2002

Perspectives Of African American Educational Administrators From Public, Private And Alternative Educational Domains (Elementary And Secondary Education)

Denise Hinds-Zaami
Seton Hall University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarship.shu.edu/dissertations

Part of the African American Studies Commons, and the Educational Administration and Supervision Commons

Recommended Citation
Perspectives of African American Educational Administrators from Public, Private and Alternative Educational Domains (Elementary and Secondary Education).

by

Denise Hinds-Zaami

Dissertation Committee
Mary Ruzicka, Ph.D., Mentor
James M. Caulfield, Ed.D.
Patricia E. Canson, Ph.D.
Patricia Hinds-Mason, Ed.D.

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education Seton Hall University 2002
Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perspectives of African American educational administrators from public, private and alternative educational domains in a large northeastern city, regarding education and the African American student, grades Kindergarten through 12, within urban elementary schools within the United States. Specifically, the goal was to identify, describe, analyze and understand such perspectives regarding experiences within the last decade. The purpose was also to synthesize these experiences in search of themes and in hopes of gaining useful perspectives on strategies and remedies for future educational implementations, as they apply to the improved academic achievement of the African American student (grades K - 12).

Ten guiding research questions were developed, influenced by investigations into the literature and by the evidence of sparcity in the literature on this topic. Qualitative research methodology was used. A Phenomenological Research Design was chosen in order to understand what the specific experience of being an African American educational administrator was like, by having it described as it appears to the people who are living it. Semistructured interviews were administered with six African American educational administrators. The research areas related to the ten guiding questions were: (1) what had been learned about being an African American educational administrator (2) what had been learned about the education of African American students (3) the success or failure perceived within the education of African American students (4) how such was measured, and (5) what needs to be done in the future to improve such education.
The results of this study indicated that although variations in responses around the research areas existed, there were significant commonalities shared between interviewees. They were: financial obstacles involved in successfully administering a school of predominantly African American students; parent and community involvement were seen as very important; the belief that their educational administration experiences differed significantly from other educational administrators who were not African American; and all agreed that African-Centered learning as well as holding onto their culture and identity, were key to improved academic achievement by African American students.
Dedication

I dedicate this work to God, to my son Mahdi, my mother Audrey Matthews Hinds Williams, my father Walter Kenneth Hinds, Sr., my guardian angel, to all of my ancestors, especially those who were educators like my grandmother Blanche Lomax Matthews Reed who taught in Norfolk, Virginia in the 1920s but was not hired to teach when she migrated to New York City and applied, my grandmother Cecilia Brown Hinds who taught her young son (my father) at home early on but had to leave him to learn mostly on his own while she worked daily in the homes of others, to my great aunts Mary Lomax, Sarah Lomax Small, Florence Lomax Chesson and Mable Lomax who taught in the public school system of Norfolk, Virginia from the 1920s through the 1970s, to other family members and friends like Kelton R. Williams, Margaret Walker, Dr. John Mtembezi Inniss, who were very supportive. Thanks to my exhusband/nost friend Abdulhak Zaami, to my brother Walter (Waliek) Kenneth Hinds, Jr., and to others for the lessons I have learned from them. I also dedicate this work to students, educators and educational administrators alike, who may benefit from the information herein.

The sacrifices one makes to complete a doctoral program, can be monumental and laden with unexpected twists and turns. However, remembering one's purpose and reason for embarking upon such an endeavor lends inspiration and encouragement towards its completion. I'm thankful for the part this task has played in my quest for self knowledge. Education, knowledge and their correct application... there is no evolution without them.
Acknowledgements

I'd like to thank my son Mahdi for giving up so much time with "Mommy", in order to allow me to complete this work. I can't tell you how many times I've heard, "Mommy, have you finished your dissertation yet?" I'd like to thank my mother especially, for her love for me and for all of the sacrifices she has gladly made in her life to do all that she could do to help me. She has shown me what a good mother really is and she is truly my best friend. I thank other family members and friends who were understanding and helpful. I'd like to thank my school mentor, Dr. Mary Ruzicka, and committee members Dr. James M. Caulfield, Dr. Patricia Canson, and Dr. Patricia Hinds-Mason, for their invaluable help and faith in me. I'd like to thank Dr. Robert C. Hallissey, Ph.D., acting Chair of Seton Hall University's Institutional Review Board, for his understanding and kindness. Thanks also to members of The New York Association Of Black Psychologists, who were understanding and supportive while I held the position of president within the association and continued to work on my doctoral degree at the same time. I also acknowledge Cohort II members of the Executive Ed.D. program at Seton Hall University in New Jersey for the support from many, as well as Sheila Brunty from AEIS (mine was the next to the last search for related research to be done before AEIS of Arizona State University closed). I also thank Dr. Shirley Conyard, a long time mentor of mine, and students Cynthia Ellis Roth, Shinicta Hendrey, Ann Woolford-Singh, Gloria Kieley, and Sheila Cole who offered assistance or encouragement. Their support will not be forgotten. In addition, I acknowledge other forces at work in my life during the time of my working on my doctoral degree.
# Table Of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapters:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I  Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of the Study</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Terms</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Review of Related Literature and Research</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Limited Amount of Research Done</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American Female Educational Administrators</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male and Female African American Educational Administrators</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Dealing with Self Perceptions, Interviewing, and Qualitative Analysis</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspectives About Roles, Culture and Urban Settings</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive and Case Studies</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Research</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phenomenological Research</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Methodology</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Design</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentation</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selection of Interviewees (Subjects)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the Participants and a Profile of Their School</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the Interview Setting and the Emotional Climate During the Interview</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapport Builders and Interviewer Characteristics Affecting Responses</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment of the Data</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controlling for Bias and Error</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Presentation Of Data (Including Tables and Charts)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V  Summary, Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant Findings</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Differences</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and a Sense of &quot;Self&quot;</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table Of Contents (continued)

Discussion ........................................................................................................ 98
Conclusions and Recommendations ................................................................. 103
Future Research Recommendations ................................................................. 104

Appendices ......................................................................................................... 106
References .......................................................................................................... 148

List of Tables

Table 1 .............................................................................................................. 52
Table 2 .............................................................................................................. 54
Table 3 .............................................................................................................. 56
Table 4 .............................................................................................................. 58
Table 5 .............................................................................................................. 60
Table 6 .............................................................................................................. 62
Table 7 .............................................................................................................. 64
Table 8 .............................................................................................................. 66
Table 9 .............................................................................................................. 68
Table 9 continued ............................................................................................. 69
Table 10 ............................................................................................................. 71

List of Appendices

Appendix A - A Description of the Prevailing Climate of the Education of African American Children and an Historical View of the Education of African American Children Prior to Slavery, During Slavery and After Slavery in the United States of America of the North ................................................................. 96

Appendix B - Introduction and Demographic Information Form .................. 144
Appendix C - Informed Consent Form ............................................................... 145
Appendix D - Letter of Thanks ........................................................................ 147
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

With regard to the career of an educational administrator, "There is no better job on earth, nor is there a better purpose to which one can devote one's life, nor a more satisfying, energizing, rewarding endeavor. To be the chief child advocate, the head coach and cheerleader for members of the most noble profession in society, that of teacher, is to have it all!" (Caulfield, 1989). It is with that spirit and in the interest ultimately of all such administrators and the children whom they have vowed to provide the best education for, that this dissertation is written. It is written with an interest in the education of all people, for even if one group of people is brought to a level of adequate or even exceptional ability and functioning, they must still live in the world with and deal with the inadequacies and ignorances of others. However, it is the African American educational administrator whose unique story may not have been told nor heard, and the plight of the African American student that is focused upon in this dissertation research.

Hilliard's critique of contemporary views regarding teaching and learning for students of African descent contends that they (the students):

...are said to be more retarded, more emotionally disturbed, more learning disabled than others. Families are said to be dysfunctional, as are the communities from which students come. As a result, remedial education strategies take on the character of therapy, externally designed and implemented. Children are seen as "culturally deprived", "culturally disadvantaged" or "at risk." With such a limited
and distorted problem definition, and without recognition or respect for African ethnicity, it is impossible to pose valid remedies for low student achievement, including the design of valid teacher education (Hilliard, 1995, p.3).

Although journals and books by researchers, teachers and educators in other positions may be plentiful regarding the academic plight and educational failures of African American students, the words on the subject from African American educational administrators in elementary and secondary education are hard to find in the literature, past and present. It could be that they are too few in number, preoccupied and overwhelmed by their tasks to take time to make a statement, or that there is little concern for what they may have to say.

"Traditionally, autobiographical accounting recorded by people of color, especially women, has been evaluated more stringently, in respect to issues of veracity and memory." (Etter-Lewis, 1993). For the majority, there has neither been nor does there exist an incentive to distort. "It is my belief that our accounts are judged in this fashion because they present harsh truths that society would rather ignore and discredit. As it has historically dealt with prophets, society chooses to discount the message by compromising the messenger" (Glenn Paul, 2001).

In consideration of the plight of the students in the northern and urban education systems of North America, educational administrators have their theories as to why so many academic failures exist and which methods yield the best results in attempting to solve the problem. Some have shared their perspectives. However, there are some
perspectives which have not been shared. In this research, the voice of the African American educational administrator may be heard, and appears to be the voice that is missing. The experience of the African American educational administrator in a large urban north american setting, and his/her views about the education of the African American student needs to be told, especially if it sheds light and a different perspective on on the issue than is already known. Inquiries have been made regarding school administration comparative studies from a cross cultural basis. However, it was found that although educational administration has experienced impressive development over the past three decades, a robust comparative branch of the field has failed to emerge (Walker, 1998). Walker suggests that real differences in perspectives, perceptions and experiences do exist. Such research highlights the need for comparative educational administration and the development of comparative conceptual frameworks.

Perspectives from African American educational administrators would add important and valuable information to the field of education. Most of the literature regarding the perspectives of African Americans, is pertaining to teachers and parents, and their views on the education of African American children. Other literature pertains to what African American educational administrators have perceived as their major obstacles in becoming principals and superintendents, without focusing on their views of themselves in their current role as administrator and their strategies for success for the African American elementary and secondary school students. There are some enlightening case studies but more with a focus on an individual educational administrator's life, rather than their educational perspectives and missions which could possibly indicate a collective theme and
thrust toward the improved academic standing of the African American student.

We want to see the story of a people told, not merely the story
of isolated heroes and events. We want teachers to be able to tell an
integrated story of continual and diasporan African people as it has
evolved over time. It is this comprehensive story of African people that
has affected world history and which is to be woven into the general
school curriculum (Hilliard, 1991, p.35).

An example of educators, educational administrators and other key members of
organizations who have come together to speak up regarding the education of African
American children, has been The Commission on Students of African Descent. The
Commission's purpose was to make recommendations to enhance the achievement of
students of African descent, to include policy recommendations in such areas as
curriculum, staffing, professional development, parent involvement and resource equity.
The Commission was authorized by the New York City Board of Education, June 22,
1994, based on a resolution introduced by board members Dr. Eseralda Simmons,
director, Center for Law and Social Justice, Medgar Evers College, and Dennis Walcott,
President and chief executive officer, New York Urban League. The Board's adoption of
the resolution came at the urging of a number of organizations concerned with the welfare
of people of African descent. Among those organizations, the African American
Leadership Summit played a prominent role.

Members of the Commission were appointed jointly by the Board of Education and
Chancellor Ramon Cortines and included public school and university teachers and administrators, parents, students, representatives of civil rights organizations, business persons, corporate executives and a member of the City Council. Board members Simmons and Walcott were among the appointees. Chancellor Cortines’s successor, Dr. Rudolph Crew, later appointed additional members. The Commission has authored three reports: Professional Development for Teachers and Administrators of Students of African Descent; Curriculum and Instruction to Support Academic and Cultural Excellence; and, Improving Family and Community Relationships. These topics were selected because the Commission believed that each represents a critical element in the achievement of students of African descent. Well trained educators, familiar with and supportive of the culture of the students, curriculum which celebrates their heritage and inspires high academic achievement and family and community encouragement are key factors in producing students who excel in school and who feel good about themselves. Students of African descent are capable of high levels of academic achievement, yet few of the children and youth of African descent reach these levels in the New York City public schools. They are most often relegated to the lowest achieving, underserving schools in the city. Their schools represent the highest number of SURRE (Schools Under Registration Review) schools in the state and they are taught by the greatest number of uncertified teachers. The Commission holds teachers and administrators responsible for high levels of achievement of students of African descent. The Commission insists that schools must provide educational experiences that facilitate lifelong academic, technological, psychological, cultural and physical development (Kirkland, 1998).
Other groups such as The New York Alliance of Black School Educators, who also feel a deep responsibility to the education of African American students, aim to encourage and facilitate the education of all students in the greater New York area, but in particular for students of African descent. Their thrust to establish a coalition of African American educators, to exchange ideas and strategies, to develop African American professionals in education, to influence public policy, and to alleviate the effects of racism in education, is targeted at raising the achievement level of students while building positive and realistic self-concepts. The New York Alliance of Black School Educators is a currently viable and functioning association, made reference to here as an example of what one urban North American city has developed as one of the tools to remedy ills and improve the education of African Americans. Theirs may or may not be the final word on the issue.

The ultimate effectiveness and power of any group of people is the degree to which they have an awareness of who they are and have respect for themselves. According to psychologist Na'im Akbar, one of the major deficiencies of the African American community is the persistence of a fundamental lack of self-awareness and a debilitating deficit of self-esteem. These characteristics are not new for the African American people, but are deeply rooted in a tradition that was devised to sabotage our collective and personal efficacy and make us into a permanent servant class in America. All of those cultural and institutional devices that are usually employed to ensure that people will develop an effective self-awareness, for the African American, were systematically uprooted and/or prohibited, thus hindering self awareness and damaging self-respect:

How to make Black Americans better? We must make a priority of
developing cultural and educational institutions that are geared toward developing African American self-knowledge. It is important for us to realize that we cannot engage in economic and political cooperation, resolving our wide array of social problems or competing with other cultural groups on the planet for resources, until we have a clear sense of who we are. This self-knowledge that should lead to self-respect and self-determination is a prerequisite for the achievement of those objectives of self-enhancement that all people hold for themselves and their future generations. (Akbar, 2001, p.134)

Akbar is in agreement with many thinkers and advocates within the African American community, that educators with a deliberate agenda for cultivating the self-knowledge of African Americans must focus upon developing learning centers and materials that further this objective. The poorly supported efforts of many African-Centered schools represent pioneering effort in this regard. Such educational and antigenocidal efforts are not reversed racism or reversed segregation.

The existing educational curriculum for every learning system in America adopts a Eurocentric perspective that facilitates the self-knowledge of European-American learners. We should not begrudge European-Americans the right to maximize the potential of their children and their communities. Our children should also have exposure to a wide range of information about other cultural groups and their accomplishments. (However, the focus of our
educational system should be reflective of ourselves) because of the peculiarity of the "double consciousness" that results from being African and American. I am suggesting the need of "gearing up" our educational experience. Not only should we master the rudiments of "American" self-knowledge but develop an awareness of our unique experiences that equip us to draw upon our special resources. (Akbar, 2001, p.135)

Based upon the readings of a survey of 3,000 children from various ethnic groups commissioned by the American Association of University Women (Daley, 1991), and upon findings of Rosenberg and Simmons (1972), Wilson (1992) concluded that academic failure and low achievement may in large part be the results of low self-esteem. Self-esteem also seems to be related to social context. According to his interpretations, Black adolescents who attend White schools evidence a lower self-esteem than Black students who attend predominantly Black schools; Black students who attend segregated schools have a higher self-esteem that Black students who attend integrated schools. It seems as though Black youths have higher self-esteem when not exposed to White prejudices. An individual's self-concept can be his or her source of self-esteem and simultaneously, can be inadequate for resolving important challenges of living and problems confronting him/her and his/her social group. The constructed self-concept "shuts out" unpleasant reality, motivating the individual to perhaps pursue more immediate gratification, hedonistic pleasures, escape responsibility, permitting him or her to engage in self-aggrandizing and palliative fantasies, charades, fads, and other types of retreats from reality. He or she may feel relatively secure and happy with this constricted view of
him/herself. The "reality" Wilson (1992) speaks of may be summed up in these words of his, "...we depend upon the kindness of a people who have mistreated us since the first time we have known them. We are hanging by a thin thread. The more "integrated" we become, the weaker we become; the more dependent we become." (Wilson, 1992, pp.4-5)

What a pity that our communities have forgotten our "Jeles" and our 'Jegnas', our great master teachers. What a pity that we cannot readily recall the names of our greatest wise men and women. What a pity that we have come to be dependent on the conceptions and the leadership of others, some of whom not only do not have our interests at heart, they may even be our enemies. Some actually seek to control us for their own benefit through the process of mis-education. (Hilliard, 2001, p.4)

Educational administrators who ponder a new approach to the academic success of African American students may do well to consider the above. To do so, they may need to be highly skilled and caring educational administrators or educational administrators who are highly skilled, caring and able to identify with the plight of the African American student on a very personal level.

Perhaps, in trying to find a better way to educate African American students for their greater academic advancement and achievement, we would be right to consider what has been, before we can hold the clearest concept of what needs to be. This researcher refers the reader to Appendix A for a description of the prevailing climate found regarding the education of African American children in a large North American urban setting and for an historical view of the education of African American children prior to slavery, during
slavery, and after slavery in the United States of America, of the north, providing an understanding of the foundation for this research, and a basis for the statement of the problem.

Statement of the Problem

African American educational administrators had little time, it seems, to write books to theoretically provide their perspectives on "the problem." They may have been too busy putting out fires and holding out a hand to one child at a time. If you're taking care of basic needs, treading water, and just trying to survive, it's hard to find the time to design new programs out of your own observations and research. However, although they were few, they are the best ones to ask about the problems in the education of African American students, for they were the ones designated most often to work in so-called minority schools. Certainly, they would be the best ones to ask about the experience of being an African American educational administrator. Upon their shoulders lay the additional responsibilities of: providing themselves as role models; trying to insure that equity existed in the provision of teaching materials, teachers, and teachers' salaries; making sure that African and African American culture and ethics were a part of the curriculum; making sure that instruction reflected a true view of their place in history; providing real belief in the possibilities of their achievement, getting them beyond the stereotypes; providing real enthusiastic encouragement for the attainment of their goals; helping to shape those goals toward the survival of African Americans; and, after so much degradation, helping them to believe in themselves, to love themselves and to achieve.
The purpose of this phenomenological study is to investigate the perspectives, perceptions and attitudes of African American educational administrators in a large northern urban area of the United States, regarding their positions as educational administrators and regarding the education of African American students. Specifically, the goal was to investigate the experience of being an African American educational administrator in a large northern urban area in the United States, from African American educational administrators themselves, to have them share their views, strategies and recommendations regarding the education of African American students, in order for those students to attain their highest academic achievement and performance. It is hoped that such information may contribute to academic improvement for the African American student. Knowledge regarding this will be of importance to all educators and of great help in bringing equity between all students, assisting in ending any existing disparity.

Research Questions

The rationale for choosing the research questions to follow, came out of this researcher's review of the literature while in search of reasons for the reported disparity between Black American and White American students in academic achievement. Answers to these questions are to be sought from interviews with African American educational administrators. This researcher also had an interest in what the experience of being an African American educational administrator may be. There wasn't an abundance of material to be found from literature sources. And so, this study was created and the interview questions developed in a search for answers from those educational leaders most
intimate with the issue of the education and academic performance of African American students in an urban setting in the northern United States.

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

Question 1. What has been learned about being an African American educational administrator?

Question 2. Does the experience of being an African American educational administrator differ from the experiences of other educational administrators?

Question 3. What has been learned about the education of African American students?

Question 4. What has been done by African American educational administrators to make education better for African American students?

Question 5. Has there been success in the attempts by African American educational administrators to shape the education for African American students for the better? And if so, how has such success been measured?

Question 6. How are African American students given a sense of "Self"?

Question 7. Have educational goals changed for the African American student?

Question 8. What is the cause for the failings of African American students in education?

Question 9. What needs to be done for African American student education improvement in the future?

Question 10. Is there anything more that you wish to add to the interview?

(Question 10 included important points presented by interviewees, which may not have been entertained by other questions or which were strong points emphasized from the body of the interview.)
Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this phenomenological research study were:

1) The population size (N) was small. This was appropriate for the type of
phenomenological study that was done. However, this researcher realizes that it is
difficult to generalize findings from such a small and specific population.

2) The study wasn't blind. Interviewees knew the topic and purpose, and may
have geared responses towards this knowledge.

3) Randomization in choosing interviewees to participate existed only in the choosing of
the first six educational administrators who responded to this researcher's call for
participants and who met the qualification criteria. There were others who were contacted
who were either not available at the time of inquiry, did not respond, or did not meet
the qualification criteria.

4) The interview questions being left open, as in paradoxical format, in order to inform
beyond what this researcher asked in the questions given to the interviewee. This format
sometimes causes new directions to be taken. At the same time, the researcher attempted
to keep a standard and similar format for questioning, so that each interviewee would be
answering the same questions. It is believed that the integrity of the questioning was
maintained.

5) The researcher's handling of the camcorder for videotaping, which may have caused
some distraction.

6) The researcher not having included the interview of a Charter School Director.
However, in the urban setting chosen for the study, Charter Schooling had just begun a
few months prior to the beginning of the collection of data. Therefore, no data was available at the time.

7) Although this researcher made every attempt not to bias the interview or confound the findings, her presence as an African American may have been a factor in the outcome.

Significance of the Study

Two outcomes were sought. It was hoped that from this study, new perspectives and insight might be gained regarding the experience of African Americans in educational administration as compared between themselves as individuals, and as compared between educational administrators in different types of educational settings. It is significant to obtain information about this group, from the group itself. Information about African American educational administrators as a group, is minimal, as stated.

If information about the experience of being an African American educational administrator raises awareness, causes obstacles to be removed from the paths of future African American educational administrators, causes more resources to be dispensed and equally distributed, encourages other African Americans to join the ranks of the educational administrators, provides an increased number of role models for the purpose of uplifting the morale of students while dispelling stereotypes, and allows more administrators concerned with the academic advancement of African American Students to be in a position of power in order to really make changes and make a difference, then research such as this will have accomplished much.

There also seems to be a growing trend of various ethnic groups desiring to speak for
and help their own. In truth, they are the ones who are more aware of their own needs and are empowered when attending to those needs themselves. Therefore, educators, educational administrators, parents, community members, and students themselves, all engaged in such an effort, would be a powerful force.

This research intended to explore whether or not the educational goals for the African American student have changed over the years, and whether such goals needed to include the combined efforts of educational administrators, educators, parents and community in order to be successful. In support of this concept, Comer (1980), a psychologist of African decent at Yale University, described the importance of improving relationships between school and home as an integral part of school reform.

The effort and "pulling together" of all involved seems to be what's needed. The thrust of educational administrators towards this end is key. The relationship between schools, families, and communities has been viewed from many perspectives. Research on these topics will better enable schools, families, and communities to draw upon and combine the resources and skills they possess. This should promote greater achievement among all students, including African American, urban adolescents, one of the populations at greatest risk for academic failure and school dropout. Parents are the first and most important models and teachers of their children. If parents feel excluded, of little value and hopeless, they will likely transmit these attitudes to their children, which will have behavioral consequences that are opposite of what is necessary for good school learning or the achievement of long-range goals (Comer, 1980).

It was hoped that African American educational administrators interviewed would
shed light upon their ability to hire caring and qualified teachers and staff. Finding enough teachers who share the same pedagogical approach isn't easy, and also no school shall have graduation requirements that cannot be met by every professional working in the school. These requirements should be phased in only as fast as the school can bring its staff up to the standards it requires of its students (Meier, 1995).

In addition, if a connectedness to one's cultural heritage is any indication of the kind of education which appreciates and respects diversity, and the type of education which lifts the heads and minds of people in an improved sense of "Self" and in increased self-esteem, then it was hoped that this research would find the importance in the factor of cultural heritage and in the factor of acceptance of "Self," actually "Self-Love." Urban poor African American children enter the arms of White and Black middle class adult individuals who have abandoned the children's residential neighborhoods. These adult middle class caretakers, guidance counselors, principals, superintendents and board members return to the children's underclass communities with apprehension and often resentment during the daily rush hours, to make their livings ministering to these children of the underclass. They try to persuade these children to be like them and to follow their views, values, behavior and manners (Hare & Hare, 1991).

It was also hoped that the research findings would serve as a guide toward the goal of improving the academic achievements of African American students. Considering the history of education for African Americans in the United States and much failing within that history, there is definite concern that such education in the future will not indicate a disparity between different peoples but show tremendous growth so that the full and rich
potential of African Americans will be realized for themselves and for others, contributing
greatly to this society. It was also hoped that the study would serve as a model for other
groups, so that the education of all children would improve significantly in the future. If
all that was hoped for is truly realized, then the significance of this study will be in the
enhancement of academic achievement of African American students, of students of all
ethnic and other backgrounds, in the elimination of disparity between the groups due to
race or color, and in the place in the literature and in his/her story where the experiences
and opinions of African American educational administrators can rightly be included.

Definition of Terms

African American:

The term African American, describes any and all persons of African decent whose
ancestors were/are Africans (although genetically, according to anthropologists, that
includes all peoples), who trace part or all of their ancestry to the continent of Africa, and
identify predominantly with that ancestry. These are persons who were born outside of
the continent of Africa, who are therefore Africans in diaspora, and who reside, identify
with by virtue of a combined culture with, or who are citizens of the United States of
America, of the north. Therefore, since distinctions are not often made by others in school
records, documents and surveys regarding whether a person of African decent came to
the United States of America through lineage brought directly from Africa or via the
Caribbean, South America or elsewhere other than Africa direct, all such persons for the
purpose of this study will be considered to be African American. It is an arduous task to
make such distinctions within a group. Yet, Africans in diaspora often make such
distinctions which may be determined by last known place of family origin after Africa, language, culture, physiological appearance, etc.

African Centered:

This term is used to describe the focus and orientation of any individual, who has Africa and experiences there from as his or her nucleus. An African American who is African Centered will perceive the world first from the premise of his or her identity as an African or descendant thereof, and the way in which that individual would view the world that would make most sense to him or her, and give credence to a philosophy which places an African view of the world before other views. This is not to exclude other views but to focus upon things which are important to the survival, understanding and appreciation of individuals of African decent.

Self-concept:

1) Our overall thoughts and feelings about ourselves, sometimes called self-understanding.

2) The ideas, feelings, and strivings that are recognized, interpreted, and valued by the individual as his or her own.

3) A person's view of himself/herself, the fullest description of himself of which a person is capable at any given time.

Self-image:

The self one thinks oneself to be. This is not a directly observable self-object but a complex concept of one's personality, character, status, body and body appearance, etc. It may differ greatly from objective fact.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

Introduction

The purpose of the previous chapter was the presentation of some historical background to provide a rationale for the present study. In this chapter, literature and research related to the study under investigation are reviewed. They are divided into the following sections: 1) The previous research done  2) African American Female Educational Administrators  3) Male and Female African American Educational Administrators in Research  4) Research dealing with Self-Perceptions, Interviewing, and Qualitative Analysis  5) Perspectives about roles, culture, and urban settings  6) Descriptive and Case Studies  7) Other Research  8) Phenomenological Research.

The review of the literature and research are related to the following hypotheses:

1) African American educational administrators may experience their roles as educational administrators differently than non African American educational administrators.

2) African American educational administrators have much to say about their experiences as African American educational administrators, which prior research may not have explored.

3) African American educational administrators may have different perspectives, expectations, and even hopes regarding the education of African American students.

4) African American educational administrators may be able to offer creative solutions for the academic improvement of African American students.
The Limited Amount Of Research Done

This researcher found the amount of information regarding the perspectives of African American educational administrators to be very limited. A review of the literature revealed a pervasive lack in this area, supported by research below which supports this fact. Walker (1998) made inquiries of school administration comparative studies from a cross cultural basis, and found that although educational administration has experienced impressive development over the past three decades, the fact that a robust comparative branch of the field has failed to emerge, is equally conspicuous. He acknowledges and highlights the need for comparative educational administration and argues that the development of conceptual frameworks is imperative in building a comparative dimension. Onwuegbuzie's research (1998) comparing the academic achievement of African American and European American teachers in research methodology courses, found that in comparison, African American teachers achieved lower overall course averages and scored less on research examinations, implying that this may be a cause for decreased numbers of African American school administrators, which would have implications regarding the amount of research involving them as educational administrators. Allen (1992) in her research regarding the role of mentors and sponsors for African-American women in educational administration, found that African-American women are markedly underrepresented in administrative positions in education and in research on educational administrators. Given that educational administration is still predominantly a white male domain, she concluded that the roles of mentors and sponsors have become crucial for aspiring African-American women.
Allen, Jacobson and Lomotey (1995) reported that 46 African American women educational administrators (all of the subjects) perceived race as a major obstacle to promotion but did not view gender as a serious barrier, and that although they had little difficulty forming supportive relationships, the subjects had trouble finding mentors and sponsors. Comparing the perceptions of both genders and of two racial groups, Jones-Mitchell (1993) studied African American female, African American male, and White American female superintendents regarding variables such as gender and race, which were reported to influence their tenure in the superintendency. Her conclusions indicated that the variables perceived to influence tenure for White females were predominantly gender bias, for Black males were predominantly race, and for Black females were predominantly both gender and race. According to the research of Jones-Mitchell (1993), despite the slight increase of White females, Black females, and Black males entering the position of superintendency since 1989, collectively they represent less than 10% of superintendents nationwide. Dunlop (1997) mailed a descriptive survey questionnaire to 202 African American superintendents. Acquiring data from both males and females, data from the study revealed numerous perceived racial barriers facing African Americans seeking superintendency positions. These barriers included: mobility, networking, boards of education, preparation and competence, opportunities, unrealistic expectations, lack of support, and discrimination.
African American Female Educational Administrators

Indeed, the need for such research is underscored more by doctoral students completing their dissertations, as is suggested by the research of Ross (2000) in her dissertation. She found that of 16,536 Texas school administrators, only 361 were African American women principals. She points out that with the advancement of African American women as principals, there exist different experiences. Her claim is that little has been contributed in the area of African American women principals and their experiences. She contends that how these experiences influence the African American female leaders is relevant to all educational administrators." Her concern was as to whether or not African American women principals view race and gender as barriers to their advancement. This concern was examined using face-to-face interviews examining the personal experiences of African American women principals leading schools in East Texas. Extrapolated from the concluding narrative analysis is the conception that African American women principals, having experienced multiple oppressive structures, are passionate defenders of promoting equality and fairness throughout the school community. While research regarding African American women, on gender and race issues is important, this researcher’s focus is decidedly upon both male and female African American educational administrators' perspectives regarding their own positions and with regard to the education of African American students. Research regarding this specific focus has not been found.

Henderson (1997) was also concerned with women in educational administration. However, the added element of a taped interview session was more akin to the present study. Her purpose in her study was to identify specific leadership perceptions female
principals have concerning their career in educational administration and to identify certain variables that female principals perceive as barriers. The researcher chose fourteen female principals from elementary, middle and high schools representing five selected counties and school systems in East Tennessee. They served as the data source for the study and participated in a taped interview session. Like the present research, this was a qualitative interview approach utilizing the semi-structured interview style. The study concluded that female principals do perceive challenges in leadership but in doing so have overcome the stereotypical boundaries that have disillusioned many women from attaining the role of principal. Unlike the present study, only women were sought for participation. Gender, race and their ability to overcome many barriers was only part of the focus of the present study. Perceptions about female African American educational administrators' positions being challenges in leadership, was a major outcome of the research done. The study also concluded that those interviewed had overcome the stereotypical boundaries that had disillusioned many women from attaining the role of principal. However, Henderson's study did not include an exploration of other perceptions which the African American educational administrators may have had, as well as their perceptions of the education of the African American student.

Male and Female African American Educational Administrators

Although there has been research primarily focusing on the female African American educational administrator, (Allen, 1992; Bradley-White, 1997; Bush, 2000; Campbell, 1994; Davis, 1996; Ennis, 1996; and Moore, 1999), either concerning gender and racial barriers, mentoring, perceptions of mobility, or leadership styles, there are some studies
which have dealt with both male and female educational administrators. Griffin-Golden (1998) explored the perceptions of 15 African American urban elementary school principals regarding their roles in and experiences with student portfolio assessment. Norman (1995) described the self-reporting leadership styles of principals in the school district of Philadelphia. However, even with the inclusion of both male and female administrators, the foci of these researchers have not been on the perspectives of the subjects’ roles as educational administrators, nor specifically on the education of African American students.

Research dealing with Self-Perceptions, Interviewing, and Qualitative Analysis

Those researchers who have dealt with self-perceptions obtained through interviewing and qualitative analysis have been more akin to the research herein. Yet, they did not explain views on the education of the African American student and did not compare males with females. One such study, Spence (1990) presented information from in-depth interviews with seven African-American female administrators. The researcher sought to provide both personal and organizational insights into creative and sustaining leadership roles for minority women, through the telling of their experiences and socially constructed meanings for their lives and work. Four common themes and patterns which emerged from the study were: (1) historical; (2) oppression, discrimination, and racism; (3) determination and stamina; and (4) pride and self-esteem. Those participants spoke of obstacles and biases, as well as their own pride and self-respect. They also described the importance of strong family support and high expectations from family, teachers, and friends. Positive role models and early educational experiences that encouraged and
inspired them, were cited. However, once again, their perspectives on the education of the African American student and their roles in improving the education of the African American student, were not a focus. Another research study done by Henderson (1997) utilized a qualitative interview approach with semi-structured interviews as the main source of data. The subjects were female principals, many of whom were African American. From the subjects' perspectives, the common goal of trying to make a difference for students was a common theme shared by these female principals.

Pollard (1997) studied African American urban elementary school principals, who were interviewed regarding how their race and gender statuses influenced perceptions about their administrative roles. It was found that race, gender, and class were integrated in respondents' self-perceptions and expressions of self-confidence in overcoming social barriers. Self-perceptions with regards to the African American educational administrator in the role as an administrator, in addition to the perspectives related to the education of the African American student, is the focus of the current research study. Exploration may or may not show gender to be a significant factor.

**Perspectives About Roles, Culture, and Urban Settings**

Perspectives about roles, culture, and urban settings are other aspects akin to this researcher's focus. Lomotey (1993) examines data (interviews with two principals) from a study of teachers' responses to curriculum innovations to illustrate differences between bureaucrat/administrator and ethno-humanist roles of African American principals. He described the overlap of these roles and tensions between them, as the principals move back and forth between the roles. In a report by Ayers (1994), a very
difficult, selective school crisis envelops the poor, the cities, and Latino and African American communities. Schools mirror structures of privilege and oppression apparent in the larger society. The perspectives of a principal, a novelist, and a poet were given. Davis (1996) described the leadership styles of three African American female urban elementary school principals, incorporating nurturing, in the form of kinship and collaboration; encouraging students, teachers and parents to be involved in programs that foster academic achievement, cultural awareness, and program diversity. O'Daniel (1994) presented a paper exploring a facet of the organizational implications of an "Afrocentric" (African-centered worldview) perspective in American education, primarily in public schools, which reported a need for Afrocentric resource centers within schools and educational systems, and that the Afrocentric idea is an essential step toward progress and greater inclusion of Blacks into the American dream.

In Osterman and Sullivan's (1994) research, the principalship was studied from the perspective of newly appointed principals in the highly bureaucratized urban context of New York City. Attitudes, goals, and role and leadership behaviors and the effects of the school system context, were studied. In the descriptive and exploratory work of White (1995), insight was gained into the professional experiences of ten African American female principals, who stated that their "added flavor" is different from their White colleagues. This difference is woven into their work by the cultural traditions and experiences they bring forth to meet the needs of minority children, "especially Black children". This is also depicted in Fusco's (1996) case study, where a female African American principal of an urban inner-city student population and some members of the
faculty and the school district shared the cultural similarities (cultural synchronization) of the student population which they served. The lack of cultural synchronization has had a major negative effect on student achievement. With a "can do" attitude, the thinking of the majority of the faculty was transformed into expecting the highest standards of achievement from the students. The above studies are intriguing and have much in common with this researcher's study, however, each has a slightly different focus than that of this researcher.

**Descriptive And Case Studies**

There have been a few descriptive studies, such as the one done on Black public school administrators in Ohio (Guthrie-Jordan, 1990), which focused primarily on biographical information and less about the education of the African American student. Thomas' (1998) study examines the perceptions of administrators toward parent/learning advocates in regular and alternative educational settings. The study involved ethnic diversity, including African American, Hispanic, and White administrators partially because. The findings of the study revealed that females and African American males were more likely to be the top administrator of an alternative high school rather than of a regular high school. And in contrast to regular high schools, alternative high schools had a significantly larger percentage of African Americans. However, the focus of the above study, unlike this researcher's work, was not about the perspectives of African American educational administrators with regards to their positions and with the education of African American students. Simply to include African American educational administrators in a study, does not constitute research about their perceptions nor the
academic achievement of their students.

There were many case studies done (Ah-Nee-Benham & Cooper, 1998; Bagwell, 1999; Benham, 1997; Charles, 1997; DeJarnette, 1992; Dillard, 1995; Fusco, 1996; Turbyfill, 1997; Wright, 1997; and White, 1995) where African American educational administrators were the subjects who were interviewed in qualitative research. DeJarnette (1992) studied the leadership styles, perceptions and relationships of three African American female principals. She concluded that their success was due to 1) families that emphasized the need and desire for higher education; 2) failure to internalize racism and sexism; and 3) intrinsic motivation, desire for greater responsibility and challenge rather than remunerative reward. Dillard (1995) studied the case of an African American female urban school principal, using narratives and analyses. The researcher stresses that future such research take into account issues of culture and community context. White's (1995) research methodology was descriptive and exploratory, and was used to describe the professional experiences of the African American female principal. Fusco's (1996) findings related to the manner in which the principal interviewed and institutionalized a vision for her school. Wright (1997) investigated the life history of two female African American elementary school principles, who gained success in spite of racism. Turbyfill (1997) interviewed three male African American school administrators whose outlooks on the future of education were hopeful. More of this type of qualitative research was recommended for the future. Benham (1997) examined the different cultural and professional stories of three ethnic minority women school leaders. And Bagwell (1999) used phenomenological methodology including interviews, to investigate
African American female principals, relating their professional lives to race, class and gender.

**Other Research**

Most of the other research found dealt with higher education (Cunningham, 1992; Gibson, 1987; Lindsay, 1999; Tien, 1999; and Woods, 1996) and also compared African American male educational administrators with White male educational administrators. Polczynski (1990) and Niskey (1999) compared the two groups at the level of higher education. Again, African American educational administrators of school levels K - 12 were the focus of the current study.

**Phenomenological Research**

In reviewing the literature, one phenomenological study which seems to be close to this researcher's study, was found. However, the subjects were not African American educational administrators but African American parents. This study by Frazier Raynor (2000) was inspired by, "...a desire on my part to respond to a void that I believe exists in the literature on African American parents and schooling." (p.185) The researcher chose phenomenology as a research tradition because, 

"...it emphasized understanding one's subjective interpretation of an experience. While one can never really 'know' or inhabit anyone else's world, as researcher I wanted to position myself to get as close to understanding the perspectives of my informants, recognizing that in the end what I construct will be my interpretation of their reality." (p. 18)

The research herein attempts to do the same with African American educational
administrators. Frazier Raynor's research findings indicated that the parents' specific
cultural beliefs and values that reflected the particular quality of their experiences and their
actions symbolized how important these ideas and beliefs were in the lives of their
children. An example of one belief given was,

"...their belief that school-derived knowledge should be questioned and
challenged at home especially when it did not match parents' own knowledge
of the world... Teaching children how to think against the grain was an important
concept because these parents knew that if their children believed and accepted
everything that was presented to them, they might eventually wind up with a 'false'
sense of themselves. There was a persistent sub-text to their ideas and actions that
demonstrated a recognition of their presence in a hostile environment, where race
really did matter and their children's self-concept might be infused with negative
images and experiences with racism... parents should feel that they are justified in
their concerns and know that school administrators and teachers are also equally
concerned about this issue." (p. 186)

Another study by Burgin (1996), is also the only other one found to be closely aligned
in concept, if not in interpretation, with this present research. Its intention was to present
the professional life-stories of African American female educational administrators in K -
12 and higher education. Twelve subjects participated in the interviews. Burgin found
their stories to imply a metaphorical foundation for who they were, presenting a chance
for discussion of both how they viewed education and how they characterized their vision
of leadership. But once again, such research was not specific only to K - 12 education,
and was more autobiographical and less focused upon the education of the African American student.

In summation, philosophical assumptions, research traditions, and theoretical perspectives have been presented, in an attempt to support the rationale for this study. The next chapter will provide methodology regarding the research design.
CHAPTER III

Methodology

The purpose of this phenomenological study is to investigate the perspectives, perceptions and attitudes of African American educational administrators in a northern urban city of the United States, with regard to their positions as educational administrators, and with regard to the education of African American students. Specifically, the goal was to find out about the experience of being an African American educational administrator, from the mouths of African American educational administrators, and to have them share their views, strategies and recommendations regarding the education of African American students, for their highest academic achievement and performance. This perspective, left out of the literature to a large extent, will hopefully contribute significantly to academic improvement for the African American student. Knowledge regarding the above may prove to be important for all educators, and of significant help in furthering equity among all students, contributing to the end of any existing disparity.

The goal of this study is to identify and to understand the experiences and perspectives that African American educational administrators from various educational systems have had within the last decade, with regards to their own positions as educational administrators and also regarding the education of African American students, grades K through 12, in a northern urban city. Specifically, the objective was to describe, analyze and synthesize their experiences, looking for patterns and trends in hopes of gaining useful perspective on strategies and remedies for future educational implementation, as they apply
to the improved academic achievement of the African American student (grades K - 12).

Participants' perspectives gained from individual interviews are described, analyzed and synthesized with respect to their experiences as educational administrators and to their expert observations as such relates to the education of African American students. This research sought to address 10 main areas of concern:

1) the experience of being an African American educational administrator

2) how the experience of being an African American educational administrator differs from the experience of other educational administrators

3) the African American educational administrator's perspective on education and the African American student

4) how African American educational administrators have contributed to the education of African American students, for the better

5) any success in the attempts of African American educational administrators to improve the education of African American students and if so, how it is measured

6) how African American students are given a sense of "Self"

7) any changes in the educational goals for African American students

8) the cause for the academic failings of African American students

9) what can be done for African American students to improve in education in the future

10) other important areas related to the above which are not covered above in the areas of concern presented by this researcher
These concerns were then put into the form of questions:

Question 1. What have you learned about being an African American educational administrator?

Question 2. Does the experience of being an African American educational administrator differ from the experience of other educational administrators?

Question 3. What has been learned about the education of African American students?

Question 4. What has been done by African American educational administrators to make education better for African American students?

Question 5. Has their been success in the attempts by African American educational administrators to shape the education of African American students for the better? And if so, how has such success been measured?

Question 6. How are African American students given a sense of "Self"?

Question 7. Have educational goals changed for the African American student?

Question 8. What is the cause for the failings of African American students in education?

Question 9. What needs to be done for African American student education improvement in the future?

Question 10. Is there anything more that you wish to add to the interview? (These were important points presented by interviewees, which may not have been entertained by other questions or which were strong points emphasized from the body of the interview.)
Research Design

The type of qualitative design chosen for this study was a Phenomenological Research Design. In its broadest sense, phenomenology refers to a person's construction of the meaning of a phenomenon, as opposed to the phenomenon as it exists external to the person. The phenomenon experienced and/or studied may be an event, a relationship, an emotion, or even an educational program. According to Pintrich and Schunk (1996), "Individuals' personal subjective self-perceptions are important... regardless of the 'accuracy' of the perceptions." (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996, p. 86)

Leedy (1997) defines phenomenology as, "...a research method that attempts to understand participants' perspectives and views of social realities. (Phenomenological researchers) attempt to understand what a specific experience is like by describing it as it is found in concrete situations and as it appears to the people who are living it." (Leedy, 1997, p.161) "Attention to experience and intention to describe experience are the central qualities of phenomenological research." (Volkmann, 1992, p.88)

Instrumentation

Patton (1988, p.198) indicates that, "The standardized open-ended interview consists of a set of questions carefully worded and arranged for the purpose of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking each respondent the same questions with essentially the same words." Developing a standardized open-ended interview would maximize the time allocated to each interview, reduce the effects of researcher judgment bias, and permit internal validity and reliability while facilitating analysis because of
increased comparability.

The guiding questions were not, and did not have to be, presented to the participants in a structured manner, like an ethnographic interview. Rather, they served as a guide for areas to be covered, and the participant along with this researcher in discussion were able to arrive at "the heart of the matter." (Tesch, 1994, p. 147) This method pertained to both primary and secondary data. The questions were presented in a semistructured interview format, consisting of just this researcher and the individual interviewee. Cues were taken from the participants' expressions, verbal answers, questions, and occasional sidetracking, allowing him or her to do most of the talking while this researcher did most of the listening.

Each participant signed a contract agreeing to be a participant in the study by allowing this researcher to conduct an interview, as well as agreeing to be videotaped during the interview by this researcher (see Appendix II). Videotaping was done for the purpose of allowing accuracy to be kept with regards to comments made during the interview. The type of interview chosen for this study was a Partially Structured Interview. In a Partially Structured Interview, the area is chosen and questions are formulated, but order is up to the interviewer. The interviewer may add questions or modify them as deemed appropriate. Questions are open-ended, and responses are recorded practically verbatim, possibly taped. The unstructured end of the continuum in types of interviewing, is closer to the qualitative approach tradition and the structured end to the quantitative approach (Krathwohl, 1998). The details of how the research was done, are given below.
Selection of Interviewees (Participants)

According to Leedy (1997), although phenomenological research can be conducted with a single participant (or even as an examination of the researcher's own experience), phenomenologists typically involve five (5) to ten (10) people in their studies. And because phenomenologists depend almost exclusively on in-depth interviews, it is important that these participants be chosen "purposefully." According to Patton (1990), purposeful sampling is done to increase the utility of information obtained from small samples. Participants are chosen because they are likely to be knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon the researcher is studying.

Potential interviewees were first identified by this researcher through observation of media coverage and public knowledge (e.g., the chancellor of the city's schools was sought after). Attendance at seminars and professional organization meetings is also where other potential interviewees were identified. (e.g., This researcher attended a number of ABENY meetings - Association of Black Educators of New York, and those of The New York Alliance of Black School Educators, as well as seminars held by the Toussaint Institute and others.) Recommendations from persons knowledgeable about African American educational administrators, and who had a means for this researcher to contact the potential interviewee, were obtained. Affiliations with African American educational administrators were initiated and maintained. The researcher also visited educational institutions and administrative offices (in person, via telephone or e-mail, or by writing) and asked if the educational administrator would mind being involved in a study (on the condition that they met certain criteria). Approval to begin the selection of
participants was given at the end of the school year and so this researcher chose to interview those who had responded to the outreach, who were available to be interviewed, and who agreed to be interviewed after meeting the criteria set for participation. These criteria were as follows:

1) an African American, defined in this study to be of African decent, who had lived in the Americas, including the Caribbean, most of their lives and considered the culture of the United States in North America to be the one with which they are most familiar,

2) an educational administrator (school principal, school director, headmaster, superintendent, or chancellor) within the city for at least a decade,

3) currently working in the field of education,

4) educational domain within the public, private, or alternative education arena (such as a nontraditional school setting).

An initial demographic information form was filled out by or for the interviewee obtaining information about criteria (see Appendix I) before a potential participant was actually asked to participate by this researcher, who alone made the decision with regard to their qualifications in meeting the criteria set for this study. The form also collected other information like gender, age, place of origin, culture, educational orientation, and a way of contacting the interviewees in the future.

Six participants were selected, after which the interview was scheduled and consent forms were signed. (See Appendix I). Regarding time and location, scheduling occurred according to the convenience to the interviewee. Interviews occurred at various hours
and at various locations. An interview typically lasted about two to two and a half hours
after video taping equipment was set up, consent forms were read and signed, and the
purpose for the interview was carefully explained to each interviewee in the same manner
and with the usage of the same wording: "I am conducting a research study investigating
the perspectives regarding education and the African American student (grades K - 12),
of African American educational administrators. The purpose of this research study is to
understand the experiences and perspectives gained from those experiences, that
educational administrators who are African American or of African descent, have had
within the last decade in the chosen city. I will be conducting one-on-one interviews with
prospective interviewees from a variety of educational settings."

Description of the Participants (Interviewees) and a Profile of Their Schools

In order to maintain the anonymity of those interviewed, their names were number
coded according to their sequence in the interviewing process (i.e.: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6).
At the time of the interview, participants were aware that coding would be used in
substitution for their name and thus spoke freely. It was promised that any notes from the
interview and the videotape itself would be kept securely and in confidence, and would be
destroyed in the future, unless additional permission for its usage in the future was given
before destruction.

Participant #1: Is the founder, executive director and principal of a private school
in the city, which has existed since 1972. The school began out of an
apartment she had rented. Today, she still resides nearby. Born and
reared in Miami, Florida, she is 53 years old. The school's vision: "to
provide a learning environment that challenges and meets primarily the
needs of African-American children in the inner city - students whose
academic needs have not been met by the public school system."
Participant #2: Is the founder and former director for the first 17 years (until 1998) of a private school in the city chosen for this research. She is currently working as an educator in one of the city's public schools. She was born in Connecticut and reared in New York City. She is 56 years old. The private school had been developed out of this interviewee's and a few other parents' desire not to send their children to public school. The school was very African-Centered and all of the population was of African decent. Participants spoke of each other as being a part of the same community/family, and shared philosophical as well as theological orientations. The public school where she is currently employed is predominantly African American.

Participant #3: Is with the state's Board Of Regents. She had begun teaching in the city chosen for this study, in 1958. Subsequently she became assistant principal of an elementary public school in 1963 in the city chosen for this research, and subsequently became principal in this latter school, remaining there for 30 years until accepting her position as Regent. This school's population was predominantly African American and was built, according to the interviewee, to have a place to send the children who lived in the housing project across the street. Interviewee #3 was born and reared in this city where she has taught for so long. She is 76 years old.

Participant #4: Is the superintendent of one of the public school districts in the city chosen for this research. Prior to that, he had been a teacher then a guidance counselor, and then a Special Education Supervisor in this same city for over 25 years. In fact, during the interview it was discovered that the school he was in was where Interviewee #3 had been principal. The school was predominantly African American. He then became a school principal in a school which was predominantly African American, so he has been an educational administrator for about 30 years. He was born and reared in New York City. He is 54 years old.

Participant #5: Is the co-founder and director of an alternative educational facility in the city chosen for this research, which has existed since 1976, (26 years). It is a facility where African culture and the culture of Africans in diaspora is emphasized. The African American population predominates in presence. Prior to that he had been an active parent at another private educational institution in the city chosen for this study. He was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and reared in New York City for 9 years of his childhood. He is 58 years old.
Participant # 6: Was the founder and headmaster of a private school in the city chosen for this research, for 17 years, before the school's closing in 1986. He is now the assistant principal of a public school in the same city not far from where the private school once existed, and has been there for 13 years. He was born and reared in this same borough. He is 61 years old. The population of the school where he is currently employed is over 90% African American students. The former school which he founded contained nearly 100% African American students.

Description of the Interview Setting, and the Emotional Climate During the Interview

This researcher met with interviewee # 1 at the school where she is the executive director, during the early afternoon. She had scheduled time for the interview which took place in the library. School was not in session, so there was no one else in the room where the interview was taking place. There were some unexpected noises which could not be controlled for, like vacuuming periodically outside the room and the noise of jet planes. However, the interviewee did not seem to lose her train of thought. She was very cordial and enthusiastic. However, since this was the first interview it took longer to complete. At the point of two hours, she was a little worn. This was kept in mind for the next interview.

This researcher met with interviewee # 2 first at a public botanical garden, where the first fourth of the interview was done. The air was sweet but the noise level could not be controlled. Nine days later we met again at her home during the late evening in order to complete the interview. It was cozy and quiet, but there were a few telephone call interruptions. She had tired quickly during the first attempt at interviewing due to an illness. However, there, as well as in her home, whenever she answered a question, she
put her whole self into it and one could see her strength. She was enthusiastic and ready to begin.

This researcher met with interviewee #3 in her home during the late morning. Her home was like a museum, lovely and quiet. She also was very cordial and very strong in her responses. One could tell that she had done this numerous times before, and was glad to do it again. The interview flowed, uninterrupted by anything.

This researcher met with interviewee #4 at his district office as superintendent. He seemed quite busy and rushed. We had privacy and quiet in his nicely furnished office, but he seemed to want the process to begin, because it was the researcher's impression that he was so booked and so sought after. He did help this researcher initially with her video equipment and he did put his best effort and thought into the responses he gave to my inquiries, especially since he knew he was being taped. However, he did seem disturbed a few times when what he may have thought was the last question turned out not to be so.

This researcher met with interviewee #5 in the upstairs sitting area of the alternative educational and cultural center where he was director. It was very cozy but filled with many interruptions from the downstairs doorbell to the telephone ringing periodically, so the tape was put on pause. However, although appologetic, this interviewee seemed undaunted and we just took up where we had left off. He was gracious in answering questions and seemed to enjoy reflecting back into the past.

This researcher met with interviewee #6 in an outside community cultural center, within walking distance from where he worked as assistant principal. He had chosen to meet outside and so the videocamera was set up awaiting his arrival. After he arrived and
we introduced ourselves, we began the interview. After his full response to the first question, it was noticed that the film wasn't taping. This researcher apologized. He gritted his teeth, then took a deep breath and we began again. This time his responses were even better than the first time. Community people walked about naturally, taking care of their business. No one interrupted us, except to walk by occasionally and say “Hi” to him in passing. He seemed well known and well loved in the community. He seemed to feel right at home. Perhaps this is what he wanted this researcher to see.

Rapport Builders and Interviewer Characteristics Affecting Responses

Each of the African American educational administrators interviewed seemed very African-Centered. That is, they seemed very grounded in and comfortable with African tradition and culture. Either the literature about their school which they handed me during the interview, verbal content within their interview, direct observation, or word of mouth verification from reliable sources, indicated that each considered the Nguzo Saba (the seven African principles of Kwanzaa, presented below) to be the core value system they adhered to, and which they encouraged the African American students under their charge to adhere to. These principles are:

1. *Umoja* (Unity): To strive for and maintain unity in the family, community, nation and race.

2. *Kujichagulia* (Self-Determination): To define ourselves, name ourselves, create for ourselves and speak for ourselves, instead of being defined, named, created for and spoken for by others.

3. *Ujima* (Collective Work and Responsibility): To build and maintain our community
together and make our brothers' and sisters' problems our problems, and to solve them together.

4. **Ujamaa** (Cooperative Economics): To build and maintain our stores, shops and other businesses, and to profit together from them.

5. **Nia** (Purpose): To make as our collective vocation the building and developing of our community in order to restore our people to their traditional greatness.

6. **Kuumba** (Creativity): To do always as much as we can, in the way we can, in order to leave our community more beautiful and beneficial than when we inherited it.

7. **Imani** (Faith): To believe with all our heart in our people, our parents, our teachers, our leaders, and the righteousness and victory of our struggle.

(Karenga, 1998, p 34)

These were all very serious people who were accomplished and had made contributions to the community in many, many ways. This interviewer is also very comfortable with African tradition and culture. Perhaps this was transmitted in some unspoken way. This researcher is African American, her hair is worn naturally, she wears no make-up to give the impression of European American features, clothing usually worn by her is universal or African in culture, her tone, or just the mere fact that she is doing this research, which is in keeping with one of the principles above, **Kujichagulia** (Self-Determination). Perhaps this is why each of them had agreed to be interviewed. Perhaps these characteristics of the interviewer affected the responses given by the interviewee. Although this researcher had chosen interviewees who had availed themselves to participate in this research study, perhaps they did so because of the nature of the
research, or because this researcher was African American, or because they may have
picked up detectable cues from this researcher's voice even before a meeting was
scheduled, which let them know that they could possibly trust the researcher and that
maybe she would be sympathetic to their mission and not waste their time. In any event,
this researcher also knew that she might be able to obtain from the African American
Educational Administrators, data and information that was not readily seen in the existing
literature, research or otherwise, and that perhaps more than a few other researchers
would not be able to obtain information from them.

No interview succeeds unless the interviewer builds a relationship with the respondent
in which both are comfortable talking with one another. The interviewer telegraphs
messages by body language, voice intonation, and other subtle clues. If the interviewer
signals discomfort, the tension often spreads to the respondent. In a nonthreatening
situation, the reverse may occur, secure respondent may put the interviewer at ease. But
because setting the mood mostly depends on the interviewer, it is important to learn the
art of building rapport. The rhythm of questioning, taking turns speaking so that the
flow is natural and sustained, is important to develop (Krathwohl, 1998).

This researcher's role was that of interviewer and recorder of information later to be
evaluated, analyzed and synthesized. As a doctoral student in executive education and a
professional psychotherapist/psychologist/radio show host, this researcher had training
in interviewing. This may also have aided in obtaining the data.

**Data Collection**

In the collection of the data for this research study one data source was used:
the responses during interviews with African American educational administrators, who provided their perspectives on their positions as educational administrators and on the education of the African American student. This researcher was the only one who collected this data and the only one to evaluate it. The interviewees had been promised confidentiality and anonymity. The intent in the collection of the data was not to view it with any preselected or planned perspective, but to analyze it, looking for patterns and trends, synthesize it and find what is useful to understanding the phenomenon.

A partially structured interview had been chosen for the research tool. The ten guiding questions or aspects (given above), were not presented to the participants in a rigid and fixed manner, like those found in an ethnographic interview. Rather, they served as a guide for areas to be covered, were sometimes augmented in order to obtain the information needed or to provide clarity and maybe information which would be newly discovered, and were not always given in the same exact order. This researcher took her cues from the participants' expressions, answers, questions, and occasional sidetracking, allowing him or her to do most of the talking, in order to arrive at "the heart of the matter" as is done in phenomenological research (Tesch, 1994, p.147).

Each potential interviewee, who was chosen according to recommendation, public knowledge, or heard of by this researcher in the past, received a letter of introduction which invited them to participate in the study (see Appendix II). The letter also stated that confidentiality and anonymity would be insured, and that their participation was completely voluntary (see Appendix II). Some received phone calls, some faxes, others e-mail. There was also a demographic form for participants to fill out, asking for their
specific mailing address, phone number and e-mail address, date of birth, place of birth and other information (see Appendix I). Before each interview the video equipment was set up by this researcher and an introduction was given which outlined the purpose of the research. Subsequent to the interview, a thank-you note was sent to each interviewee.

**Treatment of the Data**

Once the data was obtained, it was taken to this researcher's home and kept in a basement file cabinet under secure measures. The data consisted of any materials related to the study and obtained during the day of each interview (i.e., video tapings, notes, signed consent forms, demographic forms, and subsequently written transcriptions of the taped interviews). The data was removed for review and transcription by this researcher and afterwards placed back into the file cabinet under lock and key. When the transcriptions were finished, each interviewee received a written transcription of his or her own interview. This was to ensure that it contained the comments that the interviewee had intended to make, to offer a chance to clarify any statement for analysis later, and to correct any misspellings of names and places given. A cover letter of thanks was included. The letter encouraged the interviewee to give input regarding areas needing clarification or containing misspelled names, and gave each interviewee a little over a month to complete, after which time they would share their comments with the researcher.

It was stated that if this researcher did not hear from them, it would be assumed that the transcription was acceptable as was. After the waiting period, two of the interviewees responded and gave input.

During the time subsequent to obtaining the data, several reviews of the transcribed
interviews were made, and responses were charted in order to make it easier to look for specific answers, as well as to easily identify patterns and trends. Color pie charts were also made to show such patterns, trends and groupings, but are not included in this work.

**Controlling for Bias and Error**

The researcher in this study was well aware of the complications that could be created in conducting a credible research study. To control for bias and error the following measures were taken:

1) All interviews were conducted by a single researcher.

2) The author of this study accepted the first six participants for the study who responded positively about participating in the study and who met the criteria for inclusion.

3) The interviewer was impartial and not predisposed toward certain findings ahead of time.

4) The interviews' guiding questions were designed around the theoretical framework and focused on the research study.

5) All interviewees were asked about each of the ten aspects outlined in the guiding questions, perhaps not in the same order or with the same wording but each included a form of the same guiding question. Each question was open-ended regarding responses to be given.

6) Videotape recording each interview insured a verbatim account of what was said during the interview. None of the interviewees appeared constrained by being videotape recorded.
CHAPTER IV

Presentation of Data

This chapter presents the findings of the study based upon the analysis of the collected data concerning the perspectives of African American educational administrators (from now on referred to as AAEAs) from public, private and alternative education domains in a northern urban city, on their positions as educational administrators, and on education and the African American student, grades K through 12. The major findings of this study are presented and analyzed. This chapter is organized into three sections: (a) summary and comparative analysis of AAEA responses to the nine aspects of inquiry and the tenth open-ended aspect, in table form, (b) summary and analysis of the AAEA interviews in total, in chart form, and (c) significant/outstanding results obtained for each aspect, dialogue form.

The research results pertain to ten areas of concern which were put into the form of research questions that guided the collection of data. These areas are: (1) the experience of being an African American educational administrator, (2) how the experience of being an African American educational administrator differs from the experience of other educational administrators, (3) the African American educational administrator’s perspective on education and the African American student, (4) how African American educational administrators have contributed to the education of African American students for the better, (5) any success in the attempts of African American educational administrators to improve the education of African American students and if so, how it is measured, (6) how African American students are given a
sense of "self", (7) any changes in the educational goals for African American students.

(8) The cause for the academic failings of African American students, and (9) what can be done for African American students to improve in education in the future.

The tenth area of concern that provided data which interviewees felt strongly about but was either obtained through sidetracking discussion and not a direct response to the question being asked, or from asking a final question derived directly from this tenth area of concern, was (10) there may be important related areas which may not have been thought of by this researcher for questioning.

In the initial proposal and attempts at interviewing, the following two-part guiding question had been included: How have the dimensions outlined by M. Berube (2000) in his recent book, Eminent Educators, of 1) intellectual ability, 2) moral character, 3) social sense, and 4) aesthetic sense, been given attention by African American educational administrators in their various settings? And, how has a 5th dimension of personal growth or a "sense of self" been woven into the educational goals and curriculum, if at all? However, through the actual interviewing process this question was not answered directly, nor did any of the interviewees presented the question seem familiar with Berube's work. In other areas of each interview, the issues of intellect, morality, a social sense, an aesthetic sense, and "a sense of self" or identity were discussed, either in answer to other questions or in elaborations or initiated and introduced into the interview by the interviewee. Therefore, out of all of this evolved the simple and direct question, "How are African American students given a sense of 'self'?" It was intended that this question guide the interviewee into addressing the issue initially intended for use as related to
Berube's work.

An open-ended, partially structured interview using the ten aspects given above in the form of guiding questions for each of the six interviewees, was used to gather the data for this study. This method yielded qualitative data which was then categorized and organized according to each of the responses given by each of the interviewees and then charted to assess the similar and different perspectives between interviewees with regard to the 10 aspects given above. The results will highlight similarities and differences among the African American educational administrators interviewed, as well as themes and patterns revealed. The data will be presented in three ways:

(1) Each of the 10 aspects (questions) will be presented separately, with the related perspective given by each interviewee, categorized in a table to more clearly reveal where similarities and differences in responses may exist, as well as any patterns.

(4) Below each table will follow a statement of the findings for the particular question asked, and then a highlighting of the significant/outstanding finding(s) (according to frequency of occurrence) depicted within the responses.

(5) Following each of the 10 aspects in table form, statement of the results and then reference to significant/outstanding findings within the responses to that question, a pie chart will be presented depicting the responses.
Table 1

What Have You Learned about Being an AAEA (African American educational administrator)? (N=6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial Obstacles</td>
<td>5,2,4,1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent/Community involvement important</td>
<td>5,2,4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers who sacrifice/model roles &amp; share vision, important</td>
<td>5,2,1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAEAs spend much time planning ahead</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's a very lonely position</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More AAEAs needed at highest levels to affect change</td>
<td>4,3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Improvement &amp; Community Improvement go together</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAEAs highly scrutinized, must make right decisions</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others are resistant to view record of AAEA achievements</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAEAs serve as student &amp; community leadership models</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An AAEA is constantly involved in the learning process</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult balancing roles of administrator &amp; educator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
In Table 1, it is shown that the greater number of African American educational administrators (4), focused upon "financial obstacles" as being a part of their experience as an AAEA. Response 2, "Importance of Parent/Community Involvement" and response 3, "Teacher sacrifice/role modeling/sharing in the vision", were given by 3 interviewees.

The perspectives of the African American educational administrators who were interviewed about what they've learned about their positions interactive with the fact that they're African Americans, is that: the financial obstacles are of great concern to them (4 out of 6); that parental involvement/community involvement is very important (3 out of 6); that they rely upon teachers they've hired who are sacrificing, serve as role models to the students, and share along with the administrator the vision for the school and for the students (3 out of 6); and that more African American educational administrators are needed at high levels to affect change in the current system of education (2 out of 6).
Table 2

Does the experience of being an AAEA differ from the experience of other EAs? (N=6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Due to challenges &amp; conflicts AA people have</td>
<td>5,2,4,6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Due to less access to resources and money.</td>
<td>5,2,4,3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. AAEAs must evaluate and reevaluate children more.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Difficult becoming EA; slow to be hired; always proving.</td>
<td>4,3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Greater responsibility to AA children &amp; community felt.</td>
<td>4,1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Because AAs are not adequately prepare to be powerful.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. AAEAs usually know more than others when finally hired.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Continuously struggling with a hostile system.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Others get opportunities AAs don't in becoming EAs.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. AAEAs hired first were conformists.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. You're kept external to the real power.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Free to be creative/innovative in Indepen. Blk. Schs.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. We created multicultural curriculum out of necessity.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Other EAs would ignore certain behavior in AA children.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. People and Community expect more of the AAEAs.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. AAEAs need to be careful when others see a problem.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
Table 2 shows that all of the interviewees (AAEAs) agree that "Yes", the AAEA experience differs from the experiences of other non-African-American educational administrators. Their reasons for stating yes may differ, however, there is agreement amongst most (4) that a) one of the reasons is the unique challenges and conflicts African Americans have as a people, and b) African Americans' lack of enough resources and money.

All (100%) of the African American educational administrators interviewed believe that the experience of being an African American educational administrator differs markedly from the experience of being an educational administrator who is not African American. The reasons for this, according to the responses given which came up more frequently, are: because of the challenges and conflicts had, due to being an African American (4 out of 6); because of not having enough resources nor enough money at their disposal (4 out of 6); because of being slow to be hired, others' doubting, and having to constantly prove oneself on the job (2 out of 6); because of feeling that they have a greater responsibility to African American students and to the community (2 out of 6).
Table 3

What has been learned about the education of African American students? (N=6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA students do better when traditional teaching is enhanced</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA students do better if we raise our expectations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning needs to be made relevant to their life situations</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awards/recognition rice, but they still had postgrad. challenges</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community say in what school should be like is important</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little effort by those with power to access AA success stories</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA student education lacks humanity, interdependency, honesty</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent involvement important; strategies for this need changing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA students need saving, with/without BOE system involvement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided opportunity and tools, AA students are not inferior</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA students excell more in Independent than PublicSchools</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disparity still exists. In Public School, AA students lag behind</td>
<td>4,1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's difficult getting children to read these days</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have to meet the needs of all types of learners</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA children are more advanced physically &amp; alert early</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA students are not inferior to anyone</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. \( R = \) Response, \( I = \) Interviewee, \( F = \) Frequency, \( P = \) Percentage
Table 3 shows that there is only one response, (the twelfth response) regarding disparity, which was repeated, and then only once. The interviewees differed greatly (only one match found in 16 given) on their responses to what they had learned about the education of African American Students. The only response matched by 2 out of 6 interviewees was the disparity still found between African American Students and White Students.
Table 4

What has been done by AAEAs to make education better for AA students? (N=6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technology has been brought into the Black Independent Schools</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing meaningful excursions (ie: to Africa; Undergr. RR)</td>
<td>5,4,3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networking</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementing an extended curriculum (ie: culture, martial arts, etc)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efforts to involve parents (ie: caring, sharing &amp; broadening)</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engaging entire school community in the educational vision, etc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers required to be a part of the community; model values</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Centered approach was used in images, readings, etc.</td>
<td>1,2,3,4,5,6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasize morals, values, love, sharing, honesty, respect</td>
<td>1,4,6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works of outstanding AAEAs exist but not accessed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA students taught nonviolent resolutions to problems, often</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy (ie: school board sued to provide gifted/talented prgrm)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAEAs being role models of what they want AA students to be</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliation: Association of Historically Black Independent Schs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
Interviewees giving the second response in table 4, regarding the organization of meaningful excursions to Africa, or as a replicated Underground Rail Road trip, and the ninth response regarding an emphasis on morals, values, love, sharing, honesty and respect, were half of the interviewees, 50%. The use of an African Centered Approach using images, readings, etc. found in the school and with which the students could identify, was stated by all six (100%) of the interviewees in answer to the question, “What has been done by African American educational administrators to make education better for African American Students? *This response (the eighth) was in the narrative of all six of the interviewees, in various places during the interview. Five (5) gave it specifically in answer to this question.

So, for half of the interviewees (3 out of 6), African American educational administrators improved education for African American students by organizing meaningful excursions and by emphasizing morals, values, love, sharing, honesty and respect in addition to academic success. Supporting an African Centered Approach used in teaching, along with images found in the school that the African American students could identify with (who looked like them), was a response that all (6) of the interviewees gave in answer to what has been done by African American educational administrators to make education better for African American students. One third (2 out of 6) had a matching response to this question, indicating that efforts to involve parents are important.
Table 5

Has there been success in the attempts by AAEAs to shape the education for AA students for the better? How is success measured? (N=6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Internal evaluations of programs &amp; curriculum.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Response of parents and reactions from others.</td>
<td>5,2,1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Behaviors of students observed by AAEAs &amp; staff.</td>
<td>5,2,4,6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. AA students observed excelling in school &amp; with skills.</td>
<td>5,2,4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Higher academic level achieved on standardized tests.</td>
<td>2,3,1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Law suits won during advocacy.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. High scores received by AA students on school's exam.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Reports back from other schools that students went to.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Student's self report communicated to others.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. School's success increases applications for enrollment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
In table 5 it can be seen that all of the interviewees responded that there had been success. As to how it had been measured, "Behaviors of students observed and recognized by AAEAs and staff", was the most popular response. There is a pie chart to follow, reflecting the response to the first part of this aspect (Success?), and another pie chart reflecting the responses to the second part of this aspect (as to how success was measured).

100% of the interviewees had seen success in the efforts by African American educational administrators in educating African American students. In the second part of this question, variations as to how such success was measured, were given. Two thirds (4 out of 6) cited their own or their staff’s observations of the improved behavior of the students; the response of parents and others as another form of measurement, found a match 2 out of 6 times; the academics of the students improved according to 2 out of 6 of the interviewees; and higher levels of achievement on standardized tests were observed in answer to this question, by 3 out of 6 interviewees, all of whom happen to be female.
Table 6

**How are AA students given a sense of "Self"? (N=6)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rights of Passage Program (ie: Manhood Development)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural and Educational Programs related to AA heritage</td>
<td>5,2,4,6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excursions meaningful to AA heritage</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morals, values &amp; self-esteem issues discussed: Seeds planted</td>
<td>5,3,1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive visualization of Black Youth by Black Youth</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement of parents in the school, building, cleaning, teaching</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious focus often, with African Centered views</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student activities focused on &quot;sense of Self&quot; (ie:Met with VIPs)</td>
<td>2,4,6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project &quot;M.A.L.E.&quot;. AA students interact with positive Black Men</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive images that look like them placed around them in school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of Martial Arts discipline in curriculum</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAEA, teachers, &amp; staff looked liked the student, were neighbors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
Shown in table 6, the greatest number of respondents perceived that "cultural and educational programs related to African American heritage", was a way in giving African American Students a sense of "Self". Half of the respondents gave "morals, values and self-esteem issues discussed" as well as "student activities focused on a sense of Self", as responses to question 6.

Therefore, in response to how African American Students were given a sense of self, two thirds of the interviewees (4 out of 6) responded that cultural and educational programs related to African American Heritage were their choice in addressing this issue. Morals, values and self esteem issues discussed was another choice response by half of the interviewees, as was activities which focused upon obtaining a sense of self (ie: excursions to Black Colleges where students stayed overnight on campus and met with African American VIPs who took time to discuss with them self-identity and self-esteem issues). These responses occurred 3 out of 6 times (50%).
Table 7

Have educational goals changed? (N=6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Students have less traditional goals for themselves.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. The goal of education really never does change.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambiguous &quot;No&quot;. All of the answers are already available.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't know that there are any aside from N'tl Ass. Blk. Educ.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much. Not enough. (ie: return to curriculum of 20 yrs ago)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes. Our goals for students: Make sure they can participate in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Global Village and remain Lifelong Learners</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
The responses shown in table 7 reflect 6 different perceptions, and so share an equal part of the pie: 2 "yes" responses, but one from the perspective of the students' goals for themselves and the other from the perspective of the educator's goal for students; 1 "No"; 1 ambiguous "No"; 1 "I don't know"; and 1 "Not much" (so yes?).

And so, there was no match found what-so-ever (0) by any of the interviewees as to whether education goals had changed for the students. Six different responses were recorded.
Table 8

What is the cause for the failings of African American students in education? (N=6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public School has been boring, neither exciting nor stimulating.</td>
<td>5,6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public School hasn't allowed enough community involvement.</td>
<td>5,4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Images of what AA students can be were stereotypical/limiting.</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There's no real interest in seeing AA children do well in school.</td>
<td>4,3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs are a major oppressor.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Public School Educ. System is the cause, not the students.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's realization that the teachers may not love them.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advantage not taken of all the opportunities for AA students.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rote memorization and not real problem solving taught.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late intervention and not teaching how to be Lifelong Learners.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not providing varied teaching methods for varied learning styles.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
In table number 8, there is nothing remarkable about the responses here as a whole. The first 4 responses are significant in that 2 interviewees for each one gave the same answer for the cause of African-American student academic failings. However, this is not half of the group interviewed. There is thought to be a wide variety of reasons for failure.

There were four matches found for one third (2 out of 6) of the interviewees, with regards to what was perceived for the failure of African American students in education. This low percentage of matching was found from the analysis of the following responses: "Public School is boring." "Public School hasn't allowed enough community involvement." "Images of what African American students could be were stereotypical and limiting." and, "There was no real interest by those who were not African Americans, in seeing that African American students did well in education."
Table 9

What needs to be done for AA student education improvement in the future? (N=6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Requirement</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alternative &amp; traditional educational approaches, combined.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better qualified, certified teachers needed.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Program(s) input and involvement needed.</td>
<td>5,6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More afterschool and tutoring programs needed.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA students holding onto their culture and realizing who they are as Africans in diaspora.</td>
<td>1,2,3,4,5,6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents as advocates for children &amp; involved in their education.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need correct moral posture combined with the latest technology.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue encouragement until disparity between races is gone.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach caring for families and for community.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparenting education is needed.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality, honesty, integrity must be included in the curriculum.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give AA students extra opportunities to &quot;level the playing field&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let AA students know not to expect others to care about them.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators/teachers must believe AA students can achieve.</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There needs to be structural changes in the school day.</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students need exposure beyond the physical confines of school.</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA students' teachers should love them &amp; show them respect.</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More time and money needs to be invested in AA students.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
(Table 9 Cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engage AA students in discussion about their own needs/wants.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We need to give them explanations for and the meaning of things.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let AA students know what our values are.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA students should learn artistic skills and music.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More meaningful excursions should occur for AA students.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the curriculum, place more emphasis on human development.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
The most responses for any question were given for question number 9, shown in table 9. There were 24 responses in all. Only two of the responses were provided by more than one interviewee. There are a variety of perspectives regarding what needs to be done for African-American education improvement in the future.

A significant 6 out of 6 interviewees (100%) perceive that African American students holding onto their culture and realizing who they are as a people (identity) was what is needed for the future in the educational improvement of African American students. One of the 6 emphasized this in the body of the interview given, that holding onto one's culture was to be encouraged in helping the African American Student to improve and do well. Therefore, this response will be considered to have 100% agreement.

In all of the 24 responses given to answer this question, the only other match was found in a 2 out of 6 response (two thirds), for the third response down, which indicated that allowing more involvement and input from community programs is what needs to be done for the improvement of African American student education improvement in the future.

It is significant to note that the 5th response, African Americans holding onto their culture, was an answer given by all of the interviewees, while nearly all of the other answers have no duplication in the responses by interviewees.
Table 10

Is there anything more that you wish to add to the interview? (N=6)

(These were important ideas and concepts presented by interviewees, which may not have been entertained by asking other questions or which were strong points emphasized in the body of the interview itself.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students in Africa seem to thirst for knowledge, unlike in U.S.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents got together, saw the need for a school &amp; created one.</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diet plays an important part in students' academic performance.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Schools have lots of $ &amp; resources, not always distributed.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Programs change too frequently in the Public Schools.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through education, connections to Africans worldwide could exist.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be careful when looking where the oppressor shines the light.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't travel to other places before you go home (Africa).</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-Americans have done so much with so little.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The computerized age is great, but don't become too dependent.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults don't give children enough time these days, from their activities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parenting and Preparenting skills are needed.</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The future is now.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. R = Response, I = Interviewee, F = Frequency, P = Percentage
Aspect number 10, shown in table 10, did not reflect answers to a structured question, but rather was a provision for interviewees to give input about anything they felt was important to say, was an important way to end the interview, or was a way to incorporate whatever the interviewee felt had not been addressed during the interview. It left less chance for responses between interviewees to be similar. The only two matches for interviewee responses to this aspect (question), were between 2 interviewees (2 out of 6).

In one of the matched responses (the twelfth response), the need for parenting and preparenting skills, it was emphasized that that was what was needed for the improvement of African American students in the future. Also emphasized within the body of two interviews was that parents' perceived the need for a school for their children, and so created one (the second response down). It may be significant that in the above matched responses (responses two and twelve), both dealt with the needs of parents, parenting, and parent intervention. And in both cases the interviewees were females.
Summary

This presentation of findings for the research study has been formulated in a style which was considered to provide a clear description of meaningful units, of shared themes, and of patterns found in the different interviewees' descriptions of their experiences and perspectives as African American educational administrators. This researcher uses the term meaningful units to describe the smallest segments of text that are meaningful by themselves.

The findings were derived at after extensive and indepth interviewing, lengthy transcriptions made, examinations of such transcriptions, subsequent communication with the participants involved for clarity and verification, review of the final transcripts, analysis of the interview transcripts in search of meaningful units of information, comparing each interview in search of shared themes, deep contemplation and synthesis regarding the meaningful units, shared themes, patterns found. After a considerable time lapse, reexamination of the meaningful units, shared themes, and patterns found, took place. Phenomenological analysis of transcribed data, though similar to other qualitative analyses, is characterized as being more open, tentative, and intuitive.

In the following and final chapter, Chapter V, the researcher will discuss and summarize these findings, describing themes and patterns found, make concluding statements and provide recommendations for the future.
CHAPTER V

Summary, Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

Summary

This study investigated the perspectives of African American educational administrators from public, private and alternative educational domains, in an urban northeastern city of the United States, regarding their positions as African American educational administrators and regarding the education of African American students, grades kindergarten through 12. The goal was to identify, describe, analyze, synthesize, and understand their experiences and perspectives through their own personal narratives. The narratives were obtained through asking guiding questions asked during individual interviews. These questions were partially developed after a review of the literature in search of perspectives on the education of African American students, and specifically from African American educational administrators. After the search, the perspectives of African American educational administrators were found to be limited in the literature. It was decided that such perspectives from African American educational administrators would add important and valuable information to the field of education. This researcher developed additional questions related to the experience of being an African American educational administrator. Phenomenological methodology was utilized, which involved separate interviews of six African American educational administrators (three males and three females). In examining and analyzing the transcriptions of the interviews, meaningful units of shared themes were identified. These units will be synthesized in hopes of understanding the perspectives of African American educational administrators
regarding their roles and positions, and regarding the education of African American students. It is also hoped that this information will be applied in the development of useful strategies and remedies for future educational implementation. It is the goal of this research that in doing so, the academic achievement of African American students will improve.

In response to question one, the perspectives of the African American educational administrators who were interviewed about what they've learned about their positions in association with the fact that they're African Americans, is that the financial obstacles are of great concern to them; that parent involvement/community involvement is very important; that they rely upon teachers they've hired who are sacrificing, serve as role models to the students, and share along with the administrator the vision for the school and for the students; and that more African American educational administrators are needed at high levels to affect change in the current system of education.

In response to question two, all of the African American educational administrators interviewed believe that the experience of being an African American educational administrator differs markedly from being an educational administrator who is not African American. The reasons for this belief, which were mentioned more frequently by a greater number of the interviewees, are: because of the challenges and conflicts they experienced, due to being an African American, because of not having enough resources nor enough money at their disposal; because of being slow to be hired, others doubting their capabilities, and having to constantly prove oneself on the job, and, because of feeling that they have a greater responsibility to African American students and to the community.
In response to question three, the interviewees differed greatly (only one match found in 16 given) on their responses to what they had learned about the education of African American students. The only response matched by two out of six was the disparity still found between African American students and White students.

In response to question four regarding what has been done by African American educational administrators to make education better for African American students, half of the interviewees had matching responses of: 1) the organization of meaningful excursions; and, 2) emphasizing morals, values, love, sharing, honesty and respect, in addition to academic success, is key in making such education better. An African Centered approach used in teaching along with images of outstanding individuals found in the school who looked like the students, were responses given by all (100%) of the interviewees. One third had matching responses regarding efforts to involve parents and how important that was in improving the quality of education for African American Students.

In response to question five, all (100%) of the interviewees had responded that yes, they had seen success in the attempts by African American educational administrators to shape the education for African American students for the better. In the second part of this question, "How is success measured?", two thirds cited their own or their staff's observations of the improved academic achievement of the students. The positive responses of parents and others were another form of measurement, in one third of the responses from the interviewees. A third considered measure was the improved academic
performance of the students in their classes, according to one third of those asked. And a fourth measurement in response to the question by half of those interviewed, was higher levels of achievement on standardized tests being obtained.

In response to question six regarding how African American students are given a sense of "Self", two thirds of the interviewees responded that cultural and educational programs related to African American were their choice in addressing this issue. Morals, values and self-esteem issues being discussed and imbedded in the educational program, was another response given by half of the interviewees, as was the response of providing activities which focused upon obtaining a sense of "Self" (for example, excursions to Black colleges where students stayed overnight on campus and met with African American VIPs who took time to discuss with them self-identity and self-esteem issues). Such responses occurred 50% of the time.

There was no match found by any of the interviewees for question seven, as to whether education goals had changed for the students. Six different responses were recorded. The responses were: 1) Yes, for ourselves (African American educational administrators) goals have changed; 2) No; 3) Not really. All of the answers are available. You don't have to reinvent anything; 4) I don't know; 5) Not much. Not enough; and, 6) Yes, our goals for them (the students) have changed.

There were four matches found for one third of the interviewees, with regards to what is the cause for the failings of African American students in education, question eight. This low percentage of matching was found in the following responses: Public School is boring; Public School hasn't allowed enough community involvement; Images of what
African American students could be were stereotypical and limiting; and, there was no real interest by those who were not African Americans in seeing that African American students did well in education. Those interviewed thought there existed a wide variety of reasons for academic failure among African American students.

In responding to question nine, "What needs to be done for African American student education improvement in the future?", a universal 100% of the interviewees perceive that African American students holding onto their culture and realizing who they are as a people (identity), is what is needed for the future. One of the six emphasized this in the body of the interview rather than as a direct response to the question, by discussing holding onto one's culture as something to be encouraged in helping African American students to improve and do well. In fact, this interviewee is the Director of an African American Cultural Center, the alternative school, established for just that purpose. The other five interviewees gave this answer in direct response to the question. There were 24 responses in all to this question, and the only other match found was in a one third in agreement response of allowing more involvement and input from Community Programs. In response to this question about success in the future, for the most part, everyone had their own ideas as to what to do in the future to work effectively on this problem.

In the tenth and final question area, which called for any important points that the interviewees wished to give beyond what had already been discussed in answer to the other interviewer's questions, or which was a strong point stressed during the interview by the interviewee, there was one direct match between interviewees. The point made in
response was that parenting and preparenting skills were needed for the parents of African American students, in order to improve their academic achievement. There was another match found in the body of the interviews of two of the interviewees, and that was that a group of parents who had perceived the need for a school for their children, created one. It may be significant that in the above matched response and in the comment within the body of two interviews, both dealt with the needs of parents and, in both cases the interviewees were females. The other eleven responses varied.

Significant Findings

There were significant findings to come out of this study, because all of the African American educational administrators gave responses that were similar regarding the following themes:

A) All of the participants believed that the experience of being an African American educational administrator differs significantly from the experience of being an educational administrator who is not African American.

B) All of the participants supported an African centered approach in teaching, along with images to be found in the school that African American students can identify with.

C) All of the participants had seen success in the efforts by African American educational administrators in educating African American students.

D) All of the participants perceived that for African American students, holding onto their culture and realizing who they are as a people (their identity), is what is needed for the future in the educational improvement of African American students. (One match out of twenty-four to the question of what was felt was needed for the improved academic
achievement of African American students, was given in the narrative response of the interviewee, and not specifically in answer to the question.)

The items above, A, B, C, and D, depict meaningful units held in agreement by all of the African American educational administrators interviewed. In regard to the above, an emergent trend or pattern may be observed.

Just as significant is the fact that none of the African American educational administrators interviewed matched in their responses as to whether education goals had changed for African American students over the past decade.

**Gender Differences**

In terms of whether gender differences between the three (3) female interviewees and the three (3) male interviewees existed, the following is presented:

Responses to question 1, regarding what had been learned about being an African American educational administrator, had 4 matched responses, from both women and men. So, no gender difference was observed.

For question two, regarding whether there is perceived a difference between being an African American educational administrator and an educational administrator who is not African American, all of the men and women interviewed were in agreement that there was a difference. All of the men and one woman believed that it was because of certain challenges and conflicts existing due to who African Americans are as a people. Two men and two women offered another reason to be that African Americans did not have enough resources, financial and otherwise. The only other matching responses to this
question in explanation of why it was felt a difference existed between African American educational administrators and other educational administrators, were between both men and women, who expressed: 1) the difficulty in becoming an Educational Administrator if you're African American in a northeastern urban city of the United States, 2) that African American educational administrators felt they had a greater sense of responsibility for African American children to "make it," and 3) African American educational administrators felt a greater responsibility to the African American community than educational administrators who were not African American. There was no gender difference established in response to this question.

For question three, regarding what has been learned about the education of African American students, there was only one match between a male and a female regarding the existence of disparity between African Americans and White Americans. There were no other matches between males or between females. No trends with regards to gender were observed.

For question four, regarding what has been done by African American educational administrators to make education better for African American students, three of the direct responses to question four had matches represented by both genders. These responses given were: The organization of meaningful excursions; An African-centered approach used in images, readings, trips, lectures, meetings, etc. in the education of African American students, which was a response given by all six of the interviewees, male and female; and, the emphasis that it is not enough to work towards being high academic achievers, but we must include morals, values, love, sharing, honesty, respect, etc. into
the vision. All of these responses were given by both males and females regarding what had been done by African American educational administrators to make education better for African American students. The one response to this question which two females shared alone was the response that parent involvement efforts have been promoted to make education better for the African American student.

On the question of whether or not there has been success in attempts by African American educational administrators to shape the education for African American students for the better, question five, all (both males and females) responded "Yes", that there had been success. In response to how such success had been measured, matches existed between both male and female interviewees with regards to the observations of parents/guardians, and with regards to the direct observations by the educational administrators themselves, as well as teachers and staff of the students' attitude, behavior and improved academic achievement. Gender difference was observed, however, in the response by all of the females and none of the males stating that the measurement of success had been observed on the high levels achieved on the standardized test scores.

For question six, regarding how African American students are being given a sense of "Self", matches in three responses to this were from both males and females. The responses were: cultural and educational programs presented to the students about their heritage; moral values and self-esteem issues discussed; and, engaging the students in activities which provide opportunities for promoting "a sense of self," e.g., like meeting with a leading black psychiatrist on the campus of a Black university, to discuss this issue. No gender trends were found in response to this question.
Question seven had no matches at all, neither between nor within genders, therefore neither trend nor pattern was found. For question eight regarding what is the cause of the failings for African American students in education, two males only had specific matched responses regarding public school being seen by African American students as being boring. Another match between two males and none of the females was that the public school system did not allow the community organizations to become involved enough. A response by two of the females and none of the males was that images of what African American students could be or accomplish had been too stereotypical and limiting in education. A female and a male interviewee both expressed the belief that there is no real interest beyond African American educational administrators, in seeing African American children do well in school.

In response to question nine, "What needs to be done for African American student education improvement in the future?", all of the interviewees, male and female, agreed that African Americans should hold on to their culture and realize who they are. Teaching traditions and making education culturally relevant for the African American student was given as the answer by all. The only other match, which was by two male interviewees, was that there should be an increase in community program input and involvement.

And finally, in response to question ten, inviting any other input to the interview or other important points brought forth, the parent involvement issue came up in two responses for two female interviewees in the area of parents getting together out of need and creating a school, and for two other female interviewees regarding the need for
parenting and preparenting skills in order to improve the education, achievement, and chances for a better quality of life for the African American student in the future. No other matches nor trends were found.

The trend appears to be that both female and male interviewees had similar perspectives in general about their positions and about the education of African American students, except when it came to parent involvement and parenting/preparenting skills needed, which the women seemed to consider more of an issue, and when it came to community involvement and the public schools having been traditionally boring for the African American student (perhaps regarding what the African American student could not identify with strongly), which the men seemed to consider more of an issue.

Culture and a sense of "Self"

There was a persistent sub-text to the perspectives of all those interviewed for this study, and it was that in approaching education for the African American student, grades K - 12, an African-centered approach should be used in order to produce the greatest amount of academic achievement and in order to help the student to obtain an improved sense of "Self," and holding onto the African tradition and culture. The perspectives of the subjects in this study are similar to the findings of Fusco (1996) who used an African American educational administrator of an urban inner-city school, and concluded that the lack of cultural synchronization has had a major negative effect on student achievement. The subjects of this study are also in agreement with O'Daniel's (1994) reported need for "Afrocentric" (African-centered) resource centers within schools and educational systems, and that the "Afrocentric" idea is an essential step toward
progress and greater inclusion of Blacks into the American Dream.

Regarding their own positions as African American educational administrators, those interviewed found their positions to be very challenging, with fewer resources and less support than provided educational administrators who were not African American. They felt that staying in touch with their cultural identity and helping the teachers and students to do the same, was the only way to survive in what was most generally considered a "hostile environment," especially by those who are administrators with the city's Board of Education.

No significant difference in responses between the traditional, private, and alternative school settings was found. This writer found little in the research with which to compare these findings.

As stated in chapter II, a review of the literature revealed a pervasive lack in the field of education and research specific to the research study presented here. Much of the literature pertained to African American teachers and their perspectives on teaching African American students. Much of the literature pertained to the representation of African Americans in educational administration or lack thereof, and not with their perspectives about being educational administrators nor their views on the education of African American students. Much of the literature pertained to issues of gender or racism, with data obtained through surveys. Some of the literature presented a few case studies of how an African American educational administrator had obtained her or his position and a description of the leadership role which they had assumed. Although it is difficult to make comparisons for these reasons, there are a few comparisons which may be made.
Walker (1998) acknowledged and highlighted the need for comparative educational administration and argued that the development of conceptual frameworks is imperative in building a comparative dimension. This researcher concurs and the findings of this study suggest that real differences in perspectives, perceptions and experiences exist.

Allen, Jacobson and Lomotey (1995) found that 46 African American women educational administrators (all of the subjects) perceived race as a major obstacle to promotion but did not view gender as a serious barrier. In the present study, the findings were the same. Participants felt that race but not gender had been a major obstacle in promotion prior to achieving the status they had during or prior to the time of this study, and that it presented obstacles in other areas as well, such as finance and the obtaining of educational resources.

Perhaps the greatest comparison in research findings between research explored in the literature review and this current study may be found comparing it with the Frazier Raynor (2000) phenomenological study of African American parents, cultural identity and the experience of educating children in schools. Frazier Raynor's research findings indicated that the parents' specific cultural beliefs and values that reflected the particular quality of their experiences and their actions symbolized how important these ideas and beliefs were in the lives of their children. One such belief was that school-derived knowledge should be challenged and questioned at home. Teaching children how to think against the grain was an important concept because the parents in that study knew that if their children believed and accepted everything that was presented to them, they might eventually wind up with a "false" sense of themselves. The parents demonstrated a recognition of their
presence in a hostile environment, where race really did matter and their children's self-concept might be infused with negative images and experiences with racism. The perspectives of the participants (African American educational administrators) in this current research study were like those of the parents in Frazier Raynor's research study. The emphasis upon culture and "holding onto our traditions", as well as a prevalence of feeling from all that if knowledge was not presented in and African Centered manner, African American students may wind up with a false sense of themselves (lack of identity), unable to cope with negative images and experiences of racism.

In final summation, the results of this study indicate that although variations existed in responses and in the perspectives of the participants in this study, significant commonalities in perspectives were shared between them, including: Great concern over financial obstacles. The importance of parental and community involvement in the educational process of African American students, as well as the need for teachers who sacrificed, served as role models, and who shared the same vision as the school administrator, were essential. All participants interviewed believed that their experience as African American educational administrators differed significantly from those of other educational administrators who were not African American, due to the challenges and conflicts that faced them as African Americans, as well as due to a lack of sufficient financial resources available to them. Although disparity continues to exist between African American students and White students, success has been evidenced by all of the participants in the efforts of African American educational administrators in improving the academic achievements of African American students. Meaningful cultural excursions and
African-centered learning were perceived by all of the participants to be the key to improved academic achievement by African American students. Cultural and educational programs and activities related to African American heritage, focusing upon a sense of self, including morals, values and self-esteem issues, were seen to contribute significantly to giving African American students a sense of "Self." Having students hold onto their African American culture and identity was perceived by all to be key to their academic success. Finally, parenting and preparenting skills were believed to be needed for the academic improvement of African American students.

Discussion

As a result of the above findings and in consideration of the narratives in full provided by the participants in this research study, it would behoove African American educational administrators to pull together, build and be a part of a supportive network. Feeling overwhelmed due to lack of finances and resources in order to implement any constructive program and changes for students, feeling time constraints and administrative demands, feeling isolated amongst a majority of other educational administrators from different ethnic groups who may or may not have a similar expectation, vision and mission for the African American students served, may cause one to feel ineffective, be ineffective and drained of energy in the field of educational administration. Making time to network in order to see that one is not battling on all fronts alone and unlike any other educational administrator has had to battle before, has the potential to turn perceived restraints into actual resources. Comparing notes, sharing ideas, and rejoicing in the successes of others and of one's own successes, keeps hope alive and the momentum going for not only
improved achievement for African American students but also for a healthy longevity and productiveness as an educational administrator. Keeping in touch with one's cultural roots and traditions where people have often had to do so much with so little, can be encouraging and cultivating of creative ideas not yet accepted and implanted into the majority culture's mainstream. This does not mean that one should settle for less in finances and resources or ignore the true assets that other cultures enjoy, but rather pursue the best of both worlds, acknowledging "gifts" that each brings to the table, in order to steadily move ahead without pause or discouragement. The educational administrator should use what he or she has to get what he or she needs at the same time. Continuing to believe in the students, in their families, in the community, while helping them to believe in themselves and holding onto one's vision at the same time, can make up for differences African Americans feel their professional experience holds from other educational administrators, due to their ethnicity and racial distinction.

In addition to concerned and well trained teachers and staff who are in sync with the vision of the educational administrator, the involvement of parents, family and community in the education process of an African American student is what the participants of this research study hope for. Such involvement has been seen to be key in their improved academic achievement. Some of the forms it has taken have been:

1.) Parents showing more interest in their children's school work, as well as interest in the process of education itself. This may range from checking homework and having more educational materials in the house, to being actively involved in Parent/Teacher Associations, school functions, and educational programs for adults.
2.) Those significant to the life of the student showing belief in the abilities of the student. This may range from conscious attempts to not display anticipation of failure, verbally acknowledging growth and the presentation of achievement awards, to having the confidence to allow students to choose and be a part of the making of their own curriculum.

3.) The community in which the student lives and thrives seen as not a backdrop nor an environment to escape from, but as an integral and valid part of the student's life which is worth contributing to in order to improve it and which can in turn contribute to its citizens. This may range from student clean-up and beautification projects within the community to community shop owners and residents sharing their talents and ideas in projects to enhance the school environment and enrich the students and staff therein.

4.) The concept of community shown to the student as going beyond the confines of a few city blocks and the present time, to other cities, countries and eventually planets, including acknowledgement of the past and a healthy preparation for the future. This can range from excursions to places beyond the present community and assigned ventures into frames of references from the past which have affected the present, to exercises and activities which cause students to feel responsible towards and contributory to a brighter future for themselves and others. These others need not have been born yet, and may also include animals, plants and other lifeforms.

As a result of this researcher's phenomenological study, a theoretical approach has emerged which is inclusive of most of the concepts which were derived from listening to the narratives of the participants of the study, and pulling together themes which were
evidenced. Such a theory in education put into practice for the optimum in achievement of African American students would include basic academics which already exist, but also:

1.) lifelong learning, where everyone in the community is perpetually learning and teaching simultaneously from "womb to tomb", expected to do so and respected for doing so. This would ultimately have the effect of giving everyone a worthwhile mission and importance in the lives of everyone they met, and keep them in a lifelong quest for knowledge, especially self-knowledge, which could be facilitated by anyone they met if the perception for it to be were so, and if they were provided the needed tools for such exploration. Self and others would benefit simultaneously. For example, teaching parents to recognize and provide for the needs of their unborn child, is as nurturing a lesson as the unborn child's presence being the catalyst in the understanding of parenthood for those parents. All involved benefit. Or, providing the elderly young assistants where exchanges could regularly take place, facilitates education and combats isolation.

2.) the application of learning to one's health and well-being, whereby physical health, psychological health, and safety could be protected, nurtured and maintained. This would also include preparenting and parenting skills taught to students and to their parents.

3.) acknowledgement of the Individual, where the exploration for, understanding and acceptance of a citizen's individual identity, is respected and cherished as a necessary part of being. Curriculum, teaching and learning would have to be adjusted allowing for this, and people would just have to take the needed time and effort to do it.

4.) an African-centered approach to learning, where learning about the world would begin with learning about "Self" and one's place in the world, the strength of one's
ancestry and the goals of one's people in order to insure their survival.

5.) accomplishment, being appreciated, and the fulfillment of one's potential or mission, where support for freedom of development and creativity provides an incubator for productivity and invention, so that one may become accomplished and appreciated while intrinsically enjoying a sense of fulfillment, importance and purpose.

6.) connectedness with others, where seeing, feeling and showing connectedness between individuals, family and community exists with a sustained effort for continuous cultivation. It would seem natural for this to occur first through the relationships we have with significant others in our lives, then through family and cultural traditions we share, and finally through the realization of our commonalities and connectedness with others beyond our communities and groups of origin, in our attempts to live in a healthy and peaceful world. The goal is not to become others or be assimilated into their culture, but rather to develop an ability to embrace a multicultural perspective of understanding while holding onto one's own traditions and cultural strengths. The survival of the world depends upon this. Respect for self and others should be taught in groups through school curriculum.

7.) self awareness, spiritual integration of all of the above, where one is consciously aware of and at peace with one's being, would be encouraged and taught through meditation.

The result of the above theory being put into practice through education, should produce an interconnected, intraconnected, balanced and healthy learner with a wholistic focus, who, in fulfilling her or his potential, evolves as an individual, contributing to the survival and growth of those who support her or his own survival first, and then contributing to the evolutionary advancement of all life. If any educational administrator
can truly say that she or he is actually facilitating this on a routine basis, then this must be considered educating students well.

**Conclusions and Recommendations**

Regarding the relatedness of the findings of this research to the practical application of what it means to be an African American educational administrator, as well as with an improvement in the educational achievement of African American students, this researcher concludes that increasing the financial resources of the schools which have a majority population of African Americans so that equity exists between all of the schools, within their respective domains (public schools vs. private and alternative schools), will result in the improvement in their academic functioning. Such an improvement will also occur if considerations in curriculum planning as well as in school environment is given to African-centeredness. Parental involvement is a must, and indeed community input is crucial. It does take an entire village to raise a child. And the learning environment of the African American student should include the concepts of lifelong learning and learning about as well as appreciating "Self."

In addition, the findings of this research suggest that African American educational administrators believe themselves to be not only in the minority in terms of their positions but also alienated from the mainstream of educational administrators. However, they seem empowered to help the children who are in their schools, in spite of the lack of financial resources. They also feel a deep sense of responsible to those children and to the communities in which those children live.
Future Research Recommendations

It is recommended that future research in this area and using the methodology utilized in this study, include the fully transcribed narratives of the participants (or excerpts thereof) within its public written disclosure, allowing for confidentiality to be kept if possible. This researcher found such richness in the participants' own words, which could not be conveyed through this dissertation except in a summarized theme statement. This was due to the fact that in the initial proposal of the research, the promise of confidentiality was offered, and such a promise had to be kept. However, future research might code names or gain permission to not kept the data confidential. It is only hoped that in doing so, truthful and honest information would be given in the narratives. If so, the very words of the participants would provide an even better understanding of their experiences and perspectives.

It is also recommended that in the future, research be undertaken on the methods (interventions) used by the participants to improve the academic achievements of the students, and the methods used to determine whether such interventions were successful. It is encouraged that future research in this area include a larger population size and perhaps the exploration of one variable at a time (the perspectives of African American educational administrators) instead of adding a second (the education of African American students) or more. It is further recommend that the study be replicated in more than one large urban city, as well as in smaller rural areas, in order to see if responses would differ when comparing those African American educational administrators of different regions and of different cities.
Also, in building a comparative dimension in the field, replication of this study should be used with other so-called minority groups. It is hoped that in doing so, the gain of new and important information may be obtained, improving the effectiveness of educational administrators, whoever they may be, and ultimately improving the academic achievement of students from diverse backgrounds and ethnicities. The challenging goal to educate all children well is ours now and for the future.
Appendix A

A Description of the Prevailing Climate of the Education of African American Children and an Historical View of the Education of African American Children Prior to Slavery. During Slavery, and After Slavery in the United States of America, of the North.

Educational and social science researchers have struggled for many years with the statistics regarding African American students, in order to explain why this group continues to lag behind other ethnic groups in academic achievement. Programs for African American students have been developed to help in changing these statistics, yet such programs (tutorial and otherwise) have not yielded the results which would push African Americans as a group to significant improvement. African Americans are the ones who make up the greatest percentage of students in special education classes around the country. African American students have been victimized by a history of hate and violence in this country, the United States of North America, and continue to suffer in large numbers from low socioeconomic statuses linked to educational failures and blocked opportunities for advancement. As a result of racism, African Americans historically have been considered intellectually inferior to whites and systematically denied equal access to and full participation in the U.S. educational system. Subsequent to the abolishment of slavery, educational segregation between African Americans and whites was strictly enforced as part of the Jim Crow laws, which were affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court's Plessy vs. Ferguson decision in 1896, upholding the concept of "separate but equal."
(Jones-Wilson, Asbury, Okazawa-Rey, Anderson, Jacobs, and Fultz, 1996).

It is proposed by the historical information given, that the education of the African American in the United States, during and after slavery, may be said to be that of providing as little as possible, and for the least amount of effort and money. Such poor education initially began with the purpose of Christianizing the African. Another major goal was to teach Blacks how to simply read and write. Later, various promoters of the education of Blacks hoped that it would help Whites to look more favorably on the abolition of slavery, on giving Blacks the right to vote, and on reducing racial segregation. Another major goal was for Blacks to attend school in the same proportion as Whites. And finally, many promoters of Black education had hoped that it would help open more equal job opportunities for Blacks. However, the agenda for Africans in the United States for their own education may have included all of the above, but with the addition through history of helping to escape slavery, to save their own lives, to not be swindled when possible, to open better opportunities to them, to allow them to understand themselves and their world better, and to instill in them a sense of self-worth, self-esteem, and self-pride. The education of African Americans in the past had some hidden agenda of further subjugation of a people, and with very low expectations for their achievement. Even when the intent for such education was honest and good, recipients at one time faced punishment if they dared to learn, unpaid or underpaid volunteers had to make great sacrifices to educate Africans. Few or disproportionate resources were provided by the government. Political postures had to be upheld and laws changed. Standardized test results were not encouraging.
Despite the fact that the days of slavery and Jim Crow laws are over, African American students continue to exist in great numbers at a substandard level with regards to academic achievement. Haven't they been given enough chances to reach the academic levels on a wider scale, that other ethnic groups have achieved? In addition to the law which had supported racist beliefs and practices in the past, pseudoscientific theories had cropped up and have been used to justify racist educational practices and policies. Those considered scholars, such as nineteenth century naturalist Louis Aggasiz, twentieth century's Nobel Prize winner William Shockley and University of California professor Arthur Jensen, have argued that African Americans are intellectually inferior. However, it has been demonstrated by other authorities in the field, that they and others have attempted to prove their theories by designing and utilizing methodologically flawed studies and by collecting data through culturally biased standardized assessment instruments. (Morgan, 1995). Due to pressure from African Americans and White liberals, the force of such genetic arguments subsided during the 1970s and 1980s. Yet, these arguments began to resurface in the 1990s as educators and policymakers examined anew the underachievement of African American and Latino children. (Jones-Wilson et al., 1996). Richard Hernstein, a psychologist, and Charles Murray, a sociologist, coauthored The Bell Curve in 1994, a book in which they argued that an analysis of IQ differences between Whites and African Americans demonstrated that, although environmental factors played a role, there were also basic genetic differences between the two races. They argued that Whites score fifteen points higher than African Americans on traditional IQ tests even when socioeconomic status (SES) is taken into
account, and that intelligence in general shows a high degree of heritability, a measure of
the degree to which a characteristic is related to genetic, inherited factors. However,
many researchers and theorists reacted strongly to the arguments laid out in *The Bell
Curve*, refuting several of the book's contentions (e.g., Block, 1995; Fancher, 1995;
Fischer et al., 1996; Fraser, 1995; Neisser et al., 1996; Nisbett, & 1994; Wahlsten, 1995).
Even with socioeconomic conditions supposedly held constant, wide variations remain
among individual households, and no researcher can convincingly assert that living
conditions of African Americans and Whites are identical even when their socioeconomic
status is similar. Also, there is reason to believe that traditional IQ tests may discriminate
against lower-SES urban African Americans by asking for information pertaining to
experiences they are unfamiliar with. In addition, there is direct evidence that African
Americans who are raised in enriched environments do not tend, as a group, to have lower
IQ scores than Whites in similar environments (Scarr and Weinberg, 1976).

If left to the authors of *The Bell Curve* and their sponsors, they would have African
Americans to go quietly to a station of subserviency. They would have us to find
virtue in docility. And they would have us to seek no more than what the so-called
European cognitive elite masters would dole out to us. This, they would have us to
accept because, as the authors have argued, it would be a waste of public funds to
try to remedy past discriminations against a people who suffer from genetic
hereditary deficiencies. They say, slavery was a long time ago and they cannot be
held accountable for the sins of their forefathers and foremothers. And if Africans
in America have not progressed to the point that they have achieved equality with
Euro-Americans in the economy, politics, and socially, it's because Africans are genetically inferior to Europeans, they argue. But we will have none of this. ...Euro-Americans, under the best of conditions, have had five hundred years to accomplish what they have. For those who so conveniently forget, that included free land and free labor. Africans in America, on the other hand, have had only one hundred and thirty years, with none of that time being under the best of conditions, to accomplish what we have." (Chinyelu, 1995, pp. 92-93)

Are there political and economic aspects to the education African American students receive in general, the resources at their disposal, and the kinds of schools they find themselves in over which they have no control? Or do they value less the educational pursuits of the majority culture because for them, the reality is that it still does not bring much equity to their lives? According to anthropologist and educational theorist John Ogbu, the major influence in the education of African Americans (and some other minority groups within the United States) is that they form a "pariah caste." It is posited by this author and others that as a caste, African Americans are prevented from two major intertwined avenues of social mobility: education and employment. African Americans receive an inferior education due to racism and in addition, are prevented from advancing by a job ceiling that is set in place by the White majority society. According to Hernstein & Murray (1996), the majority society views African Americans as inherently inferior in every respect, including intelligence. Correspondingly, African Americans often internalize the negative opinions imposed upon them by the white majority society. For many African Americans, the result of this is valuing less and often outwardly
degrading the education they receive in schools for fear of becoming excluded from their peers for "acting white" (Ogbu, 1978). As a consequence of this, young African Americans often fear that by learning the White cultural frame of reference they will cease to act according to their own cultural reference and lose their own identity as well as their sense of community and self worth (Ogbu, 1992).

Could there be a better approach to educating African American students, which would result in them valuing education more while maintaining respect for their own cultural framework, for their sense of community, and for themselves? Should such an education be provided under the guidance of African American educational administrators, for their best academic advancement and achievement? Would this be the perfect system of education for African American students?

Once upon a time some four thousand miles east of this place, I saw the functioning of a perfect system of education. It was in West Africa, beside a broad river; and beneath the palms, bronze girls were dancing before the President of Liberia and the native chiefs, to celebrate the end of the Bush Retreat and their arrival at marriageable age. There under the Yorubas and other Sudanese and Bantu tribes, the education of the child began almost before it could walk. It went about with mother and father in their daily tasks; it learned the art of sowing and reaping and hunting; it absorbed the wisdom and folklore of the tribe; it knew the lay of land and river. Then at the age of puberty it went into the bush and there for a season the boys were taught the secrets of sex and the girls in another school learned of motherhood and
marriage. They came out of the bush with a ceremony of graduation, and immediately were given and taken in marriage.

Even after that, their education went on. They sat in council with their elders and learned the history and science and art of the tribe, and practiced all in their daily life. Thus education was completely integrated with life. There could be no uneducated people. There could be no education that was not at once for use in earning a living and for use in living a life. Out of this education and out of the life it typified came, as perfect expressions, song and dance and saga, ethics and religion. Nothing more perfect has been invented than this system of training youth among primitive African tribes. And one sees it in the beautiful courtesy of black children; in the modesty and frankness of womanhood, and in the dignity and courage of manhood; and too, in African music and art with its world wide influence. If a group has a stable culture which moves, if we could so conceive it, on one general level, here would be the ideal of our school and university. (Du Bois, 1973, pp.83-84)

The Education of African Americans Prior to Slavery in the United States

It is not well known by many, but African people possess thousands of years of well-recorded profound thought and intellectual excellence. For example, the African book from Egypt, The Teachings of Ptahhotep, the oldest book in the world, was written circa 2750 B.C.E., 4750 years ago (Hilliard, 2001). Everywhere on the African continent, from the time of the Pharoahs in Ancient KMT (Egypt) to the modern era of
today, great African civilizations were the center of the most sophisticated education and socialization systems ever developed on the Earth. Some of these civilizations developed in Africa long before other civilizations developed anywhere else in the world. Greek and Roman civilizations benefited from African knowledge. Vestiges of these brilliant African creations can still be found in Africa and throughout the African Diaspora (Finch, 1998). The Greeks have been praised by the Western World for intellectual accomplishments which belong without a doubt to the Egyptians or the peoples of North Africa. (James, 1954). Africans must consider their ancient traditions. African traditional teachers were and are people of high character, who have deep respect for ancestors and for community tradition. African teachers accept the calling, and the obligation to facilitate intergenerational cultural transmission. African teachers also strive for the highest standards of achievement in emerging science and technology, areas that have always owed much to African scholarship. African genius is a part of the foundation of the revolution in knowledge in physics, mathematics, cybertechnology and engineering... at the deepest levels of the arts and humanities. All of this is in spite of overwhelming resistance to our learning by determined oppressors. (Hilliard, 2001).

The Education of African Americans During the Slavery Period

The chattel slavery of Africans in the Americas for over 300 years serves as one of the saddest commentaries on man's inhumanity to man. It is the modern genesis experience for Africans in the Western World. (Akbar, 1996). The enslavement of Africans who were brought to the Americas by Europeans, and bought in the Americas by
Europeans and their descendants beginning in the early 1600s, left a mark upon the history of the world which will never be erased. It has been stated that the purpose of slavery was for cheap and abundant labor to develop plantations. But beyond this possible initial purpose, much more occurred.

There is a certain hesitation about dwelling on events of the past. However, those who deny the lessons of the past are doomed to repeat them. Those who fail to recognize that the past is a sharpener of the present and that the hand of yesterday continues to write on the slate of today, leave themselves vulnerable by not realizing the impact of influences which do serve to shape their lives. (Akbar, 1996).

Not long after the first Africans arrived in the English colony of Virginia in 1619, the colonists began to develop a system of legal restraints that would govern this peculiar institution, as slavery ran counter to English law. The state of Virginia took the lead in distinguishing between African American and white servants. Such laws, systematically enacted throughout the South, became known as the slave codes. In order to prevent slaves from entertaining any thoughts about freedom, states passed restrictive legislation to discourage any attempt by whites to teach slaves to read or write. Many of these acts included monetary fines for any whites and corporal punishment for any free African Americans caught teaching slaves to read and write. Occasionally, death was a consequence. Slaves were not even allowed to have access to the Bible. (Jones-Wilson, et al., 1996).

Slave makers were aware that people who still respected themselves as human beings would resist to the death the dehumanizing process of slavery. Such a process of
dehumanization occurred through public beatings, parading unclothed slaves on slave blocks, inspecting them as if they were cattle or other animals, forbidding slaves to communicate with other slaves, etc. Historians and slave narratives report how young children were separated from their mothers because the mother's love might cultivate some self respect in the child. Personal hygiene and personal effectiveness are fairly essential in the maintenance of self respect, so slaves were kept filthy. The very nature of physical restraints over long periods of time began to develop in them a sense of helplessness. The loss of the ability to even clean one's body and to shield oneself from a blow, began to teach the slaves that they were less than human, had no will of their own, and should have no self respect. These things, combined with insults, and the loss of cultural traditions, rituals, family life, religion, and even their native names, seemed to seal the door to self respect. Forced to bend and bow to the slave master and to treat him or her as God, indeed having the image of God in a caucasian form while images of Africans were depicted as dirty and half human, it was inevitable that a sense of inferiority would grow into the African American personality (Akbar, 1996). Most social scientists would object to a discussion of slavery as a cause of contemporary behavior because it happened too long ago, however, slavery more than any other single event, shaped the mentality of the present African American (Clark, 1972).

The system of slavery itself was the primary barrier to educational opportunities. Most slaves lived in rural areas on moderate size plantations and on farms, with little opportunity or time to develop skills. While the legal system prohibited formal education for slaves, the demands of the economic system did not offer any such opportunities for
most slaves. Yet, the "slave grapevine" was widely known for its ability to transmit information on the plantation, between plantations and even from state to state. And the slave system did not prevent parents from teaching their children to survive in a hostile environment or even have faith, through folktales and stories. White ministers taught children religious principles. The Bible had many parables which the slaves applied to their life situations. Abolitionist activities were passed via the grapevine. Songs were used to contain hidden messages. In time, in spite of the legal system, and in contrast to the thinking of the majority culture of whites, some Africans were taught skills and were allowed to acquire a high degree of knowledge (Jones-Wilson, et al., 1996). Africans have always appreciated knowledge, even when its transmission has been only by word of mouth. One of the heirs to this long and arduous legacy of obtaining an education in America put it this way, "Education is the most important element in becoming an informed individual, understanding the perplexities of life. It helps us to appreciate our surroundings and to empathize with those less fortunate" (Hinds-Williams, 2001).

Africans never take teaching lightly. It is a sacred calling. The long night of slavery, colonization, apartheid, and White supremacy ideology ruptured the traditional bond between African teachers and their nurture, and even their memories of that nurture. We have been reduced in our expertise, lowered in our expectations, and limited in our goals. We have even been dehumanized and despiritualized. We must return to the upward ways of our ancestors. We have forgotten our aims, methods and content. (Hilliard, 2001, p. 7)

With regard to the subsequent education of Africans in the Americas, in the beginning
there was no thought of educating "the Negroes." Indeed, many were viciously punished for attempting to become educated. Yet, the necessity to do so was always present. Soon after the establishment of the slave regime in the North American South, set in motion were unintentional processes destined to introduce the first of the many educational opportunities that the Negroes were to have prior to the Civil War. While the underground railroad was operating against the institution of slavery, a hidden passage was being created within the system and with the unwitting approval of the slavemaster class - a passage through which many of the slaves could gain access to educative experiences and become leaders.

For purposes of the slave economy, no such hidden passage should ever have come into existence. But there were points at which the so-called rational order was to betray the best intentions of those who created it. Because its rational functions could not adequately satisfy certain emotional needs of the slaveholding class, interracial permissiveness sprang up outside the official and accepted structure of that order. Within the boundaries of such tolerance etched by these patterns of permissiveness, many Negroes were able to gain closer and more personal contact with the slavemaster class, acquire some degree of literacy, develop an unplanned-for leadership structure, and thereby experienced upward mobility within Southern society. As the South passed through various strategic stages in its history, the intensity of this interracial permissiveness waned and almost became extinguished; yet the hidden passage was never completely closed (Bullock, 1970).

According to Morgan (1995) "During their early childhood some Black children were
permitted to be playmates of White children on the plantation, and some were even taught school subjects by mothers of those White children—often in direct defiance of laws that forbade such activity." (Morgan, 1995, p. 2) By the time Black children reached the age of about seven, their White playmates would go off to school, or White parents would decide that their children were too old to be friends with slave children. These close but fragile childhood relationships had to now conform to the world of slave and slave owner, an adjustment that must have been tearful for Black and White children alike. The White child would enter the common rites of passage built into the social system for them. The Black child would once again probably ponder a private and reoccurring question: Who am I, a person, an animal, or something between the two? Despite the oppressive conditions of slavery in the United States, a relatively large population of plantation slaves could read, had specialized skills, and burned with determination enough to seize their own freedom. They were "the runaways." Those who were successful, achieved their freedom through clever planning that, among other things, required a new name, the acquisition of proper papers, money, and transportation to a free state (Morgan, 1995).

Gradually and inescapably, indulgences of their slave masters led many slaves to literacy. Many favored slaves wanted to be "quality people" like the ones with whom they identified. They thought that being able to read and write made them such, and they used all of the opportunities to become literate that the informal system afforded them. A house servant learned through necessity how to distinguish among the different newspapers his master ordered him to select, and slaves who served as foremen had to learn just enough to keep a daily record. More generally, however, some slave children
gained literacy through the "play schools," which grew out of the sociable relations maintained with their owner's children. Though starting in play, such schools were often taken seriously by both "teacher and pupil." As the spread of antislavery literature among the slaves grew more threatening, the official camp of the plantation order fought back, but the teaching of slaves to read and write merely moved underground. Those who were anxious to establish schools for Negroes became more bold. Planters themselves took tolerant attitudes toward the religious education of their slaves. Motivated by the desire to make them more obedient, they established Sunday schools for them and quite often required Bible reading as part of a home-study program. Around 1720, the Presbyterians took even bolder steps toward developing religious leadership among the Negroes by making formal training directly available to them, and in 1740 a Negro school was opened in Charleston. The movement even extended to college training for selected Negroes, in order to determine whether or not a Negro was capable of acquiring a college education. John Chavis of North Carolina was one such experimental subject. He was sent to Princeton University. After he successfully graduated, he established a school, but was forced to make it available only to White children. Negro children were denied access to his scholarship. Many of his White students became great leaders in government and politics (Bullock, 1970). There was a history of free African Americans supporting schools in cities such as Charleston, South Carolina. As early as 1810 they had organized the Minor Society to provide education for orphaned children. But the vast majority of free African Americans were without instruction, often because of fear of slave insurrection which might be encouraged by free men. And because of this, states began to
restricted the movement of free African Americans in and out of a state, as well as pass laws prohibiting the distribution of abolitionist literature it was believed they might help circulate (Jones-Wilson, et al 1996).

Educational opportunities for Negroes prior to the Civil War were neither available to all the slaves nor firmly established as an acceptable part of the official Southern society. They were privileges gained principally by household servants within the slave regime or by the free Negroes who had escaped it. Between 1790 and 1860, this free Negro population had increased at rates significantly higher than the slave population. Most of this increase was concentrated in those areas of the South where informal patterns of interracial permissiveness had been the most prevalent. Considerable interbreeding between the master and slave classes had resulted in a sizable Mulatto population that included many who had apparently gained their freedom through the conscience of their White parentage. Also, intermarriage between free Negroes had resulted in free births. This free Negro population of the South gradually came to constitute a threat to the region's official way of life.

Of even greater threat was the literate and articulate Negro leadership, many of whom, after reading the antislavery debates, became emboldened by the attacks upon slavery and revolted in overt and covert ways. Through the years, possibly the heaviest blow that Negroes struck against slavery came from those slaves who had gained their education under bondage and who had escaped North to join the antislavery movement. Their narratives, the works they published through the antislavery press and the speeches they made from the antislavery platform, were used not only as proof that Negroes could learn
but also as a dramatization of the evils of slavery (Bullock, 1967, 1970).

During the antebellum period, Henry Berry of the Virginia House of Congress had this to say about African people: "We have closed every avenue through which light may enter their minds. If we could only extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be complete" (Hilliard, 2001, p.4).

With the advent of the Civil War, the Negro's developing educational opportunities moved into a new cycle. A series of historical events began to move them from underground and to establish them as an official part of the new order imposed upon the South after its military defeat. But once again, the change was not the result of initial intent (Bullock, 1970).

**The Education of African Americans after the Slavery Period**

At the point of The Emancipation Proclamation, which became final on January 1, 1863, hordes of wandering slaves formed one of the most picturesque aspects of the turmoil that resulted from the Civil War. By the summer of 1865, masses of Negroes had moved to the cities. More than twenty thousand had reached Washington, D.C. The great exodus had reached the plantations of Mississippi and all the large cities of the South had been overrun by deserting Negroes, seeking to be protected by invading Union forces. They could no longer depend on their former owners because the laws that freed them also freed their slavemasters of any further responsibility in support or help. They were mostly displaced, hungry, unemployed and uneducated. According to General G. T. Sherman, they were in need of a highly favored and philanthropic people, to relieve the government of a burden that may become unsupportable in the future, and to enable Black
people to support and govern themselves. It was felt that in the absence of their disloyal
guardians, a suitable system of cultivation and instruction must be combined with one
providing for physical wants. (Botume, 1893).

Missionaries who worked among the freedmen held a strong conviction that emergency
measures were not enough. They believed that a permanent plan should be installed and
made an official part of the new order. They believed that this plan should be a school
system of the New England style. In 1865, one month before the close of the war,
Congress passed an act creating The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned
Lands. Powerful men of this era often spoke of education as underlying every hope of
success for the freedmen. The Freedmen's Bureau announced that the Negroes' desire
for education had not been overestimated. The foundation for a freedmen's school system
was very strong. With strong and obvious motivations had come white and Negro
teachers whose past deeds and records in the field of Negro education left no question of
their sincerity. Some had maintained schools for Negroes throughout the crisis; some
educators, on their own initiative, had started schools for Negroes during the emergency;
and some responded to the appeals of Union generals to set up schools. (Bullock, 1967)

The "social reconstruction" of former slaves began with basic education, the success
of which was by far the most dramatic evidence of their new legal freedom. Tens of
thousands of ex-slaves, so long forbidden to learn to read and write, now displayed a
passion for knowledge so powerful that, in the words of one observer, "it was as if an
entire race was trying to go to school" (Adams, 2000).

The nation's first real "teacher corps" consisted of several thousand Northern-born
White women who went South to instruct Black students, braving the taunts and threats of White Southerners who feared that Blacks would be "overeducated for their places." Within a decade, these teachers were replaced in the classrooms by many of their older Black pupils. The faculties of the earliest Black colleges and universities remained more White than Black for a much longer period, due to the shortage of college-trained Blacks. In 1890 the Morrill Land Grant Act established 17 institutions of higher learning. These tax-supported A & I (Agricultural and Industrial) and A & M (Agricultural and Mechanical) colleges reflected the doctrine of industrial education of the sort promoted by the educator Booker T. Washington at his Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Washington's theories directly conflicted with those of another prominent Black scholar of the era, W. E. B. Du Bois, who believed that blacks should study the liberal arts. "I believed that we should seek to educate a mass of ignorant sons of slaves in the three R's and the technique of work in a sense of the necessity and duty of good work. But beyond this, I also believed that such schools must have teachers, and such a race must have thinkers and leaders..." (Du Bois, 1906). This historic debate was but one example of the emerging conflict within the Black community over the proper focus of Black education. The post-emancipation educational experience produced a small but highly educated group of African Americans (Adams, 2000).

It became obvious that the supply of Northern teachers was inadequate and that even the number then available could not be expected to last. And so the need for types of schools in which African American teachers could be trained became apparent. In an attempt to meet this need, there was the establishment of normal schools, where African
Americans could learn "the simplest elements of the teaching arts." Schools of this sort came into existence at Norfolk, Charleston, New Orleans, and Nashville. With the aid of other benevolent societies, some small colleges and universities were eventually established for African Americans. (Bullock, 1967, 1970).

Each stage that marked the historical development of African American education may have seemed to have accented White America's method of making it necessary for Black people to assimilate and take on White ways while denying them access to White privileges. The first ones to feel the force of this deception were African slaves whose cultural heritage had rendered them unfit for the evident dehumanization and depersonalization required by slavery in America. These slaves were plucked from societies that were older and, in many respects, more highly developed than areas of Europe. Nevertheless, the European Americans who sought to exploit these Africans, judged African cultures on the basis of Western standards and rejected them as forms of savagery and barbarism. In keeping with what was to become standard colonial policy, the colonialists suppressed the transference of basic elements of African cultures to the Americas. They facilitated the deculturation of the African slaves and therefore made it necessary for them to develop and internalize elements suitable for their bondage. Indeed the slave's only pathway to any form of quasi-humanity threaded maze-like through the indulgence of White masters who allowed Black people to develop only the traits of culture that accommodated the needs of Whites. Of course, the Africans made desperate attempts to maintain their cultural integrity, and traces of some success have been left in the fabric of the African American heritage (Bullock, 1970).
As cruel and painful as chattel slavery was, it could be exceeded only by a worse form of slavery. The slavery that captures the mind and imprisons the motivation, perception, aspiration and identity in a web of anti-self images generating a personal and collective self-destruction, is more cruel than the shackles on the wrists and ankles. The slavery that feeds on the minds, invading the soul of man, destroying his loyalties to himself and establishing allegiance to forces which destroy him, is an even worse form of capture. The influences which permit an illusion of freedom, liberation and self-determination, while tenaciously holding one's mind in subjugation, is the folly of only the sadistic. (Akbar, 1996, p. v-vi).

Handicapping a student for life by teaching him that his black face is a curse and that his struggle to change his condition is hopeless, is the worst kind of lynching. It kills one's aspirations and dooms that individual to vagabondage and crime (Woodson, 1931). The White man's method of deception and cooptation seemed to work. In faithful acceptance of the White, Anglo Saxon, Protestant culture as the only apparent path to human liberation, the Negro slaves who were only one generation away from their African ancestry passed their aspiration for assimilation to their progeny. The faith that succeeding generations of Blacks placed on the assimilation ideal and the zeal with which they responded to opportunities to share in the White man's world is amazing. The record extends from the educational experiences gained by slaves as a result of the collapse of the rationality of the slave regime, through the experiences provided by benevolent societies during the Civil War period and by the institution of segregated education that followed to
beyond the 1954 Supreme Court decision by which the Black American’s legal right to be assimilated was secured. (Bullock, 1967, 1970). In 1863 President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, changing the status of Africans in this country. Slaves, who had previously been defined as property, became citizens. But even in the north, the notion of treating them as equals and allowing them to attend racially mixed schools, was repugnant to most Whites. The communities that provided education for African Americans established separate facilities for them with differing amounts of monetary support. For example, in New York the board of education spent an average of $1,600 for Whites for every dollar spent on Blacks. Even with tax-supported schools, the African American community had to resort to establishing private schools. Discrimination and segregation in the area of education definitely existed in the north. Only in Boston was there success in integrating the schools, but not until 1855, after nine years of struggle. (Jones-Wilson et al. 1996).

In 1868, the U.S. Congress implemented the Constitution’s Fourteenth Amendment, establishing equal protection for all citizens. In 1870 Congress approved the Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed all citizens the right to vote. Now Africans had become African Americans. In 1875 Congress passed a Civil Rights Bill that prohibited discrimination in all public accommodations in the nation. But in 1883, the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. And by 1896 the Supreme Court upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal" in Plessy v. Ferguson, creating an opportunity for all states to discriminate against African American citizens in every institution in the nation. Why? Because the "equal" was a myth. (Morgan, 1995).
Backed by the force of Negro education, each stage became the foundation upon which the next stage was built, but each also consistently encountered vivid reminders that the assimilation of Black people was not a practical part of the American melting pot ideal. (Bullock, 1970).

The capability of banking education to minimize or annul the students' creative power and to stimulate their credulity serves the interests of the oppressors, who care neither to have the world revealed nor to see it transformed. The oppressors use their "humanitarianism" to preserve a profitable situation. Thus they react almost instinctively against any experiment in education which stimulates the critical faculties and is not content with a partial view of reality but always seeks out the ties which link one point to another and one problem to another. Indeed, the interests of the oppressors lie in "changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them;" for the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated. (Freire, 1970, p. 60)

Ogletree (2001) wrote that the visionary W.E.B. Du Bois warned us that the problem of the twentieth century was the color of the color line. As we look at the educational system of America, the problem of the color line carries on a century later. In issuing what is perhaps the most significant legal decision of the twentieth century, and certainly the most important civil rights decision, Brown v. Board of Education, Chief Justice Earl Warren, speaking on behalf of a unanimous Supreme Court, observed that in the field of public education, the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational
facilities are inherently unequal' (Ogletree, 2001). Charles Hamilton Houston, Jr. was the lawyer principally credited with pioneering the political and legal course by which Brown finally reached the Supreme Court in 1954. Houston's initial stance was clear: If you insist on separate institutions based on racial classifications, those separate facilities must receive equal resources. Houston hoped that legislators would soon recognize the fact that the cost of segregation was too high and that integration was an acceptable alternative. There is little doubt that both Houston and Thurgood Marshall would lament the racial and economic inequality in the educational system today. One need only direct their attention to the critical language in Brown v. Board of Education, which allowed states to desegregate schools "with all deliberate speed." Nearly fifty years after Brown v. Board of Education, the vestiges of segregation are still all too apparent in many of the schools that were the subject of the lawsuit. Those that had been identified as almost exclusively White, remain so. Those that had had substantially Black populations, maintain those numbers as well. So, all deliberate speed, has in effect meant no speed at all (Smiley, 2001).

One of the unfortunate consequences of the Brown v. Board of Education case is that when the Court decided to desegregate the public schools, many Black schools were closed. The result of this was that black teachers, principals, and superintendents found themselves with no jobs, or facing demotions to positions of less stature and less pay (Bullock, 1967, 1970).

As long as you place yourself in the position of a clown, drunkard, uncle Tom or are crippled, or can in some way evoke pity on their part (whites) and do
not seem to be self-sufficient or efficient - you don't represent a threat to them either psychologically or physically. You can come to hold the little position (job) that they are capable of offering or withdrawing - for this is their society, set up for and by them, for their gain and profits - always to the nigger and Blackman's disadvantage. ...(So) Dance nigger, dance. As the invisible fingers of fate pull the invisible strings attached to your grotesque body. Grotesque because though it is tangible, it tends to etch a somnambulistic figure in a seemingly unreal place. Once you danced a jerky dance at the end of a rope tied 'round your neck and seen by hostile eyes mostly - for other eyes held fear and horror when they could get close enough to view the handiwork of those who moments before had expressed the code of the prevalent creed within this land - America! (Hinds, 1960, p.31)

In order to fight back against what they considered a "loose/loose" situation, many male and female black educators chose to use their skills and talents in nontraditional educational settings. Gyant (1990) investigated the relationship between the roles African American women played in the Civil Rights Movement and their participation in and contributions to nonformal education during the Civil Rights Movement between 1955 through 1965. According to her findings, African American women were women who were administrators and teachers; and who provided meals and transportation for participants. It was within their roles as educators, spiritual leaders, and mothers that many African American women assumed their roles as leaders in the Civil Rights Movement.
Meanwhile, Congress was holding hearings in the 1950s that would have far-reaching funding policies for educational and social policies related to educational opportunities for African American children. A number of sessions held by congressional committees heard testimony from White academicians that Blacks had intractable learning deficits and that desegregation would place them in unfair competition with the more bright White children with whom they would vie for the classroom teacher's time. And there were those who suggested that the expenditures of public funds to remove academic deficits of poor and African American children would yield few benefits because African American children were genetically fixed at a lower I.Q. level than their White age-mates. Herrnstein and Murray (1994), wrote one such assault in favor of the genetically determined inferior intelligence of African Americans theory. Along with the pseudoscientific research of a justify racist attitudes. Lewis B. Terman, creator of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Quotient Test at one time widely used by psychologists, has stated the following:

"The borderline feeble-minded...(are) very common among the Spanish-Indian and Mexican families of the Southwest and also among Negroes. Their dullness seems to be racial... Children of the group should be segregated in special classes... They cannot master abstractions, but they can often be made efficient workers... There is no possibility at the present of convincing society that they should not be allowed to reproduce, although from an eugenic point of view, they constitute a grave problem because of their unusually prolific breeding." (Terman, 1937, p. 1-123).

Terman is not alone as an authority figure looked upon by educators and other professionals, to set the tone, standard and pace for intellectual assessment as well as for
relations with a diverse population. Carl Brigham, creator of the SAT, wrote:

"We must face the possibility of racial admixture here that is infinitely worse than that of any European country today, for we are incorporating the Negro into our racial stock, while all of Europe is relatively free of this taint. The decline of American intelligence will be more rapid than the decline of European national groups, owing to the presence of the Negro. The deterioration of American intelligence is not inevitable, however, if public action can be aroused to prevent it. Immigration should not only be restrictive but highly selective. And the revision of the immigration and naturalization laws will only afford a slight relief from our present difficulty. The important steps are those looking toward the prevention of the continued propagation of defective strains in the present population." (Brigham, 1923).

Such works have been discredited (Morgan, 1995), denounced (Chinyelu, 1995) and disproved (Block, 1995; Fancher, 1995; Fischer et al., 1996; Fraser, 1995; Scarr and Weinberg, 1976; Neisser et al., 1996; Nisbett, 1994; Wahlsten, 1995). However, those who have written of the genetic inferiority of the African Americans' intelligence and that of other so-called minorities, have left their impression or scar upon the psyche of not only those who would use their ideas to victimize, but also upon the intended victims as well.

According to Chinyelu (1995):

"Part of the argument of The Bell Curve centers around the bogus claim that, as a group, Europeans are genetically more intelligent than Africans. However, they admit, high intelligence is evident in individual cases in the African group. That's why the subtitle of the book speaks of 'class structure'. Europeans cannot avoid the reality that
a vast pool of genius exists in the African community. But they want to characterize
that as the exception rather than the rule. This enables them to give those Africans
who they choose to use a sense of being more important than other Africans. In other
words, they establish a special class for the Africans they choose to use. Scientific
racism is not an intellectual pursuit but rather a propagandistic pursuit."
(Chinyelu, 1995, p. 94).

By the beginning of the 1960's, it had become clear that assimilation offered Black
people only White ways without White privileges. In no instance did these reminders
become more vivid than in the disillusionments Black people experienced after the Civil
Rights Act of 1964 had been written into law. Schools had been desegregated for one
decade, but almost all black children of school age were still confined to segregated
education without opportunities. Opportunities had opened mainly at the clerical level
and above, where only the college trained children of the more affluent black middle class
could take advantage of them. For the masses who constituted the black lower class, no
degree of racial integration had occurred what-so-ever, not even with "forced" busing.

It was among this lower socio-economic group of African Americans that assimilation
first came to be a fool's paradise, and a collective readiness to seek relief in Blackness was
born. Black college intellectuals, bridging the gap that had developed between their
middle-class parents and their lower-class "brothers and sisters," triggered this readiness
by articulating the needs of the Black poor and by offering leadership for the realization of
this group's aspirations. The institution of African American education had matured, and
with its maturity had come not only a rejection of the melting-pot ideal but also the threat
of the introduction of a new motif in American society, the motif of a mosaic culture.
(Bullock, 1967, 1970). How has such education fared in a large northern metropolis?

The History Of African American Education In The Urban Example of New York City

The Dutch of New Netherland were relaxed about the management of their Black slaves. Regarding themselves as only temporary settlers in the New World, the Dutch were more concerned about their slaves as a means of making money than about having them fit into a permanent social system. There was only a mere forty years of Dutch rule in this colony on the Hudson River. Hence, there were few laws to restrict Blacks, whether slave or free. Blacks could testify in court just as Whites could, and they could marry Whites. What discrimination there was in New Netherland was more religious than it was racial. While Jews for a time could not hold real estates, Blacks could. The Dutch Reformed Church welcomed Blacks. Together with the government, it controlled the schools of New Netherland. Following a tradition brought from Holland, the Dutch provided public education for all children in the same school. In 1636, in what has been called the first known reference to education in surviving New Amsterdam records, the officials of the settlement reported with approval to their authority in Holland that a local Dutch pastor, "has very earnestly requested us [to secure] a school master to teach and train the youth of both Dutch and Blacks, in the knowledge of Jesus Christ." Within two years the first school teacher had arrived from Holland and was teaching a school in the settlement on the southern tip of Manhattan. After the English seizure of New Netherland in 1664, the English encouraged the importation of more slaves into New York. Blacks under English
rule were more separated from Whites than they had been under the Dutch. For example, in 1697 Blacks were forbidden to bury their dead in the Anglican Trinity Church yard in New York City, and in the colony's churches, slaves were seated at a great distance from the pulpit and separate from Whites. Also, the English did not bring the tradition of public education from Europe, so it is not surprising that most of the little education offered to Blacks in the English colony of New York was in separate schools (Mabee, 1979).

As with the Dutch, when the English tried to educate slaves, their purpose usually was to Christianize them. Formal education was usually available only through private tutors or church schools, was costly and offered to the privileged. Probably most of the children of this predominantly poor and rural colony never attended school at all, even for elementary education. Under the circumstances, of course, most Blacks, being at the bottom of the social scale, never attended school. However, The Anglican church, the only agency in the colony of New York which organized a long-term campaign for the education of Blacks, operated its campaign particularly through its missionary organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Having its seat in distant England, it was somewhat insulated from pressure by American slaveholders against the education of slaves (Mabee, 1979). Thus, the first school for African Americans in New York City was established in 1704 by Elias Neau, a representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The society continued around this time to establish other schools for the religious education of African Americans in northern and southern communities. It was necessary to teach the fundamentals of reading and writing so that religious materials could be read and
understood. Such rudimentary knowledge was easily generalized to other fields, and Blacks became more literate than many poor and recent immigrant Whites. However, no religious group was more persistent about pursuing the rights of Africans in slavery than the Quakers, also known as the Society of Friends (Morgan, 1995).

As early as 1735 the Quakers had been organizing schools for African slaves in the South and had taught many to read and write. The Quakers believed education to be the empowerment necessary for African Americans to move from slave status to that of a free person. Quakers formed the Manumission Society, first in Philadelphia, and later in New York in 1785, to protect Africans from the slave bounty hunters. (The word manumit was used at that time, interchangeably with abolition.) Trustees of the antislavery group, the New York Society to Prevent the Manumission of Slaves, included Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and George Clinton. In 1787 the Manumission group established the New York African Free School to empower Black children as educated citizens to protect themselves. It began with 40 pupils of various ages, most of them from slave parents. Mr. Cornelius Davis became the school's first teacher, after giving up a position teaching White children. A female teacher was hired in 1791 and girls were admitted. By 1796 the school had its own building on Cliff Street in New York City, but this building was lost to fire. The City then contributed land and African Free School Number One was constructed on William Street (Morgan, 1995).

Northern benefactors felt the urgency to provide educational opportunities for newly freed Blacks, and they were somewhat impatient with the pace of progress in training Black teachers to become school supervisors. There was a shortage of college trained
Blacks. However, Black teachers, after working in the classroom for a period of time, expressed the desire to replace northerners as school administrators. There was some reluctance on the part of Northern progressives. John Teasman, however, was the appointed first black principal of the African Free School in New York City in 1799. He became the focus of many efforts of African Americans to improve themselves through education and create a community. Teasman was apparently chosen in an effort to economize by the Manumission Society which operated the school. However, he worked energetically to prevent the school from perpetuating the lower class role which the Manumission Society envisioned. Even after being dismissed as principal of the African Free School, Teasman strove to provide quality education and to support African Americans of New York City (Swan, 1992).

Through the mid 1820s there continued a steady influx of African Americans to New York City from the South. Isabella Baumfree (1797-1883), an active Black abolitionist and more well known as “Sojourner Truth”, risked her safety many times by escorting Black families, especially adults with children, from southern states to New York and beyond. It was evident that more facilities for education were needed. African Free School Number Two was built in 1820, in order to accommodate 500 additional pupils. In the early years of its existence, the school was opposed by many Whites in the city, and the trustees were not as active as the teachers and administrators of the school would have liked. To increase interest and support, scholars and educators from around the world were invited by the school in order to have its program observed. Special programs of poetry, prose and essay reading by pupils were presented by them. A concentration on
direct instruction in reading, writing, natural history, astronomy, arithmetic, navigation, and moral education came out of the school's mission of empowerment. One of the visiting educators, Joseph Lancaster from England, who had developed a unique approach to instruction, materials, and supplies in the teaching of poor children, shared his methods. The Lancasterian system was adopted by the African Free School. The African Free School also gave education some of its earliest examples of special classes for the gifted, called "Merit" classes, and of the use of older pupils to tutor younger ones. Through the years, curriculum was expanded and many graduates of the African Free School became famous and went on to become leaders in the African American and White communities (Morgan, 1995).

As the school graduated increasing numbers of skilled and competent African Americans, White resistance grew. In 1824 the City of New York took over the support of its 7 African Free Schools, making them public. African American children in New York had been offered free public education before White children. Because of the tradition of establishing African schools, the practice of setting up separate educational systems had become the norm. After years of developing their own school systems through their own efforts and with the aid of benevolent societies, Blacks in northern cities were now being faced with discrimination in public schools essentially organized for Whites (Morgan, 1995).

In 1829 there were 700 pupils registered at the African Free School, but roughly only 300 in attendance daily. It was found that students who completed studies for a skilled trade very often had no more success at getting placed in a respectable occupation than
did Black children who had not attended school. Charles Andrew, a teacher in the male
school, began to realize that parents and other adults in Black families needed to support
the work of the school and encourage their children to attend, perceiving that they (the
parents) had an incapacity to appreciate the benefits of an education of which they
themselves have never been partakers* (Morgan, 1995).

By 1824 The New York African Free School had become a part of New York City's
school system. One might speculate that it had been engulfed in order to hide injustices
and disparities (for black students and black educators alike) which continued to exist in
the education of African American children. The quality of education for Black children
as late as 1915, as described in a U.S. Government report, was abysmal: "Inadequacy and
paverty are the outstanding characteristics of every type and grade of education for
Negroes in the United States" (Morgan, 1995).

In the early 1830s, a new movement for the "immediate" abolition of slavery arose in
the North, in reaction to the slow, quiet style of the "gradual" abolitionists and also to the
colonizationists' drive to send Blacks back to Africa. Its foremost leaders included
William Lloyd Garrison, who was editor of the Boston Liberator, and the Tappan
brothers, Lewis and Arthur, who were merchants in New York City. However, to some
Black abolitionists in the state, even the White "immediate" abolitionists needed some
prodding. Black abolitionist and editor Sam Cornish charged in his New York Colored
American, of November 4, 1837, that "our white friends are deceived when they imagine
they are free from prejudice against color, and yet are content with a lower standard of
attainments for colored youth... This is, in our view, the worst feature in abolitionism—the
one which grieves us most." In 1839, in response to such criticism, a committee of an immediate abolitionist convention in New York City declared it believed in increasingly higher standards of education for Blacks. In keeping with these views, the new immediate abolitionists tried to improve the education of Blacks. Unable, however, to influence public school boards, they began creating what were known as abolitionist schools. Three existed outside of New York City and included two already existing colleges which were made interracial (Mabee, 1979).

Charity schools, run especially by white, non-sectarian charity societies for the education of the poor, also began to appear in New York State. Many of these persons, like the abolitionists, wished to help Blacks to become better able to take care of themselves by teaching them the values of religion, work, and self-discipline. Unlike the abolitionists, however, they had more of a stake in preserving the existing social structure.

The Public School Society of New York City, which was the charity society which operated the largest charity schools for Blacks in the state, acquired its Black schools from the Manumission Society by transfer. However, Black confidence in the Public School Society was difficult to establish due to it not being primarily devoted to Black interests. Using the Lancaster method of education, which employed few teachers for large numbers of children, White charity societies ran separate schools for Blacks in the period from the 1820s to the 1850s in at least five places upstate and three downstate. Black charity schools also existed but found their funds to be inadequate for their Black schools. There was some response to appeals for public contributions but there was also some resistance from Whites who still questioned the wisdom of educating Blacks. In addition, the
colonization movement made some financial contributions to Black private education in New York City. But more often, benevolent Whites ran Black schools, often appointing very able and socially aware Black teachers who helped to offset (it had been hoped) the factors making for poor quality education for Blacks. Sunday schools run by churches were also another vehicle for Blacks to obtain a form of education in New York (Mabee, 1979).

By the early 1840s, the Black school was receiving more public funds, mainly after a campaign which threatened that Black children would be attending schools where White children attended, if their school was forced to close. Brooklyn's Black public school continued largely under Black control until 1843, when Brooklyn, having become a city, reorganized its public schools from the district system into a unified system under an all-white board of education. Aside from administering its finances, maintaining a school building and selecting teachers, Blacks were not in control of their schools. Whites were. The Black controlled schools did not attract enough students or funds to survive long. This problem derived in considerable part, from Blacks being shut out from lucrative jobs because they were Black. It also derived, some Black leaders claimed, from Blacks misusing what money they had. Blacks were unable to support their own best institutions. Many individual Black teachers continued to establish small, private Black schools of their own, especially before Black public schools became numerous (Mabee, 1979).

In 1846 a group of New York City Blacks began the most ambitious educational enterprise that had yet been undertaken by Blacks in the state. The New York City
Board of Education created The Public School Society in 1842, and operating charity schools with public monies, was the reason for its disappearance. Catholics in particular argued that despite its name, the Public School Society was really a private corporation and Protestant, and should no longer receive public funds to support its charity schools unless Catholics received comparable public funds for Catholic schools. Amidst this controversy, Black leaders who had never been completely trusting of the Public School Society’s management of its Black schools, organized a charity society of their own, The Society for the Promotion of Education among Colored Children, to run Black charity schools. Members of this new society, like the Phoenix Society which had existed, included both Black and White persons. However, unlike the Phoenix Society, all of the trustees of this new society were required by its charter to be Black. The Society for the Education among Colored Children established a Black High School, just as New York City Black people had already established three times in the 1830s without lasting success. There was only one other Black high school known to exist in the whole of the North, in Cincinnati. The New York City high school was abandoned in 1848, like the others that preceded it, the reason being, the society explained, to be lack of funds. Such attempts would continue to fail in New York State through the nineteenth century and even as late as the 1910s. While the Society for Education among Colored Children received no public funds for its high school, it did for its elementary schools. It successfully operated two elementary schools for Black children in New York City, for over five years. However, the schools were being supported by public money administered by four different agencies, three of them under White control: the board of education, Public
Schools Society; Colored Orphan Asylum trustees; and the Black controled Society for Education among Colored Children. The New York City Superintendent of Schools complained that "rather conflicting organizations" ran the Black schools and proposed that, for efficiency, one organization run them all. In 1853 the New York City Board of Education finally absorbed all the Public School Society's schools, both Black and White. The Public School Society then ceased to exist. The Board of Education also absorbed the two schools of The Society for Education among Colored Children. The Board of Education retained many of the Black teachers from the Public School Society's black schools, but only a few of the Black teachers from the Society for Education among Colored Children, which was Black controled. The Society for Education among Colored Children had enrolled more Black children in its schools than any other Black controled organization in the state up to 1900. It had won the respect of state officials, Black parents, and other organizations alike. The Black organized charity, church, and private schools together taught about the same number of Black pupils as the White organized abolitionist schools, but less than the White organized charity schools. During the rest of the nineteenth century Blacks continued to establish schools of their own, but on a reduced scale. The African Americans' relative lack not only of wealth but also of education and experience, usually forced them to depend upon the help of Whites in their promotion of Black education. During these years when belief in universal education was only beginning to take hold in the state, Blacks struggled to persuade Whites to recognize Black educational interests (Mabee, 1979).

Prior to 1855 the state school officials reported that there were 5,243 pupils in black
public schools in the state, most of them in New York City. After 1855 state education reports do not give the numbers of children in Black public schools. However, they do give expenditures for such schools. From those reports it is probable that the numbers of pupils rose only slightly, hitting their peak in 1874, and then as the movement to abolish Black public schools gained momentum, those numbers gradually declined. Salaries for Black teachers up to 1917 were the lowest on Long Island for four towns combined. But because Black schools compared to White schools tended to be small - even in the largest cities like Brooklyn and New York - more was spent per pupil on their Black schools than on their White schools. White taxpayers did become concerned. As time went on, other issues came to light, like: the inequity of location of Black schools as opposed to White schools, whereby schools for Whites were in good locations, commodious and elegant, while schools for Blacks were nearly all, if not all, in old buildings, generally in filthy and degraded neighborhoods, dark, damp, small, and cheerless, safe neither for the morals nor the health of the children; school officials had apportioned money to a Black school on the basis of the number of black children attending the school, while they apportioned money to White schools on the basis of the number of white children in the district whether they attended school or not; and, the separateness between White and Black students even within the same school. In 1864 the state school law for the first time provided that the Black school must be supported in the same manner and to the same extent as the school or schools supported therein for white children, and that districts must provide to the Black schools facilities for instruction equal to those furnished to the White schools. In response to complaints, school authorities undertook a large program of constructing,
relocating, and improving buildings for Black schools. By the end of the century, the state's minimum requirement for school sessions was lengthening beyond seven months, the qualifications demanded for teachers were rising, the opportunities for Blacks to educate themselves as teachers were improving, and in the Black communities of Brooklyn and New York, Black teachers were considered well paid and held in high esteem. And it must be noted that New York State Black teachers were remarkably free to develop their leadership as protesters against slavery, segregation, and inequality. Many of the teachers became models of protest to their pupils, and themselves became major figures in the long struggle for greater opportunity for African Americans (Mabee, 1979).

By 1945, Catholic schools in Harlem were opened to admitting Black pupils. There was not only an increase in the number of Black public schools, both Catholic and public, but there was also a development in one form of professional school for Blacks, in nursing education. African Americans ran their own schools too. In Brooklyn and Manhattan they ran their own private academic schools, music schools, art schools, beauty schools, auto schools, and day nurseries. Father Divine operated fifteen "Kingdom" schools which offered vocational training. A Black Hebrew school was organized by a Black Synagogue in Harlem. African Americans in nearby Yonkers ran a boarding school. Industrial schools, cooking schools, and a nautical school were among other schools being operated by African Americans during this period of great educational pursuit (Mabee, 1979.)

In the administration of public schools, the trend away from segregation proceeded only at a snail's pace. In the nineteenth century there had been many Black principals
scattered through the state in Black separate schools, but in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the legally separate Black schools faded away, very few Blacks were appointed as principals in the racially-mixed public schools. African Americans had to wait for the development of a well-trained body of Black teachers experienced in teaching in mixed schools, and even then in many cities they also had to wait for considerable black political power to develop. The first and only Black principal appointed to a predominantly White public school in New York state in the early twentieth century was Dr. William L. Bulkley, who served predominantly Jewish and Italian schools in lower Manhattan from 1909 to 1923. The next Black principal known to have been appointed to a legally mixed school in New York state was Gertrude Ayer, who was appointed in 1934 to a predominantly Black school in Harlem. But while there were a few African American principals appointed from the 1920s into the 1950s, many schools, parents, teachers and pupils had to become increasingly active in attempting to encourage Black pupils instead of having them discouraged amidst local and nationwide hostility towards Blacks, and a tendency to prohibit them from becoming members of public school boards. By the early 1940s, anti-Nazi war strategy, combined with hostile White reactions to war-time waves of Black migration into Northern cities, was demanding more serious effort to create a positive attitude toward Blacks in the Schools. Inaugurated by New York City school officials was a controversial human relations program, which included voluntary in-service training for teachers on tolerance, the promotion of interracial forums, and the withdrawal of texts which were prejudiced against any group. An experimental effort was also initiated in Queens, New York by bringing together Irish, Jews, Blacks,
and Puerto Ricans in a common community council (Mabee, 1979).

On May 17, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court, started reading the position on a court case that was one of five argued by Thurgood Marshall and a team of attorneys from the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, founded by W.E.B. Du Bois and his intellectual Black and White colleagues in 1909). The case was that of Oliver Brown, et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. In speaking on behalf of the Court, Warren concluded that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" had no place. Separate educational facilities were inherently unequal. This forever changed the racial makeup of the nation's public schools. But, even with the advent of busing black and white students to schools in an attempt to ensure equality in education, educators completely miscalculated the strength of the opposition to desegregated schooling that began to come from White communities around the nation. Segregated mortgage lending patterns, created in part by the Federal Housing Authority's discriminatory policies, had already created Black and White residential areas, requiring some children to be transported across sharply drawn geographic lines if desegregation were to be implemented.

African American professionals and parents in New York City were among the first to attempt to ensure the implementation of the Supreme Court's ruling. Dr. Kenneth Clarke, a professor in New York City and a psychologist, along with Rev. Milton Galamison in Brooklyn, New York, a minister of a large congregation, became active in these early endeavors. Dr. Clarke led an organization of Black and White professionals called the Intergroup Committee on New York's Public Schools, calling for a study of lower grades
in public schooling. The group suspected that teaching and pupil performance in elementary grades doomed Black children to failure in high schools. Dr. Clarke had conducted a series of studies in 1935, from which it was determined that Black children held a damaged view of their racial identity and had poor self esteem, as evidenced by his research in "Doll Studies". In his study Black children rejected Black dolls and preferred White dolls, even when asked, "Which doll is most like you?"

Dr. Clarke testified in court as to the damaging effects segregation was having upon Black children in the nation, a negative effect which proved even higher upon the self-esteem of African American children in New York City, upon than African American children in the South faced with racial discrimination. Clarke and Galamison gained little support, however, from traditional organizations in New York City and the White-controlled teachers' union in New York City did well in keeping traditional organizations (such as the NAACP) out of their business. After investigating and uncovering a number of predominantly White schools with small enrollments, while an equal number of Black schools were overcrowded, Galamison and a group of parents founded the Parents Workshop for Equity. After too few gains, the organization threatened the city of New York with a massive school boycott. Due to fear of future organized action by Black parents, "Open Enrollment" was established. A list of selected White grade schools was given to Black parents, with no information about the schools and only 2 days to make an appointment, visit the school, talk with the principal (who was invariably discouraging) and make a decision. In considering a transfer for their children, Black parents had concerns about busing their children so far away from home. Those who did, had children
report that their White teachers were hostile and White children often unfriendly. Many Black parents formed groups to oppose busing and White parents opposed bused minority children in school with their children. One of the most popular strategies employed by White parents in the North was to comply with desegregation plans as a tradeoff for an agreement with school authorities that Black and White children would be resegregated inside the school. In other words, a tracking system would be devised to place White students in "gifted" and "honors" programs, and minority students in other tracks. Occasionally, one or two Black children would overcome obstacles to higher placement and qualify for one of the top tracks. These students were allowed to be tokens, and White parents seldom objected to the political realities of the need to have at least one Black pupil in each class (Morgan, 1995).

The Struggle During Modern Times and the African American Educational Administrator

The effects on Black families from the national resistance to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, the continuous battles African American parents waged to get equity in education, the dilapidated buildings and underpaid African American teachers in their neighborhood schools, in addition to the pilfering of school supplies to assist White "academies" over a period of years, should be factored into the Black-White disparities in school performance in the 1960s and 1970s. (Morgan, 1995). Multiple domestic and international crises engulfed the country between 1968 and 1974. The appearance of African American school superintendents during this period went relatively unnoticed. Yet their emergence has made a great impact on the personnel structures of about 100
school systems across the nation. Until the late sixties, black school superintendents held posts mostly in extremely small and predominantly black rural education systems located in the south and southwest. Ironically, segregated education systems provided more promotional opportunities than integrated school systems. Desegregation reduced their numbers. Along with the inheritance of school systems that served large numbers of students with cumulative deficiencies in the basic skills and that are inadequately funded, African American superintendents began to learn that textbook theories in school administration were not relevant to challenges of such magnitude (Scott, 1980).

Through the 1960s and 1970s, many more known and unknown affronts and struggles occurred. One struggle was the conflict at Ocean Hill-Brownsville (located in the New York City borough of Brooklyn) occurred. In this situation, Black parents demanded control of the schools in that area, and input in the hiring, transferring, and firing of teachers there. This event came on the tail of the East Harlem parents and community leaders boycotting IS 201 in September 1966, demanding that the school be integrated or given to them to control. Few events in the history of American education have been as extraordinary as the strikes that closed New York City schools in the fall of 1968. The battle for control of city schools which was waged between school professionals and the Black community of Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn, had educational, political and social implications for the whole nation. After much failure of city schools to educate a predominantly black population (i.e., In New York City, special education classes overflowed with African American children. One out of three pupils was a year or more behind the norm in reading. In Harlem specifically, school children were more than two
years behind in reading.), and the apathy by the educational professionals perceived, the
African American community was ready for a change. In the Ocean Hill-Brownsville
confrontation, the limits of the old reformism were pushed and the United Federation of
Teachers translated the transfer of nineteen teachers and principals into a threat to job
security and a violation of due process. But the Black community demanded equality of
educational opportunity and accountability by teachers and principals for the quality of
education received by their children. For this community, too many teachers and
principals long ago had decided that the "ghetto" child frequently isineducable. At best,
those teachers showed their attitudes in low expectancy of academic achievement. At
worst, they were racist. The following is one of the letters by community persons placed
in the letter boxes of teachers and educational administrators, and on bulletin boards of
schools in Ocean Hill-Brownsville during that time:

"We demand that only black or Puerto Rican teachers are employed in our schools.
We demand that we have the right to hire and fire all personnel. All outsiders-
teachers (baby sitters) must be released as soon as Negro or Puerto Rican educators
are available. Any teacher who belongs to the United Federation of Teachers or any
other hostile group must be discharged. We demand that only locally controlled
police can enter our schools. All supplies, wherever possible, must be purchased
locally from friendly sources. All repairs must be given to black or Puerto Rican
contractors. All "whitey" textbooks must be burnt and replaced by decent
educational material. "Whitey" art and John Birch-type social studies must be
replaced by African arts and crafts and African History."
Some supervisors and we know who you are
Plotting and scheming well you've gone too far
We didn't ask you here and we don't want your kind
One thing we learned and we learned it from you
And it's screw the next man before he can screw you
So here Judas pimps we'll give you a clue
Shape up or ship out before this 'Fall'
Or all you mothers against the wall

If African American History and Culture is to be taught to our Black Children it
Must Be Done by African Americans Who Identify With And Who Understand The
Problem. It is Impossible For the Middle East Murderers of Colored People to
Possibly Bring to This Important Task The Insight, The Concern, The Exposing of
the Truth That is a Must If The Years of Brainwashing and Self-Hatred That Has
Been Taught To Our Black Children By These Bloodsucking Exploiters and
Murderers Is To Be Overcome. . . . Get Out, Stay Out, Staff Off, Shut Up, Get Off
Our Backs, Or Your Relatives In The Middle East Will Find Themselves Giving
Benefits To Raise Money To Help You Get Out From Under The Terrible Weight
Of An Enraged Black Community". (Berube and Gittell, 1969, pp. 165-166)

Although many of the battles over education in New York City were not won by so-
called minority communities, this researcher felt it necessary to show some of the
situations and emotional content that many of the reforms and desires for reform came out
of. Within the last decade there have been major changes within the education system in
New York City. Public education chancellors have come and gone. Private education has increased its ranks. Both public and private sectors have been influenced greatly by changing technology and computer usage. Charter Schooling began. Homeschooling and other alternative forms of education have been on the rise. Private enterprise has been attempting to step in because of the profits seen in the business of educating youth. Politics coupled with economics have been the focus of pseudo-reform. However, true reform is needed desperately, as standardized test scores have come under fire for being low. It has publicly been revealed that the scoring of such tests have on occasion been inaccurate or falsely reported. The number of teachers who have been found to be uncertified and underqualified is alarming. In fact, education has received such poor press within the last decade, that confidence in the established system has been very low in spite of all of the internal efforts at reform. The school children are the ones most affected by such change, much uncertainty, and poor strategic moves. Sometimes they are even considered the reason for the problems found in their education failures. This is certainly true for the African American student. Of the more than one million students attending New York City’s public schools during the 1994-1995 period, fewer than 18 % of these students were White. African Americans and Latino/a students made up nearly three quarters of the total (The Board of Education's Student Information Services Report, 1994-95).

This is certainly not all that can be said regarding the education of African American children in the United States of America, of the north (for there are variations across regions and individual stories which may never be known or told). However, it was
intended to give the reader a basic history and foundation for which to understand the current plight of educational administrators who care to remedy an unlevel educational field for African American students and to understand the future educational needs of African American students in order to increase their academic achievements.
Appendix B

Demographic Information

EDUCATION PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS

I am conducting a research study investigating the perspectives regarding education and the African American student (grades k - 12), of African American Educational Administrators. The purpose of this research study is to understand the experiences and perspectives gained from those experiences, that Educational Administrators who are African American or of African descent, have had within the last decade in New York City. I will be conducting one-on-one interviews with prospective interviewees from a variety of educational settings. I would like to ask you a few questions in order to assist me in knowing your status as a prospective interviewee. Please take a moment to answer the questions below, filling in each blank. Thank-you.

Date ________________

Name ________________________________________________________________

Address _____________________________________________________________________________________________

Telephone numbers __________________ work __________________ home (optional)

E-Mail Address ________________________________________________________________

Date Of Birth ___________________________ Gender ___________________________

In this study, I am defining African American to mean those of African descent who have lived in the Americas, including the Caribbean, most of their lives and consider the culture of the United States here in North America to be the one in which they are most familiar. Do you then consider yourself to be African American? ______

Where were you born? __________________________________________________________________________________

Where were you reared and for how long? ___________________________________________________________________

Do you consider yourself to be multicultural? ____________________________

If so, to which cultures do you belong? ____________________________________________________________________

Which languages do you speak and understand? _____________________________

How many years have you taught in New York City Schools? ___________

How many years have you been an Educational Administrator (Principal, Director, or Superintendent) in New York City? ______

Are you currently an Educational Administrator (E.A.) in NYC? (yes/no) ______

If not, when did your position as one cease? _____________________________

Was your school public, private, charter, or other (please indicate)? ______

Are/Were children with whom you work(ed) predominantly African American? ______

Would you consider yourself a progressive leader? Why or Why not? ________

________________________________________________________

Are you willing to be interviewed regarding the topic given above, for at least one and one half hours? (yes or no) ______. Would it be alright with you to have the interview audiotaped &/or videotaped, for accuracy to be kept? (yes or no) ______

* Thank-you so much for your time in answering these questions.*
Appendix C

Informed Consent Form

EDUCATION PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS

In an attempt to study the experiences and perspectives of African American Educational Administrators, with regards to the education of African American students, it is important to listen to their stories, thoughts and feelings. You have been identified as an individual who may provide significant and relevant information to my research in this area. Your opinions given and comments made will be used to enhance understanding and to hopefully improve the education that African American students (Grades K - 12) receive. I am inviting you to participate in a one-on-one interview to be conducted by me, the only investigator, Denise Hinds-Zaami. I am a doctoral student in Executive Education at Seton Hall University's College of Education and Human Services, Department of Administration and Supervision.

Your decision to participate in this study is completely voluntary. There are no known risks or discomforts in connection with your participation in this study. All records of the content of your interview will be held by the investigator and will not be distributed to any unauthorized individual or institution. A code will be used to substitute for your name so that confidentiality will be maintained, masking your identity. If the interviewee agrees, an audiotape and/or videotape will be made of the interview in order that accuracy with regards to your comments, may be made. Be assured that any written notes taken during the interview, or audio or video tapes made, will be kept securely in a locked cabinet in my private office. After the study has been completed and published as a dissertation, this material will be destroyed.

The completion of this interview should take about 1 hour and 30 minutes. It will be scheduled at a time and place that is most convenient to you. Teleconferencing may be considered, if scheduling and/or distance make it difficult for you, the interviewee, to be interviewed in person, but it is not preferred.

By signing this form, you are giving your permission for the interview to take place and to the conditions explained above. In addition, you may sign the line which states, "In addition, I agree to be audiotaped and/or videotaped, for the purpose of allowing accuracy to be kept with regards to my comments during the interview", which would give your permission for such taping to take place. If at any time during the interview you decide that you do not wish to participate, you are free to discontinue. You will be excluded from the study and any notes or tapes used during the interview will be destroyed at that time. You will receive a copy of this form for your records.
This project has been reviewed and approved by the Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board For Human Subject Research. The IRB believes that the research procedures adequately safeguard the subject’s privacy, welfare, civil liberties, and rights. The chairperson of the IRB may be reached through the Office Of Grants And Research Services. The telephone number of the Office is (973) 275-2974.

Further information on the research may be obtained from the investigator:
Denise Hinds-Zaami
(718) 468-0973; (212) 343-1234 ext. 7020
DHinds-Zaami@aol.com

I have read the material above and any questions I asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this activity, realizing that I may withdraw without prejudice at any time.

Interviewee's Name (please print) ____________________________

Interviewee's Signature ____________________________

Date ____________________________

Investigator's Name (please print) ____________________________

Investigator's Signature ____________________________

Date ____________________________

"In addition, I agree to be audiotaped and/or videotaped, for the purpose of allowing accuracy to be kept with regards to my comments during the interview." (sign below)

Signature of Interviewee ____________________________

Date ____________________________

Signature of Investigator ____________________________

Date ____________________________
Appendix D

Participant Thank-you Letter

Denise Hinds-Zaami
Doctoral Student
Executive Doctorate in Educational Administration
Seton Hall University
400 So. Orange Avenue
So. Orange, New Jersey 07079

September 8, 2002

Dear Research Study Participant:

I am writing to thank-you deeply for allowing me to interview you for my dissertation research study regarding EDUCATION PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS. Your input and insight after your many years of experience will, I know, help my research immensely. Your dedication to the people you serve is awe inspiring. Your strength is moving. And your willingness to share with me is greatly appreciated. You are a true leader in the field of education and in the community where you serve. As you continue your life's journey, I know that many others will benefit from your knowledge and caring.

It is my hope that the research I am doing will be of value to your work and to the field of education. Thank-you again for contributing towards the possibility of that hope being realized. I also wish you success in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

Denise Hinds-Zaami
References


Hilliard, A.G. III (September, 1991). "Do We Have the Will to Educate All Children?" Educational Leadership.


Hinds, W.K. (circa 1960). *This I Leave, so that My Living Will Not Have Been in Vain*. Unpublished material, thoughts and ideas.


Lindsay, B. (June 1999). Women Chief Executives and Their Approaches Towards Equity in American Universities. *Comparative Education* 35n1 187-199.


