transactional student issues.

Rationale and Significance

Understanding resiliency may equip African American students with skills to negotiate school culture, climate, and curriculum concerns. Understanding resiliency may enhance the professional development for school administrators and teachers. This study examined the intersection between resiliency traits of early African American desegregated students and curriculum. New perspectives may be gained from studying the interaction of the earliest African American students who integrated into the public school system in the city Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Research Approach

For this study, qualitative research methods were used. Additionally, the case study method and semi-structured interview techniques were utilized to collect data. Members of the first African American class to desegregate the historical Bowling Green public school system were interviewed for this study. Receiving descriptions of the experiences encountered by these participants helped provide insights to both direct and subtle conflicts in culture and climate issues, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors utilized by these individuals and how they successfully persevered. Additionally, their descriptions illuminated both internal and external motivational attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors employed by the participants, which fostered a sense of resiliency. Information regarding these students' experiences also provide direction for more focused and effective curriculum and professional development.

The method for gathering the data was through interviewing. The personal interviews were semi-structured with the goal of keeping the questioning uniform and allowing the participant to elaborate on any topic at any time (Miles, 1994). The semi-structured interview enabled the interviewer to note topics, issues, and situations that generate emotions from interviewees (Quintana, 2008). The participants interviewed in this study were between 65 and 70 years of age. It was assumed that the information received from the participants was accurate as their recollection. Additional data were gathered from conversations and discussions with teachers, administrators, and community members. Archival records and documents were also reviewed.

The Critical Race Theory approach allows each participant to provide their individual story (Delgado, 1989). The case study approach enables the collective stories to be bound by the same experience at the same time (Ballantine, 2009; Delgato, 2001). The interviewer's history with the participants may potentially have mutual influence on probes and responses. The interviewer attended and graduated from the Bowling Green African American high school, which was also attended by the interviewees.

The expected outcome of this study is to identify and describe the rules, roles, rituals, views, values, beliefs, attitudes, mindsets, and skills that enabled the first class of African-American students in 1965 to matriculate through the historically segregated Bowling Green, Kentucky public school system.

Researcher's Perspectives

The researcher believes African American high schools were valuable institutions in the structure of both the black and white communities, the white community in general and the black community, in particular (K.N.E.A., 1916; Ogletree, 2004). The researcher further believes the education capital accrued by the African American public-school system and its respective educators was not allowed to make significant contributions to the formal desegregation discussion, strategy, or planning (K.N.E.A., 1950; K.N.E.A., 1951; K.N.E.A., 1952).

The researcher believes time was of the essence in securing the voices of African American students who were the first to desegregate the Bowling Green Schools, given these potential study participants are nearing seventy years of age. Some members of the class from which the study is being conducted are deceased. One of the participants confirmed for an interview made his transition before the interview was conducted.

A potential limitation of the study was the researcher's personal involvement in the situation under investigation. He attended the historically African American high school in Bowling Green, grew up in the same community, and is familiar with members of the group being studied (Du Bois, 1989; first published in 1903). A more objective researcher should conduct follow up studies with a larger sample of the suggested follow-up classes, i.e., African American students of the junior, sophomore, and freshman classes.

Definitions of Key Terminology

Achievement Gap/Achievement Gap Students

Achievement gap means a substantive performance difference on each of the tested areas by grade level of the state assessment program between the various groups of students, including male and female students, students with and without disabilities, students with and without English proficiency, minority and non-minority students, and students who are eligible for free and reduced lunch as well as those who are not eligible for free and reduced lunch (KRS 158.649). The data shall include, but not be limited to, information on performance levels of all students tested, and information on the performance of students disaggregated by race, gender, disability, English proficiency, and participation in the federal free and reduced-price lunch program (KRS 158.6453).

Resiliency

Stillman (2006) identified "resiliency" as derived from the Latin root meaning "to jump or bounce back." The Resiliency Institute (2006) defines *resiliency* as manifested competency in the context of significant challenges that require adaptation or development. Resiliency is a universal and innate human capacity, which can empower a child, adult, family, group, community, or business organization. Resiliency helps to prevent, minimize, or overcome the damaging effects of adversity (Henderson, Retrieved 2005). According to Bernard (2006), resiliency is defined as the innate ability to learn, renew, and re-create oneself in the face of change, challenge, opportunity, and adverse conditions (Wolin, Retrieved 2006).

Education Capital

The initial premise is that culture is at the heart of all that is done in the discipline of education, whether that is curriculum, instruction, administration, or performance assessment. As used here, *culture* refers to a dynamic system of social values, cognitive codes, behavioral standards, worldviews, and beliefs used to give order and meaning to our own lives as well as the lives of others (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991). As Young Pai (1990) explains, "There is no escaping the fact that education is a socio-cultural process." The African American author Haki Madhubuti elaborated on the socio-cultural process of education, to wit: "The purpose of education is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development"(Madhubuti, 1992).

Sense of Community

The *sense of community* is defined by four dimensions: membership, shared emotional connections, influence, and needs fulfillment (McMillian, 1986). Perkins' definition of *sense of community* focuses on social connections, mutual concerns, and community ethos which include shared history, common symbols, empowerment, value placed on the community, and emotional bonds developed over time (2002).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Life for African Americans has been and continues to be challenging (Alexander, 2012). Langston Hughes brilliantly captured the struggle in his 1925 poem “Mother to Son” (Rampersad, 1994). In a few simple words, the black mother describes the challenges facing her son and communicates the required grit, determination, and perseverance. In closing, the mother challenges him to have resiliency…

> So, boy don’t you turn back.
> Don’t you set down on the steps
> ‘Cause you finds it’s kinder hard
> Don’t you fall now. (17-20)

The central themes of this literature review are the discussions of the cultural, sociological, historical, and anthropological factors which comprise the elements of African American resiliency. The equation of these elements and cultural capital produce resiliency for African American students. African American resiliency is a product of culture, anthropology, sociology, and history and is exemplified and indoctrinated by individuals, families, and communities (Brown, 2008).

Resiliency has been studied for the last 30 years. However, studying African American resiliency has only recently been separated and elevated from deficit theory concepts (Brown, 2008). African American scholars challenging the desegregated/re-segregated public-school system were labeled and not taken seriously (Kunjufu, 1996). Achievement gap statistics of the last 20 years justify and demand new studies and approaches to African American resiliency. New studies on African American resiliency have to be both historical and contemporary. African Americans’ long history of struggle to overcome provides point of reference.

The definitions for resiliency are relatively consistent. However, the variables, dynamics, utilization, application (individual and group), and its contemporary and future utility for African Americans require a study from a variety of perspectives. The primary perspective should be from that of African Americans themselves (Brown, 2008; Asante, 1991). Education, especially the public-school system, is a critical research area for resiliency. Historically, education has been one of African Americans' most important institutions, along with the family and church (Brown & Gorski, 2015). The African American church has been and continues to be a critical source and resource for the structure of the African American community (Aronld, 2014).

Cunningham and Swanson (2010) reported there has been a wealth of research over the past two decades relevant to understanding resilience among ethnic and minority youth and that the concept has recently begun to draw attention as being domain-specific, such that youth can demonstrate resilience in one domain while remaining vulnerable in another. They continued that, in recognizing multiple components of resilience, education resilience represents a specific domain whereby youth have positive educational adaptations and outcomes within the context of specific adversity.

In a seminal 30-year longitudinal study, Werner (1995, 1996) strongly asserts familial relationships as important in facilitating resiliency and emphasized the importance of the roles of "substitute parents," grandparents, and older siblings.

The immediate importance of this study is that it provides a new way of thinking about the achievement gap and resistance to bullying. Slaughter-Defoe and Rubin (2001) pointed out that school officials have tremendous influence during students' adolescent years. As children grow older, teachers begin to have more influence than parents in later grades on achievement patterns and educational outcomes. The ideal aspirations of the twelfth grader appear to have been largely influenced by early indicators of school success.

According to Wang, Haertel, and Walberg (1997), there are several factors associated with educational resilience. Two of which are particularly relevant: 1) students have to be exposed to significant adversity, e.g., negative life events, low teacher expectations, or race-related stressors and 2) educationally resilient students are strongly influenced by their home environment, teacher expectations, and classroom elements (Wang et. al, 1997; Waxman, Huang & Padron, 1999). These students are more likely to report high teacher or school support; high expectations from parents and significant adults, i.e., teachers; high academic self-esteem; and high parent involvement or parental monitoring.

Youth vulnerability is heightened when their overall disadvantages or challenges increase their levels of stress. Some students experience greater stress than others. High stress comes when students' friends engage in antisocial behavior. Vulnerability outcomes for some youth are associated with being vulnerable and reactive (Luthar, 2000).

Education is viewed as a primary impetus toward social and economic mobility as well as a mechanism for redressing inequalities (Kirk, 2000). While facing life-threatening resistance, African-Americans have prioritized and pursued education.

According to Swanson, Spencer, and Peterson (1998), disengagement is displayed in the form of poor academic performance with little or no educational goals. They found that black youth who are disengaged from the school experience withdraw both socially and emotionally from school climate, interact minimally with others, fail to find their niche in the academic system, and do not develop adequate levels of commitment to the institution of learning (Kelly, 2003).

Several researchers assert that new research perspectives for studying academic issues for African American students must be developed (Buck, 2010; DeGruy, 2005; Wilson, 2008). What may be missing are the black definitions for resiliency. Instead of observing disengagement academically, it may be better studied from the perspective of resiliency.

Greater focus can be directed toward the themes that describe the cultural factors of African American resiliency. This discussion describes the factors of African American resiliency and their relationship to culture (Brown, 2008). The factors of African American resiliency and the strength of these factors enabled the first black class to desegregate Bowling Green's historically segregated public-school system.

Definitions and Traits of Resiliency

The concept of resiliency has received increased study over the last two decades. It is generally looked at from the perspective of the challenges and issues faced by African Americans over sixty years after the 1954 and 1955 *Brown* decisions. Several articles defining resiliency can be found. Each definition gives validation to the existence of, and the need for, resiliency. Researchers identify facets of resiliency that assist in studying it and subsequently applying it.

Some definitions stem from its Latin root, meaning: "To jump or bounce back." An African proverb says, "The harder you dash a rubber ball to the ground, the higher it returns." Resiliency as a concept is universal as well as historic. An initial strength of the current research is that it opens the door for discussion and application in the Kentucky public school versus charter school debate. A weakness of the existing resilience studies is that for decades they left out the wealth of information gained and applied by African Americans historically, especially in the challenges of desegregation. Inclusion of this information will provide the practical implications of descriptions of initial encounters, initial reactions, initial responses, initial adjustments, success/failure, and lifetime impact on the early students who were desegregated.

The approach of the researchers toward resiliency research over the last 25 years is generally similar. However, each article seems to identify or expand on an aspect of resiliency, which may assist further study. The practical applications of their studies reflect their understanding of who can benefit from the information, how they can benefit, what the benefits are or can be, and why the information is needed.

Mickey (2008) identifies resiliency traits in African American students who persist in college to complete graduate degree programs, in this specific case master's degrees. The article provides specific individual and group factors related to resiliency. After describing the historic issues that challenge African Americans in the American education system, Mickey describes resiliency in terms of seven traits identified by Wolin and Wolin (1993): insight, independence, relationships, initiative, humor, creativity, and morality. Mickey also provides a basis for questioning the 30-year unsuccessful effort by the nation's public-school system to close the achievement gap.

Upon building a resiliency paradigm for individuals or families, researchers assess the importance of the role of extended family, school, and community (Wolin & Wolin, 1993; Bernard, 2006; Stillman, 1998). Additionally, there are supportive and positive peer relationships, social groups, community network support, after school programs and activities, and church and recreation centers. Interaction and support from fictive kin and extended family as well as access to resources within the community empowers, enables, and ameliorates individual and family challenges (Kirk, 2000). The description of the factors that make up the resiliency paradigm are deeply intertwined within the fabric of the African American community.

Seibert (1995) expresses the necessity for and importance of resiliency in today's world and identifies five levels of resiliency: maintaining your emotional stability, health, and well-being; focusing outward with good problem-solving skills; focusing inward with a strong inner "self"; well-developed resiliency skills; and a talent for serendipity. Seibert continues by explaining the respective levels. The first level is important to sustaining good health and energy.

The second level focuses on the obstacles that a person encounters and the need to be problem-focused, rather than emotion-focused. The third level focuses on the roots of resiliency, e.g., "How strong are the person's self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-concept?" The fourth level discusses the attributes found in highly resilient people. The fifth level describes the possibilities that the person has. A highly resilient person is able to use their talents and has the ability to convert a bad problem into a good situation. The highly resilient person can figure out how to get through the situation.

A positive contribution to the study of resiliency is the work of Mickey (2008) in building a model of resiliency. Mickey uses the work of Bernard (2006) to describe the four key characteristics that foster resiliency in children:

1. *Social competence.* The resilient child is characterized by a sense of humor, communication skills, empathy and caring, flexibility, and other pro-social behaviors.
2. *Problem-solving skills.* The resilient child is able to think abstractly, be reflective, and flexible. The resilient child has the ability to attempt to alternate cognitive and social problems/issues.
3. *Autonomy.* The resilient child has the ability to display a strong sense of independence, self-discipline, and self-control. This allows them to have control over their environment.
4. *Sense of purpose and future.* The resilient child has the ability to predict positive outcomes. This characteristic is linked to their motivation to achieve educational aspirations, belief of a brighter future, and a sense of hopefulness.

A critical aspect used in the resilience model focuses on what researchers label as protective factors, which consist of having the ability to adapt, being task-oriented, setting goals, and being an effective problem-solver (Thielemann, 2000).

Mickey (2008) continues discussing resiliency through describing family resiliency traits. Little research has been done on family resiliency (Wolin & Wolin, 1993). The research on family resiliency traits primarily looks at stress, coping, and the strength of family. Wolin and Wolin identify and define the following traits of family resiliency:

1. *Commitment.* Individual and corporate actions that demonstrate loyalty, determination to work things out together, and sacrifice for mutual benefit.

2. *Cohesion.* Family togetherness punctuated by respect for individuality with emotional closeness and practical interdependence characterized by this trait.
3. *Adaptability.* A balance of structure and flexibility with skills for stress coping demonstrates this quality.
4. *Communication.* Respectful listening and speaking skills can be demonstrated through the exchange of a linoleum tile, signifying the surrender of control, or giving up "the floor."
5. *Spirituality.* Shared purpose and values, often in the context of religious faith and "practicing what you preach" can be illustrated by a pencil, the lead end of which represents the positive mark (influence) members make on the lives of others, the eraser end testifying to the need for forgiveness.
6. *Connectedness.* Streams of support to and from family members to the community; an attitude of service and belonging to a larger whole characterizes strong families.
7. *Resource management.* Competent and coordinated use of time, money, and handling of stress promotes resiliency.
8. *Coherence.* Optimism and self-reliant initiative by which a family handles setback and constructively engages the world.

While Wolin and Wolin (1993) identified individual and family protective factors that contribute to the resiliency of an individual and a family, there is also research that identifies the protective factors that contribute to issues outside of the home. Mickey (2008) posits that environmental circumstances should be included when assessing individual or family resiliency. Environmental circumstances and conditions consist of culture, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, education, and employment status (Kirk, 2000). Bernard (1991) identifies the following as characteristics of protective factors of the community (p. 36):

1. *Caring and support.* With school and family, a supportive community is a protective factor for children. A supportive community can extend as a protective factor well into adulthood. Communities with good support systems and well-developed social networks experience lower rates of social problems like crime and child abuse.
2. *High expectations.* Communities that view children as resources tend to have less behavior problems. Communities with low expectations tend to affect the youth's opportunities to contribute or give back to their communities.

3. *Opportunities for participation.* Various studies have shown that giving youth opportunities to participate increases their self-esteem, enhances their morale, and increases their political activity and their ability to maintain complex social relationships.

The research on protective factors outside of the home is a major contributor to individuals and families demonstrating resiliency. Bernard also identifies how individuals can be resilient in their education. Mickey (2008) identifies factors in the resiliency study that equip individuals, families, and communities with resiliency traits. These traits can equip and enable African-American students to increase their probability for academic success (Jones & Ford, 2014). The combination of these factors creates an academic resiliency framework for education.

Henderson (2005) defined resiliency as the capacity to successfully adapt to negative life events and created a framework for increasing academic success and a positive life for students. The four basic steps of this framework consist of the following:

1. *Always communicate the resiliency attitude of student success.* Attitude is important when facing adversity. Always try to see what is right within an individual, no matter what they have done in the past, no matter what their current situation looks like.
2. *Use strengths to overcome problems or weaknesses.* According to research, it is important to develop alternative mirrors. Many individuals who do not do well in school find mirroring of the failure in school with their families telling them that they are bad, not loved, and not wanted. What is important is that the individual finds mirroring that reflects positive information that might say to the individual you are smart, loved, and wanted.
3. *Build resiliency-fostering conditions around each student.* Focus on building a resiliency-fostering environment around each student. Steps two and three can occur at the same time.
4. *Never give up!* To be resilient and survive a difficult upbringing, individuals should affiliate themselves with caring individuals who can mirror, care, and support.

Levels of resiliency are life-impacting factors, which are called upon throughout an individual's life. Mickey reports the research of Wolin and Wolin (1993) research, which identifies seven traits that contribute to a person's level of resiliency:

1. *Insight.* The development of insight begins with sensing. Sensing is the earliest sign of insight in resilient survivors. Sensing is the intuition that one feels trouble ahead.

2. *Independence.* Independence is the best bargain children can drive among competing needs. It is their right to have safe boundaries between themselves and trouble.
3. *Relationships.* Resilient individuals look for love from people who are accessible and who provide attention. When an individual gains confidence in him or herself, he or she typically begins vigorous recruiting in an attempt to find friends, associates, neighbors, coaches, and teachers. Resilient individuals looking for love begin by connecting with others.
4. *Initiative.* Initiative is the determination to assert oneself and master his or her environment. Most resilient survivors are successful because they were able to get beyond some of the difficulties they had experienced in their lives. They are successful because they learn how to take command of their life situations.
5. *Creativity and Humor.* Creativity and humor are resiliency traits used when individuals take refuge from the strain that daily life creates. Creativity and humor allow an individual to recreate his or her daily realities into something different, if for only a short time period.
6. *Morality.* Morality is the activity of principles and ethics. The morality resiliency trait begins early in life. These lessons are transferred into adulthood, and morality becomes a matter of accountability rather than of personal approval.
7. Resiliency factors are real, measurable, valuable, and transferable.

Social Capital Theory

The term social capital is used by researchers to describe many of the resiliency traits described earlier. The concept of social capital applies to individuals, families, and the community and is generally defined and measured at interpersonal, community, institutional, and societal levels. The components of social capital are observed through social connections, bridging, and bonding. A brief discussion of social capital may add some additional clarity to resiliency traits and factors. Similar to the notion of “Learning Organizations” (Arqyris, 1993) and “Learning Communities” (Falk & Harrison, 1998), psychological/behavioral factors operate simultaneously at individual, organization, and community levels of analysis.

Mickey (2008) identifies traits and factors of resiliency but does not discuss interactions of individuals with their family, institutions, or community. The theory of social capital facilitates cooperative action among citizens and institutions (Putnam, 2000). This could also be a goal of resiliency: to facilitate cooperative action with fellow students, administrators, teachers, coaches, and the school climate in general.

A major strength of this article is practical definitions and application of social capital. The practical definitions and applications occur at two levels, bridging and bonding. Perkins (2002) provides an important application of social capital: “Community psychologists have studied many individual-level attitudes, emotions, and perceptions, the most popular being empowerment and sense of community” (p. 35). Perkins’ statement on social capital strongly relates to Mickey’s concepts of resiliency traits and factors.

McKown (2008) identifies cognitive components in the Four Dimensions of Individual-Level Social Capital, which include: trust in one’s neighbors (sense of community); belief in the efficacy of the formally organized action (empowerment); informal neighboring behavior; and formal participation in community organizations.

Figure 1: Four Dimensions of Individual-Level Social Capital

Cognition/Trust	Social Behavior	
Sense of community	Neighboring	Informal Dimensions
Collective Efficacy/ Empowerment	Citizen Participation	Formal Dimensions

The importance of this concept is that it may provide a perspective on where a student’s resiliency, or lack thereof, originates. Perkins (2002) describes the elements within these Four Dimensions. Sense of community includes membership, shared emotional connection, influence, and need fulfillment. Additional concepts of sense of community are social connections, mutual concerns, and community values. The concepts of sense of community relate to individuals as well as families. It may be possible that the strength an individual or family has with these concepts, the stronger the resiliency traits and factors.

Collective efficacy and empowerment refer to the process by which people gain and hold control over their lives and their community. As initially suggested, Perkins establishes identifiable and measurable concepts in the resiliency traits and factors. The social capital of neighboring behavior is closely related to the resiliency protective factors outside the home (Bernard, 2006). Neighboring behavior is the help an individual or family gets from other community members, i.e., the loan of finances or food, childcare, transportation, or sharing information.

Citizen participation is a bridging concept of social capital that connects individuals and families with grassroots organizations. Relevant organizations include religious congregations/churches, schools, citizen advisory boards with government agendas, youth sports and recreation programs, neighborhood watches, and resident associations. Perkins (2002) briefly discusses factors which negatively impact social capital. These negative factors could also impact an individual's or family's resiliency. These factors are borrowed from Kelly's (1966) bio-ecology and later reinterpreted by Speer and Hughey (1995) for community organizing and community development. These principles are identified as follows:

1. Interdependence, which holds that change within one element or component of a community system, has a ripple effect producing changes in other components of that system.
2. Cycling of resources is exemplified in the way that resources are transformed as they flow through a community.
3. Adaptation addresses the ways in which organizations adapt to changes in their circumstances.
4. Succession, or stable and orderly changes in a system, acknowledges the process through which discarded resources become new assets. Social capital may recognize additional nuances that impact resiliency traits and protective factors.

Resiliency of the Black Family

Much has been written about the resiliency of the Black family. Hildreth (n.d.) initiates this discussion by describing the paradox of the Black family (McAdoo, 1998; Moynihan, 1965). This article opens with a quote from Willie (1985), "The Black family is still around" (p. 1). Hildreth provides a critically important focus on the African American family, which enables specific analysis of resiliency traits and protective factors.

However, as Hildreth points out, looking at the history of a people who have survived and thrived in the context of 400 years of slavery, were used as pawns in a civil war, lived through years of "Jim Crow" and decades of segregation, marginalization, and limited opportunities, and continue to face intentional and unintentional racism, it is not surprising that there are those who are confident about the future of Black families. This statement provides unique circumstances and conditions peculiar to the Black family, which necessitate studying Black family resiliency from a unique analytical perspective.

Hildreth provides a literature review that offers three different properties of resiliency literature: hardship, buoyancy, and wellness. These new perspectives in reference to resiliency focus on cultural factors peculiar to the African American community. Hildreth asks two important questions: “How are Black families resilient?” and “Are they resilient enough for the challenge of the 21st century?” Culturally, Black families value the whole over the individual parts. Another perspective is that resiliency changes in people across time as circumstances and situations change.

Based on the suggestion that resiliency changes in people and families over time, Hildreth provides another concept of resiliency and advocates the use of the concept of “protective mechanisms” rather than resiliency. Rutter (1987) proposes there are four main processes for developing these protective mechanisms: reduction of risk impact, reduction of negative chain reactions, establishment and maintenance of self-esteem and self-efficacy, and opening opportunities. Rutter suggests further that protective mechanisms are both facilitated and maintained through strong family relations, the Black church, and a strong mobilized community. The institution of the Black church is now and has always been integral to the African-American community’s survival and maintenance (Sisselman-Borgia & Taylor, 2018). Hildreth utilizes African-American family strengths as defined by Hill (1999), which are defined as those “traits that facilitate the ability of the family to meet the needs of its members and the demands made upon it by the system outside the family unit” (p. 421). Hill proposes five strengths culturally transmitted through African ancestry to Black families. The strengths are identified as a strong kinship bond, a strong work orientation, a strong achievement orientation, flexible family roles, and a strong religious orientation (Hill, 1971).

The Black family has continued to exist in spite of generational peril, compound deprivation, and state-supported violence (Anderson, et al., 2015). Logan (1996) suggests Black Americans have forgotten the values that provided “strength and meaning to their existence” (p. 10). Logan lists the seven principles of the Nguzo Saba as reference points of resiliency for strengthening Black families: unity (Umoja), self-determination (Kujichagulia), collective work and responsibility (Ujima), cooperative economics (Ujamma), purpose (Nia), creativity (Kuumba), and belief in the righteousness of our struggle (Imani) (Karanga, 1996).

The Black Church

Denby (1996) posits that building racial pride and positive self-regard is crucial to the growth of successful children and eventually functional adults and proposes the institution for building racial pride and positive self-regard is the Black Church. The Black Church has long been a resource for helping families in the Black communities (Hill, 1971, 1993; Smith, 1985). The church must be a beacon for the development and perpetuation of a strong value system that enhances the Black community (June, 1991).

The Black church, as suggested, must provide a network of resources to meet the needs of the Black community. Allen (1992) suggests that, given the Black church's indigenous role in the community, it will need to "sponsor periodic workshops on child-rearing, on writing religious literature for all ages, on business development, career development, career planning, and investments" (p. 28). The churches and clergy that comprise the seven major historic Black denominations are the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (A.M.E.Z.) Church; the Christian Methodist Episcopal (C.M.E.) Church; the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A. Inc. (N.B.C.); the National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated (N.B.C.A.); the Progressive National Baptist Convention (P.N.B.C.); and the Church of God in Christ (C.O.G.I.C.). Seven major Black denominations account for more than 80 percent of the Black religious affiliation in the United States. Moreover, the remaining 15 to 20 percent of Black Christians are scattered among numerous small Black sects, the Roman Catholic Church, and mainline white Protestant denominations (Lincoln, 1990, p. xii).

Educational Resiliency

Cunningham and Swanson (2010) define resilience as "a dynamic process encompassing positive adaptations within the context of significant adversity" (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000, p. 473). A critical assertion made by this study is that resiliency factors can be domain specific. This concept suggests that adolescents can demonstrate resilience in one domain while simultaneously remaining vulnerable in another (Luthar, 2006). Education is one such domain. Cunningham and Swanson examine factors in the school context that facilitate educational resilience within African American students. These educational resilience domains include perceptions of school support, academic self-esteem, and parental monitoring. Cunningham and Swanson indicated parental monitoring includes the role of "substitute parents," such as grandparents, older relatives, and older siblings.

Slaughter-Defoe and Rubin (2001) examined the perception of school officials when studying educational resilience and reported that school officials have “tremendous” influences during the adolescent years. They further suggest that parental influence in earlier grades is overshadowed by teacher influence in later grades. The findings of their study revealed that as children grow older, teachers have a significant influence on achievement patterns in regard to educational outcomes. However, the most significant findings were that the early grades predicted the educational goals of the students in their 13th year of formal schooling. The aspirations of 12th graders were largely influenced by early indicators of school success (Slaughter-Defoe, 2001).

Wang, Hautel, and Wang (1997) assert that there are several factors associated with educational resilience. The first of two factors is that the student has to be exposed to significant adversity (negative life events, low teacher expectations, or race-related stressors). The second factor is that educationally resilient students are strongly influenced by their home environment, teacher expectations, and classroom climate.

In reference to Black males specifically, difficulties faced in educational systems contribute to their disengagement from the educational process. Swanson (1998) states that poor academic performance and no educational goals are two indicators of disengagement, in addition to withdrawal, both socially and emotionally, from school climate; minimal interaction with others; failure to find their niche in the academic system; and lack of development of adequate levels of commitment to the institution of learning (Kelly, 2003). The authors contend, however, that part of the solution lies in the connection between youth and influential adults, citing coaches as a strong relationship source for African American athletes.

A useful and applicable discussion provided by the research is the impact of teachers and school environment. Teacher expectations, classroom climate, and school culture have been researched and discussed in other mediums; however, Patrick, Turner, Meyers, and Midgley (2003) identify supportive classroom environments as having a culture of care, respect, and support; setting high achievable goals and explicit expectations for academic performance and classroom behavior; and providing opportunities to actively engage in meaningful learning experiences. This study identifies key distinctions related to classroom environments, distinguishing between supportive, ambiguous, and non-supportive environments. Teachers who create non-supportive environments are authoritarian, stress teacher power and control, convey low expectations, and use extrinsic motivation to engage students. Ambiguous environments reflect teachers that are generally supportive but do not connect with students in a personal way. They may set high expectations but are inconsistent in demanding effort (Cunningham, 2010).

The importance of this information is that African American student resilience requirements may vary from class to class, classroom to classroom, and teacher to teacher. Cunningham and Swanson indicate that the critical points that resilient African American students develop are strategies for engaging in stressful experiences and an acquired a set of coping responses. Effective repertoires of responses are utilized throughout their adulthood (Luthar, 2006).

As referenced earlier, parental monitoring is generally considered as parents' awareness of their children's activities. However, Parker and Benson (2004) specifically state that parental monitoring is defined as parents' knowledge, supervision, and control of their children's daily activities and peer relations in an attempt to minimize potential risks to which their children are exposed (Cottrell, 2003; Parker & Benson, 2004). Critical assertions made by O'Connor (1997) in reference to the resilience of African-American students include strong evidence of their personal competence, concrete experiences which convey that individuals could defy racial barriers, and social interactions, which communicate strategies to help them negotiate the financial limitations of their households in their pursuit of upward mobility. O'Connor states further that some students actively demonstrate defiance against limitations, explicitly responding to social injustices and engaging systemic challenges with struggle and direct action. Gordon (2004) defines defiance as "acts of active resistance to a challenge and pushing against obstacles standing in the way of personal achievement" (p. 124). This approach to resiliency may be the weakest segment of the Gordon article. The concept of active resistance is introduced as a resiliency factor and trait but ends with no further discussion.

Resiliency Factors and Racial Socialization

The research and information in the study by Brown (2008) may be the most applicable of all in reference to African American resilience studies. This study connects resiliency factors and traits to the racial socialization process. It emphasizes that further examination of the resiliency of racial minorities, such as African Americans, is needed (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999; Utsey, Bulden, Lanier, & Williams, 2007). African American history is replete with overcoming adversity.

Expressed in the Brown (2008) study is the utility of specifically examining the link between resiliency and the aspects of African Americans' environment that teach them to be resilient (Brown, 2008). Two such factors may be racial socialization and African American social support networks (Miller, 1999).

A critical statement in reference to African American parenting is found in the beginning of the Brown (2008) article. Peters (1985) defined this concept as the "Task Black parents share with all parents—providing for and raising children…but include the responsibility for raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations" (p. 161). This task directed toward African American male youth and adolescents is referred to as "the talk" which refers to behaviors which increase the probability of survival when approached by a white police officer.

This socialization is passed generationally. It is a set of behaviors, communications, and interactions between parents and children in African American history, culture, heritage, and responses to racial hostilities. "Well, son, I'll tell you, life for me ain't been no crystal stair" (Hughes, 1922; Rampersad, 1994). Racial socialization also includes specific messages and practices directly related to survival ability, employment, or any interaction with White Americans. Brown (2008) continues to expand the socialization process to include modeling behaviors, specific messages, and exposure to specific context, objects, or environments.

Various studies have examined the relationship of racial socialization to outcome variables, e.g. academic achievement, self-esteem, and psychosocial functioning (Hughes, et al., 2006). A critically important aspect of Brown's study is its focus on the racial socialization process. Racial socialization can be thought of as a dynamic process that assesses situations, communicates messages, guides behaviors, and bolsters identity in the face of potentially racially hostile environments (Stevenson, 1997). African American caregivers have evidenced culturally specific parenting practices (e.g., racial socialization), which can be conceptualized as parental strengths that foster children's social development (Hughes, et al, 2006).

Hubbard's (2011) study provides specific models by which we can study African American socialization. Cokley (2005) suggests that racial identity develops as a reaction to racial oppression. One of the predominant theories on racial identity development is the Cross Racial Identity Model (Cross, 1971, 1991) which establishes four stages across an individual's life span:

1. In the pre-encounter stage, an individual question whether being an African American is a significant part of their life experience. These individuals may espouse anti-African American attitudes (assimilation, mis-education, and self-hatred).
2. At the Encounter stage, the individual may experience situations that cause them to question their current identity or worldview.
3. At the Immersion-Emersion, there are two phases. Phase one is the Immersion-Emersion into Blackness and withdrawal from other groups (Afrocentricity). Phase two moves out of Immersion-Emersion into critical analysis of what it means to be African American.
4. Internalization is the final stage which is characterized by multiculturalist inclusive attitudes. The individual can engage oppression at a human rights level (Vandiver, 2001).

A second model is Cross's Model of Psychological Nigrescence (Cross, 1971, 1991). This model suggests that the formative racial socialization of children can facilitate well-formed Black Identity (Vandiver & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). In the theory, Nigrescence, Pattern A suggests well-formed positive Black identity by adulthood. The critical importance of this study is that racial socialization and racial identity are linked and may influence other positive outcomes, such as resiliency (Marshall, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 2002; Anglin, 2007; Brown, 2008).

Hubbard (2011) provides two concepts for racial identity: racial identity as a mediator or racial identity as a moderator. Racial identity can mediate racial socialization effects for negative outcome (Thompson et al., 2000; Wester & Vogel, 2006). The moderation model is consistent with research stating that racial identity supports or buffers the effects of negative stressors (Hubbard, 2011).

As described in reference to the definition of social factors, African Americans have historically instituted their own indigenous forms of support (Bagley & Carroll, 1998). The core of African American social support has been the family, to include the extended family fictive kin, the community, and the church. These institutions have provided support and protection to the African American community from historical racial assaults.

Protective factors provided by the family have been discussed previously. However, the Hubbard study specifically discusses resiliency and the unique aspects of the African American community. For example, the extended family includes grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, nieces, and nephews. The roles of these family members can be integral and impacting.

The church has been the institution that has been significant to the community and all its members, directly or indirectly. Berry and Blassingame recognized that black families and black churches have constituted the “enduring institutions” in black communities (Lincoln, 1990).

While many studies have examined the constructs of racial socialization and social support, few have examined the combined impact of these constructs on African American resiliency (Brown, 2008). This is the unique information provided by Brown which suggests that studying the socialization of the family, church, school, and community and the messages received at childhood and adolescence are paramount. At childhood, the message may be “don’t fuss or fight.” The adolescent message may be “fight the power.”

In an effort to better understand resiliency, researchers began studies designed to measure protective factors and resiliency traits in youth. Constantine (2002) asserted that early problem issues with youth were approached by identifying the correlates which define risk factors and determined that risk-focused prevention as an intervention was problematic. The problems were the identifying, labeling, and stigmatizing of the youth, their families, and communities. A focus on young people’s risks and deficits obscures teachers’ vision and leads teachers and parents to a feeling of hopelessness (Constantine & Wilson, 2003).

Emerging Resiliency Research

Werner (1995) discusses moving beyond the trait theories of resilience. The importance of this study is that it examines the emergent research of the constructs of resilience. Werner asserts that resilience is a dynamic developmental process, which is similar to Brown’s (2008) perspective. Deficit approaches to problematic youth issues were replaced with positive approaches with different names: developmental assets, youth development, and resiliency.

In 1999, the California Healthy Kids Survey (CHKS) was developed and administered to all 1,050 California school districts. The objective was to develop and validate a new supplemental module on youth resilience. Additionally, six existing survey instruments that attempted to measure resilience factors were examined. Three of the surveys were discarded, leaving three for more extensive examination:

1. The Community that Cares Youth Survey (Pollard, Catalano, Hawkins, & Author, 1996)
2. The Individual Protective Factors Index (Springer & Philips, 1995)

3. Search Institute Profile of Student Life Attitudes and Behaviors Assessment (Search Institute, 1996).

Building on Bernard's (1991, 1995) integration of the research literature on resilience and healthy human systems, together with the work of Jessor and colleagues (1995), Coie and colleagues (1993), and the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Resnick, et al., 1997), the research panel developed a theoretical framework that establishes a comprehensive, multi-dimensional representation of resilience factors and their relationships (Constantine, 2003). The importance of the Constantine (2003) study is the assertion that issues such as the achievement gap are going to require changing from a deficit approach to a resilience approach, and new comprehensive strategies have to be developed.

Six frameworks were developed for the "Healthy Kids Resilience Assessment," resulting from the Constantine study. Three of the framework clusters were external and three were internal. The three protective factors (external assets) were caring relationships, high expectations, and meaningful participation. Each of these factors includes a set of home, school, and community-based assets. Three resilience traits (internal assets) were social competence, autonomy and a sense of self, and a sense of meaning and purpose (Constantine, 1999). Resilience theory posits that the explanatory and predictive power of these three clusters resides in their ability to meet basic human developmental needs for safety, connection, belonging, identity, respect, mastery, power, and ultimately, meaning (Bernard, 1991; Werner & Smith, 1992).

Utilizing the previous study and expanding the information to focus more specifically on African American students' resiliency, measures can be developed. Several studies have focused on assessing and engaging negative issues and their outcomes, i.e., discrimination and racism. However, less work has focused on how African American students successfully navigate these challenges (Barbaran, 1993; Miller, 1999; Utsey, 2007; Brown, 2008).

Early researchers found a relationship between positive self-beliefs and academic persistence in African American students (Brown, 2008). Further research is still needed to understand the predictors of resiliency for the African American student population (Utsey, 2007). Most studies identify previous research and either expanded on that research or took a different approach to the concepts of that research. The Brown study has provided some new perspectives on the importance of racial socialization. The concepts of racial socialization can give greater understanding and utility in studying the tenets of resiliency.

Many studies have examined the constructs of resiliency; what researchers are now beginning to study is the equation of the constructs, social support institutions, and the importance of racial socialization relationships. Models are being explored for African American resiliency measurement. Research is being conducted to develop an instrument to directly measure African American resiliency. According to Brown (2008), no study of African-American resiliency to date has incorporated an instrument that directly assesses the level of resilience one may possess by utilizing an instrument that contains items assessing one's ability to respond in a resilient manner. African American resiliency may be assessed qualitatively while quantitative measurements may prove to be elusive.

This current study builds upon the work of Dr. Kobi Kambon and his descriptions for the psychological perspectives of the participants. His work is also an attempt to understand the importance of social capital and the socialization process for the participants.

Kambon (1992, p. 40-43) provides a groundbreaking approach to the study of the Afrikan personality, its nature, and development. His Afrikan Self-Consciousness Theory and Afrikan Self-Consciousness Scale are monumental contributions to Afrikan Psychology (Kambon, 1992, p. 129). Na'im Akbar, who along with Noble (2015), was one of Kambon's fellow travelers along the path to defining and developing the parameters of African Psychology, contends that some of the unique characteristics about Kambon's work are (a) his ability to construct assessment measures that attempt to add empirical validity to African-centered psychological principles, (b) his consistent focus on racial and cultural issues, and (c) his emphasis on African-centered psychology being corrective, descriptive, and prescriptive (Kambon, 2003). As evidenced in the comments made by his esteemed peers and colleagues, Kambon is an African-centered scholar's scholar.

Some of the major concepts and themes Kambon (1996a) addresses in conceptualizing an African/Black Psychology are (a) definitional systems, (b) African worldview, (c) ASC/African self-extension orientation (ASEO), and (d) psychological/cultural mis-orientation.

The use of appropriate definitional systems for people of African descent is the undergirding principle that provides the conceptual cement for the foundation of Kambon's work.

Kambon (2004) asserts that the two cultures' (African and European) respective definitional orientations to African Americans' survival, to the world, no doubt correspond to their distinctly different racial-cultural realities. Africans and Europeans define the world from distinctly different perspectives and in distinctly different terms, and their racially specific definitions tend to characterize their distinctly different social realities (Noble, 2013).

Definitional systems develop over time and thus find their origin in the group's cumulative collective experience and "represents those beliefs and patterns of behavior that have proven effective in their maintaining the survival of their life-cultural style" (Kambon, 2006, p. 56-60). For Kambon, definitional systems are natural extensions of a cultural group's response to and relationship with their original geo-social environment (Kambon, 2004). The issue of definitional systems takes on another dimension when the political component of intercultural interactions involving who controls the definitional process is considered. In other words, if a cultural group has "the ability to define reality and have others accept it as their own," as in intercultural conquest, domination, and so on, then that group is in a position of cultural, psychological, and even social/political power (Noble, 2013). The European group attempts to impose the European definitional orientation on the non-European group by making only the European system of social reality ultimately credible and legitimate. In other words, they in effect attack the credibility and legitimacy of the non-European group's definitional orientation by making their primary survival reinforcements, e.g., social and economic security and material resources, directly contingent upon the non-European group ascribing legitimacy to the European system of social-cultural reality, and only to that system. Where Europeans control the general social space, such as in Euro-American society, then it is relatively easy for them to enforce this type of insidious process of psychological-cultural oppression (Kambon, 2006, p. 62). Desegregation, as initiated in Bowling Green, Kentucky, supports this assertion.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory originated in the mid-1970s as a result of lawyers, activists, and legal scholars throughout the country working in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Critical Race Theory is based on at least six premises:

1. Storytelling is a significant part of the law, and disenfranchised people have different stories and different ways of telling them than enfranchised people.

2. Racist behavior is not an aberration; it is normal practice.
3. Elites act against racist behavior in society only when it serves them.
4. Race is a social construct, not a biological one.
5. Characteristics ascribed to a particular race will change. (For example, African American people were most commonly called “happy-go-lucky and childlike” in the slavery era to rationalize slavery, but now they are commonly called “threatening and criminal” to rationalize increased police intervention.)
6. People have interesting identities, i.e., they belong to more than one demographic group and are consequently affected by disenfranchisement or inequality in more than one way. We all have multiple lenses through which we experience the world and through which we are experienced by others (Delgado, 2001).

The premises of Critical Race Theory (CRT) were utilized to develop interview questions, conduct interviews, and identify themes from the interview data. Yosso (2005) discusses the value inherent in non-dominant cultures in relation to community cultural wealth. The author utilizes community cultural wealth as a critical race theory challenge to dominant cultural traditions and makes a specific challenge to education with the intent to enable schools to acknowledge the multiple strengths of communities of color. This critical race theory challenge is designed to direct schools toward achieving social and racial justice.

In the challenge, Yosso asserts that this is a call about epistemology, the study of sources of knowledge. She asks the question: whose knowledge is counted and whose knowledge is discounted (Anzaldua, 1990)? Yosso asserts that racism has overtly shaped the institutions of the United States and continues to impact the socialization process through its institutions. Following this assertion, public schools assume that students of color lack the social and cultural capital required to successfully navigate the system. This deficit assumption directs most schools in structuring ways to help “disadvantaged” students whose social and cultural capital has been deemed deficient.

Yosso identifies six forms of capital that comprise individual, family, and community wealth. These forms of wealth generally go unrecognized or unacknowledged as noted by Anzaldua (1990) that in our mestizaje theories we create new categories for those left out of or pushed out of existing ones (Anzaldua, 1990).

1. Aspirational capital refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. This resiliency is evidenced in those who allow themselves and their children to dream of possibilities beyond their present circumstances, often without the objective means to obtain those goals.
2. Linguistic capital includes the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language/style (Faulstich Orellana, 2003).
3. Familial capital refers to those cultural knowledges nurtured among familia (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory, and cultural intuition (Delgado, 2002).
4. Social capital can be understood as networks of people and community resources. These peer and other social contacts can provide both instrumental and emotional support to navigate through societies institutions (Stanton-Salazar, 2001).
5. Navigational capital refers to skills of maneuvering through social institutions. Historically, this confirms the ability to maneuver through institutions not created with communities of color in mind.
6. Resistant capital refers those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality (Soloranzo & Delgado, 2001).

Yosso's ideas related to Critical Race Theory Education are supported by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) who discuss inequity in general and school inequity in particular. They base their discussion on three central propositions:

1. Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States.
2. U. S. society is based on property rights.
3. The intersection of race and property creates an analytic through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity (Ladson-Billings, Fall 1995).

Their first assertion – that race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States – is easily documented in the statistical and demographic data. In support of this assertion, they suggest that despite the problematic nature of race, we offer as a first metaproposition that race, unlike gender and class, remains untheorized.

The second assertion that class- and gender-based explanations are not powerful enough to explain all the differences (or variance) in school experience and performance. They examine the second proposition through the concept that U. S. society is based on property rights. They developed this proposition in the context of critical race theory. Their position is that property relates to education in explicit and implicit ways. The ownership of property, property tax, and the public-school system is an example of explicit and implicit relationships to education. Their third proposition is concerned with the intersection of race and property. Race and poverty are integrally connected in the fabric of the United States. African Americans were once property. Their fight for property ownership has been and continues to be a difficult struggle. Possession, the act necessary to lay the basis for rights in property, was defined to include only the cultural practices of whites. The article directs the reader to refer to the thorough analysis of whiteness as property. The authors specifically note it is important to delineate what is termed “the property of whiteness” (Harris, 1993).

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into the experiences of the first African American high school class to desegregate the Bowling Green, Kentucky, Public Schools in 1965. Through interviews, these first African American students to desegregate a historically white school tell their story. Using their own words, participants shared their experiences, how they reacted, and how they responded. Special attention is given to issues related to aspects of resiliency and what is today referred to as the achievement gap.

From the *Brown* decisions of 1954 and 1955 to the present, a half century later, overwhelming numbers of African American students are reflected in the high negative percentages of the achievement gap. These descriptors are the quantifiable separation of ethnic groups by socioeconomic factors, standardized test scores, disciplinary actions, dropout rates, special education, and absences in advanced classes and are often referred to as persistent (KRS 158.649; Commission, 2003). These descriptive categories include disproportionate numbers of African American students.

This study examined the first African American class to desegregate the historic Bowling Green Public School System. Descriptions of the experiences encountered by these participants provide insights on both direct and subtle conflicts in culture/climate issues; beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors utilized by these individuals; and the means by which they successfully persevered. Additionally, their descriptions provide both internal and external motivational attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors employed by the participants. These attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors may have fostered resiliency. It is hoped the information garnered from these former students might inform strategies for today's schools and classrooms, to include more inclusive curricula, culturally responsive instruction, and more focused and effective professional development.

The following sections include a description of the research design for the study, a description of the participants, a description of the methods used to contact and recruit participants, and a description of the coding methods and approaches to data analysis.

Research Design

Qualitative inquiry was the research design used for this study which centered on a case study of the desegregation of Bowling Green Senior High School in 1965 and the experiences of ten African American students who were members of the first senior class to desegregate the school. Semi-structured interviews and a review of articles, artifacts, and other relevant materials from that time period were used to collect data.

Qualitative research supports social constructivism. Social constructivism came from works of individuals such as Berger and Luckmann (1966), Lincoln and Guba (1990), and Schwandt (1990), among others. Assumptions identified in these works hold that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of research, then, is to rely as much as possible on the participant's views of the situation being studied. The questions become broad and general so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation, a meaning typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons. The more open-ended the questioning, the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in reference to their life setting. Often these subjective meanings are described socially and historically. In other words, they are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interactions with others or social circumstances (hence social constructivism) and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives (Gash, 2014).

This study is qualitative because the basis for this type of research is the view that reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds (Merriam, 1992). Qualitative research is interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world. Babbie (2014) asserts that qualitative research implies a direct concern with experiences as it is "lived" or "felt" or "undergone" (Babbie, 2014).

It is assumed that meaning is embedded in people's experiences and that this meaning is mediated through the investigator's own perceptions. Patton (2002) explains, [qualitative research] is "an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting, i.e., what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what is going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting, and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting… The analysis strives for depth of understanding" (p. 1). Case study interviews resemble guided conversations rather than structured interview protocols. Rubin and Rubin (2011) observed that even though a researcher will pursue a consistent line of inquiry, the actual stream of questions in a case study interview is likely to be fluid rather than rigid. This type of interview has alternatively been called an "intensive interview," "in-depth interview," or "unstructured interview" (Weiss, 1994, pp. 207-208).

Approaching this study utilizing qualitative research had several advantages. Qualitative research approaches understanding from the perspective of the participants. This approach is referred to as the emic or insider's perspective. Gaining an understanding from an outsider's view is referred to as etic (Merriam, 1992). A second characteristic of qualitative research is that in this type of research the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Instruments such as inventories, questionnaires, or computer programs are helpful, but can miss important aspects such as the context of a situation. However, the researcher can process data immediately, can clarify and summarize as the study evolves, and can explore anomalous responses (Yin, 2009). The third characteristic of qualitative research is that it usually involves fieldwork. The researcher must physically go to the people, setting, site, or institution (the field) in order to observe behavior in its natural setting. Fourth, qualitative research primarily employs an inductive research strategy. That is, this type of research builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses, or theories rather than testing entities.

Often qualitative studies are undertaken because there is a lack of theory or existing theory fails to adequately explain a phenomenon. Thus, there are no preexisting hypotheses to guide the investigation. Qualitative research builds toward theory from observations and intuitive understandings gained in the field. In contrast to deductive researchers who look to find data to match a theory, inductive researchers look to find a theory that explains their data (Miles, 1994). Typically, qualitative research findings are in the form of themes, categories, typologies, concepts, tentative hypotheses, even theories, which have been inductively derived from the data (Merriam, 1992).

Finally, since qualitative research focuses on process, meaning, and understanding, the product of a qualitative study is richly descriptive. Words and pictures, rather than numbers, are used to convey what the researcher has learned about a phenomenon. There are likely to be researcher descriptions of the context, the players involved, and the activities of interest. In addition, data in the form of participants' own words, direct citations from documents, excerpts of videotapes, and so on, are likely to be included to support the findings of the study (Merriam, 1992).

Case Study Methodology

This research is centered in case study methodology which examines the desegregation of the Bowling Green Senior High School in 1965. Ten African American students who were in the junior class at High Street High School, the all-black high school, and who were members of the first senior class to desegregate Bowling Green Senior High School are the participants who comprised this case study. A single holistic case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. Simons (2009) defines case study as an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program, or system in a "real life" context (p. 21). The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation (Merriam, 1992). Case studies are differentiated from other types of qualitative research in that they are intensive descriptions and analyses of a single unit or bounded system, such as an individual, program, event, group, intervention, or community (Smith, 1978). Qualitative case studies in education are often framed with the concepts, models, and theories from anthropology, history, sociology, psychology, and educational psychology. A description and analysis of a school, program, intervention, or practice as it has evolved over time would be an ethnographic and historical case study (Merriam, 1992).

Yin (1994), for example, defines case study in terms of the research process: "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). "A qualitative case study is an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit" (Merriam, 1988). Salman (1991) focuses his definition on the case study's contrast with what might be called "variable-oriented" research. Rather than looking at a few variables in a large number of cases, the case inquirer looks at the complex interaction of many factors in a few cases: The "extensiveness" of the former is discarded for the "intensiveness" the latter offers. Wolcott (2009) also sees it as "an end product of field-oriented research" rather than a strategy or method and concludes the single most defining characteristic of case study research lies in limiting the objective of study, the case (p. 36). Stake (1995) adds that "the case is an integrated system" (p. 2). Both definitions allow me to see the case as a thing, a single entity, and a unit around which there are boundaries. I can "fence in" what I am going to study. The case then, could be a person (such as a student, a teacher, a principle), a program, a group (such as a class, a school, a community), a specific policy, and so on. Miles and Huberman (1994) think of the case as a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a "bounded context" (p. 25).

The case is identified as a bounded system. "The most straightforward examples of bounded systems are those in which the boundaries have a commonsense obviousness, e.g., an individual teacher, a single school, or perhaps an innovator program" (Adelman, 1983, p. 3). All methods of gathering data, from testing to interviewing, can be used in a case study, although certain techniques are used more than others (Merriam, 1992). The decision to focus on qualitative case studies stems from the fact that this design is chosen precisely because researchers are interested in insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than hypotheses testing. Case study has in fact been differentiated from other research designs in what Cronbach (1975) calls "interpretation in context" (p. 123). By concentrating on a single phenomenon or entity (the case), the researcher can uncover the interactions of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon. As Yin (1994) observes, case study is a design particularly suited to situations in which it is impossible to separate the phenomenon's variables from their context. The case study method as a process can be descriptive, explanatory, exploratory intrinsic instrumental, or collective (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Thomas (2011) suggests that a case study must comprise two elements: a "practical, historical unity" which constitutes the subject of the case study and an "analytical or theoretical frame", which constitutes the object of the study.

Qualitative case studies can be characterized by terms like *particular, sticky*, *descriptive,* and *heuristic*. These terms generally mean that case studies focus on a particular situation, event, program, or phenomenon. The case itself is important for what it reveals about the phenomenon and for what it might represent. Case studies "concentrate attention on the way particular groups of people confront specific problems, taking a holistic view of the situation" (Yin, 2009, p. 52). *Descriptive* means that the end product of a case study is a rich, "thick" description of a phenomenon under study. Case studies include as many variables as possible and portray their interaction, often over a period of time. Case studies can thus be longitudinal (Yin, 2009). They have also been labeled holistic, lifelike, grounded, and exploratory. *Heuristic* means that case studies illuminate the reader's understanding of the phenomenon under study. They can bring about the discovery of new meaning, extend the reader's experience, or confirm what is known. Previously unknown relationships and variables will emerge from case studies, leading to a rethinking of the phenomenon being studied (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003).

Janesick (2000) has developed a list of case study characteristics that may illuminate the nature of this research design. These aspects can be loosely grouped under three of the major characteristics recently discussed. Three statements reflect the case study's particularistic nature:

1. It can suggest to the reader what to do or what not to do in a similar situation.
2. It can examine a specific instance but illuminate a general problem.
3. It may or may not be influenced by the author's bias.

This study also utilizes historical information and documents. The historian must rely on primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artifacts as the main source of evidence. A more contemporary version of historical research can study the recent but not quite "dead" past by conducting an oral history. In this situation, historical research begins to overlap with case study research (Janesick, 2010). Janesick addresses the historical aspects of a case study, saying it can accomplish the following:

1. Illustrate the complexities of a situation-the fact that not one but many factors contribute to it.
2. Have the advantage of hindsight yet be relevant in the present.
3. Show the influence of personalities on the issue.
4. Show the influence of the passage of time on the issue's deadlines, i.e., change of legislators, secession of funding, and so on.
5. Include vivid material quotations, interviews, newspaper articles, and so on.
6. Obtain information from a wide variety of sources.
7. Cover many years and describe how the preceding decades led to a situation.

8. Spell out differences of opinion on the issue and suggest how these differences have influenced the results.
9. Present information in a wide variety of way and from the viewpoints of different groups.

Kleining (2000) indicates the heuristic quality of a case study dictates a set of four rules. First, the researcher should be open to new concepts and change his/her preconceptions if data are not in agreement with them. Second, the topic of research is preliminary and may change during the research process. Third, data should be collected under the paradigm of maximum structural variations of perspectives. Fourth, the analysis is directed toward discovery.

Stake (1995) takes this notion one step further and claims that knowledge learned from a case study is different from other research knowledge in four important ways. Case study knowledge is:

1. More concrete; case study knowledge resonates with our own experience because it is more vivid, concrete, and sensory than abstract.
2. More contextual; our experiences are rooted in context, as is knowledge in case studies. This knowledge is distinguishable from the abstract and from all knowledge derived from other research designs.
3. More developed by reader interpretation; readers bring to a case study their own experience and understanding, which leads to generalizations when new data for the case are added to all data. Stake considers these generalizations to be “part of the knowledge produced by case studies” (p. 36).
4. Based more on reference populations determined by the reader; in generalizing as described above, readers have some population in mind. Thus, unlike traditional research, the reader participates in extending generalizations to reference populations (Stake, 1995).

Participants

The participants in this research were the city students who remained at High Street High School two years after the Bowling Green city school system was ordered to desegregate in 1963. These participants lived in the area designated as the Bowling Green city limits during the two-year period after the court ruling. Most, if not all of them, lived in the city limits their entire lives.

A high percentage of these participants went to High Street elementary, middle, and high schools. Most, if not all, of these participants, were exposed to the same teachers, principal, guidance counselor, coaches, and staff throughout their elementary, middle, and high school years. If they participated in an extracurricular activity, they would have had the same teachers and coaches. The socioeconomic status as designated by the time would indicate that some participants were children of teachers, while others would have been children of laborers, custodians, barbers/beauticians, cooks, restaurant owners, railroad workers, and domestics, to name a few. The ethnic designation of the time for the students would have been Negro. Most would come from two-parent families. At this time, the study participants would have been born and lived a significant amount of their lives in *de jure* and *de facto* segregation. Presently, their ages range from 67 to 69.

The target population has an unprecedented and unique characteristic. The participants are the children born in the four-year period post-World War II. This generation is often referred to as "baby boomers." The term designates children born between 1946 and 1964. This period includes people between 52 and 70 years of age in 2016. The U.S. Census Bureau statistics indicate a statistical spike in births during this period. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, cultural descriptions and attitudes have been attached to this term "baby boomer." However, there is no consensus on the characteristics, attributes, and description of "baby boomers."

In Bowling Green, Kentucky, the public-school system, public facilities, and businesses were still segregated during the "baby boomer" generation. African Americans could attend Western Kentucky University; however, they could not live in the dormitory housing on campus. In 1956, the first African American to attend and graduate from undergraduate school at Western Kentucky University was Ms. Margaret Mundy. Also, that same year, the first African American students, Joe S. Owmby and Frank Moxley, entered graduate school at Western Kentucky University. Both men were teachers at the city's African American high school.

A defining characteristic of this population is their age period and their experience of segregation. All interviewees are drawn from this population.

Recruitment of Participants

The recruitment process to identify interview subjects relied on person-to-person contacts or phone calls. The primary initial contacts were made in person, but some potential participants were contacted by the most advantageous electronic means, i.e., phone and Facebook. Members of the class from which the interview data were gathered were initially identified and vetted by verifying their attendance and graduation from the Bowling Green Senior High School during the 1965 through 1966 school year. This information was confirmed through graduation records maintained in the Office of the Superintendent of the Bowling Green Public Schools. Members of this class were cross-referenced with archival class records from the 1964 through 1965 High Street High School class list. Members of the 1964 through 1965 junior class at High Street High School (the city's segregated black school) were confirmed through 1965 and 1966 graduation records from Bowling Green Senior High School (the city's historically segregated white school).

Initially, members of the group interviewed were those who lived in Bowling Green, Louisville, and Nashville. Initial recruitment contacts occurred through face-to-face interactions or phone calls. Members who were not contacted through face-to-face contact or phone calls were contacted through letter correspondence. Potential subjects were sent a letter requesting their participation in the study. Accompanying the letter was a consent form which those who wished to participate were asked to complete and return in an enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope. The one-page letter requested the opportunity to contact the recipient person-to-person, by phone, or email. A copy of the letter is included as Appendix B. Ten participants who were members of the first senior class to desegregate Bowling Green Senior High School consented to participate in the study.

Relationship of the Researcher to the Study

Researching this case requires discussion of the relationship of the researcher to the case study, the population, interview participants, the African American high school, and the Bowling Green community. The researcher was born and reared in the Bowling Green African American community during this period of segregation. Throughout childhood and adolescence, the researcher attended the segregated Bowling Green Public Schools and was a member of the last senior class of the segregated African American high school, High Street High School (HSHS). The researcher's first grade occurred during the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, Supreme Court case.

The researcher attended school with the research participants, who were members of the junior class when the segregated school was closed. They grew up together in the Bowling Green African American community and attended classes, participated in extracurricular activities, and attended churches and social functions together. The researcher is well acquainted with the members of the research population.

The researcher's close relationship with the community, the African American high school, and the interview participants could have potentially influenced objectivity. However, to the contrary, the relationship could have provided insights, sensitivities, and trust that another researcher would not have or would have required time to develop. The researcher's personal academic experience is that he went through elementary, junior high school, high school, and a year of college never having a white teacher or been in a predominantly white classroom or a predominantly white school. The desegregation experience for the researcher came during his sophomore year at Western Kentucky University.

The researcher's insight gained from teaching social studies in two public high schools and one alternative school identified some behaviors not recognized by the social studies department. Because the researcher was the only African American social studies teacher in both schools, African American students identified with and gravitated to the researcher. These students wanted to know African American facts in social studies. Upon gaining this information, they were energized to form Harambee Clubs, give Kwanzaa celebrations, form gospel ensembles, challenge traditional social studies' white perspectives, and challenge the administration in certain situations. These students challenged teachers who taught traditional American History. Similarly, African American colleagues in other departments were also sought out by these students. African American students who were not known for their scholarship showed increased academic resilience when factual African American social studies were infused into the curriculum.

These public-school teaching experiences were further validated when the researcher became an assistant professor in the School of Education at Kentucky State University. During this five-year period, the Kentucky State University School of Education graduated more African American male teachers than all the undergraduate education programs of all other Kentucky universities combined (Yates, 2012).

The researcher's personal experiences in the segregated Bowling Green schools and subsequent educational and professional experiences dictated the rationale to conduct a qualitative rather than quantitative study, seeking to identify and capture the voices, experiences, and stories of the first African-American students to desegregate the Bowling Green schools. As Grusky

(2001) contends, a quantitative study cannot measure feelings, emotions, fears, anger, or self-esteem issues experienced in a desegregated setting. The experience of the "other" can best be described by one who has had that experience.

Theoretical Basis for the Case Study

Scholars like Dr. Molefi Asante (1991) maintain that social and organizational structures create actual and perceived barriers for minorities within American society. This study will employ critical theory to investigate and identify the actual and perceived barriers of the participants. Bell (1991) asserts critical theory can make valuable contributions to the management of change in work organizations by revealing otherwise hidden agendas, power, and managerial assumptions embedded within organizations. Critical Race Theory (CRT) was used to develop interview questions, conduct interviews, and identify themes from the collected interview data. Critical Race Theory originated in the mid-1970s as a result of lawyers, activists, and legal scholars throughout the country working in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Critical Race Theory is based on at least six premises:

1. Storytelling is a significant part of the law, and disenfranchised people have different stories and different ways of telling them than enfranchised people.
2. Racist behavior is not an aberration; it is normal practice.
3. Elites act against racist behavior in society only when it serves them.
4. Race is a social construct, not a biological one.
5. Characteristics ascribed to a particular race will change. (For example, African American people were most commonly called "happy-go-lucky and childlike" in the slavery era to rationalize slavery, but now they are commonly called "threatening and criminal" to rationalize increased police intervention.)
6. People have interesting identities, i.e., they belong to more than one demographic group and are consequently affected by disenfranchisement or inequality in more than one way. We all have multiple lenses through which we experience the world and through which we are experienced by others (Delgado, 2001).

The approach used for this study provides retrospective insight into the experiences of Bowling Green's public-school desegregation (Thomas, 2011). Years after the 1954 *Brown* decision, there are members of the African American community who question the benefits of desegregation. Arguably, integration never occurred. Desegregation may be more applicable terminology. The initial investigation of desegregation should start with a study of the 1954 Supreme Court *Brown* decision and the 1955 *Brown* decision. The second *Brown* decision provided and initiated the structure and impetus for how the respective states would go forward with their desegregation process (Ogletree, 2004). African American leaders of the time expressed their concern for the way integration would be carried out. They also provided rationale for how integration should be approached (K.N.E.A., 1950). Professor James Smalls, of New York University, conducts lectures and workshops entitled "Desegregation: Who profited, Who gained." This study may reveal the methods by which desegregation was implemented in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

The desegregation case at Bowling Green is unique for many reasons. The participants are the only people to have this experience. Lincoln and Guba (1981) recommend sampling until a point of saturation or redundancy is reached. In purposeful sampling, the size of the sample is determined by informational considerations. If the purpose is to maximize information, the sampling is terminated when no new information is forthcoming from new sampled units; thus, redundancy is the primary criterion. For this study, an approximate number of participants was determined with the understanding it could be adjusted during the study. Yin (2018) recommends specifying a minimum sample size "based on expected reasonable coverage of the phenomenon given the purpose of the study" (p. 186). The intent is to sample as many participants as logically possible. Several extenuating circumstances, however, may impact accessibility to the study participants. For this study, the researcher set a base number of 10 study participants.

Instrumentation

Informal and semi-structured interviews of participants were used as a source of much of the data to be studied. Articles, artifacts, memos, notes, and additional personal reflections which focused on this population were also examined for this research.

Prior to the interview, consent forms were provided for the review and signature of each participant. Fifteen questions were created to guide the interviews. The questions sought participants' perceptions of their experiences as the first class to desegregate the Bowling Green Schools. The list of interview questions is included as Appendix C. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for later analysis.

A phenomenological approach to interviewing focuses on the experiences of participants and the meaning they make of that experience (Seidman, 2013, p. 16). In interviewing guided by phenomenology, researchers strive to understand a person's experience from their point of view (Schutz, 1967, p. 20). Schutz and Max Van Manen (1990) emphasize that a phenomenological approach focuses on the "lived experience" of human beings. Van Manen (1990) writes that phenomenology, because it is the descriptive study of lived experience, is the attempt to enrich lived experience by mining its meaning. I collect this type of data for reasons stated by Vygotsky (1987): "I interview because I am interested in other people's stories. Every word that people use in telling their stories is a microcosm of their consciousness" (Vygotsky, 1987, pp. 236-237).

The root of the word *story* is the Greek word *histor*, which means one who is "wise" and "learned" (Watkins, 1985p. 74). Telling stories is essentially a meaning-making process. When people tell stories, they select details of their experience from their stream of consciousness. Every whole story, Aristotle tells us, has a beginning, middle, and an end (Becker, 1968). In order to give the details of their experience a beginning, middle, and an end, people must reflect on their experience. It is this process of selecting constitutive details of experience, reflecting on them, giving them order, and thereby making sense of them that makes telling stories a meaning making experience (Schutz, 1967).

Every word that people use in telling their stories is a microcosm of their consciousness (Vygotsky, 1987). Individual's consciousness gives access to the most complicated social and educational issues, because social and educational issues are abstractions based on the concrete experience of people. W.E. B. Du Bois knew this when he wrote, "I seem to see a way of elucidating the inner meaning of life and significance of the race problem by explaining it in terms of the one human life that I know best" (Wideman, 1990, p. xiv).

At the very heart of what it means to be human is the ability of people to symbolize their experience through language. To understand human behavior means to understand the use of language (Heron, 1981). Heron points out that the original and archetypal paradigm of human inquiry is two persons talking and asking questions of each other. He asserts the use of language itself and contains within it the paradigm of cooperative inquiry; and, since language is the primary tool whose use enables human construing and intending to occur, it is difficult to see how there can be any more fundamental mode of inquiry for human beings into the human condition.

Interviewing, then, is a basic mode of inquiry. Recounting narratives of experience has been the major way throughout recorded history that humans have made sense of their experience. To those who would ask, however, "is telling stories, science?," Reason (1981) would respond, "the best stories are those which steer people's minds, hearts, and souls and by so doing gives them new insights into themselves, their problems and their human condition. The challenge is to develop a human science that can more fully serve this aim. The question, then, is not 'Is storytelling science?' but 'Can science learn to tell good stories?'" (Reason, 1981, p. 50).

The purpose of in-depth interviewing is not to get answers to questions, nor to test hypotheses, and not to "evaluate" as the term is normally used (See Patton, 1985, for an exception). At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience. At the heart of interviewing is an interest in other individuals' stories because they are of worth. That is why people-only interviews are hard to code with numbers, and why finding pseudonyms for participants is a complex and sensitive task (Kvale, 1996). Their stories defy the anonymity of a number and almost that of a pseudonym. "To hold the conviction that we know enough already and do not need to know others' stories is not only anti-intellectual, it also leaves us, at one extreme, prone to violence to others" (Todorov, 1984).

The primary way a researcher can investigate an educational organization, institution, or process is through the experience of the individual people, the "others" who make up the organization. Social abstractions like "education" are best understood through the experiences of the individuals whose work and lives are the stuff upon which the abstractions are built (Farrarotti, 1981). So much research is done on schooling in the United States, yet so little of it is based on studies involving the perspective of the students, teachers, administrators, counselors, special subject teachers, nurses, psychologists, cafeteria workers, secretaries, school crossing guards, bus drivers, parents, and school committee members whose individual and collective experience constitutes schooling (Seidman, 2006).

The adequacy of a research method depends on the purpose of the research and the questions being asked (Locke, 1989). If the researcher is interested, however, in what it is like for a student to be in a classroom, what their experience is, and what meaning they make out of that experience – if the interest is in what Schutz (1967) calls their "subjective understanding" – then it seems to me that interviewing, in most cases, may be the best avenue of inquiry. In the 1970s, a reaction to the dominance of experimental, quantitative, and behaviorist research and education began to develop (Gage, 1989). The critique had its own energy and was also a reflection of the era's more general resistance to quantitative research dominance (Gitlin, 1987).

For those interested in interviewing as a method of research, perhaps the most telling argument between the two camps centers on the significance of language inquiry with human beings. Bertaux (1981) argued those who urge educational researchers to imitate the natural sciences seem to ignore one basic difference between the subjects of inquiry in the natural sciences and those of the social sciences: the subjects of inquiry in the social sciences can talk and think. Unlike a planet, or a chemical, or a lever, "if given a chance to talk freely, people appear to know a lot about what is going on" (Bertaux, 1981, p. 39).

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection and analysis is a simultaneous activity in qualitative research (Merriam, 1995, p. 195). Analysis begins with the first interview, the first observation, the first document read. Emerging insights, hunches, and tentative hypotheses direct the next phase of data collection, which in turn leads to the refinement or reformulation of questions (Seidman, 2006). In education, Connelly (1990) coined the term *narrative inquiry* to describe the potential and the role of storytelling in educational experiences. Methods of analysis and critique are hard to come by, but the sources of narratives (curriculum materials, articles, presentations, anecdotes, gossip, and other artifacts) construct and represent meaning in the daily lives of educators (Seidman, 2006). Clandinin (2000) indicated narrative is defined in its broadest sense – an account, tale, interview with the narrator; artifacts, objects, or actions with inherent narratives; co-constructed narratives – all containing a story. Narratives have narrators or re-narrators – those who relate events, describe, question, tell, and show.

In this study, transcripts of the audio-taped interviews became the narratives of the respective participants. The narratives were recorded as written memos of the respective interviews. Each summative memo was supported by quotes, field notes, or references to documents. In the memos, the researcher described what the data indicated and compared information collected with information already known and any unexpected surprises. Repetitive themes and possible conclusions were also noted.

Transcriptions of participant interviews were coded as a method for analyzing the data. This study followed the suggested coding processes outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Saldaña (2013). A code in qualitative inquiry can be a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language–based on visual data (Saldaña, 2013). Coding is a heuristic (from the Greek, meaning, "to discover") and exploratory problem-solving technique. Without specific formulas and algorithms to follow, coding is only the initial step toward an even more rigorous and evocative analysis and interpretation for developing a report. Coding is not just labeling, it is linking, "it leads you from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all of the data pertaining to that idea" (Richards, 2007, p. 137). Miles and Huberman (1994) stated, "One method of creating codes – the one we prefer – is that of creating a provisional 'start list' of codes prior to fieldwork. That list comes from the conceptual framework, list of research questions, hypotheses, problem areas, and front/or key variables that the researcher brings to the study" (p. 58).

Codes are used to retrieve and organize data, then placed into batches of related words and phrases. Clustering is the display of the condensed batches that set the conditions for drawing conclusions. This study, as with conventional advice, will go through transcripts and field notes with a pencil, marking off units that connect because they dealt with the same topic. The next step will be to divide units into topics and sub-topics at different levels of analysis (Agar, 1980). These identifiable topics (or themes or Gestalts) presumably would recur with some regularity. They would be given a "name" and instances of them will be marked with a shorthand label (a code). Miles and Huberman indicated initiating analysis begins with coding small segments, i.e., words or phrases. Precise coding of multiple small segments can be clustered or placed into notes.

Coding is analysis. Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes usually are attached to "chunks" of varying sizes – words, phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs, connected or unconnected to a specific setting (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Charmaz (2008) describes coding as the "critical link" between data collection and their explanation of meaning. In qualitative data analysis, a code is a researcher-generated construct that symbolizes and thus attributes interpreted meaning to each individual datum for later purposes of pattern detection, categorization, theory building and other analytical processes. Just as a title represents and captures a book, film or poem's primary content and essence, so does a code represent and capture a datum's primary content and essence (Saldaña, 2013).

Analysis Sequence

As Saldaña (2013) and Miles and Huberman (1994) indicate, coding and analysis is an iterative process. While coding and analysis are not entirely synonymous, coding is a crucial aspect of analysis (Basit, 2003). Multiple cycles of coding should be utilized to manage, filter, highlight, and focus salient features of the qualitative data record to generate categories, themes, and concepts, grasping meaning and/or building theory (Coffey, 1996). Miles and Huberman (1994) stressed three principles to consider related to coding. First, codes can be at different levels of analysis, ranging from the descriptive to the inferential. Second, they can happen at different times during analysis; some get created and used at the start, and others follow – typically the descriptive ones first and the inferential ones later. Third and most important, codes are astringent. They pull together a lot of material assisting analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

When coding field notes, Emerson (2011) recommended a general list of questions be considered in chronological order regardless of research purpose:

1. What are people doing? What are they trying to accomplish?
2. How exactly do they do this? What specific means and/or strategies do they use?
3. How do members talk about, characterize, and understand what is going on?
4. What assumptions are they making?
5. What do I see going on here?
6. What did I learn from these notes?
7. Why did I include the notes?

Sustein and Chiseri-Strader (2007) recommended that during all cycles of coding and data analysis the researcher be aware of "what strikes you?" They suggest that during all stages of a qualitative project researchers ask themselves:

1. What surprised me? (to track assumptions)
2. What intrigued me? (to track positionality)
3. What disturbed me? (to track tensions within your values, attitudes, and beliefs systems)

For this study, the researcher kept a codebook which was used to track emergent codes, topics, issues, recurrent statements, and their intensity. The researcher used first cycle and second cycle coding as described in the next two sections. The first cycle coding process can range from a single word to a paragraph or several paragraphs. The second cycle coding process can be the exact same units as the first, or it can be additional text, analytic memos about the data and reconfigurations of the first cycle codes.

Consistent with the recommendation to create a provisional 'start list' of codes prior to fieldwork (Miles & Huberman, 1994), the researcher grouped interview questions, and thus topics, into the following four broad categories:

1. Personal reflections (what do you remember)
2. Desegregation interactions (day-to-day interactions)
3. Personal experience processing (what views, values, rules, roles, rituals, and beliefs did you employ to make it)
4. Transforming process (what did you do to make it)

As suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (2007), this study's coding start list was expanded to focus on identifying the following more specific categories:

1. Setting /context: general information on surroundings that allows you to put the study in a larger context
2. Definition of the situation: how people understand, define, or perceive the setting or the topic, all on which the study bears
3. Perspective: ways of thinking about their setting shared by informants ("how things are done here")
4. Ways of thinking about people and objects: understandings of each other, of outsiders and their world (more detailed than above)
5. Process: sequence of events, flow, transition, and turning points, change over time
6. Activities: regularly occurring kinds of behaviors
7. Events: specific activities, especially ones occurring infrequently
8. Strategies: ways of accomplishing things; people's tactics, methods, and techniques for meeting their needs

9. Relationships and social structure: unofficially defined patterns, such as cliques, coalitions, romances, friendships and enemies
10. Methods: problems, joys, dilemmas of the research process

First Cycle Coding Methods

Saldaña (2013) groups coding methods according to three categories: Grammatical, Elemental, and Affective. Each category has sub-categories. Findings for this study resulted from utilizing various coding methods as described below:

Grammatical Method

1. Attribute Coding was used to log essential information about the data and demographic characteristics of the participants for future management and reference.

Elemental Method

1. Structural Coding was used to apply a content-based or conceptual-based code representing a topic of inquiry to a segment of data that relates to a specific research question used to frame the interviews (MacQueen, 2008). Structural Coding both codes and initially categorizes the data to examine comparable segments, commonalities, differences, and relationships and provides a "grand tour" overview.
2. Descriptive Coding was used to analyze the data's basic topics to assist with answering fundamental questions of the study. Turner (1994) calls this cycle the development of a "basic vocabulary" of data to form "bread and butter" categories for analytic work. Descriptive Coding was used for all field notes, documents, and artifacts as well as interviews.
3. In Vivo Coding, also labeled as "literal coding," "verbatim coding," "inductive coding," "indigenous coding," and "emic coding" (Corbin, 2008), was used to reflect the actual language or terms the participants used in interviews as a way of attuning the researcher to participants' language, perspectives and worldviews.
4. Process Coding reflected "action coding" or the use of gerunds ("ing" words) to connotate action in the data (Charmarz, 2002). Simple observable activity (e.g., struggling, negotiating, surviving, adapting) were coded as such through a Process Code.

Affective Method

1. Emotion Coding was used to label the emotions recalled and/or experienced by the participants or inferred by the researcher about the participant. Goldman (1995) defined an emotion as “a feeling and its distinctive thoughts, psychological and biological states, and range of propensities to act (p. 289).”
2. Value Coding was used to reflect a participant’s values, attitudes, and beliefs representing his or her perspectives or worldview. Although each construct has a different meaning, Value Coding as a term subsumes all three. As defined by Saldaña (2013), a value is the importance we attribute to oneself, another person, or idea; an attitude is the way we think and feel; and a belief is a system that includes our values and attitudes plus our personal knowledge. Beliefs are embedded in the value attached to them. They are rules for action.

At the conclusion of the First Coding Cycle, various themes began to emerge. A theme is an extended phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/or what it means (Saldaña, 2013). Boyatzis (1998) explains that a theme at minimum describes and organizes possible observations, or at the maximum, interprets aspects of the phenomenon. The initial themes that evolved from the participants’ interviews were as follows:

1. Feelings of powerlessness and having been defeated;
2. Feelings of loss (culture, a physical place of community and identity);
3. Feelings of non-acceptance and hurt;
4. Feelings of isolation, confusion, and disconnection;
5. Feelings of subtle hostility;
6. Feelings of subtle rage (hostility and aggression);
7. Varying senses of self-worth and value;
8. Unsupported optimism (hope);
9. Feelings of abandonment and betrayal (apprehension);
10. Feelings of being devalued in reference to academics.

Richards (2007) and Sullivan (2012) offer an extensive literature review on the use of theme in qualitative research. Each one of the above themes was identified as units of analysis for this study.

Second Cycle Coding Methods

The second cycle coding focused on analytic transition, such as selecting new coding methods for re-analysis of data; constructing categories from the classification of codes; and reorganizing and reassembling the transformed data to better focus the direction of study (Saldaña, 2013). The second cycle coding entailed each participant's transcribed interviews being examined by utilizing the aforementioned seven coding methods from the first cycle (i.e., Attribute, Structural, Descriptive, In Vivo, Process, Emotion, and Value) as well as Dramaturgical Coding.

Dramaturgical Coding was utilized to initiate the Second Cycle Coding. This method of coding was applied to each individual participant. Their interview transcripts served as narratives of a "social drama." This method places the participant in a setting of humans interacting as a cast of characters in a conflict (Saldaña, 2013). Dramaturgical Coding observes the participant and attaches abbreviated terms to actions and interactions of the characters. It observes the written script of the play and the analysis of the production. The participants and the place being observed are like a theater. When applied to qualitative data analysis, observations are abbreviated by six short terms. The terms are:

1. Participant-actor objective, motive in the form of action verbs: OB;
2. Conflicts or obstacles confronted by the participant-actor that prevent him or her from achieving his or her objectives: CON;
3. Participant-actor tactics or strategies to deal with conflicts or obstacles and achieve his or her objectives: TAC;
4. Participant-actor attitudes toward setting, others, and the conflict: ATT;
5. Emotions experienced by the participant-actor: EMO;
6. Subtexts, the participant-actor's unspoken thoughts or impression management in the form of gerunds (see Process Coding): SUB.

Following each participant coding, an analytic memo was created based on each participant's transcribed interview. The purpose of analytic memo writing was to document the interview reflections, the coding process and code choices, how the process of inquiry was taking shape, and the emergent patterns, categories, subcategories, themes, and concepts in the data. Analytic memos are somewhat comparable to researchers' journal entries or blogs – a place to "dump your brain" about the participants, phenomenon, or process under investigation by thinking, writing, and thus thinking even more about them. “Memos are rites of conversation with ourselves about data” (Clarke, 2005, p. 202).

Finally, following the Dramaturgical Coding and analytical memo writing, Axial Coding was applied to the data. The purpose of Axial Coding is “to determine which codes in the research are the dominant ones and which are the less important ones … [and to] reorganize the data set: synonyms are crossed out, redundant codes are removed and the best representative codes are selected (Boeije, 2010, p. 109). Axial Coding is appropriate for studies employing grounded theory methodology and studies with a wide variety of data forms (e.g., interview transcripts, field notes, journals, documents, diaries, correspondence, artifacts, and videos). The “axis” of Axial Coding is a category (like the axis of a wooden wheel with extended spokes) discerned from the First Coding Cycle. The ten initial concepts identified in the first cycle of coding were examined and interpreted within the setting to determine how participants used resiliency throughout the desegregation experience.

Data Analysis

The coding process previously discussed was accompanied by a case analysis meeting form. The topics on the case analysis form are:

1. Main themes, impressions, and summary statements (about what is going on in the case), comments about the general state of the planning.
2. Explanations, speculations, hypotheses (about what is going on in the case).
3. Alternative explanations (about what is going on in the case).
4. Next steps for data collection (follow-up questions, specific actions, general directions fieldwork to take).
5. Implications for revision, updating of coding schemes (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The process suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994) for the study process is as follows:

1. Making notes in the field
2. Writing up or transcribing field notes
3. Editing: connecting, extending or revising field notes
4. Coding: attaching keywords or tags to segments of text to permit later retrieval
5. Storage: keeping text in an organized database

6. Search and retrieval: locating relevant segments of text and making them available for inspection
7. Data “linking”: connecting relevant data segments with each other, forming categories, clusters or networks of information
8. Memo-ing: writing reflective commentaries on some aspect of the data as a basis for deeper analysis
9. Content analysis: counting frequencies sequence or locations of words and phrases
10. Data display: placing selected or reduced data in a condensed, organized format such as a matrix or network for inspection
11. Conclusion drawing and verification: aiding the analyst to interpret display data and to test or confirm findings
12. The rebuilding: developing systemic, conceptually coherent explanations of findings, testing hypotheses
13. Graphic mapping: creating diagrams that depict findings or theories
14. Preparing interim and final reports.

Vignettes were utilized to develop clearer understandings of verbal statements of interview participants and other contributors to the study. A vignette is a focused description of a series of events taken to be representative, typical, or emblematic, in the case. The outline setting of a vignette is as follows:

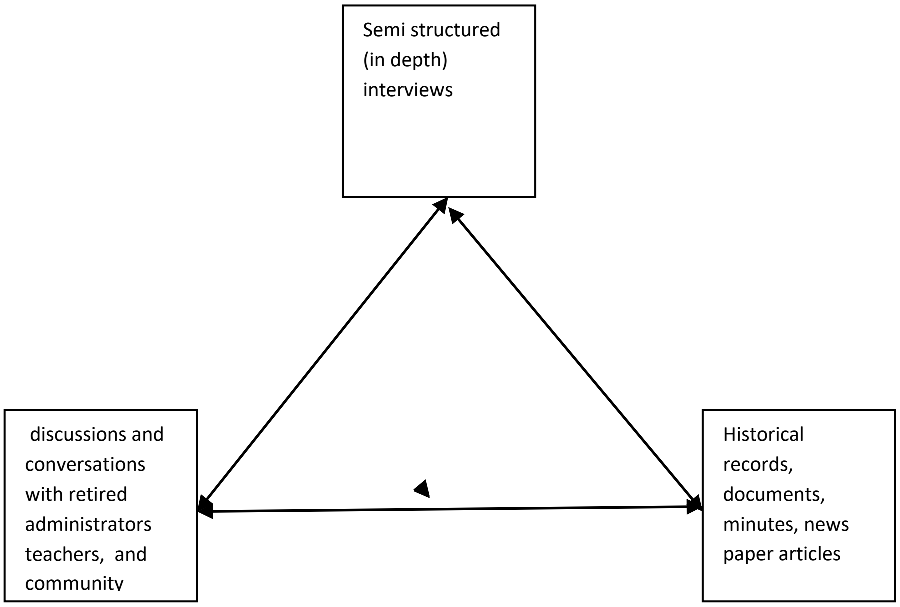
1. The context
2. Your hopes
3. Who was involved
4. What you did
5. What happened as a result
6. What the impact was
7. Why this happened
8. Other comments, such as expectations for the future, predictions, what was learned (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Upon the analysis of the data gathered from the interviews, artifacts, coincidental discussions, historical and contemporary writing, and additional insights into the desegregation of

Bowling Green's public school systems, the findings describe the perspectives of the first class of African-American students who attended the historical public white school in Bowling Green, Kentucky. The participants described their personal experiences, internal feelings, and external interactions. An important aspect of the study was gathering data in reference to the participant's external experiences. Themes and categories were developed from the coded feelings, emotions, thoughts, and actions received from participant responses.

Additional analysis was conducted through collecting, archiving, and housing records, artifacts, and memorabilia of the Bowling Green African American high school and community. Valuable primary source information was also collected from informal conversations with Bowling Green retired (black) educators and students from both State Street (1883-1954) and High Street (1955-1965) high schools. This research effort has manifested in the establishment of the African-American Museum in the Bowling Green Area. The museum is presently collecting and housing artifacts from the old schools (pictures, trophies, events) and collecting documents related to the desegregation years (newspaper articles, school records, etc.). Figure 2 illustrates the triangulation and intersectionality of the various data sources used in this study. Findings from the research are presented in Chapter 4.

Figure 2: Triangulation and Intersectionality of Data Sources


Semi structured (in depth) interviews
discussions and conversations with retired administrators teachers, and community
Historical records, documents, minutes, news paper articles

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Introduction

Findings from the data analysis resulting from this qualitative study of the experiences of ten African-American students who were seniors at Bowling Green Senior High School during the first year of desegregation are presented in this chapter. Analyzing the early conflicts of desegregation may identify when, how, and what dynamics fostered what is referred to today as the achievement gap. This analysis may develop insights into the unresolved achievement gap issues. Gaining these insights may suggest more effective approaches to solutions.

Interviews with the ten participants were conducted as the 50th anniversary of the 1965-1966 BGSHS desegregated class was approaching. Only one of the participants had ever returned for a class reunion.

Socialization and Psychological Process

Socialization evolved as a Core Category in the study findings. Socialization is a term used by sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and educationalists to refer to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, values, and ideologies providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within their own society. Socialization is how social and cultural continuity is attained (Kramsch, 2003). Within this definition is the underlined segment "their own society." The assertion here is that socialization is a process that is symbiotic with a psychological indoctrination.

According to Kramsch (2003), the basic tenets of socialization are:

1. Context, which constitutes the settings and boundaries in which the action or process occurs (High Street High School and Bowling Green Senior High School)
2. Condition, which identifies routines and situations that happen or do not happen within the context
3. Interactions, described as the specific types, qualities, and strategies of exchange between people in these contexts and conditions
4. Consequences, which constitutes the outcomes or results of the context, conditions, and interactions.

As conveyed in this study, segregation required African Americans to be indoctrinated by dual socialization processes. During several conversations, the question was asked, “As implemented and practiced, whose society received the most advantages from the desegregation and the socialization of HSHS students?” The tenor of this question expressed low level anger and reflected the theme of feeling powerless and loss. This same theme would be repeated in additional conversations in reference to contemporary achievement gap issues.

Socialization describes a process which may lead to desirable outcomes, sometimes labeled “mores”, as regarded by the society where it occurs. Individual views on certain issues, for instance race or economics, are influenced by the society’s consensus and usually tend toward what the society finds acceptable or “normal.” Many socio-political theories postulate that socialization provides a partial explanation for human beliefs and behaviors, maintaining that agents are not blank slates predetermined by their environment (Bentley-Edwards, 2016). Scientific research provides evidence that people are shaped by both social influences and genes (Thomas, Speight, Hewitt, Witherspoon, & Selders, 2014). Genetic studies have shown that a person’s environment interacts with his or her genotype to influence behavioral outcomes.

Process is the means by which individuals acquire the knowledge, language, social skills, and value to conform to the norms and roles required for integration into a group or community. It is a combination of both self-imposed (because the individual wants to conform) and externally imposed rules and the expectations of the others (Chae, et al., 2017). In an organizational setting, socialization refers to the process through which a new employee “learns the ropes,” by becoming sensitive to the formal and informal power structure and the explicit and implicit rules of behavior. Additionally, the act of adapting behavior to the norms of a culture or society is called socialization.

Participants responses indicated there was a collision of two opposing cultures and two socialization processes. The dominant culture imposed the socialization process on the desegregated High Street High School students. They had to adapt or drop out. Axial coding findings identified socialization as a core category. Focused coding identified the impact of the desegregation socialization process on the participants.

Themes Identified as Result of Focus Coding

Segregation Socialization (as identified from axial coding)

Theme: Feeling devastation about the closure of High Street High School and the loss of their senior year

1. "It was taken away from me by a racist system. Loss of your valuable school, school culture, school community."
2. Loss of their education institution, teachers, and education culture which was designed to help them build self-esteem; motivate and build confidence and hope; build self-worth; and build a sense of community and trust with emphasis on traditions, values, worldview, practices, views, mores, roles, rituals, aesthetics, partnerships, and ownership.

Theme: Feeling of powerlessness

1. Feeling attacked, feeling of abandonment.
2. Feeling of not having choice, feeling of no input in the decisions which impacted their lives, feeling that the community did not protect or prepare them for desegregation.

Desegregation was forced socialization. As implemented in Bowling Green in 1965, it was the elimination of the African American institutionalized education socialization system. It was mandated and implemented by a non-compromising assimilation directive (Office, Special Call Meeting, # 647, February 27, 1965).

Theme: No preparation; no orientation; no community meetings; required complete assimilation.

The Bowling Green Board of Education, at its meeting in February 1965, voted unanimously to close High Street High School and move the 9th through 12th grades to Bowling Green High School. There were no African Americans on the Bowling Green Board of Education, and no evidence of an advisory committee from the High Street community. There is no evidence from Superintendent's records of any additional preparation for the reception of HSHS students or teachers. No evidence was located that the education system of BGHS made any adjustments for the incoming HSHS students. Desegregation appropriated the HSHS social, cultural, and financial capital.

The socialization concepts derived from axial coding were further examined through focus coding. Focus coding categorized the socialization process through the tenets of the Social Capital Theory. Findings from focus coding indicated the desegregation of HSHS students was a major disruption to and devaluation of the Bowling Green African American community's social capital.

The purpose of the following discussion is to bring depth, breadth, and weight to the focus code findings. The intent of the discussion is to verbalize the connection of the participant's social capital with their psychological resilience (Cooper, et al., 2015).

The sense of community has both formal (bridging) and informal (bonding) functions. Bonding is the deep feeling of belonging to the segregated African American community in Bowling Green, historically and culturally known as "Shake Rag." "It was like family." "All Black folks knew each other." Bridging, or the formal function to community, can be traced back to marriage records from the Freedmen's Bureau. Demographic data indicated that all but two of the parents (both were fathers) were native to Bowling Green. All the participants were born in Bowling Green or the county (Warren). Only one participant was born elsewhere in the county. No participants were born in the hospital facility due to laws forbidding African Americans access. The single participant not born in Warren County moved to the segregated area of Bowling Green when he was six years old. The primary bridging function is that the majority of the parents were Bowling Green natives. Not only was it "like family," data indicates it was family. Of the participants, there was only one who was reared by a single mother.

Community psychologists have studied many individual-level attitudes, emotions, and perceptions related to social capital, the most popular being empowerment and sense of community. Empowerment is about the development of a sense of collective efficacy or control over the institutions that affect one's life. Sense of community is an attitude of bonding, or mutual trust and belonging, with other members of one's group or locale. Utilizing Perkins and Long (2002), we add the idea of formal and informal community "trust"—or the community-focused cognitive (perceptual and meaning-making) processes of individuals—to formal and informal pro-social community behaviors (see Figure 3, also presented in Chapter 1 as Figure 1**)**. This framework results in a four-part definition of social capital at the individual, psychological level.

The two cognitive components are (1) trust in one's neighbors (sense of community), and (2) belief in the efficacy of formally organized action (empowerment). The two behavioral components are (3) informal neighboring behavior, and (4) formal participation in community organizations. Each dimension of individual-level social capital is distinct but related to the other dimension.

Figure 3: Four Dimensions of Individual-Level Social Capital **(Perkins & Long, 2002)**

	Cognition/Trust	Social Behavior
Informal	Sense of community	Neighboring
Formal	Collective Efficacy/ Empowerment	Citizen Participation

Sense of Community

According to Perkins and Long (2002), the sense of community is shown as including four dimensions: membership, shared emotional connection, influence, and needs fulfillment. Themes from the data that are consistent with the four dimensions of Perkins and Long (2002) are echoed in the following participants' statements:

1. Membership
    a. "We hung around High Street after school to be in clubs, extracurricular activities, talk with teachers, play tennis."
    b. "I had so much fun at High Street." "I was in several extracurriculars, I was head majorette."
    c. "Everybody knew everybody." "My parents knew the teachers." "The teachers knew them." "They knew their in-laws and family members and so forth. It was just like a family setting."

2. Shared emotional connection

   a. “I mostly remember the 11 years of a relationship with High Street and my community.”
   b. “Once I found out that none of our girls were going to be cheerleaders from High Street, I said okay, I said then I don’t need to play. I said, I’ll tell you what. Until we get that straightened out I take my ass-excuse me, ass back home and I don’t have to do that.”
   c. “I mean nobody heckled you, nobody said anything to you whatever, but you get the sense that you were a number as opposed to being a part of the system there. And you got that feeling right away.”

3. Influence
   a. “There was no… you know how we used to interact with faculty at High Street. You might stop by and you would talk to Mr. Oldham or you [would] talk to Owmby or Moxley or some of these people that you know, you just interacted with. There was none of that [at BGHS] absolutely none of that. That was gone. And that’s when you actually knew that, you know, you were just passing through. You were just passing through this one.”
   b. “At High Street, somebody would tell you, you should go to Fisk. You need to apply yourself to get in Fisk, to get in Tuskegee, to go to this school. You need to work.”
   c. “And no one at a white school is encouraging you or telling you that you are special or that you can achieve. Nobody.”

4. Needs Fulfillment
   a. “I remember Bowling Green High School students got their high school rings in the spring and I recall that it was like $15.00 to have a ring. My mother had six kids and $15.00 was a huge amount of money in those days so I wasn’t going to get a ring and it was fine because in my mind I wasn’t going to Bowling Green High anyways, so, I didn’t need a ring. But, in the long run with the help

of several in the community I got a class ring and I still have my class ring and I wear most of the time."

b. "We had no transportation provided so our parents made sure with the Hampton's that we got to and from school. Some days we weren't able to be picked up, so we walked from Bowling Green High home. And you're walking through areas that they shouted ugly words to you."

Collective Efficacy

Collective efficacy is empowerment or trust in the effectiveness of organized community action. Empowerment has been defined as a process by which people gain control over their lives and their community (Rappaport, 1987) and gain a critical understanding of their environment (Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz, & Checkoway, 1992). It also points to the benefits. Such an approach is not only at the individual level, but also at the level of creating and empowering organizations and communities.

At the local level, however, collective efficacy is a natural construct to link with social capital as it focuses on how individual self-efficacy, confidence, competencies, and critical reflection relate to group and organization-level bridging via mutual respect, caring, participation, and resource exchange and acquisition, as well as community-level social change (Driscoll, Reynolds, & Todman, 2015; Perkins, 1995). Collective efficacy was expressed by participants primarily through their feelings of powerlessness. Data collected in reference to collective efficacy were gathered from a follow-up prompt to the research question, "What were your thoughts about going to the new desegregated school?" The researcher prompted follow up with the question, "Were there any community meetings to discuss or prepare the community or students for desegregation?"

a. "Absolutely not. Actually, there was nothing. We were told that we would be going to that school no ifs, ands, or buts. You have no choices. You had no other choice. You were going to that school. No one, not anyone from High Street or even parents or the church, no one in the community prepared us for that."
b. "We didn't have a whole lot of choice. Our school was closed. So, if we were going to continue our education in Bowling Green, we were going to go to Bowling Green High School."

c. "No, we just heard that they were going to close the school and that there wouldn't be no more High Street School. There wasn't any kind of get together. It was pretty much cut and dry."
d. "No, now that I think back on it that was atypical because there were always community efforts to make sure that we reflected well on the black community."
e. "We had no choice. It was a decision made for us."
f. "I think that when we went to Bowling Green High it was one of those 11th hour decisions. It was a knee jerk decision that the school was going to have to close because Bowling Green High was going to lose some money. I think it was government funding that they were not going to get if they did not have some black students in their building."
g. "We cannot lose this money because we're keeping that school open down there in the black community. Best thing for us to do is to shut it down. Don't give them any options. Just shut it down. I think I hate to say that our community was busy saying yes sir, yes sir, yes sir and not defending their whole community."

Neighboring Behavior

Neighboring behavior constitutes the informal behavioral dimension of social capital as depicted in Figure 1. Neighboring behavior is the supportive help we provide, or get from, other community members, for instance, watching a neighbor's house or child, loaning some food or a tool, sharing information, and so forth (Perkins et. al., 1990; 1996; Unger, 1985). Neighboring behavior can be ordinary social interaction with one's neighbors, especially as it helps residents get better acquainted and discuss shared problems. It encourages more community involvement, either formally or informally, and may also be included as a form of neighboring (Seawell & Cutrona, 2014; Unger, 1985).

Neighboring behavior with Bowling Green's Black community was extended and modified to accommodate desegregation. Confirming comments included:

a. "There was no transportation provided."
b. "We had to –there was no transportation provided so our parents made sure, with the Hampton's, that we got to and from school. Some days, we weren't able to be picked up, so we walked from Bowling Green High home."

c. “I remember Bowling Green High School students got their high school rings in the spring and I recall that it was like $15.00 to have a ring. My mother had six kids and $15.00 was a huge amount of money in those days so I wasn’t going to get a ring and it was fine because in my mind I wasn’t going to Bowling Green High anyways, so, I didn’t need a ring. But, in the long run with the help of several in the community I got a class ring and I still have my class ring and I wear most of the time.”

d. “The staff at BGHS felt that the classes and the curriculum and the classes and the courses and the education that we had previously received from HSHS was inferior to the point that there were a group of us who broke that 10% of the grades. GPA speaking, they were devastated that some of their people got knocked down a notch, and they tried every effort to kick us out. I don’t think they wanted to include us at all because they made some efforts not to do that.”

e. “And one way that I can remember particularly those of us from HSHS who had made good grades and maybe more conscientious students were encouraged to be in this math class, advanced, advanced math. Something that I, I think Western (Western Kentucky University) had rejected and they wanted to do it here (BGHS).”

f. “How in the world do you get a small class of maybe 12? And so many black kids in that class when it was a tough class. I mean I probably ended up with a D. As a matter of fact, I had Finley (HSHS math teacher) help tutor me through that class so I would at least pass.”

g. “I was always concerned what was going to happen to my basketball coach. Coach Moxley had told us basically that he was going to be an assistant coach and I resented that, but he did everything he could to make sure you still got to play.”

h. “The cheerleaders, once I found out that they were not—none of our girls were going to be cheerleaders from HSHS. I said okay. I said then I don’t need to play. I’ll tell you what. Until we get this straightened out, I take my ass to basketball—excuse me, ass back home.”

i. “But you hung on to the few friends you had. You had the Charlene Suttons, and we called her Dae Dae. We had the Barbara Hamptons, the Connie Gatewoods.”

Citizen Participation

Citizen participation in grassroots organizations constitutes the formal behavioral dimension of social capital as depicted in Figure 1. Sociologists and political scientists have studied social action, but they have generally concentrated on its demographics. Psychologists go beyond demographic differences by controlling for them and finding that participants, their organizations, and communities have a greater sense of collective efficacy or empowerment by bridging activities (Florin, 1984; Perkin et. al. 1996; Saegert & Winkel, 1996; Speer & Hughey, 1995). Bridging enables participants to develop a sense of community and (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Perkins & Long, 2002) strengthen that sense through neighboring (Perkins et. al., 1996; Unger, 1985). The participants expressed community satisfaction (Perkins et. al., 1990) and other positive community attachments through community, family, and organization bridging activities (Perkins et. al., 1996). Relevant organizations include the church and other religious congregations (especially community service or advocacy-oriented "social mission" committees) (Dokecki, 2001; Foley, McCarthy & Chaves, 2001; Speer & Hughley, 1995).

Citizen participation in the Bowling Green African American community evolved from the self-determination goals initiated by the newly freed women and men of reconstruction. The goals were reconnecting and establishing families and building and establishing churches and schools. *De jure* and *de facto* segregation forged African American's demographic and geographic communities and relationships. The church generally became the institution at which the African American community awarded honors, engaged community and personal challenges, and provided religious and cultural cohesion. Citizen participation or lack thereof was exemplified in reference to the following interview question: "Do you remember any community meeting or activities to prepare you for desegregation?" Participants overwhelmingly expressed that they had no choice:

a. "The one thing that my mom told me is that it wasn't really a choice that we could make."
b. "No. Now that I think back on it that was atypical because there were always community efforts to make sure that we reflected well on the black community."
c. "The decision was made for us."
d. "Absolutely not. Actually, there was nothing. We were told that we would be going to that school. No ifs, ands, or buts. You have no choice."

e. "So, my parents was [were] – they didn't have any choice. They were for it because they didn't have any choice."
f. "No. No. I don't remember or recall any preparation like that. Nope."
g. "Actually, nothing at all. Nothing that I recall that was any preparation, no."
h. "Like I said if there was a community meeting with the parents, I wasn't aware of it. If there had been an assembly where they were explaining it to us, I don't remember it. I think something that earth shattering would have been a big hello and I didn't get that."

Desegregation Socialization Process

Themes identified by axial coding suggest participants felt they were systemically marginalized in the new school. In today's terminology, the African American students might have described themselves as victims of the persistent educational problems faced by African-American students, i.e., the achievement gap, rather than the cause of it. Baruti (2004) states that, "We should study the problem, not just those victimized by it (p. vii)." The themes that emerged from the desegregation socialization process were developed from the following participants' statements, codes, and memos:

a. "First day-hell on wheels. Can I say hell? Hell on wheels. It was like—it was a complete shock really because you kind of knew what to expect but you got there, and they were over on this wall like they're scared you might rub off on them."
b. "Racist ass teachers, racist ass students. I mean it was just terrible. It was terrible."
c. "Initially you know I felt like I could do anything, but after a couple of weeks there it was like it's going to be difficult to even survive. It was kind of like you were over your head in water and you could not swim."
d. "I think we were prepared with our lessons, but we weren't prepared for the hostile environment."
e. "I never fit into the white environment."
f. "I know some that were brilliant, and their lockers was [were] pissed in. And, I wouldn't put my books in a locker. Their books had feces rubbed on them."
g. "You walked down the hall you see this group of white people coming. You find yourself a little place to step out of the way because you didn't want to get bumped.

You didn’t want to get knocked down. You didn’t want to get brushed up against and felt and prodded, you didn’t want none of that.”

h. “We knew the school was going to be closed and so what they did do, though as far as BGHS, they had the players that was going to play sports at BGHS. The coaches would come down and pick up the players prior to High Street being closed for the following year and we would go up there and practice. We did go up there and practice even though we were still at HSHS.”

i. “Personally, I think that the athletes had a better transition than the other people did that went up there because they were treated differently. A different status if you want to call it that, status was placed more on the athletes than on the regular students I think.”

j. “My interaction personally was fine because like I said, I was an athlete and once you were at BGHS, once you were an athlete, there was a different status placed on you. As a matter of fact, we had the option of having –if we needed tutors, we could get tutors that would help us, you know, in the classes and so forth. The coaches would make sure that you had tutors. I’m sure that probably wasn’t the case for the normal student there other than athletes.”

k. “There were the athletes. They wanted football players, the baseball players, basketball players, and the track stars. And there was some who were golfing and were very good golfers. So, us who were just mediocre were just there in the way.”

l. “I had a really good—I mean I remember my senior year. I had Mrs. Wheaton for English. I had Mrs. Maupin part of the time ‘til they decided that I needed to be in Ms. [Mrs.] Wheaton’s Advanced Class. My favorite class was Mr. Lock. He taught psychology. He was great, good teacher … almost convinced me that I was going to school to be a psychologist. But you know, I liked my classes. I like the kids that were in the class and I was fairly competitive. Loved choir with Mr. Alsip.”

m. “We weren’t part of the extracurricular things.”

n. “I played in the band for years once I became majorette, well, I knew I wasn’t going to have a shot at majorette up there, but I would like to have played in the band. But if you didn’t know when they were taking—doing try-outs or whatever— you didn’t have a chance to go try-out.”

o. “I would say about 15 of those did drop out because they just never adjusted. And I felt like these were kids that didn’t have that outreach that they had at High Street and they just said, hey I don’t feel comfortable here so I’m just not going. I mean they weren’t getting bad grades...playing football and playing basketball. After the season was over … there was nothing there that would reach out and say stick around two or three more months, you’re going to get this degree.”

p. “But many of—for me, I came out of there with just as many new acquaintances that I kept in touch with for the few years that I was in the Kentucky area and at different times I would be out and coming back in the summertime from school. I’d be at the stores and I’d meet the different teachers who were always very receptive and student’s classmates that we got to know their names. We knew things about them. We joked. It was just like I said, me I’m probably just a little different because I love people.”

q. “You know I never was fascinated by some little white girl. My mother wasn’t either because they would come riding over to the house on Chestnut Street and blowing their horns for me to come out —momma would go off. The hell they doing out there? I don’t know momma. She didn’t care for that. She didn’t care for that at all.”

r. “I can remember being asked, may I touch your hair? It’s like, knock yourself out. Go ahead. May I touch your hair? Who does your hair—do you iron your hair? These kinds of things. We iron our hair. This is when girls wore their hair really straight. Do you iron your hair? If you had curly hair or coarser hair, it like your hair is not like that. How is it? A lot of it was curiosity in terms of social, even your social interactions like dancing and just being cool. That was being—we want to know what it’s like to be with you in a social setting to the point of girls even asking about the black guys, you know? How can we get to them? Will you introduce me? I’m dying to meet blank. Wanting to come, can we venture into your neighborhood, which brings me to the fact there were white boys who did the same thing. There were a couple of them who had nerve to venture on 2nd Street and blow their horn. You know my daddy had said, you don’t go

> to the door for black, white, blue, or green if they blow their horn, you know what I mean?"

Desegregation of the Bowling Green dual public-school systems abruptly ended the historically African American system. Ending this institution, which could track its roots to 1866, destabilized the segregated African American community by forcing the relocation of several African American administrators and teachers. Desegregation also absorbed the resources of the African American school, which consisted of finances, human capital, students, and teachers. Members of the African American senior class from HSHS received little to no preparation and no orientation. From this destabilization, they experienced feelings of loss, powerlessness, and anxiety which were often reinforced by the administrative structure, socialization process, and curriculum of Bowling Green High School, the historically white public school.

The theme that was most immediate, uniform, and consistent for all participants was sadness. Two participants' statements were, "This brings back a lot of hurt" and "It was hell on wheels." All the participants expressed sadness related to various research questions and, in all interviews, sadness was related to more than one research question.

Closely following the concept of sadness were concepts of powerlessness and a great sense of loss. As referred to in the first chapter, the establishment of African American schooling in Bowling Green can be traced back to the Reconstruction period beginning in 1866 (see Appendix A). Other documents identify African American schools on the 1877 map of Bowling Green, and schools throughout the county in 1909. In 1883, the high school was established. The institution of education in the Bowling Green African American community was deeply rooted and integrally related to collective efficacy and empowerment.

Segregation forced highly educated administrators and teachers into the African American public-school system. Throughout the school's history, it was the only school available to African American students in three counties and a 25-mile radius. The closing of the school had a great negative impact and a deeply felt sense of loss to the participants.

The sense of loss extended deeper than just the loss of the school for the African American community. There was a deep sense of cultural loss. Seven of the ten participants expressed a suspicion of betrayal and abandonment. "Some of our leaders must have been saying yassuh and nawsuh." This feeling was structurally related to the interview question, "What were your thoughts about going to the new desegregated school?" The education/school was integrally connected to the community, church, and families. Participants, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, and friends had been educated through the HSHS system. Marriages occurred and families were built from that system. Intertwined with the sense of cultural loss was the loss of place and space. The school was a place for concerts, proms, valentine dances, and graduations. There were extracurricular activities, to name a few, basketball, football (1944 Negro National Champions), track (Regional Champions 1962, 1963, 1964 and 1965), golf, tennis, baseball, chorus, band, and yearbook. It generated revenue, jobs, and fund raising.

Eight of the participants directly expressed not wanting to go to BGHS. Two expressed cautious optimism. One of these participants changed his mind from optimism to a sense of "make the best of the situation." The participants who expressed their disdain for going rationalized that they had only one year, and graduation was their primary goal. "I just wanted to get that piece of paper." During that time, there were no alternative schools or G.E.D. programs available. They would either go to the historically white system or leave Bowling Green to attend another school. Their best options would have been Louisville Central or Nashville Pearl High School.

There was no student orientation for these participants. Their first day in the school was literally their first day in the school. There was a great deal of anxiety expressed by participants. One participant expressed the complete inability to remember that first day, even though she could describe her clothing and activities of her first day at kindergarten. Their anxiety levels were high. "We were all huddled together in the gym waiting for our names to be called to get our class assignments." Upon receiving their class assignments, they were sent in the class direction to search for their respective classes. "We were running all over the building looking for our classes. It was really frustrating."

Isolation and non-acceptance were critical themes that emerged primarily from the female participants. This theme was described as ranging from being designated as one of the "cool girls" accepted by white females to direct hostility. One participant angrily expressed unwanted touching by white male students. She did not tell HSHS male students because she "knew it would cause trouble." Two of the female participants sought interaction with white students. Their interviews suggested that their efforts met with mixed results. Related to non-acceptance were the expressions of value ascribed by the BGHS school culture. African American male athletes were the most valued, followed by “cool girls,” and those outside of these categories encountered interactions ranging from occasional conversations at school to fights and a resulting expulsion.

Categories

Categories reflect on and identify possible networks (links, connections, overlaps, flows) among codes, patterns, categories, themes, concepts and assertions. A technique called code weaving is a practical way of ensuring the researcher is thinking about how the puzzle pieces fit together (Saldaña 2013). In this study, social capital and the socialization process merged.

The categories that began to emerge were the different experiences of participants and different processing of their experiences, which required the development of new resiliency skills and skill utilization. As previously stated, these participants as students all had a sense of abandonment and aloneness. Closely related to the feeling of abandonment was the question why there was no preparation from the school, church, or community for these students. The lack of ability to provide some rationale for this question sparked remorse and anger from some of the participants.

Two major categories that emerged are the fact that these students moved from a person-centered, student-centered system to a generalized number in a massive group. This experience initiated a sense of loss of value as a person. These students went into a foreign culture/environment whose ecological structure was historically adverse and culturally averse to them. They became the selectively infused “other” based on the value ascribed to them.

This study indicates that the desegregation process was uniformly applied. However, the impact was received differently by the participants. The desegregation process was the same for the participants, but the impact was received and responded to specific to the individual. All felt hurt by the process. However, some tried to assimilate while others rebelled in varying degrees. Clustered themes that emerged regarding acceptance at BGHS were reflected in the following categories:

1. There were some HSHS students who were allowed acceptance from and interaction with BGHS students and access to BGHS school opportunities and advantages. There were HSHS students who were not accepted or allowed access. This category focused on the desegregation experiences.

2. The different levels of acceptance, access, and experiences of some HSHS students required the development of new coping and processing skills. These adjustments possibly strengthened existing resiliency skills and practices and initiated new ones, i.e., code switching.
3. The primary and most important driving force was graduation.
4. There was a filtering system at BGHS. This system possibly applied to white students initially and was modified and applied to HSHS students when they moved to BGHS. This filtering occurred system-wide, i.e., culture, climate, curriculum, instructions, and administration. Questions were identified, such as what were the reward mechanisms; were the mechanisms historic, static or do they change; if they change, what are the forces that make them change?

Resiliency themes that were consistently identified were the participants' beliefs, decision-making process, and behaviors which were indoctrinated from family, school, community, and church. These themes and directives identified the psychological, emotional, and motivational preparation for desegregation.

a. "We were told that we had to be twice as prepared when dealing with them."
b. "You are not better than anybody, but you are as good as anybody anywhere."
c. "Go up there and show them that you are as smart as they are…and better."
d. "We knew we could compete."

Participants' encounter with BGHS identified themes that were reflective of that system.

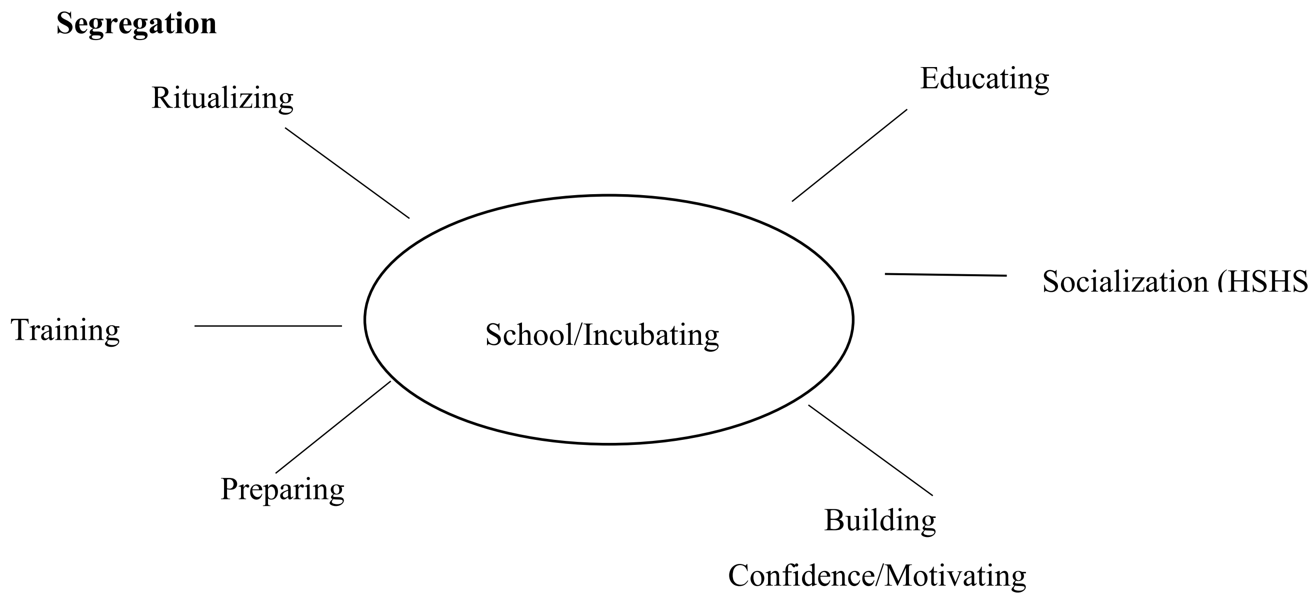
a. "We were members of the National Honor Society. We had the same certificates and grades that they did, but they didn't believe that our membership was as good as theirs."
b. "When we told them that we had had certain courses, they didn't believe it."
c. "When our grades were brought in, it knocked down some of their students. So, they came up with this math class. It only had the necessary required number to be a class and put us in it. It was really hard. I barely got through it. I believe we were put in that class to bring our grades down." An interesting note to this statement is that five of the research participants were in this math class.

Socialization emerged as a category with two dominant themes, the socialization which occurred for these participants during their segregated HSHS experience and the socialization that occurred for them during the desegregation experience at BGHS.

Socialization During Segregation

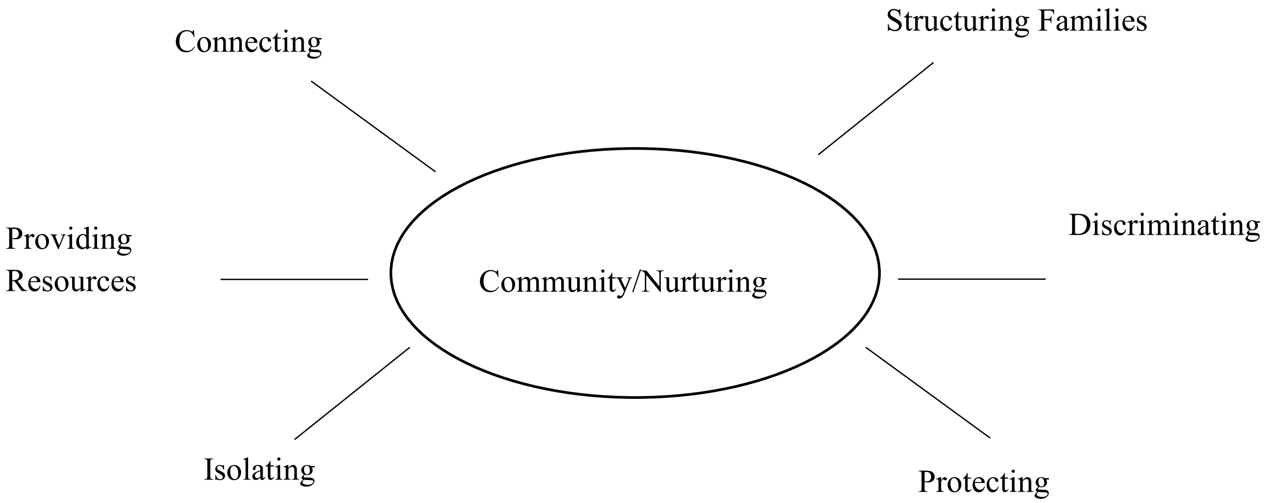
As participants reminisced about their experiences at High Street High School, they talked about the rearing and nurturing they received not only from the school but also from their family, including extended family, the community, and the church. They shared how teachers at HSHS nurtured them and were concerned about their development and achievements, holding high expectations for them as students and citizens. Figure 4 represents themes that emerged as participants reflected on their HSHS experiences.

Figure 4: Themes from Participants During Segregated School Experience



Participants also shared the sense of security and support they felt within the community and how they felt valued and protected within that space. Figure 5 represents the themes that emerged as participants reflected upon the safety and support they felt within the local community as they were students in the segregated High Street High School.

Figure 5: Themes from Participants Regarding Community Support During Segregated School Experience



Socialization and Resiliency During Desegregation

Desegregation was externally imposed on participants as they struggled to negotiate new rules, roles, and rituals as they moved from the segregated High Street High School to the desegregated Bowling Green High School. In interviews, they expressed sadness at the loss of the structural support and close family climate and environment at High Street High School. They were forced to abide by never-before experienced requirements. Their words indicated they felt rejected and marginalized in the new school setting. They expressed anger and sadness at the subtle and overt racism they experienced in the new school. Yet, participants indicated they were resilient; they reacted, responded, and adjusted to the culture and climate of their new school. These many years later, however, the sense of loss and sadness among participants came across powerfully as they remembered and shared their experiences during the transition from the segregated High Street High School to the desegregated Bowling Green High School. Sadly, participants acknowledged that nothing changed in Bowling Green at the time of desegregation except the demise of the African American public school system.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into the experiences of the first African American high school class to desegregate the Bowling Green, Kentucky, Public Schools in 1965. Through interviews, these first African American students to desegregate a historically white school told their story. Using their own words, participants shared their experiences, how they reacted, and how they responded. Special attention is given to issues related to the socialization processes participants experienced as students in the segregated High Street High School and the desegregated Bowling Green High School. Attention is also given to the support or lack thereof provided in the two school settings and within the local community. Finally, aspects of resiliency were discussed as participants shared their story of transitioning from a segregated to a desegregated school during their senior year of high school.

This chapter will provide further discussion related to lessons learned regarding key components from the study and recommendations for future consideration based on the findings from this study.

Transition from Segregated to Desegregated Schools

Segregation created two systems in Bowling Green, Kentucky. One system was black, and one system was white. The essence of the segregated schools in Bowling Green was captured in the mission statement of High Street High School:

> This we believe.
>
> We believe that secondary education in America has a multiple purpose or function: (a) to determine the social, physical, educational and emotional needs of all children of school age; (b) to provide a curriculum commensurate with these needs, both present and future; (c) to use such methods, devices, guidance and motives as will enable all pupils to obtain the maximum benefits from their educational experiences to the end that they may make adjustments to meet conditions in a changing world; (d) to provide for the school a staff capable of determining the needs and diagnosing the difficulties of the total school population and of directing the learning activities of the pupils in such a manner as will

> enable them to be of greatest worth to their community, to their state, and to society in general. While there is yet much to be desired at High Street School in the way of curricular offerings, equipment, and added personnel, we are well on our way toward achieving these general objectives. We are grateful for the sympathetic guidance and administration of our superintendent and Board of Education and an awakened public interest on behalf of the youth in our school. (HSHS Yearbook, 1964)

Seemingly, in the eyes of the study participants, this commitment to African American students was dismissed when desegregation eliminated the black school system in Bowling Green and in 1965 required all students to attend the traditionally white school system. When desegregation occurred with the closure of High Street High School and students were unwittingly absorbed into Bowling Green High School, a new socialization process began. This socialization process created a new type of social stratification system within the school. According to participants, this process was void of any actions on the part of the school system to attempt to facilitate a successful transition for them. As reported in Chapter 4, participants perceived that no effort was made to obtain their input into the process or to provide resources or support in the form of orientations and meetings to ease the transition. Even as they entered the new school, they felt their voice and their value as a person were deemed unimportant. Some participants in the study even perceived their desegregation experience as violent. Others indicated academic issues that arose could be attributed directly to their loss of resiliency due to the unilaterally imposed desegregation. All agreed Bowling Green African American education capital was not included in the desegregation strategizing and planning process. Others contend that sixty years of the absence of this capital has been evident in curriculum, instructional practices, policy-making, and professional development. These experiences are consistent with Delpit (1995) who stated in one of her study findings, “All the non-white respondents have spoken passionately on being left out of the dialogue about how best to educate children of color” (p. 21-22). Throughout the desegregation process however, one constant remained for these participants, the cultural influence and support from their immediate and extended family and the African American community.

Cultural Influences and Support of Family and Community

Critically important themes throughout all participant interviews were the cultural influences of their families and community. Cooper, et al., (2015) echoed the vital role families and communities play in inculcating cultural influences in the education and schooling experience of African-American students and the important role educators play in recognizing and highlighting cultural differences in their classrooms and schools. Noble (2013) asserts,

> Technically, culture is the vast structure of behaviors, ideas, attitudes, values, habits, beliefs, customs, language, rituals, ceremonies, and practices peculiar to a particular group of people which provides them with a general design for living and patterns for interpreting reality. Culture gives meaning to reality. Education, as well as curriculum developments, are cultural phenomena. Culture is therefore the invisible dimension of all curricula. In fact, all of our training and education are bound by what we call customs or professional convention, which are nothing more than cultural traits or rituals (p. 2).

Gay discusses culture as "at the heart of all we do in the name of education, whether that is curriculum, instruction, administration, or performance assessment" (p. 8). As used here, culture refers to a dynamic system of social values, cognitive codes, behavioral standards, worldviews, and beliefs used to give order and meaning to our own lives as well as the lives of other (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991). Even without our being consciously aware of it, culture determines how we think, believe, and behave, and these, in turn, affect how we teach and learn. As Young Pai (1990) explains, "There is no escaping the fact that education is a socio-cultural process. Hence, a critical examination of the role of culture in human life is indispensable to the understanding and control of educative processes" (p. 3). Spindler and Spindler (1994) extend and further clarify these arguments. In so doing, they make a compelling case for teachers to understand how their own and their students' cultures affect the educational process. They explain,

> Teachers carry into the classroom their personal cultural background. They perceive students, all of whom are cultural agents, with inevitable prejudice and preconception. Students likewise come to school with personal cultural backgrounds that influence their perceptions of teachers, other students, and the school itself. Together students and teachers construct, mostly without being conscious of doing it, an environment of meanings enacted in individual and group behaviors, of conflict and accommodation, rejection and

> acceptance, alienation, and withdrawal. Helping teachers to understand these dynamics is an area for professional development. (p. xii)

Boykin (1985) provides another perspective on the interaction between culture and education. He, too, believes that "there has always been a profound and inescapable cultural fabric of the schooling process in America" (p. 244). This "cultural fabric," primarily of European and middle-class origins, is so deeply ingrained in the structures, ethos, programs, and etiquette of schools that it is considered simply the "normal" and "right" thing to do. Because of these origins, formal education is about learning how to read, write, and think in certain prescribed ways consistent with certain beliefs, prescribed vantage points, value-laden conditions, and value-laden formats. These prescribed ways of educating, these certain vantage points, conditions, proper practices, and inherent values are the materials and texture of a profound cultural socialization process that forms the very fabric of the medium through which schooling is done (pp. 245-246).

Culture is put into operation through the socialization process and is recognized as social capital. As reported by study participants, desegregation as implemented in Bowling Green destroyed the African American education system. Likewise, others agree desegregation damaged the educational experience of African American students across the nation. The researcher posits that these two cultures and socialization processes continue to clash within the public-school system.

Socialization Conflicts

Students are often labeled early in their school careers and put into rigid, inflexible tracks. For instance, one teacher grouped students into "tigers, cardinals, and clowns"; labels given were internalized by pupils and acted as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Tigers received the most positive interaction, while those in lower groups were given less attention. The groups were correlated by researchers with students' social class, tigers being from higher classes than the other groups (Gouldener, 1978). These different expectations based on class influenced the selection and allocation process of students from lower-class backgrounds to their disadvantage.

HSHS had all socio-economic classes of students from the Bowling Green, Warren County, Scottsville, Allen County, Morgantown, and Butler County areas. Curricula were designed to address students' respective needs. The African American school created an additional curriculum which created bridges that enabled students from one socio-economic class to access the classes, skills, and advising they needed to overcome socio-economic class barriers.

Societal problems in the African American community run parallel to legislative and judicial policies and decisions impacting the nation's public systems (Alexander, 2012). For example, in the early 1980's, just as the drug war was kicking off, inner-city communities were suffering from economic collapse. The blue-collar factory jobs that had been plentiful in urban areas in the 1950s and 1960s had suddenly disappeared. These societal problems had ramifications for the nation's school systems. Many students of color felt alienated from the educational setting, experienced curricula they could not relate to, and had different treatment in school discipline cases.

While much of the attention has focused on African American males in public school systems, Morris (2016) notes disparities for African American female students as well. She states,

> Indeed, nearly 48 percent of Black girls who are expelled nationwide do not have access to educational services. Black girls are 16 percent of the female student population but are nearly one-third of all girls referred to law enforcement and more than one-third of all female school-based arrests. The criminalization of Black girls is much more than a street phenomenon. It has extended into our schools, disrupting one of the most important protective factors in a girl's life: her education (Morris, 2016, p. 3).

Case after case has demonstrated problems related to school discipline of African American students. For example, in May 2013, Ashlynn Avery, a sixteen-year-old diabetic girl in Alabama, fell asleep while reading Huckleberry Finn during her in-school suspension. When she did not respond, the suspension supervisor allegedly threw a book at her and ordered her to leave the classroom. As she was leaving the room, a police officer allegedly slammed her face into a file cabinet and then arrested her (Koeninger, 2013). In April 2013, sixteen-year-old Kiera Wilmot was charged with a felony offense when she said that a science experiment went wrong. She was subjected to a mandatory suspension and arrest following an unauthorized "explosion" on school grounds (Lush, 2013). The charges were later dropped after significant public objection and petitioning by advocacy groups; however, after the incident, Wilmot has feared being labeled a "terrorist" (Lush, 2013). In 2008, Marche Taylor was arrested in Texas after she resisted being barred from prom for wearing a dress that was considered too revealing (Girl arrested in Texas for inappropriate prom dress, 2008). In 2007, Pleajhia Mervin was physically accosted by a California school security officer after she dropped a piece of cake on the school's cafeteria floor and refused to pick it up (Palmdale high school student battered by school guard, 2007) (Jessica, Valenti, Teenage girl beaten, expelled, and arrested for dropping cake, 2007). Some of the most egregious applications of punitive school discipline in this country have criminalized Black girls as young as six or seven years old, some of whom have been arrested for throwing temper tantrums (Morris, 2016).

African American students are also disproportionally represented in special education classes. Johnson (2013) asserted the Emotional and Behavioral Disturbance (EBD) classification is the most stigmatizing label used against African American males in America's public and charter schools. It is the only special education diagnosis that speaks directly to emotions and behaviors except for Other Health Impairment (OHI), which can be used to justify the special education of students with ADHD, Conduct Disorder, Oppositional Defiant Disorder, and Disruptive Behavior Disorder diagnoses. EBD is loosely described as a disability that results from the African American males' inability to build and maintain relationships with his teachers and peers. It also includes abnormal behaviors exhibited in school, fears associated with school, and sadness/depressed mood related to the school setting (Graves, 2017).

Additionally, Johnson states, "In America the classroom teacher serves as judge and jury. It's their way or the highway" (p. 26). Research from the U.S. Department of Education has found that African American boys are suspended and expelled at least twice the rate of White boys for the exact same offenses (p. 26). "Therefore, no one can argue, statistically or anecdotally, that something isn't being done differently to African-American boys in America's classrooms, versus all other learners" (Chae, et al., 2017). Henceforth, "if we are to conclude that America's teachers are guilty of racially biased disciplinary and instructional practices, doesn't it also follow that these same teachers are likely to be guilty of racially-based referrals for Emotional and Behavioral Disturbance (EBD) testing and classification?" (Johnson, 2013).

Johnson further asserts that the greatest criteria through which so many African American males are sentenced to a life of low expectations in the Emotional Support Classroom is by virtue of their inability to build a satisfactory relationship with a teacher who often pays very little attention to him unless he is doing something of which the teacher does not approve (Johnson, 2013).

Johnson (2013) continues, “I maintain that our Black boys are turned off and away from attempting to receive a decent education by principals and teachers who really could care less if they ever learned anything at all. We must be honest, which is to say that if many of America’s teachers saw some of their Black students walking in their neighborhoods, they would be apt to call the police. The disproportionate amount of White middle-class teachers that are being hired to work with our Black boys – over and above equally qualified Black teachers – is a civil and human rights issue that needs to be investigated and exposed. Some would argue that what is needed is more sensitivity training and cultural competency workshops. However, this is just a distraction and convenient way to throw money at a problem that has historic and deep psycho-social roots. Cultural competency and sensitivity training will only be effective if the educators receiving the training are interested in reducing their current levels of bias.”

As a contributing factor, Delpit (1995) emphasizes the importance of African American voice in the education of children of color and their lack of authority in decision-making roles. Participants in this study indicated the African American community had no voice in the desegregation efforts in Bowling Green. As a result, they felt powerless since desegregation was forced on them with no input from them or an opportunity to ask questions. Delpit (1995) stated that every organization has its own circle of power, which is populated by individuals who through a combination of numbers, influence, money, and access to privileged information are able to exert disproportionate control over the decision-making process. Delpit states, “In my work with schools throughout the United States and Australia, I have found that people of color often feel excluded from the circle of power in educational organizations. White educators have had greater authority to establish what was considered to be ‘truth’ regardless of the opinions of people of color” (Delpit, 1995, p. 26). Delpit (2004) posits there are five aspects of the “culture of power” that impact African American voice and leadership in education:

1. Issues of power are enacted in classrooms.
2. There are codes or rules for participating in power, that is, there is a “culture of power.”
3. The rules of the culture of power reflect the rules of the culture of those who have power.

4. If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier.
5. Those with power are frequently least aware of, or at least willing to acknowledge, its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of its existence.

Delpit acknowledges the first three aspects are now basic tenets in the literature of the sociology of education, but the last two have seldom been addressed (Delpit, 2004; Delpit, 1988).

Deficit vs. Resiliency Models

Participants in this study reported educators at Bowling Green High School had lower expectations for their academic success and considered them ill prepared in their former segregated school. These perceptions lead to a discussion of deficit versus resiliency models. How teachers approach educating students and interacting with them is often based on one of these two models.

Deficit Models. The deficit model assumes that some students, because of environment, genetic, cultural, or experiential differences, are inferior to other children, or have a deficit (Nieto, 1999). The deficit model of thinking hinders teacher's success because they deem that the circumstances in the student's life will prevent learning. From this point, self-fulfilling prophecy is activated. The deficit model of thinking, which focuses on variables beyond the teachers' control, hinders teachers from tapping the resiliency treasure waiting to emerge within African American youth (Carter, 1995).

Cultural deficit theories hold that the culture in which Black children are reared is inadequate relative to socialization practices. These theories carry a "blame the victim" orientation, and supporters look upon Blacks and other minority groups as not only culturally but also intellectually inferior.

According to deficit theories or perspectives, "different" is equated with deficient, inferior, and substandard. Education may cite cultural deficits as a reason for the disproportionately low achievement and intelligence test scores of minority students and, hence, their underrepresentation in gifted programs. According to this view, if Black students test poorly, they must not be gifted. The fault does not rest with biased or irrelevant tests and related identification practices. This point of view ignores teacher biases as well as historical and contemporary racism. Proponents are strongly against broadening assessment tools and practices for fear of "contaminating" gifted programs with people who are not truly gifted. This happened when study participants' HSHS grade point averages and memberships in the National Honor Society were being integrated with those of the BGHS students.

Shade (1994) argued that social science has been able to alleviate any social guilt that might be generated by placing the blame for their academic difficulties on Blacks themselves. Specifically, apologists for our current educational practices ground their conclusions in stigma theory, enabling them to define the problem in terms of bored, unmotivated, and apathetic children influenced by a less-than-adequate home environment (Pearson, et al., 2014). But if the home environment were not at least initially stimulating, these children would come to preschool and kindergarten bored and apathetic. But they do not. Output includes rationalization of achievement gap issues accompanied by reluctance to address education organization structures (Ballantine, 2009).

Regardless of their environment, nearly all children initially enter school with a sense of wonder and awe. They are bright-eyed, curious, and ready to learn (Nieto, 1999). Evidence indicates that during the 1965-1966 desegregation process, a century of African American education culture and socialization was never included in that process. An unsolicited recurring theme, which evolved from conversations with retired BGHS African American counselors, assistant principals, and teachers, is that there is still a lack of inclusion. Historically, educators have spent massive resources trying to figure out how to replace or nullify the influences of other cultures, i.e., Native American Indian schools. In behavioral sciences literature, this is referred to as the assumption of “cultural deviancy.” Guided by the cultural deviancy belief, many educators assume that there is something “bad” about Black folks’ culture and therefore attempt to change or replace it (Noble, 2013). Herskovitz (1941) was a forerunner in identifying values inherent in the Black culture, including funeral practices, religious practices, dances, songs, belief in magic, and the concept of time. His work negated the prevailing belief that Blacks lacked a unique culture. Instead, he argued that Blacks retained much of the African culture after slavery.

Resiliency Models. Culturally responsive educators reject deficit models and subscribe to models of resiliency, which build on the strengths of students and focus on high expectations for all learners, and they believe that resilient children “bounce back” and succeed despite the odds against them (Carter, 1995). Teachers working from a resiliency model tend to have high teacher efficacy. A suggested approach for addressing achievement gap issues is to combine resiliency development for the effected students with school system changes. Resiliency has critical components, which evolved as themes during this research.

The term *resiliency* is derived from its Latin roots meaning, “to jump (or bounce back).” Building competence and avoiding negative stressors are some of the important elements of resiliency, as are flexibility and creative reaction to adversity. Resiliency can be described on an individual, family, and community level (Stillman, 1998). The categories of socialization and social capital that were prevalent all reflected the impact on the individual. Two critically impacting variables were family and the African American high school.

Bernard (2006) in her study of fostering resiliency in children identified key characteristics of resiliency. She suggested that resilient people have survived and thrived in adverse situations. She stated that if people could understand the characteristics of fostering resiliency, this could improve their resilience when dealing with their family, school, and community (Jones, 2014).

Wolin and Wolin (1996) discussed the shift from the “at-risk” paradigm to the resiliency paradigm. Their study showed that this shift would receive drawbacks and resistance from educators, clinicians, and policy makers.

The difference in the two paradigms consists of the following: The at-risk paradigm focuses on the problems and vulnerabilities in individuals, families, communities, and institutions. On the other hand, the resiliency model focuses on an individual’s strengths, potential, and his or her ability to bounce back from difficult situations (Wolin & Wolin, 1996). However, because the resiliency paradigm is less than two decades old, it lacks the quality of influence, history, and medical background of the at-risk paradigm (Wolin & Wolin, 1996). It is important to note that Johnson is very critical of and questions the validity of the at-risk paradigm (Johnson, 2016).

Research has identified this shift in paradigms will not be easy. The shift will not be completed by presenting new information or training individuals with new skills and techniques (Mickey, 2008). The theory of resiliency is fewer than 25 years old; however, there is substantial history and literature in developmental psychopathology on the value of resiliency in navigating difficult transitions or situations (Mickey, 2008). As demonstrated in this study of participants making the transition to desegregation schools, resiliency played an important role in their ability to persist and endure through their senior year of high school.

Lessons Learned

Participants in this study reported numerous issues they experienced in 1965 that remain today in the education of African American students. They spoke emotionally about their sense of loss and sadness as their high school was closed and they were forced to relocate to the desegregated school. They spoke about their lowered self-esteem and feelings of abandonment as they moved to the new school where they felt they were marginalized and held to low expectations for student achievement. They expressed instances in which they were discriminated against and had to deal with acts of overt racism. They talked about the limited opportunities they had to participate in extra-curricular activities, other than sports-related activities. The participants of this study were reared to pursue higher education and high accomplishments but were met with the racial stereotypes of the time. While these voices came from African American students who were forced to desegregate a school for the first time almost sixty years ago, these themes can still be heard today as African American students discuss their educational experiences.

Much attention today is given to the achievement gap between white students and students of color, the disproportionate number of suspensions given to African-American students, the disproportionate numbers of students in special education classes, the lack of involvement of school personnel with African-American families and communities, not to mention educators' low expectations for student achievement and racist messages conveyed to students.

For the last thirty years, attempted solutions to close the achievement gap have at best yielded minimal success in Bowling Green and nationwide (Johnson, 2013). These outcomes may have been forecasted during the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* arguments. The argument presented by John W. Davis contending Marshall's argument for integration may have been prophetic. The context of Davis' argument was that African American children would feel more comfortable in a "single race" school. There would be less social friction and African American teachers were more nurturing to African American students. In his argument, Davis posed the question: *Why should Black children be taken from all-Black schools where they were "happy and inspired" and forced to attend integrated schools where they would be "ridiculed and hated"?* (Williams, 2003 p. 14). Integrated schools, he predicted, meant the destruction of those nurturing all Black schools for the descendants of uneducated slaves (Williams, 2003). Themes generated during this research suggest some validity to Davis' argument.

Data generated from this study strongly suggest the impact on the psychological processes of the participants. Interviews with participants elicited emotional responses and physical reactions ranging from painful statements to exaggerated body gestures. Describing these statements and physical gestures may be approached through utilizing psychological theories developed from the work of Kambon (1996) who argued that, for quite some time, American psychology has operated in virtual ignorance of the existence of a distinct and authentic African reality here in America. Training in psychology and in American education generally has, as a result of this institutionalized ignorance and denial throughout the society, totally distorted and misrepresented the true psychological and behavioral picture of what Black people are really like (Kambon, 1996a). What has happened in the past is that the psychological picture of Black people portrayed in American psychology (and education generally) has always reflected Blacks as “less than” Whites along whatever dimension of life that was being considered and as more inadequate than Whites as a general condition (Kambon, 1992). Chief among these inadequacies have been that Africans are less intelligent and suffer from self-hatred, low motivation, limited moral and ethical development, and rely more on feelings, fate, and superstition than on reason and their own will power. The crux of the problem is that American/Eurocentric psychology views African people according to a White/Eurocentric norm or standard. Thus, when the government or any other agency or group in this society sets out to define and propose solutions to Black peoples’ problems here in America, the definitions advanced are distortions and misrepresentations of African reality in America (Kambon, 2004). Therefore, the typical solutions proposed, which derive from the distorted picture of Blacks, ultimately meet with only very limited success, if any, even under the best conditions (Kambon, 2003). Thus, the definition and solutions for so-called “Black problems” are based on a false and distorted understanding of African people and their problems. Rarely have effective solutions been developed for the African community’s problems in America because American psychology, through its Eurocentric norms and standards for understanding African people, distorts and incorrectly portrays Blacks in America and their unique biosocial condition.

“Black Psychology” or “African Psychology”, on the other hand, provides a way to resolve this long-standing problem by portraying African people’s psychological functioning and behaviors as they really are rather than as the White/Eurocentric American reality (their norms and standards) insist that Blacks must be (Kambon, 1996b). African/Black Psychology views Black people from the perspective or framework of their own distinct norms and standards, i.e., as an authentic and distinct racial-cultural group here in America, like all the other racial-cultural groups comprising pluralistic-multicultural American society (Kambon, 1998). African Black Psychology, then, is a field of study that generates theories, research, concepts, methods, therapies, and intervention-prevention programs all based on the uniqueness/distinctness of authentic African reality in America (Nobles, 2015; Kambon, 2006).

Responses of participants in this study align with concepts related to resiliency and motivation. It is hoped the descriptions of participants' experiences may enhance existing understanding of these concepts. Participants described views, values, rules, roles, rituals, attitudes, beliefs, and practices internalized from the historically African American public school and the segregated community which can inform policies and practices for today's schools. A better understanding of resiliency introduced through professional development may assist teachers in curriculum preparation and administrators in policymaking. Understanding resiliency and motivational traits may contribute to more effective professional development, which could ultimately have a positive impact on achievement gap issues.

Conclusion

The key findings from this research suggest factors of resiliency for African American students are created within the individual, the family, and the church. As related to desegregation, the evolution of education for African Americans and Bowling Green began with the establishment of the reconstruction schools in 1865 through the closure of the African American school in 1965, resulting in the loss of 100 years of education capital.

There is clear need for more research with respect to the resiliency of African American students. Resiliency traits are enabling skills for African American students. Knowledge and application of the skills can begin with African American students; the skills can then be applied through curriculum and instructional practices to all students. The findings demonstrated how students called on the seven resiliency traits when they encounter difficult situations. The findings from this study align with findings of previous studies reported in the review of literature.

Patterns of the findings were identified through school structural and gender lenses. The males were given higher acceptance and greater access to privileges and resources. The women were not as valued and consequently encountered more school culture and climate obstacles.

An unexpected finding was the extent to which the women participants suffered throughout the desegregation experience. Another unexpected finding was the posttraumatic stress that these women still felt and exhibited upon recalling this experience. And, a third unexpected finding was that none of the participants had returned to a school reunion 50 years after their graduation.

The review of literature provided a description of how institutions such as family, church, and schools work together to build the resiliency traits of individuals. The social capital theory, which has four dimensions (sense of community, neighboring, collective efficacy/empowerment, and participation), was also described and discussed as related to the desegregation experience of participants. Social capital occurs at two levels, bridging and bonding. Greater understanding of the socialization theory provides an approach to identifying and describing the socialization process which contributes to the development of resiliency.

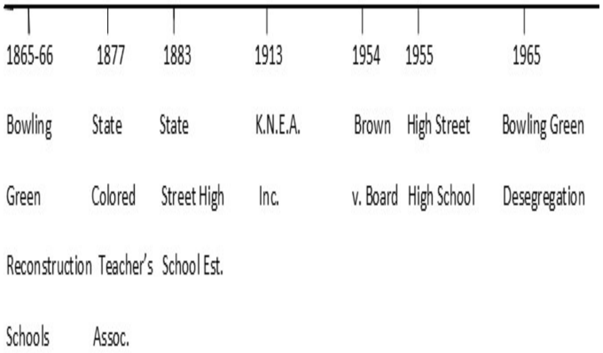
The implications for the future as drawn from the data reported here may positively impact African American students today. The principal implications of the findings for strengthening resiliency of African American students may provide them with the skills to more successfully experience public schools. If this can be a result of resiliency studies, then we may see positive impacts on the 30-year achievement gap. Resiliency studies may direct more effective policies and practices related to instruction and professional development.

One example of efficacy can be seen through a project involving a school/university/community project as reported by Moore et.al. (2000). This project was undertaken in partnership a nearby university and several community agencies at an urban Middle School that served a low-income largely African American community. The project aimed to improve the school culture and student achievement by focusing on three components: (1) pre-service teacher education, (2) professional development for in-service teachers, and (3) research. The project showed improvement in several areas including higher achievement of students as measured on the statewide comprehensive assessment test. The fact that the project incorporated factors of resiliency as described in this study, suggests that understanding resiliency traits can enhance African American students’ internal motivation and academic skill set. Further studies and teaching practices focusing on resiliency are needed to enhance learning for African American and all students served by our schools.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Timeline Depicting Key Events Associated with Desegregation of Bowling Green, Kentucky, Public Schools

Bowling Green Desegregation Time Line


1865-66
Bowling Green Reconstruction Schools
1877
State Colored Teacher's Assoc.
1883
State Street High School Est.
1913
K.N.E.A. Inc.
1954
Brown v. Board
1955
High Street High School
1965
Bowling Green Desegregation

A) 1865-66 Bowling Green Reconstruction schools established.

B) 1877 State Colored Teacher's Association established

C) 1883 State Street High School established (African American public school)

D) 1913 Kentucky Negro Education Association incorporated (formally the State Colored Teacher's Assoc.)

E) 1954 Brown v. Board of Ed. (Sup. Ct. decision)

F) 1955 High Street High School (formally State Street High School)

G) 1965 Bowling Green Desegregation

APPENDIX B: Letter of Invitation to Participate

Dear (person's name),

First of all, I pray that all is well with you and your loved ones. As Mustangs, we were a strong school, family, and community.

History shows that I was a member of the last Mustang class to graduate from dear old High Street High School. However, I'm not sure that the Mustang history or the story ends there. I believe the story ends with your Mustang class. You and your class were the pioneers who desegregated the Bowling Green Public School System. I believe that you and your class members are the closing chapter to the Mustang story.

For some yet to be discovered reason, I decided to return to school to work toward a doctorate in education. Now that you've stopped laughing, here's what I'm trying to do. I would like to attempt to tell your class story through writing the last Mustang chapter. I'm asking you to consider giving me a brief interview to describe your historic desegregation experiences during your 1965-1966 senior year.

If you can help me with this project, please contact me by:

Returning this letter with a phone number or email address,
Giving me a call at 859-576-5378, or
Emailing me at dcoffutt@twc.com.

Again, thanks for giving me a minute of your time. I hope to hear from you soon. Included is a consent form. If, as I hope you will, give me an interview, please sign and return the consent form. Or prior to signing, we can discuss the project and return the consent form to the address with any concerns that you may have.

Peace and blessings,
Don C. Offutt

APPENDIX C: Interview Questions

1. How would you describe your senior year experience at Bowling Green Senior High School?
2. How would you describe the day-to-day climate at BGSHS? (culture/climate)
3. Were there things that you learned at High Street High School (HSHS African-American public high school) which assisted you at BGSHS? (curriculum/self-esteem)
4. How would you describe the senior year experience for fellow African-American male/female High Street school students at BGSHS? (Males would be asked about their perceptions for both males and females. Females would be asked about their perceptions for both males and females.)
5. Being a member of the initial desegregating class, can you describe things that motivated you during your senior year? (internal/external motivation)
6. Were there things that you and other desegregating class members did to support each other? (agency) {males; females; regular students; athletes}
7. Are there some other things that you would like known about your desegregation experience?
8. Did this change as the year progressed?
9. Did High Street prepare you for your BGSHS experience?
10. What were your thoughts about going to the new desegregated school?
11. What was your first day like?
12. How were you treated by teachers?
13. How were you treated by white students?
14. Did you perceive the school (BGSHS) curriculum different from the old school (HSHS)? How?
15. Looking back over the years, what were the benefits of this move from the segregated to desegregated school system?

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Professional Experiences

- Assistant Professor/Interim Director of Academic Advising, Kentucky State University, Frankfort, KY, Aug 2004 - May 2013
- Educational Consultant II, Division of Equity, Kentucky Department of Education, Frankfort, KY, Aug 2001 - Aug 2004
- Social Studies Teacher, M. L. King, Jr. Academy, Fayette County Public Schools, Lexington, KY,August 1999 - June 2001
- Educational Consultant I/Memorandum of Agreement, Kentucky Department of Education/Fayette County Public Schools, Frankfort, KY, August 1993 - June 1998
- Deputy Commissioner of Community Services and Facilities, Kentucky Correction Cabinet, Frankfort, KY, July 1988 – May 1993
- United States Congressional Staff Assistant, Sixth Congressional District of Kentucky, 1979-1981

Certifications

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