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CHILDS, WALTER, III
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC SCHOOL
DESEGREGATION AND THE DISPLACEMENT OF BLACK
HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS IN SELECTED NORTH
CAROLINA SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1967-1977.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT
GREENSBORO, ED.D., 1979

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
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SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1967-1977

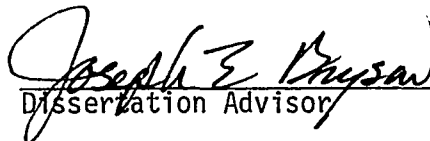
by

Walter Childs, III

A dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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Doctor of Education

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Approved by


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APPROVAL PAGE

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CHILDS, III, WALTER. The Relationship Between Public School Desegregation and the Displacement of Black High School Principals in Selected North Carolina School Districts, 1967-1977. (1979)
Directed by: Dr. Joseph E. Bryson. Pp. 153

The purpose of the study was (1) to determine if a relationship existed between the desegregation of the public schools and the percentage of black high school principals employed in the thirty-one selected school districts in North Carolina from 1967 through 1977; (2) if a relationship existed, to determine its nature and scope as well as what its implications meant for future employment of black educators; and (3) for opportunities needed for further development.

Specifically, the study was conducted to:

1. Identify black high school principals who had been displaced because of school integration.
2. Obtain insights into the major reasons for displacements.
3. Gather information about the qualifications, certification status, age, family status, and sex of those who had been displaced.
4. Determine if legal problems had arisen from displacement of black high school principals.
5. Determine how principals who had been displaced were subsequently employed.
6. Seek information that would provide a basis for preventive and remedial action to assist displaced black principals in efforts to qualify for new assignments in education and related fields.

The subjects for this study consisted of black high school principals employed in Rowan, Guilford, Rockingham, Iredell, Chatham, Richmond, Moore,

Onslow, Alamance, Catawba, Beaufort, Harnett, Durham, Brunswick, Pender, Cumberland, Granville, Craven, Raleigh-Wake, Hertford, Lenior, Wilson, and Northampton Counties. The principal data-gathering device was the "Displaced Principals Assessment," a questionnaire designed by Joseph Orr. Other important sources of data for the study included the certification file of each subject, Health, Education and Welfare school desegregation reports (1967-77), Health, Education and Welfare and court-ordered school desegregation plans, the North Carolina Educational Directory (1967-77), and appropriate resource persons.

After the data were collected, they were subjected to external and internal criticism to determine authenticity, accuracy, and relevancy. Data pertaining to the seven questions asked in the study were examined through qualitative analyses of the information collected for each item. The data were expressed quantitatively in the form of 9 tables and 5 graphs.

Major Findings:

1. The scope and momentum of desegregation in North Carolina schools increased sharply during the period September, 1967, to June, 1975.

2. A strong relationship exists between desegregation and the striking decrease in the number of black high school principals.

3. Displacement of black high school principals had little or no relation to their certification status, college degrees, experience, age, family status, or sex.

4. Problems regarding the employment status of displaced high school principals tended not to be crucial or involve legal problems if salary and continuing contract were maintained.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express sincere appreciation to each person who contributed to and assisted in the preparation of this study.

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Finally, the writer expresses his personal gratitude to his wife, Dorothy, and children, Walter and Angela, whose patience, love and understanding, and inspiration enabled him to complete the study.

5. Most of the high schools formerly administered by black high school principals have either closed or changed to elementary, middle, or junior high schools.

6. No displaced high school principal was either dismissed or forced to resign from employment.

7. All displaced high school principals regarded change in employment status as a direct outcome of the desegregation process.

This study was concerned exclusively with black high school principals in the thirty-one selected school districts in North Carolina; therefore, the conclusions derived from it were limited to this specific population. No attempt was made to establish causation in this study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Desegregation of the public schools in the United States began with the Supreme Court decision (Brown v. Board of Education¹) in 1954 which made the practice of racial segregation in such institutions illegal. Ten years later, when only a small percentage of black and white children were attending school together, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964.² In 1965, implementation of that Act accelerated the pace of desegregation and increased the number of children attending schools in integrated classrooms.

Some time later, largely unforeseen effects of desegregation began to appear, particularly in the dramatic decline in the proportion of black teachers and administrators, and the continued decrease as the desegregation process gained scope and momentum. In a National Education Association study, Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States, published in 1965, the following was observed:

When all the pupils attending small Negro schools are reassigned to previously white schools, principals as well as an increased number of teachers are often faced with the problem of relocation. The 1964 summer crisis caused by the growing threat and

¹Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka et al., 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686, 98 L. Ed. 873 (1954).

²Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, (September 1969), p. 4.

actual loss of positions brought a stream of protests and calls for assistance to the NEA...³

A report published in the December 1969 issue of School and Society stated:

The black principal may be a vanishing breed in the South and the surprising cause is the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Act requires southern school districts to desegregate their classrooms. Desegregation frequently means closing down formerly Negro schools, and school closings are just the excuse many districts need to fire their Negro personnel rather than move them to 'white' (now integrated) schools. Thousands have lost their jobs since desegregation began. The practice called displacement does not always end in firing. Sometimes, for example, principals of Negro schools are reassigned as assistants to white supervisors in central offices.⁴

In addition, in a report published in December 1967, John Egerton also discussed the then unforeseen problem of displacement with great clarity. In a general survey of southern and border states, John Egerton brought together available figures on displaced black principals gathered from both official and unofficial sources. John Egerton's findings indicated a sharp decline in the number of black principals employed in these states.⁵

Concern began to rise about the black principal and future employment in the nation's schools. As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, some research had already been done on the displacement of black educators.

³Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States (Washington, D.C.: Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, National Education Association, December 1965), p. 18.

⁴"Vanishing Black Principals and Teachers in the South," School and Society, XCVII (December 1969), 470.

⁵John Egerton, "When Desegregation Comes, The Negro Principals Go," Southern Education Report, III (December 1967), 8-12.

However, research on the alleged displacement of black principals in North Carolina was very limited.

Some information on displacement was gathered by the North Carolina Teacher Association prior to the merging of the two Education Associations in North Carolina in 1970.⁶ As of 1974, the Human Relations Council is in the process of collecting data to look at the entire spectrum of displaced black personnel from 1967-77. This research effort was a cursory study of the problem; in other words, a comprehensive and systematic study (based on valid and reliable data) of the problem of the displacement of black educators in North Carolina, especially high school principals, was not available at the end of 1977.

When public schools in the South began mass integration in 1967, a majority of the school districts integrated only in terms of students, with black students making the move.

The schools that provided assurances, role models, and culture for the black students were suddenly gone. Trained personnel experienced in educating the poor and disadvantaged, in many cases were either being released or were not being considered for employment in school districts all over the South for reasons of race.

Ironically, this problem emerged at a time when the nation appeared to be concerned about the plight of the disadvantaged and the poor as evidenced by the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act,⁷ the 1965 Economic

⁶Elliot B. Palmer, "Status of Negro Educational Personnel in North Carolina" (Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina Teachers Association, October 1967).

⁷U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation, (September 1969), p. 4.

Opportunity Act, and the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Act. Black educators who were trained and experienced to provide leadership in communities that needed help most were forced out of these communities by employment practices which tended to curtail or reduce the employment of black educators, especially black principals. Additional information about the displacement of black principals in North Carolina and greater insight into the problem is needed. Widely varying and conflicting estimates existed concerning the scope of the North Carolina problem of displacement of black high school principals and the related problem of downgrading.

A significant decrease in the percentage of black principals employed in public schools could have grave implications regarding the extent to which black professional educators should be preparing themselves for the principalship. Such a development could very easily become one of the real educational and sociological problems in North Carolina.

In addition, arbitrary removal of black principals and replacement with white educators, as schools were desegregated, was deemed likely to have a deleterious effect on the attitude of children and adults, both black and white, by reinforcing stereotypes such as "white supremacy." Nancy Hoyt St. John took important notice of this in the summer 1966 issue of the Harvard Educational Review. The observation made was that "desegregation under unfavorable conditions may be more threatening to a Negro child's self-esteem and motivation than a segregated school."⁸

⁸Nancy Hoyt St. John, "Effects of Segregation on the Aspirations of Negro Youth," Harvard Educational Review, XXXVI (Summer 1966), 284.

In commenting on the authority figures in schools, John Oliver Killens wrote:

In integrated schools, too many of the symbols of authority are white...If integration is to have any meaning for black children, integration must be achieved at the level of authority, as well as at the level of the student body. I mean black and white kids must experience some black authority. How can there be incentive without example?⁹

For these reasons, the study of displaced black administrators should be conducted. The results of the study, along with information gathered by other researchers will reveal the extent of the problem and should provide a basis for both preventive and remedial action at the local and state levels. It will provide information and insight needed to aid the development of programs to assist former black principals and administrators in efforts to qualify for new assignments in education and related fields.

Objectives of the Study

1. To identify one hundred and forty-one black high school principals that existed in 1967 and determine how many have been displaced because of school desegregation and integration in selected public school districts in North Carolina.
2. To gather information about the qualifications, certification status, age, family status, and sex of those who have been displaced.
3. To determine employment method and practices for those displaced.
4. To determine if legal problems have arisen from the displacement of black high school principals.

⁹John Oliver Killens, Black Man's Burden (New York: Trident Press, 1969), p. 87.

5. To determine if a significant difference exists in the number of high school principals before and after desegregation.

6. To develop a source of information that will provide a basis for remedial and preventive action, such as legal and legislative action, and the rapid development of programs to assist black educators in efforts to qualify for new administrative assignments in education and related fields.

7. To determine if a relationship existed between the desegregation of public schools and the percentage of black high school principals employed in selected North Carolina School districts from 1967-77.

8. To what extent have high schools, formerly administered by black high school principals, either been closed or changed to elementary, middle, or junior high schools.

Questions that will help to clarify the objectives of this study are listed below.

1. Did desegregation in North Carolina public schools gain in scope and momentum during the period September, 1967, through June, 1977? Is there a strong relationship between desegregation and the decreasing number of black high school principals?

2. What relationship exists between the displacement of black high school principals and their certification status, college degrees, experience, ages, family status, and sex?

3. Was displacement of black high school principals related to the emergence of legal problems regarding contractual status (continuing contracts) and the intent of judicial mandates?

4. Did employment practices of North Carolina school boards reduce or curtail sharply employment opportunities for black educators to serve as high school principals since the implementation of public school desegregation laws?

5. Were most of the high schools formerly administered by black high school principals closed or changed to elementary, middle, or junior high schools?

6. Did white school administrators replace most displaced black high school principals when their positions were not phased out?

7. How are black high school principals presently employed?

Limitations of the Study

The literature and preliminary study support the fact that the displacement incidence of black educators during the desegregation of the public schools in the southern and border states was a phenomenon which was widespread and tragic. However, it appeared to follow compliance with federal laws designed to end discrimination. It is the purpose of this study to gather and analyze data concerning the displacement of black high school principals. The study will be confined to North Carolina, one of the states included in the southern and border states in which public school desegregation has occurred. More specifically, the study is limited to the one hundred and forty-one black high school principals who were in office in 1967 and are still living and residing in the state of North Carolina.

Although the displacement problem affects the broad spectrum of black educators, i.e., teachers, administrators, counselors, librarians, coaches,

bandmasters, choir directors, etc., the researcher will conduct the study on administrators only. Consequently, this study is limited exclusively to high school principals in the aforementioned districts. The conclusions derived from this study will be limited to this specific population.

Definition of Terms

Displacement - Any change in position involving dismissal, demotion, lateral transfer, forced resignation, early retirement, or promotion to secure positions.

Demotion - Any assignment under which the staff member receives less pay or has less responsibility and/or authority than under the assignment held previously, or which requires less skill than did the assignment he held previously, or under which the staff member is asked to teach a subject or grade other than one for which he is certified or for which he has had substantial experience within a 5-year period.

Ethnic Minorities - Refers to those subgroups of the American society e.g., Afro-Americans, Mexican Americans, Oriental Americans, American Indians, whose home, life style, and community backgrounds differ significantly from those of the majority white Americans.

Freedom of Choice (Free Transfer) - A plan for desegregating a public school system which permits pupils to transfer from a school which they would ordinarily attend to any other school in the district.

Downgrade - Any decline in one's reputation and/or status as a result of treatment received during public school desegregation.

Unitary School System - One in which the composition of pupils and staff in school centers reflects proportional representations of the racial and ethnic backgrounds of the district.

Desegregation - A process resulting in a formerly segregated school system no longer assigning its pupils and staff to school centers on the basis of race and ethnic background for the purpose of keeping them apart.

Integration - The orderly balancing of pupils and staff to achieve school centers, classes, organizations, activities, etc., whose composition reflects the racial and ethnic makeup of the school district.

High School - Any state-accredited public school within North Carolina authorized to issue official high school diplomas.

Design of the Study

This investigation is designed to determine the nature and scope of the displacement of black high school principals in selected North Carolina school districts. It will focus on the period beginning September, 1967 and extending to June, 1977. It will be a descriptive study that will involve:

1. The collection of evidence on the basis of carefully constructed questions;
2. The tabulation and summarization of the data; and
3. The analysis of the results of the study in an endeavor to draw meaningful generalizations that will advance knowledge.

Major empirical sources to be used in this study are:

1. A questionnaire designed for this study concerning displacement and characteristics of the subjects selected for study that will provide for objectivity and uniform classification of data (see Appendix A).
2. The certification credential file of each subject which is housed in the Division of Certification, North Carolina Department of

Education, Raleigh. This source of data will be used in the verification of the subject's age, sex, educational qualification, marital status, certification status, experience, etc.

3. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) school desegregation reports (1967-77) which are housed in the Office of Technical Assistance, North Carolina Department of Education, Raleigh.

- a. Summary of Enrollment and Staff - Forms OE-7001 and OE-7002
- b. Elementary and Secondary Civil Rights Survey - Forms OS/CR101-1 and OS/CR102-1

These forms contain data regarding the number and kind of positions occupied by the professional instructional staff on the basis of race and ethnic affiliation in each school and white students in each school, as well as other information pertinent to this study.

4. Relevant school board minutes for each district embodied in the population of this study. Special attention will be devoted to the minutes concerned with the displacement of black high school principals as a result of desegregation.

5. School desegregation plans as mandated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and/or the federal courts for each district involved in this study.

6. The North Carolina Education Directory (1965-1978), North Carolina Department of Education, Raleigh.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix A), the "Displaced Principals Assessment," that will be used to collect data, was designed by Joseph A.

Orr.¹⁰ Permission has been granted from Dr. Orr to use the "Displaced Principals Assessment" for this study. (see Appendix B)

The first section includes a portion for the respondent to provide personal and professional data relevant to the questions that will be examined in the study. The second section includes a portion for the respondent to provide comments and reactions that were not covered in the first section, or those which it was felt, should be expressed in order to present clarifying or additional information.

¹⁰Joseph A. Orr, "The Displacement of Black High School Principals In Selected Florida Counties and Its Relationship to Public School Desegregation Within Them." (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1972).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first is concerned with literature pertaining to the general aspects of desegregation and integration in the public schools. The second part of the review is concerned with literature relevant to the specific problems surrounding the displacement of black educators, especially principals in the public schools, and the third is concerned with Supreme Court decisions subsequent to Brown.

School Desegregation

According to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, practically all of the southern school districts that for more than a decade resisted the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution as it related to school desegregation have integrated schools within the southern districts. Despite fears of disruption and chaos, these school districts have made the transition without major problems. The situation at the time of the study was in sharp contrast to that which prevailed ten years previously. The concept of massive resistance, which threatened a constitutional crisis, is a thing of the past. The cry, "segregation forever," is infrequently heard, and hundreds of thousands of school children who would have had little expectation of attending desegregated schools a decade earlier are

now doing so.¹

Nonetheless, progress has not been uniform, pockets of resistance remain, and the issues involved in school desegregation continue to arouse public controversy and confusion. Twenty-four years after the Supreme Court ruled that segregation compelled or sanctioned by law was unconstitutional, widespread understanding of the nature and scope of the issues exists and public discussion is more heated than enlightening.²

Terms such as busing and neighborhood school have been used as slogans which cloud understanding rather than stimulate analysis. Technical legal terms such as dual and unitary school systems have been freely used, but few individuals have paused to define their meaning. Other legal terms such as de jure and de facto segregation, also have been inadequately defined, and the use of de jure and de facto have contributed little to foster discussion or heighten understanding of the issues these terms represent.³ Important notice of this was taken by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in the following statement:

The Commission believes that public understanding of the issues involved in school desegregation is essential if they are to be resolved satisfactorily. Many of these issues are legal in nature and require careful analysis of relevant court decisions. Other issues involve practical questions concerning the quality of education afforded to the nation's children. Still others relate to fundamental human and moral questions of national conscience.⁴

¹U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Understanding School Desegregation, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 1.

²Mark Chesier, Carl Jorgensen, and Phyllis Erenberg, Integrating the Desegregated School (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 43.

³Ibid., p. 103.

⁴Understanding School Desegregation, p. 10.

President Richard Nixon also addressed this issue, pointing out in an important civil rights statement in March, 1970, that the issue of school desegregation "presents us with a test of our capacity to live together in one nation, in brotherhood and understanding."⁵

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.⁶

However, the Supreme Court left undecided the manner in which the transition from dual to unitary systems would be accomplished. In 1955, after lengthy consideration, the Court announced its opinion in Brown v. Board of Education II, stating:

The primary responsibility for abolishing the system of segregated schools would rest with the local school authorities. The changes necessary to convert the dual school system were to be made at the earliest practical date and with all deliberate speed.⁷

The Court reiterated its emphasis on the timing of desegregation in 1964 when it said, "the time for mere 'deliberate speed' has run out."⁸

Despite these mandates, many school systems did not make significant progress in desegregating schools until after the 1964 Civil Rights Act permitted the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to withhold federal education funds from segregated school systems. In

⁵U. S. President, Richard M. Nixon, Statement on Civil Rights and School Desegregation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 24 March, 1970).

⁶Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka et al., 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

⁷Brown v. Board of Education II, 75 S. Ct. 753 (1955).

⁸Griffin et al. v. School Board of Prince Edward County, 84 S. Ct. 1226 (1964).

many school districts this legislation produced desegregation plans based on freedom of choice or a variation known as free transfer.⁹

Only a negligible amount of desegregation resulted from freedom of choice plans. Freedom of choice was found unsatisfactory in 1968 when the Supreme Court in Green v. School Board of New Kent County, Virginia acknowledged that freedom of choice could be a valid remedial measure in some circumstances, but said that if other ways are reasonably available which promise speedier and more effective conversion to the unitary school system, freedom of choice was unacceptable. The Court said that delays in desegregation were no longer tolerable and that "moreover, a plan that at this date fails to provide meaningful assurance of prompt and effective disestablishment of a dual system is also intolerable."¹⁰ The burden was placed on the local school system to "come forward with a plan that promised to work, and promises realistically to work now."¹¹

The following year (1969), in Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, school boards were informed that now meant immediately.¹²

In the term displacement, the National Education Association (NEA) includes any change in position-dismissal, demotion, lateral transfer, forced resignation or promotion to jobs with fancy titles but little

⁹H. T. Johnson, "Integration: An Assessment," Educational Leadership, XXVI (November 1968), 149.

¹⁰Green v. School Board of New Kent County, Virginia, 88 S. Ct. 1689 (1968).

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, 90 S. Ct. 29 (1969).

or no responsibility or authority.¹³

A survey conducted by the Race Relations Information Center for the United States Office of Education found that in North Carolina in 1967, there were more than 620 black principals. In the fall of 1970, there were fewer than 170. In the same period, the number of Alabama's black principals declined from 250 to about 50.¹⁴ J. C. James stated that in Kentucky, in 1954, there were 348 black principals; in 1969-70, there were only 39 left.¹⁵

A National Education Association Task Force conducted a special study in Louisiana¹⁶ and Mississippi¹⁷ in September of 1970. The study confirmed that the black principal, though not the only casualty, was certainly the most serious. The report that "what is happening is not integration but disintegration, the near total disintegration of black authority in every area of the system of public education."¹⁸

¹³"Racial Factors in Teacher Assignment," NEA Research Bulletin, XLVI (May 1966), 43.

¹⁴Robert Hooker, Displacement of Black Teachers in Eleven Southern States (Nashville, Tennessee: Race Relations Information Center, December 1970), p. 166.

¹⁵U. S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity, J. C. James, "The Black Principal Eliminated," Hearings, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1979, p. 5320-5335.

¹⁶Desegregation and the Rights of Educators in Louisiana (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, September 1970).

¹⁷Desegregation and the Rights of Educators in Mississippi (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, September 1970).

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 26.

The Washington Research Project (WRP) and five other civil rights groups¹⁹ monitored 467 desegregating southern school districts in the fall of 1970. The Washington Research Project report indicated that 34 districts dismissed black principals and 194 demoted them. In the latter 194 districts, 386 principals were demoted to inferior positions--mostly to assistant principalships under white principals--and often in spite of better qualifications and tenure. Monitors found no instances of white principals being assigned to lower level positions in schools, but they did find cases where this happened to black junior and senior high school principals. In 94 cases, black principals were made classroom teachers.²⁰

Boyd Bosma, Assistant Director for Civil Liberties, National Education Association, stated that "the courts have made crystal clear the fact that race in itself may not be the basis for punitive action by the state as schools are desegregated."²¹ His searching analysis of the problem revealed thirty-five conclusions and guiding principles with respect to racial discrimination against educators in the school (see Appendix C).

¹⁹The Washington Research Project is a private organization concerned with problems of poverty, education, and race relations. The other civil rights groups are: American Friends Service Committee, Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law, Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

²⁰Washington Research Project, The Status of School Desegregation in the South 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, December 1970), p. 15.

²¹Boyd Bosma, "Racial Discrimination Against Teachers," Integrated Education: A Report of Race and Schools, X (January-February 1972), 45.

Stated in summary, the following are five of Bosma's most important conclusions:

1. Discrimination against teachers constitutes an element of racial segregation.

2. Racial or ethnic discrimination in the staffing of schools deters the achievement of high quality education, and it is unconstitutional on the basis of the interest of children in their own equal protection for quality education.

3. The Fourteenth Amendment forbids the selection, retention, and assignment of public school teachers on the basis of race, except when such action is undertaken to overcome the effects of past discrimination.

4. Teachers displaced from closed schools must be judged by definite and objective standards against all other teachers in the system for continued employment.

5. State tenure protection may not be selectively denied in black majority school districts.²²

In other words, school staff members were supposed to be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted (i.e., given less pay, less responsibility, a position where less skill is required and/or assignment outside a field of specialty), dismissed, and treated without regard to race, color, or national origin. These were also the requirements of a federal court ruling--the Singleton decree (see Appendix D)--nominally adhered to by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Justice. If the change from a dual to a unitary system

²²Ibid., pp. 45-47.

causes a reduction in the teaching force, the Singleton decree required that school districts not change the ratio of black to white educators. New vacancies must be filled by qualified persons of the same race, color or national origin as departing personnel until such applicants are not available.²³ According to the reports available to the writer, this decree has been widely ignored.

In 78 of 200 districts for which information on black/white educator ratios were available, clear violations of the Singleton rule was found. According to the Washington Research Project report, "not a single school district has been terminated (under Title VI) by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for discrimination against black principals and teachers, although hundreds of complaints have been filed."²⁴

The survey completed by the Race Relations Center revealed a

...pervasive feeling that the federal government can't or won't help rectify the situation. The only effective recourse seems to be through the courts, and there is still a dearth of black and white lawyers willing to take such cases. Even if there is a lawyer available, fear may prevent black educators from acting.²⁵

²³Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 419 F. 2d 1211 (1970).

²⁴The Washington Research Project is a private organization concerned with problems of poverty, education, and race relations. The other civil rights groups are: American Friends Service Committee, Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law, Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

²⁵Robert Hooker, Displacement of Black Teachers in Eleven Southern States (Nashville, Tennessee: Race Relations Information Center, December 1970), p. 172.

The survey also pointed out that many black educators who did protest demotion were dismissed for insubordination. At this writing the federal courts, for the most part, appear to be the only recourse that displaced black educators have--a recourse which is often slow, expensive, and painful. The Singleton decree, which has been both misapplied and ignored by many school districts, was neither clear nor strong enough to deal forthrightly with the massive displacement of black educators. However, on December 28, 1971, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in Lee et al. v. Macon County Board of Education (see Appendix E) adopted a ruling requiring that black teachers and administrators be offered equivalent positions rather than sinecures such as attendance supervisors, etc., when schools were closed.²⁶

Norman J. Chachkin, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense Fund attorney, observed in a memorandum to attorneys with school cases that the decision in the Lee v. Macon case was an excellent opinion adding much to the Singleton principles already established.²⁷ Chachkin also stated that McFerren v. Board of Education²⁸ appeared to strengthen the Singleton decree as well. In McFerren v. Board of Education, the Court approved a district court ruling that teacher

²⁶"Lee et al. v. Macon County Board of Education, U. S. Court of Appeals (5th Cir, 1971), unpublished."

²⁷"Norman J. Chachkin, Memorandum to Attorneys with School Cases, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, New York, 10 February, 1972."

²⁸"McFerren et al. v. County Board of Education of Fayette County, Tennessee, U. S. Court of Appeals (6th Cir, 1972), unpublished."

terminations could be based only upon a comparison of state certification, college work and experience. Thus, subjective complaints by parents or administrators to which the teacher had never had an opportunity to reply were not considered. The case also recognized some kinds of due process interests protected by the Constitution for educators who are on probation, and approved back pay awards without jury trials.²⁹

The Dushane Fund Reports, a publication of the National Education Association, stated that on June 29, 1971, the Board of Education of Baker County, Georgia, was ordered by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to rehire Miss Trulie Hammond and Albert Rauls.³⁰ Both were displaced by school desegregation in Baker County. The court reversed a federal district Court decision not to enjoin the dismissals or to require reinstatement of these educators. In their original suits, Miss Hammond, a black elementary teacher with more than 20 years' experience and Albert Rauls, a black principal with a master's degree, alleged that the non-renewal of their contracts for the 1970-71 school year was illegal because they were not afforded the procedure which guarantees due process and adherence to the Singleton decree. They contended that the nonrenewals were racially motivated. (In Singleton, the Appeals Court had insisted that objective, nonracial criteria be used when reductions in force

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Rauls v. Baker County Georgia Board of Education, 445 F. 2d 825 (1971).

are required as dual school systems are abolished.) The court also awarded Miss Hammond and Mr. Rauls back pay for the time they were displaced by the Baker County Board of Education.³¹

Just prior to this study, National Education Association Teacher Rights Director, Samuel B. Etheridge, stated:

Since the 1954 integration decision, the NEA has filed 159 suits on behalf of displaced educators...In many of the NEA cases, black educators had been replaced at the whim of the board, which looked at race first and invented reasons for dismissal.³²

It is apparent from the literature reviewed that desegregation of public schools in many districts has been a painful and costly experience for thousands of black educators. An editorial in School and Society made this point with considerable clarity in the following statement:

In general, the more extensive the desegregation of students, the greater the chance that Negro teachers will be adversely affected...the displacement pattern is particularly hard on principals. It is bad enough, many southerners feel, to have Negro teachers instructing their children, but nearly impossible to countenance Negro principals supervising their teachers. This mentality is disrupting the careers of even the most highly qualified Negro administrators.³³

There is no way to gauge the tremendous loss brought to the black community and the nation by the vanishing black principal. Since the best Negro minds traditionally have gone into education, it remains the

³¹The Dushane Fund Reports (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 20 July, 1971), p. 2.

³²"Etheridge Television Interview Marks Desegregation Anniversary," What's Happening Today (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 18 May, 1972), p. 1.

³³"Vanishing Black Principals and Teachers in the South," School and Society, XCVII (December 1969), 470.

greatest single reservoir of talent and skill so necessary to the changing South. The deliberate destruction of this valuable resource is one of the tragedies of our time.³⁴

As Egerton pointed out in the report, "the trend now established suggests that complete desegregation of all schools in the South will make the Negro principal as rare as the one-room school."³⁵

According to the National Education Association:

The displacement of black educators through desegregation is not fully depicted by a body count. Such displacement has a detrimental effect on black children, whose right to desegregated schooling - including desegregated faculties - cannot be circumvented by decimating, instead of desegregating, the black teaching force. Mistreatment of black educators is a constant reminder to black students of their own inferior status in desegregated schools...conversely, to the extent that black educators are mistreated, attitudes of superiority among white children, teachers, and parents are reinforced, thus tending to undermine the desegregation process from each direction.³⁶

Current Focus stated that "face-to-face discrimination against black children may do more direct and lasting harm to their 'hearts and minds' than did the old system of isolation and separation."³⁷

³⁴J. G. James, "The Black Principal: Another Vanishing American," The New Republic, CLXIII (September 1970), 20.

³⁵John Egerton, "When Desegregation Comes, The Negro Principals Go," Southern Education Report, III (December 1967), 9.

³⁶National Education Association, Brief of Amicus Curiae in the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, U.S.A. v. State of Georgia, 428 F. 2d 377 (1971).

³⁷League of Women Voters, "Discrimination Against Black Children," Current Focus, Pub. # 681 (May 1971), p. 5.

Displacement of Black Educators

Not all of the problems inherent in the desegregation of the public schools have been solved by court decisions and Department of Health, Education and Welfare guidelines, especially the problem of the displacement of black educators as revealed in Egerton's survey.³⁸ According to the League of Women Voters, the displacement of black principals is one of the most disturbing end products of the desegregation of the public schools.³⁹ Extensive research has been conducted by the National Education Association, state education agencies, and civil rights groups. This research was confined primarily to numerical surveys on a regional, state, or district basis.

One study completed by the American Friends Service Committee, used data which were collected by a team of monitors, mostly lawyers, who visited 467 southern school districts in September, 1970. They found that 34 districts had dismissed black principals and 194 had demoted black teachers.⁴⁰ These findings confirmed to some degree the earlier findings reported by the National Education Association which resulted from a

³⁸Egerton, "When Desegregation Comes," pp. 8-12.

³⁹"The Disappearing Black Principal," Current Focus (Washington, D.C.: May 1971), p. 5.

⁴⁰Washington Research Project, The Status of School Desegregation in the South, p. 75.

series of separate surveys begun in 1965.⁴¹ The 1965 National Education Association report of teacher displacement in seventeen southern states noted:

When schools are integrated through consolidation, principals of the Negro schools are likely to be demoted, if they are in fact retained; in many instances neither teachers nor principals are re-employed.

In general, the more extensive the desegregation of students, the greater the chance that Negro teachers will be adversely affected by demotion, displacement, or dismissal.⁴²

In a report issued by the National Association of Secondary School Principals in December, 1970, it was suggested that there was substantial evidence for concluding that desegregation of public schools accompanied by the parallel process of school consolidation brought about a marked decrease in the number of black principals in most of the southern states.⁴³ However, no published surveys were released to support the conclusion.

In 1970, the Race Relations Information Center in Nashville, Tennessee, released a report on the survey of black educators in eleven southern states. The report stated:

⁴¹National Education Association, Report of Task Force on Human Rights (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1968); NEA, Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement; Report of NEA Task Force III: School Desegregation: Louisiana and Mississippi (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1970).

⁴²National Education Association, Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1965).

⁴³National Association of Secondary School Principals News Letter, (November-December 1970), pp. 2-3.

Hard evidence is elusive and personal opinions sometimes conflict, but the apparent effect of desegregation on black teachers across the South this year has been more negative than positive. Hundreds of them have been demoted, dismissed outright, denied new contracts or pressured into resigning, and the teachers hired to replace them include fewer and fewer blacks. Ironically, the southern version of school integration appears to be reducing, rather than expanding the professional opportunities of many hundreds of black teachers. Statistics on the situation are virtually nonexistent. Most officials in state departments of education maintain that the problems are minimal, or nil, and superintendents and principals at the local levels usually express a similar view. Many of the displaced teachers themselves are reluctant to discuss their predicament. Yet there is enough smoke arising from the testimony of some 250 persons contacted this fall by the Race Relations Information Center to suspect a big fire - a fire that is decimating the ranks of black classroom teachers and threatening black principals with extinction.⁴⁴

There is some state documentation of generalizations such as those mentioned above. The Georgia Teachers and Educational Association released a research report in June, 1969 with significant data. The number of black principals in Georgia schools had decreased by 56 percent, from 54 in 1963-64 to 24 in 1968-69, while the number of white principals increased by 8 percent from 279 in 1963-64 to 300 in 1968-69. The percentage of black principals in the system studies decreased from 16 percent of the total in 1963-64 to 7 percent of the total in 1968-69. Twenty-two of the then-employed 24 black principals had been serving in predominantly black schools.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Robert Hooker, Displacement of Black Teachers in Eleven Southern States (Nashville, Tennessee: Race Relations Information Center, December 1970), p. 1.

⁴⁵Georgia Teacher and Education Association, "How the 'Elimination of the Dual School System' is Affecting Negro Educators in 30 School Systems in North Georgia," Atlanta, 1969, p. 1. (Mimeographed)

In a 1967 Southern Education Report, an exception to the rule was noted. The report stated that in McDowell County, West Virginia, six schools, all of them about 50 percent white--were headed by black principals. At that time, it appeared there were more biracial schools with black principals in McDowell County than there were in the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina combined.⁴⁶ This 1967 report also noted that it was fairly evident that the number of black principals in the "Deep South" steadily declined during the 1962-67 period. In the big cities of the border states on the Mason-Dixon line, such as Baltimore, Wilmington, Louisville, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Oklahoma City, there still remained many schools which were attended predominantly by black pupils with black principals.⁴⁷

In the state of Delaware, the number of black principals dropped from 50 to 12 in ten years. The remaining twelve were principals of biracial schools but only four of them headed schools having a majority of white pupils.⁴⁸

Kentucky, a border state, showed a decline in black principals and teachers of black pupils. It was estimated that the number of black principals in Kentucky in 1954 was about 200. In 1969-70, according to a survey completed by the Kentucky State Department of Education, only 34

⁴⁶Egerton, "When Desegregation Comes," p. 8.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁸Ibid.

black principals remained in the state.⁴⁹ Additionally, in 1955, there were 1,440 black teachers and 39,788 black pupils; in 1964-65, there were 1,399 black teachers and 55,215 black pupils. The contrast represented a 3 percent loss of black teachers while there was a 15 percent increase of the number of black pupils.⁵⁰

Maryland, also one of the border states, had 44 black high school principals in 1954; in 1968, there were 31. This decrease, however, was occurring while the number of white principals increased from 167 in 1954 to 280 in 1968. The pattern was similar for black elementary principals in Maryland, with the exception of the city of Baltimore. In that city, the number of black elementary principals increased from 52 in 1954 to 74 in 1968. These black principals were appointed to predominantly black or all-black schools. (The city population and, therefore, the pupil population were becoming largely black.) Interestingly, the state of Maryland, between 1954 and 1968, had a 43 percent increase in the number of white principals and a 29 percent decrease in the number of black principals.⁵¹

In 1967, black principals in St. Louis, Missouri, were found in twenty-seven biracial schools, one of which was two-thirds white. In Missouri, as in most other states, the black population was concentrated in the metropolitan areas. Specifically, it was noted that seventeen of the

⁴⁹James, "The Black Principal," p. 19.

⁵⁰NEA, Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 20.

twenty-seven St. Louis schools were predominantly black. The schools enrolled from one to five white pupils each.⁵²

Oklahoma had at least twenty racially mixed schools with black principals. However, these schools, like the ones in St. Louis, were predominantly black with token white enrollment.⁵³

In Texas, the number of black principals showed a steady decline. In 1955-56, there were 735 black principals in the state; by 1965-66, the number had declined to 558. According to the Texas Educational Directory for 1964-65, there were 387 all-black schools. In 1966-67, the Texas Educational Directory showed many of the 387 all-black schools as having been consolidated or closed.⁵⁴

In 1969-70, the number of black educators reported in sixteen school districts in the state of South Carolina was 1,068. There were 3,308 white educators. From 1967 through 1969, there was a loss of 221 black educators and a gain of 336 white educators. These figures included both the black administrators and teachers and no separation of the two groups was made.⁵⁵ However, statistics about the black principals in South Carolina were reported by the September, 1970 survey of the Race Relations Information Center. It was found that six black principals were dismissed

⁵²Egerton, "When Desegregation Comes," p. 9.

⁵³Ibid., p. 10.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁵American Friends Service Committee, Your Schools: Newsletter of the South Carolina Community Relations Program (Columbia, South Carolina: AFSC, 1969), I.

and more than 80 others were demoted.⁵⁶

In Arkansas, it was reported by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations that faculty desegregation through 1967 was almost nonexistent, in spite of the 1965 guidelines issued by the federal government requiring greater faculty desegregation. The following was reported:

It appears from our study that most districts have followed the kind of trend that came out of Smith and Morrilton Districts before and after the 1965-66 Guidelines. In 1966, when the Fort Smith School District desegregated the secondary schools, there were 21 teachers and the principal at the all-Negro junior-senior high school. Of this number, only 7 have been retained as junior and senior high school instructors, and the two teachers in the senior high school hold positions as librarian and counselor. Other teachers in the district were offered positions that were inconsistent with their training and experience. For example, the principal, whose training and experience had been in school administration, was offered a position as a classroom teacher. As a result, the principal and 14 other teachers chose to leave the public school system in Fort Smith. This is similar to the situation that developed in the Jonesboro public schools where the principal despite his training in school administration, was offered a position as a classroom teacher. In Carthage, Arkansas, where the principal had more than 15 years tenure and ten or more of these as a school administrator, he too, was offered a position as classroom teacher and subsequently left the state to take an administrative position in the state of Oklahoma.⁵⁷

The 1970 report of the National Education Association on school desegregation in Louisiana and Mississippi noted that black principals continue to be reduced in status and authority by the following methods:

1. Outright Demotion - To teaching posts, to assistant and co-principalships, often with heavy teaching schedules and with

⁵⁶Robert Hooker, Displacement of Black Teachers in Eleven Southern States (Nashville, Tennessee: Race Relations Information Center, December 1970), p. 32.

⁵⁷Arkansas Council on Human Relations, "Arkansas Faculty Desegregation Under 1965-66 Guidelines of the Office of Health, Education and Welfare," (Little Rock, Arkansas: The Arkansas Council, 1968), p. 1.

little or no defined administrative responsibilities. In most instances, the reduction in status does not carry a reduction in pay; however, an emerging trend was noted that demotion during the first year of desegregation followed with reduction in pay the second year to coincide with reduced responsibilities...

2. "Phasing Down" of the Black Principals' Schools - Task Force members found few instances where principals of formerly all black high schools are retained as principals of desegregated high schools. Where they do retain the post, it is with few exceptions to a school that has been reduced in grade level to a junior high, middle, elementary, primary or special education school.
3. Retention of Title with Diminution of Authority - By the assignment to the desegregated school of a white assistant principal, or curriculum supervisor who is regarded by blacks and whites alike as the individual who possesses the real managerial authority for that school...
4. Paper Promotion - To token positions at the central office, without any clear delineation of responsibilities and without authority. Such token titles include the following: supervisor of child welfare and attendance, instructional materials supervisor, assistant director of federal programs and community relations advisor...⁵⁸

J. F. Banks, Associate Director for Secondary Education, Virginia State Department of Education stated:

In 1964, ten years after the 1954 Supreme Court Decision, there were in Virginia: 77 black secondary schools in 73 counties and 30 black secondary schools in 27 cities. Twenty-one counties and 7 cities in the state never provided black secondary schools.

The reactivation of court action, the establishment and enforcement of guidelines by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare brought about numerous changes in 1965 and each year thereafter. The greatest number of changes was noted in 1969 when school divisions, either by court order or the pressure from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, went to unitary school systems.

⁵⁸ National Education Association, Report of NEA Task Force III.

The usual pattern was to close or reorganize the black secondary school. This meant, in most instances, a change in the name of the school and a change in the status of the principal.⁵⁹

The "usual pattern" described by Banks was also characterized by James in the following manner:

Perhaps the most common practice is to make him an assistant principal. In a small system, where there has been only the one-grade (1-12) Negro school, he may become assistant to the white principal of the newly desegregated senior and/or junior high school; or if his building is continued in use after desegregation, he may still be retained as an assistant under a white principal in the same school where he himself was once the principal.⁶⁰

Additionally, Banks reported that in Virginia:

Changes have been from policy-making responsibilities to various types of assignments such as demotions to the classroom and pseudo-promotions to the central office which left the former principal without professional status, as teacher, supervisor, or administrator. Some were positions in Federal Programs such as Supervisor or Assistant Superintendent in charge of Federal Programs. Salaries for these positions, in many instances, were paid from Federal Funds.⁶¹

From the information released by the Florida Education Association, Florida appeared to have had a similar history of the displacement of black educators. Researchers found that the state of Florida lost 1,000 black teachers over a three-year period (1967-69), while the total number of teachers increased by 7,500. The total loss of black administrators was 57. As of November, 1970, 39 of the 67 county school systems

⁵⁹School Desegregation in Virginia and the Black Secondary School Principal (Richmond: Virginia Teacher Association, 1971), p. 1.

⁶⁰J. C. James, "The Black Principal: Another Vanishing American," The New Republic, CLXIII (September 1970), 19.

⁶¹Ibid.

had a decline of black teachers, 22 had a decline of black administrators, and eight had no black principals or assistant principals.⁶² This special report of the Florida Education Association also noted:

In the past three years, not one Negro administrator in the state has been moved into a policy-making position as a bureau chief or higher with the Department of Education, while several openings went to whites. Not one black principal who moved from this previously-segregated school has become the number two man in an established position next to a county superintendent. The trend has been demotion from principals to one of a group of several assistant principals in a newly consolidated and integrated school.⁶³

As evidenced by the above, black principals often became tokens of desegregation. In a few cases, the jobs assigned were genuine with genuine responsibilities. However, these positions resulting from desegregation were sometimes perceived by some black principals as unimportant to the operation of an educational system. The positions were often ones which maintained the individual's salary level or improved it. This was done to make the indignity of the new position more palatable.⁶⁴

In the March 1969 issue of School Management, it was suggested that while education has afforded many blacks an avenue to self-fulfillment, economic advancement, and middle-class respectability, they have not enjoyed equal opportunities within the profession. Many blacks have felt

⁶²"Vanishing Florida Educators," Florida Education, XLVIII (November 1970), 12-13.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴School Desegregation in Virginia, p. 2.

and continue to feel their chances of ever "making it big" in education are slim.⁶⁵

The loss of status and position or the failure to gain such among black administrators has not been confined to those states where de jure segregation was practiced. As a result of a study conducted in the Pontiac School District (Michigan), it was suggested that the attitude of black educators can best be altered by changing employment and promotional practices. Specifically, the survey report stated:

In order for the Pontiac School District to present itself as a desirable employer for minority group members, it must show evidence of opportunity for advancement. This evidence can only partly rest in numbers, but an immediate and considerable increase in Negro administrators is necessary, not only to show recognition of the competency of the Negroes who are employed here, but also to demonstrate to the Negro Community that they can and will be full participants in this school system now.⁶⁶

At the time of the study, the Pontiac School District had 82 administrators. The number of black administrators was 7. There were thirty-six schools and only three had black principals. One of the three was a principal of a school that was not predominantly black.⁶⁷

Much of the same was reported about the schools of New York City.

In Dark Ghetto by Kenneth B. Clark, the following was stated:

Negroes seldom move up the ladder of promotion in urban school systems. There are only six Negroes out of more

⁶⁵"The Elusive Black Educators," School Management, XIII (March 1969), 56.

⁶⁶Pontiac School District Citizens Study Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Pontiac, Michigan: The Pontiac School District, 1968), p. 24.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 25.

than 1,200 top level administrators in New York City, and only three Negroes out of 800 are full principals.⁶⁸

A National Education Association special committee in Detroit found that:

In 1965, the Detroit school system, whose enrollment was 54.8% Negro, had the following proportion of Negroes among its administrative and supervisory staff:

*Of 307 counselors, 65 (21 percent) were Negroes.

*Of 352 department heads, 23 (7 percent) were Negroes.

*Of 314 assistant principals, 19 (6 percent) were Negroes.

*Of 257 principals, 13 (5 percent) were Negroes.⁶⁹

The School Management issue of March, 1969 noted:

When you consider the population distribution of Negroes in the United States, it's really not surprising to find so few black school administrators in most parts of the nation. It is surprising, however, to find the same situation in such heavily Negro populated areas as Newark, N.J. (78 percent non-white school enrollment - one black administrator at the principalship last year)...⁷⁰

The data cited above should serve to illustrate that black administrators outside the southern states were few in number and the loss of status and position of black principals in significant numbers is more noticeable in the southern region because of the past tradition of de jure segregation and because there were more black principals. In other geographic regions, blacks have not experienced the same loss of status

⁶⁸Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), p. 137.

⁶⁹National Education Association, Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities. Detroit, Michigan: A Study of Barriers to Equal Educational Opportunity in a Large City (Washington, D.C.: The National Education Association, 1967), pp. 32-33.

⁷⁰"The Elusive Black Educator," School Management, XIII (March 1969), 56.

and position because the leadership positions were never theirs to lose. Blacks in these regions have been systematically kept out of the top positions.⁷¹

The necessity for black leadership in educational situations appears to have certain advantages. James, in his article, noted:

Perhaps the greatest impact of the black principal was upon the kids who observed him day after day and dreamed of standing in his shoes.⁷²

Kenneth Clark in accord with James states:

...Practically all of the Negroes are to be found quite far down in the organizational hierarchy--a fact discouraging in the extreme to Negro teachers and indirectly damaging to the self-image of Negro children who rarely see Negroes in posts of authority.⁷³

Joseph Hill, Assistant to the Superintendent, in Evanston, Illinois, was convinced of the need for black personnel. Hill gave the following as reasons for his feelings:

...There is a direct correlation between the success of black students and the number of black teachers, counselors, and administrators in the system. Black students' adjustment is more rapid with an integrated staff. There is no question that the understanding and rapport they feel results in academic and behavioral upgrading...⁷⁴

The black principal, also, should be a valuable asset to white pupils in making the adjustments needed in today's multi-cultured society. Charles Robinson, a black principal in an all-white school in Conmack, N.Y., was

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²James, "The Black Principal," p. 19.

⁷³Clark, Dark Ghetto, p. 137.

⁷⁴"The Elusive Black Educator," p. 57.

quoted as saying, "he was doing his part by letting white children see a Negro in a position of authority, not a subservient role."⁷⁵ Utilizing blacks, therefore, in educational leadership positions appears to have some positive features not often considered. Principals, black or white, who are respected, accepted, and admired, can provide all boys and girls proper role models.

Subsequent Supreme Court Decisions

In discussing the subsequent Supreme Court decisions since Brown, it is necessary to reiterate some previously stated facts. In the Brown I decision of 1954, the Supreme Court discarded the "separate but equal" doctrine.⁷⁶ Subsequently, in the Brown II decision of 1955, the lower courts and school authorities were ordered to proceed "with all deliberate speed" in achieving desegregation.⁷⁷

Following the two Brown cases, hundreds of cases were heard in lower federal courts,⁷⁸ and numerous other rulings were made by the Supreme Court which have brought the nation to the present state of affairs in racial desegregation twenty-five years after the first step was made in 1954 in Topeka, Kansas.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Brown v. Board of Educ. of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686, 98 L. Ed. 873 (1954).

⁷⁷Brown v. Board of Educ. of Topeka, 349 U.S. 294, 75 S. Ct. 753, 99 L. Ed. 1083 (1955).

⁷⁸E. Edmund Reutter, Jr., and Robert R. Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," The Law of Public Education, 2nd ed. (New York: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1976), p. 623.

All subsequent Supreme Court decisions have built one upon the other to attempt to eliminate de jure and de facto segregation in the public school systems. The process has been a long and complicated one, encompassing more than two decades of defining just what is unconstitutional segregation in our nation's public school systems. However, the task has not yet been completed. An attempt will be made, in discussing the subsequent Supreme Court decisions, to illustrate that there has been no single case which has solved the multitude of problems related to desegregation. The course of clearly defining and enforcing the laws is an on-going process as seen by the most recent cases involving private segregated academies. Therefore, only those cases which are generally accepted to be the most significant in the implementation of desegregation will be discussed.

Three years lapsed after the Brown II decision of 1955 before the next significant Supreme Court case was to be heard. During this period of time, the local and state governments and school officials were ordered to be working together to devise strategies for speedy racial desegregation as ordered by the Court in Brown II. However, many officials "promptly set about contriving stratagems for evading or obstructing the rule that Brown laid down."⁷⁹ In September, 1957, Little Rock, Arkansas was the scene of a clash between the nation and state, "...when Arkansas Governor Faubus defied the federal courts by ordering state troops to

⁷⁹Richard Bardolph, ed., The Civil Rights Record: Black Americans and the Law, 1849-1970 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), p. 432.

Little Rock's Central High School to prevent the admission of nine Negro children whose request to be enrolled had been upheld by judicial order."⁸⁰ At this time, President Dwight Eisenhower sent units of the United States Army to Little Rock, to enforce desegregation which had been ordered by the district court.⁸¹

One year later, William G. Cooper, other members of the school board, and the school superintendent asked for a postponement of the desegregation of the public schools, "...on the ground that because of extreme public hostility, engendered largely by the official attitudes and actions of the governor and the legislature of the state, the maintenance of a sound educational program at the high school affected, with Negro students in attendance would be impossible."⁸² Chief Justice Earl Warren denied the postponement and ruled that violence and disorder could not be used to deny constitutional rights to Negro students.

Following the 1958 Cooper v. Aaron case, there was a period of five years before the next major Supreme Court case regarding desegregation was heard. The issue at hand in the Goss case of 1963 was whether a student could transfer from one school to another based solely on the race of the student. Two students in Tennessee, Goss and Maxwell,

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Reutter and Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," p. 623.

⁸²Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1, 78 S. Ct. 1401, 3 L. Ed. 2d 5 (1958).

requested transfers from schools in which their race was in the minority back to their former segregated schools where their race would be in the majority.⁸³ Transfer plans were approved for both students (each of whom were in separate districts) by both the United States District Court and also by the Court of Appeals. However, the Supreme Court reversed the decisions. Justice Ramsey Clark ruled that "...classifications based on race for purposes of transfers between public schools, as in the instant case, violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."⁸⁴

Another attempt to get around the Brown decision occurred in Prince Edward County in Virginia. Bardolph states that in 1959, the Prince Edward County school system closed and the white children entered private segregated schools which were partly supported by state funds. "Except for very light attendance at a few makeshift training centers, conducted by and for Negroes, the county's black children received no further schooling until the Prince Edward Free School Association, operating for one whole year on an emergency basis, wholly with private funds, was established in the Fall of 1963."⁸⁵

Bardolph further relates that Prince Edward County's segregation problem was heard in 1961 by the federal District Court which stated that

⁸³Reutter and Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," p. 623.

⁸⁴Goss v. Board of Educ., 373 U.S. 683, 83 S. Ct. 1405, 10 L. Ed. 2d 632 (1963).

⁸⁵Bardolph, ed., The Civil Rights Record, p. 439.

a county could not just do away with its public school system to get around integrating its schools if the public schools are maintained in the rest of that state. However, the Fourth United States Court of Appeals reversed that decision in 1963.⁸⁶

On May 25, 1964, the United States Supreme Court stated that the District Court had been correct in ruling that Prince Edward County could not use such tactics to avoid desegregation and that the Court of Appeals had acted incorrectly.⁸⁷ Bardolph explains the Supreme Court's decision: "...the closing of Prince Edward County's schools denied the equal protection of the laws to Negro children so long as public funds were used to support schools for white children only."⁸⁸

The next major case to aid the nation's desegregation process was Rogers v. Paul which was heard by the Supreme Court in 1965.⁸⁹ In 1957, the school system had adopted the one-grade-a-year plan. In 1965, there remained some students who still were attending segregated schools. The Supreme Court ruled that the one-grade-a-year plan was too slow and as Reutter states, "...showing increasing impatience with desegregation

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 440.

⁸⁷Griffin v. County School Bd. of Prince Edward County, 337 U.S. 218, 84 S. Ct. 1226, 12 L. Ed. 2d 256 (1964).

⁸⁸Bardolph, ed., The Civil Rights Record, p. 440.

⁸⁹Rogers v. Paul, 382 U.S. 198, 86 S. Ct. 358, 15 L. Ed. 2d 265 (1965).

delays, held that certain Negro students were entitled to immediate relief."⁹⁰

Four years passed after Rogers before the next significant Supreme Court case was heard. Green v. School Board of New Kent County was decided on May 27, 1968.⁹¹ Desegregation had been proceeding very slowly in New Kent County, Virginia during the thirteen years since the Brown decision. Since 1965, the school system had been operating under the "freedom-of-choice" plan, which allowed the pupil to choose his own public school. In the Green case, Supreme Court Justice William Brennan stated, "...the transition to a unitary, nonracial system of public education was and is the ultimate end to be brought about." It would be necessary to "take whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch."⁹² As to freedom-of-choice, "The Court did not hold that a freedom-of-choice plan was unconstitutional per se. But if there are other reasonably available ways, such for illustration as zoning, promising speedier and more effective conversion to a unitary, nonracial school system, 'freedom-of-choice must be held unacceptable.'"⁹³

⁹⁰Reutter and Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," p. 624.

⁹¹Green v. County School Bd. of New Kent County, 391 U.S. 430, 88 S. Ct. 1689, 20 L. Ed. 2d 716 (1968).

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Reutter and Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," p. 624.

Segregation still continued to exist with little progress being made in many school districts, due to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals allowing local school boards to follow a plan of "gradualism" in converting from dual to unitary school systems.⁹⁴ In 1969, in a case involving Mississippi school districts, the Fifth Circuit had erred in granting a motion for additional time because it apparently failed to realize "all deliberate speed" was no longer constitutionally permissible.⁹⁵ All motions requesting additional time should have been denied, said the Supreme Court, and further stated that every school district must immediately terminate dual systems and operate only unitary schools. "This decision, saying, in effect, 'integrate now and litigate later' had as an immediate result the issuing of hundreds of orders by lower federal courts for desegregating dual systems that had moved slowly, if at all, to correct unlawful discrimination against black students."⁹⁶

Following Alexander, explains Reutter and Hamilton, the lower federal courts did make rulings for many types of plans for carrying out the 'integrate now and litigate later' order. The authors also state that many of the rulings resulted in inconsistencies with regard to how to set up the desegregated systems within what had been prescribed by the Supreme Court.⁹⁷

⁹⁴Edward C. Bolmeir, "Executive Branch (U.S. Office of Education) and the School," School in the Legal Structure, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: The W. H. Anderson Company, 1974), p. 78.

⁹⁵Alexander v. Holmes County Bd. of Educ., 396 U.S. 19, 90 S. Ct. 29, 24 L. Ed. 2d 19 (1969).

⁹⁶Reutter and Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," p. 625.

⁹⁷Ibid.

Many of the above-mentioned problems were handled in 1971, in the landmark decision, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education.⁹⁸

In order to fully understand the dimensions of the Swann case, it is necessary to look at the facts involved, while at the same time keeping in mind that a total of seventeen years had passed since the Brown I ruling. The following information summarizes a discussion by Russell Serafin of the Swann case. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system served more than 84,000 pupils who were divided among 107 schools during the 1968-69 school year. The black to white ratio was 29 percent to 71 percent. In June of 1969, there were 21,000 black students (7/8 of the total black students in the system) attending Charlotte city schools. Approximately 14,000 blacks (2/3 of the black students in the system) attended schools which were either totally black or 99 percent black. The Swann case defined more clearly the range of duties for school authorities and district courts in desegregating the "state-enforced dual school system in light of the Equal Protection Clause."⁹⁹

In discussing methods to remedy the segregation problem in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Chief Justice Warren Burger stated that a racial quota for schools was a useful place to start in correcting past constitutional violations.¹⁰⁰ As Reutter and Hamilton points out, the Court addressed

⁹⁸Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ., 402 U.S. 1, 91 S. Ct. 1267, 28 L. Ed. 2d 554 (1971).

⁹⁹Russell Serafin, "From Brown to Swann - The New Role of Equity in Integration," Baylor Law Review, XXIII (October 1972), 555-573.

¹⁰⁰Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ.

itself to the issues of busing and also school construction in discussing methods the school should use in achieving racial desegregation. Reutter and Hamilton further explain that the Court ruled that the building and abandonment of schools must not in any manner contribute to the dual system. As for schools that were going to be continued to be used, school assignments must be made on a nondiscriminatory basis.¹⁰¹

In 1972, the Supreme Court ruled against boundary changes in Scotland Neck, North Carolina.¹⁰² In the same year, the Supreme Court ruled against the boundary changes in Emporia, Virginia, on the grounds that such boundary changes did not serve to speed up the desegregation process.¹⁰³ The Court was ruling that boundary changes could not be made in an area unless de jure segregation had been eliminated in accordance with the Constitution.¹⁰⁴

In 1973, the Supreme Court upheld findings by lower courts of de jure segregation existing in Denver, Colorado.¹⁰⁵ As Reutter and Hamilton explain, the Supreme Court ruled that some school sites and attendance zones

¹⁰¹Reutter and Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," p. 625.

¹⁰²United States v. Scotland Neck City Bd. of Educ., 407 U.S. 484, 92 S. Ct. 2214, 33 L. Ed. 2d 75 (1972).

¹⁰³Wright v. Council of the City of Emporia, 407 U.S. 451, 92 S. Ct. 2196, 33 L. Ed. 2d 51 (1972).

¹⁰⁴Reutter and Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," p. 626.

¹⁰⁵Keyes v. School Dist. No. 1, Denver, Colorado, 413 U.S. 189, 93 S. Ct. 2686, 37 L. Ed. 2d 548 (1973).

had been intentionally desegregated. However, if there should be a separate portion of the school district that is still segregated, then the school board must be able to show that this segregation is due to such unintentional factors as geographical structure or natural boundaries.¹⁰⁶

In 1974, another landmark case in desegregation was decided with Milliken v. Bradley.¹⁰⁷ The Supreme Court stated that the Fourteenth Amendment does not require that city schools and suburban school districts merge in order to achieve desegregation.¹⁰⁸ In this case, which had been in the Courts since 1970, it was decided that de jure segregation existed in Detroit, and the school system was ordered to eliminate the segregation in the city schools. However, the separate school districts were not required to merge with Detroit city schools to achieve racial balance since de jure segregation was found to exist only in the Detroit city school system itself. The Court decided that there must be evidence that school district lines were intentionally drawn to prevent desegregation, and that such discrimination in one district would cause segregation in another district before separate school districts could be required to merge.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Reutter and Hamilton, "Race-State-Education Relationships," pp. 626-27.

¹⁰⁷Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U.S. 717, 94 S. Ct. 3112, 41 L. Ed. 2d 1069 (1974).

¹⁰⁸H. C. Hudgins, Jr., "Milliken v. Bradley: The Supreme Court Draws a Line," Contemporary Legal Problems in Education (Topeka, Kansas: National Organization on Legal Problems in Education, 1975), p. 94.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 102-03.

In 1975, two cases were heard which related to the same issue as Milliken-Bradley, i.e., the merger of school districts for the purpose of achieving desegregation.¹¹⁰ In both the Kentucky case and the Indianapolis case, the Supreme Court ordered separate school districts to merge in order to solve de jure segregation conditions which were found to exist in these school systems.

Two cases dealing with the constitutionality of desegregation in private schools and academies have recently been heard in both the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia and also in the U.S. Court of Appeals.¹¹¹ The cases are based on the fact that two black students were denied admission to two all-white private schools in Virginia, on the basis of their race. The U.S. District Court ruled that Title 42 U.S.C. section 1981 had violated the right to make contracts which is guaranteed to non-white minorities. The Court enjoined the schools involved, Fairfax-Brewster and Bobbe's School, as well as all schools which are members of the Southern Independent School Association from discriminating against students applying to the schools on the basis of race. The Southern Independent School Association consists of 395 schools and 180,000 pupils in 7 states in the South.

¹¹⁰Newburg Area Council, Inc. v. Board of Educ. of Jefferson County, Kentucky, 510 F.2d 1358 (6 Cir. 1974), cert. den. 421 U.S. 931, 95 S. Ct. 1658, 44 L. Ed. 2d 88 (1975); United States v. Board of School Commissioners of City of Indianapolis, 503 F.2d 68 (7 Cir. 1974), cert. den. 421 U.S. 929, 95 S. Ct. 1655, 44 L. Ed. 2d 86 (1975).

¹¹¹Gonzales v. Fairfax-Brewster School, Inc., 363 F. Supp. 1200 (E. D. Va. 1973); McCrary v. Runyon, 515 F.2d 1082 (1975).

Summary

The United States Supreme Court in its historic 1954 decision in Brown v. Board of Education declared unconstitutional those state statutes requiring or permitting separate public schools for black and white children. In 1955, in Brown v. Board of Education II, the Court stated that all vestiges of the dual school system were to be removed "at the earliest possible date" and with "all deliberate speed." Nine years later, only little progress had been made in desegregating the schools. The Court then decreed that the time for mere "deliberate speed" had run out.

It was not until 1968 that the Supreme Court in Green v. School Board of New Kent County stated that any plan for desegregating schools at this late date that failed assurance of prompt and effective disestablishment of the dual system was intolerable and ordered school systems to come forward with plans that promise to work now. The following year (1969), in Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, school officials were told that now meant immediately.

As a result of these and other court decisions and continuing pressure from federal laws for full desegregation, most of the public school systems in the southern and border states have been desegregated.

Not all of the problems inherent in the desegregation of the public schools have been solved by court decisions and Department of Health, Education and Welfare guidelines, especially the problem of displacement of black educators. According to numerous reliable reports, the displacement of black educators, particularly black principals, was one of the

most disturbing end-products of public school desegregation. In 1970, in Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, the courts made an attempt to minimize the displacement of black educators. However, the decree came too late to save thousands of black educators who were displaced during the interim from 1955 through the 1969-70 school year. Furthermore, reports since 1970 indicated that the decree was widely ignored.

The Court later recognized that the Singleton decree was neither clear nor strong enough to deal forthrightly with the massive displacement problem with which black educators were confronted. On December 28, 1971, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Judicial Circuit in Lee et al. v. Macon County Board of Education adopted a ruling requiring that black teachers and administrators be offered equivalent positions rather than sinecures when their schools were closed.

In spite of impressive statistics with respect to school desegregation in North Carolina, it was alleged that North Carolina had problems concerning the displacement of black educators similar to those in other desegregating states. In-depth studies by the federal government supported these allegations. Therefore, this study was undertaken to explore in depth the problem of displaced black administrators believed to be severely affected by this phenomenon.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Research Plan

This investigation was designed to determine the nature and scope of the displacement of black high school principals in selected North Carolina school districts and its relationship to public school desegregation within them. The study focused on the period beginning September, 1967, and extending to June, 1977. It was a descriptive study that involved:

1. Collection of evidence on the basis of carefully constructed questions,
2. The tabulation and summarization of the data, and
3. The analysis of the results of the study in an endeavor to draw meaningful generalizations that will advance knowledge.

Treatment of Data

The data was expressed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The study involved the utilization of empirical and rational techniques and included three categories of descriptive research: documentary analysis, case study, and trend study.

All source materials were submitted to careful scrutiny in order to establish the authenticity and validity of the materials' contents. The reliability of each data-gathering method was ascertained by comparison. As a result, the researcher attempted to determine if data provided by

North Carolina Department of Public Instruction and other agencies correlated with data gathered through questionnaires, personal interviews and direct observation.

Interviews

Interviews were an integral part of this study. Structured and unstructured techniques were employed to obtain specific information. In certain cases, both techniques were used with individuals. For example, all high school principals were asked a series of predetermined questions (see Appendix A, p. 103 of the DPA) concerning administrators' experience, educational preparation, age, family status, etc. Afterwards, an unstructured interview was conducted with some principals in order that certain initial responses could be clarified and unexpected clues could be examined.

In general, interviews with other resource persons were both informal and semi-structured. In other words, these individuals were asked only enough questions to keep their attention focused on the topic being pursued and to fill in gaps of information that may have been unintentionally left out.

Description of the Population

The population for this study was derived from a master list of black high school principals from the 1967-68 North Carolina Educational Directory. This list was refined to determine those black principals that were deceased or unlocatable. This was done by telephone to all administrative units where the principal was last employed, and by contacting the North Carolina Association of Educators "uni-service" representative who would

have had a knowledge of the status of principals throughout the state, past and present.

The master list, through phone calls to local educational agents and "uni-service" representative, contained 141 principals. Investigation by phone determine that 19 were deceased and 20 unlocatable. Thus, there was a population of 102 for this study.

Major Empirical Sources Used in the Study

1. A questionnaire designed for this study, concerning displacement and characteristics of the subjects selected for study, that provided for objectivity and uniform classification of data (see Appendix A).

2. The certification credential file of each subject which is housed in the Division of Certification, North Carolina Department of Education in Raleigh. This source of data was used in the verification of the subjects' age, sex, educational qualifications, marital status, certification status, experience, etc.

3. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) school desegregation reports (1967-77) which are housed in the Division of Management Information Systems, North Carolina Department of Education in Raleigh.

- a. Summary of Equal Employment Opportunity Report (1967-77)
- b. Elementary and Secondary Civil Rights Survey - Forms OS/CR101-1 and OS/CR102-1
- c. Summary of Enrollment and Staff - Forms OE-7001 and OE-7002. These forms contain data regarding the number and kinds of positions occupied by the professional instructional staff on the basis of race and ethnic affiliation in each school in North Carolina. They also contain the number of black

and white students in each school, as well as other information pertinent to this study.

4. Relevant North Carolina Teacher Association (NCTA) records of displaced black educators in North Carolina.

5. School desegregation plans as mandated by Department of Health, Education and Welfare and/or the federal Courts for each district involved in the study.

6. The North Carolina Educational Directory (1967 through 1977), North Carolina Department of Education in Raleigh.

7. A field study conducted by the researcher in order to gather information pertinent to the displacement of black high school principals involving:

- a. On-the-site observations
- b. An analysis of documents and records applicable to displacement located in the school districts
- c. Personal interview with
 - (1) high school principals
 - (2) school officials
 - (3) teachers
 - (4) community leaders and agencies
 - (5) Department of Education officials
 - (6) professional organization officials
 - (7) students, parents, and laymen
 - (8) attorneys (civil rights and school board)
 - (9) university officials (A&T and UNC-G)

8. Material from the literature relevant to the problem of displacement.

9. Legal briefs from state and federal courts regarding the displacement of black educators.

10. Documents, records, and publications in the North Carolina Department of Education relevant to the study.

11. Reports and research findings of other agencies and researchers concerning displacement of black educators.

Questionnaire

The Questionnaire, the "Displaced Principals Assessment," designed by Joseph A. Orr, was used to collect data. The questionnaire was used in a study of displaced black principals in Florida 1967-1972.¹ The questionnaire was modified in length (shortened) in order to address questions asked in Chapter I and Chapter III (see Appendix A). The modified "Displaced Principals Assessment" was subjected to a critical analysis by the Statistical Consulting Center at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, December, 1978.

Several questions were generated from the review of the literature and the rationale for this study. In order to achieve all of the objectives, the following questions were examined:

1. As the desegregation in North Carolina public schools gained in scope and momentum during the period September, 1967, through June, 1977, was there a strong relationship that existed between desegregation and the striking decrease in the number of black high school principals?

2. What relationship exists between displacement of black high school principals and their certification status, college degrees, experience, ages, family status, and sex?

¹Joseph A. Orr, "The Displacement of Black High School Principals In Selected Florida Counties and Its Relationship to Public School Desegregation Within Them." (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1972.)

3. Was displacement of black high school principals related to the emergence of legal problems regarding contractual status (continuing contracts) and the intent of certain court decrees?

4. Did the employment practices of North Carolina school boards usually reduce or curtail sharply employment opportunities for black educators to serve as high school principals since the implementation of public school desegregation laws?

5. Were most of the high schools formerly administered by black high school principals closed or changed to elementary, middle or junior high schools?

6. Did white educators replace most displaced black high school principals when the black principals' positions were not phased out?

The displacement of black high school principals in selected North Carolina schools and its relationship to public school desegregation and each subject's certification credential is on file. Data from these documents were classified, evaluated and tabulated. An analysis was made to determine the relation to the problem under study and to determine if they correspond with the data obtained through use of questionnaires, interviews, direct observation, court decrees, school board minutes, and other sources.

CHAPTER IV PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The presentation and analysis of the data gathered by the procedures described in the previous chapter are found in this chapter. The principal data-gathering device was the "Displaced Principals Assessment," a special questionnaire designed for this study (see Appendix A). This chapter also contains an analysis of United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare school desegregation reports (see Appendix F) as well as other important sources of data.

The research design for this study is descriptive. The data, by and large, are analyzed and reported in tabular form. No attempt is made to establish causation or to draw conclusions beyond the population included in this study.

Profile of the School Districts Included in the Study

The following information is a short demographical sketch of some of the most striking characteristics of the school districts throughout North Carolina included in the study. The purpose is to assist readers in focusing clearly on the problem under study. The data were obtained from

several sources which included the 1970 Census of Population¹ and profiles of North Carolina School Districts.²

The data that pertain to the number of elementary and secondary schools in each district were, in a few instances, difficult to classify. The grade combinations in some of the states' school systems do not always conform to conventional ordering of elementary and secondary schools, e.g., schools with such grade combinations as 1 through 7, 7 through 11, 4 through 8, 1 through 10 and others.

The basis for classifying a school as either black or white was an enrollment of 60 percent or more of one race or the other. Thus, a school that enrolled 60 percent or more white pupils was classified as a predominantly white school and a school that enrolled 60 percent or more black pupils was classified as a predominantly black school. This rationale is in accord with the definition of black or white schools found in the public school desegregation court decisions cited in Chapter II of this study.

Demographic Data

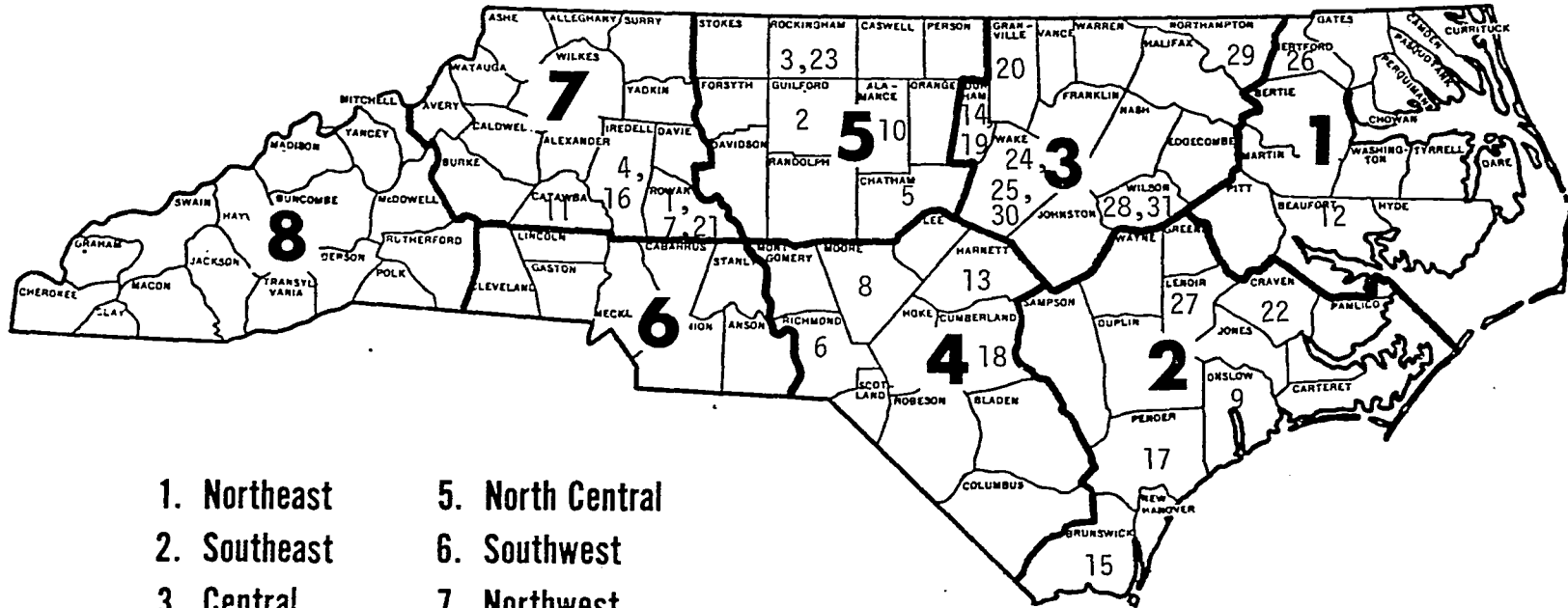
The school districts under study can be found in six of the eight educational districts of North Carolina (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7) (see Figure 1 on page 58). The major sources of income for residents of these districts are:

¹U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1970 Census of Population (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, December 1970).

²N. C. Department of Public Education, Division of Management Information Systems Controller's Office, Statistical Profile - North Carolina Public Schools (Raleigh: SDPI, 1975).

FIGURE 1

North Carolina Education Districts



- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Northeast | 5. North Central |
| 2. Southeast | 6. Southwest |
| 3. Central | 7. Northwest |
| 4. South Central | 8. Western |

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. manufacturing | 6. wholesale and retail trade |
| 2. construction | 7. tourism |
| 3. transportation | 8. services |
| 4. public utilities | 9. government |
| 5. agriculture | 10. general business |

The category of general business includes such enterprises as finance, real estate, insurance, and others.

Table 1 contains pertinent data about the population, land area, and school systems of the thirty-one school districts.

This survey response is included to provide the reader with a clear understanding of the sample response rate as indicated in Table 2. An analysis of the survey response indicated the following:

1. The total population of black high school principals in 1967 was 141. That number for purpose of this study was reduced by 39 black high school principals due to death and inability to locate. The total usable number was 102.

2. A total of 102 were sent to respondents throughout the state and of that hundred and two (102), 31 (30 percent) were returned.

3. The population for this study will be 31.

4. The number of surveys not returned was 73 or 72.5 percent of the total sent.

Analysis of Non-Respondents

The number of responses was low. However, in a telephone interview with each of the persons who had been sent a survey from but decided not to return it, the researcher was given the following reasons. An analysis of Table 2 indicated that:

1. 15 or 21 percent felt no good would result from the survey

TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Principal and System	Teachers				Administrators		Pupils		No. of Schools		Combination School
	Elem.		High		Black	White	Black	White	Elem.	Sec.	
	M	F	M	F							
Salisbury	5	62	19	44	1	5	1,438	1,768	3	1	1
High Point	29	264	49	86	4	13	4,372	6,421	12	2	3
Eden	20	129	33	35	2	6	895	3,953	6	1	1
Mooreville	5	74	19	17	1	4	670	1,930	3	1	1
Chatham	27	141	51	50	2	11	2,441	4,332	10	3	-
Hamlet	8	173	76	101	5	10	3,634	6,157	10	1	4
Rowan	52	352	88	139	1	22	2,431	12,287	16	4	3
*Moore County	33	234	68	66	3	15	3,063	6,461	12	3	3
Onslow County	46	324	108	121	3	21	3,210	12,202	16	4	4
*Burlington	37	232	44	81	2	9	2,360	6,274	80	3	-
Hickory	13	158	34	45	1	10	1,127	4,235	8	1	2
Washington City	11	81	21	31	1	4	1,528	2,462	3	1	1
Harnett	27	289	67	94	5	14	3,950	8,219	9	1	9
*Durham City	34	275	58	94	11	8	7,829	2,028	17	2	1
*Brunswick County	23	167	25	48	3	8	2,477	5,318	8	2	1
Iredell	33	236	58	72	1	19	1,648	9,239	17	3	-
Burgaw	10	103	42	39	6	6	2,553	2,423	7	1	4
*Fayetteville	27	234	83	201	8	9	5,994	4,707	10	3	4
Durham County	15	314	100	223	4	18	4,613	12,342	14	3	5
Granville	21	195	43	63	3	10	4,267	3,466	10	3	-
Rowan	52	352	88	139	1	22	2,431	12,287	16	4	3
*New Bern	30	618	278	420	9	44	9,446	24,264	35	5	12
Madison-Mayoden	9	78	18	21	-	5	622	2,376	4	1	-
Wake/Raleigh	44	1135	366	813	16	63	15,469	39,594	54	13	15

TABLE 1-Continued

Principal and System	Teachers				Administrators		Pupils		No. of Schools		Combination School
	Elem.		High		Black	White	Black	White	Elem.	Sec.	
	M	F	M	F							
Wake/Raleigh	44	1135	366	813	16	63	15,469	39,594	54	13	15
Hertford County	12	108	33	41	5	4	3,763	1,541	7	2	-
Lenior County	13	144	26	52	3	8	2,551	4,590	6	2	3
Wilson City	25	350	75	117	7	17	6,975	6,690	15	4	5
Northampton	33	148	38	44	6	8	4,379	1,172	10	2	2
Wilson County	25	350	75	117	7	17	6,975	6,690	15	4	5
Wake/Raleigh	44	1135	366	813	16	63	15,469	39,594	54	13	15

*Has black principal now.

Source: Statistical Profile, North Carolina Public Schools Division of Management Information Systems Controller's Office, Department of Public Education, February 1977.

TABLE 1-Continued

Principal and System	Teachers				Administrators		Pupils		No. of Schools		Combination School
	Elem.		High		Black	White	Black	White	Elem.	Sec.	
	M	F	M	F							
Wake/Raleigh	44	1135	366	813	16	63	15,469	39,594	54	13	15
Hertford County	12	108	33	41	5	4	3,763	1,541	7	2	-
Lenior County	13	144	26	52	3	8	2,551	4,590	6	2	3
Wilson City	25	350	75	117	7	17	6,975	6,690	15	4	5
Northampton	33	148	38	44	6	8	4,379	1,172	10	2	2
Wilson County	25	350	75	117	7	17	6,975	6,690	15	4	5
Wake/Raleigh	44	1135	366	813	16	63	15,469	39,594	54	13	15

*Has black principal now.

Source: Statistical Profile, North Carolina Public Schools Division of Management Information Systems Controller's Office, Department of Public Education, February 1977.

TABLE 2
TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS WITH NON-RESPONDENTS

<u>Surveys Not Sent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Deceased	19	13.0
Unlocatable	20	14.5
Surveys Sent	<u>102</u>	<u>72.5</u>
Total	141	100.0

<u>Surveys Sent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Surveys Sent	102	
Total Received	<u>31</u>	30.0
Total Not Received	71	70.0

<u>Reason For No Return of Surveys (N=71)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
*A. No good would result	15	21.0
*B. Did not feel that they were displaced	15	21.9
*C. Health	2	.02
D. Not reached by telephone	39	53.0

Mailing date and call - Feb. 5, Feb. 21, March 15

*Telephone call

because very little has been done in the past.

2. 15 or 21 percent felt that they were not a displaced principal even though they were moved to other positions lower than the one they occupied as high school principals.

3. 2 or .02 percent could not because of health reasons.

4. 39 or 53 percent could not be reached by telephone nor did we get a response from 3 mailings - Feb. 5, Feb. 21, Mar. 15 to our survey.

Table 3 lists the major characteristics of respondents and school districts in the study. Analysis of Table 3 indicates that the thirty-one (31) respondents represent a cross-section of the school districts in North Carolina. The sample represents:

1. systems in the three geographical regions of the state.

2. two desegregation plans which were imposed by Civil Rights Act of 1964.

3. size from one of the largest school districts, Raleigh 55,502 students, to one of the smallest, Mooresville 2,606 students.

4. both displaced and non-displaced black high school principals.

Examination of Major Questions

Displacement and Desegregation

The first question examined was:

As the desegregation in North Carolina public schools gained in scope and momentum during the period September, 1967, through June, 1977, was there a strong relationship that existed between desegregation and the striking decrease in the number of black high school principals?

Between February 5, and March 30, 1979, data were gathered concerning the 102 persons in the study's population who reportedly were high school

TABLE 3
MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS IN THE STUDY

Respondent	Unit	Desegregation Plan		Average No. of Principals 1967-71	Number of Students 1977	Displaced Black Principals	Nondisplaced Black Principals
		Court Order	Freedom of Choice				
1	Salisbury	X		.5	3,281	X	
2	High Point	X		.1	11,142		X
3	Eden		X	.2	10,086		
4	Mooreville		X	.4	2,606	X	
5	Chatham		X	.6	6,780		
6	Hamlet		X	.2	12,403	X	
7	Rowan		X	.5	14,737	X	
8	Moore		X	1.2	9,850		X
9	Onslow		X	.1	16,437	X	
10	Burlington		X	.1	8,879		X
11	Hickory		X	.1	5,913	X	
12	Washington		X	.1	4,105	X	
13	Harnett		X	.6	12,403	X	
14	Durham	X		1.4	10,300		X
15	Brunswick		X	1.4	8,201		X
16	Iredell	X		.4	10,750	X	
17	Pender		X	.2	4,987	X	
18	Cumberland		X	1.8	37,200	X	
19	Durham Co.	X		1.4	16,730		
20	Granville		X	.6	7,895	X	
21	Rowan		X	.5	14,737	X	
22	New Bern		X	1.1	8,563		X
23	Madison-Mayoden		X	.2	3,028	X	
24	Raleigh		X	1.2	55,502		

TABLE 3-Continued

Respondent	Unit	Desegregation Plan		Average No. of Principals 1967-71	Number of Students 1977	Displaced Black Principals	Nondisplaced Black Principals
		Court Order	Freedom of Choice				
25	Wake		X	1.9	55,502		
26	Hertford		X	.7	5,430		
27	Lenior		X	1.3	7,059		
28	Wilson		X	.1	13,798		
29	Northampton		X	2.2	5,738		
30	Raleigh		X	1.2	55,502		
31	Wilson		X	1.0	13,798		X

Source: Statistical Profile, North Carolina Public Schools Division of Management Information Systems Controller's Office, Department of Public Education, February 1977.

principals during the school year 1967-68. All 102 persons were contacted and 31 or 30 percent responded to the questionnaire and/or interview.

Seven of the respondents are not classified as displaced high school principals because:

1. Their employment status is considered as a promotion.
2. Their change in position was for reasons not covered in the study's definition of "displacement."
3. Their employment status remained that of a high school principal.
4. They resigned on their own volition and are employed elsewhere.

A tabulation of information relevant to the employment status of the respondents revealed that data found in Table 4.

An analysis of the data shown in Table 4 indicated that:

1. During the period from 1967-77, of 141 high school principalships held by black educators, 121 or 86 percent of these positions were discontinued.

2. Currently, 21 black high school principals are employed in the state of North Carolina.

3. During the 1967-68 period, 29 counties employed no black high school principals, although a total of 110 public high schools were located within their boundaries.

4. Forty-four of the counties have neither retained nor employed a black high school principal during the school year, 1968-69.

5. Sixty-six of the counties have neither retained nor employed a black high school principal during the 1969-70 school year.

6. Seventy-four (74) of the counties have neither retained nor employed a black high school principal during the 1970-71 school year.

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF THE NUMBER OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS
EMPLOYED IN THE STATE: 1967-1977

School District										
County	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77
Alamance	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alexander	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alleghany	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anson	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beaufort	3	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
Bertie	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bladen	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brunswick	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Buncombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burke	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cabarrus	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Camden	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carteret	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Caswell	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Catawba	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chatham	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chowan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cleveland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Columbus	6	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
Craven	2	2	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	1
Cumberland	3	3	k	k	k	k	2	2	2	2
Currituck	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Davidson	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Davie-Duplin	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 4-Continued

School District	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77
Durham	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Edgecombe	3	3	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Forsyth	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Franklin	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gaston	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gates	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Granville	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greene	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Guilford	2	2	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	1
Halifax	4	4	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
Harnett	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hertford	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hoke	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hyde	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iredell	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jones	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lee	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lenior	4	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lincoln	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Madison	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
Martin	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mecklenburg	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
Montgomery	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moore	3	3	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nash	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Hanover	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Northampton	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

TABLE 4-Continued

School District										
County	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77
Onslow	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pasquotank	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pender	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perquimans	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pitt	3	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Richmond	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robeson	6	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rockingham	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rowan	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rutherford	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sampson	5	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scotland	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stokes	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tyrell	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Union	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vance	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wake	5	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Washington	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wayne	3	3	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1
Wilson	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yadkin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	141	106	52	24	15	16	16	16	18	21

Source: Educational Directory North Carolina 1966-67. State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina.

7. Between 1971 and 1977, there was an average of 17 black high school principals located in 15 of the 100 counties in North Carolina.

Table 5 is a compilation of data concerning the employment status of the respondents from September, 1967 to June, 1977. At this point, the study's definition for displacement is:

Any change in position involving dismissal, demotion, lateral transfer, forced transfer, forced resignation, early retirement, or promotions to sinecure positions.

An analysis of Table 5 reveals that:

1. According to the study's definition of displacement, 23 of the respondents (77 percent) were displaced as follows:

a. demotions - 13	56 percent
b. lateral transfers - 3	13 percent
c. early retirement - 14	17 percent
d. promotions to sinecure positions - 1	.04 percent
e. forced resignation - 2	.08 percent

2. The remaining 8 respondents (23 percent) were not displaced. Six (75 percent) were employed as principals prior to 1967 and currently their status remains unchanged except for 2 respondents (25 percent) of the 8 who retired in 1971.

The data presented indicate that a strong relationship exists between forced desegregation and the striking decrease in the number of black high school principals as shown in Figure 2. During the period beginning September, 1967, and extending to June, 1977, the number of high school principal positions occupied by black educators was diminished from 141 to 21, a decrease of 120 positions.

Of the 21 black high school principals currently employed, only 7 (33 percent) of the 21 principals employed during the 1967-68 school year continued as high school principals for the next ten years. One hundred

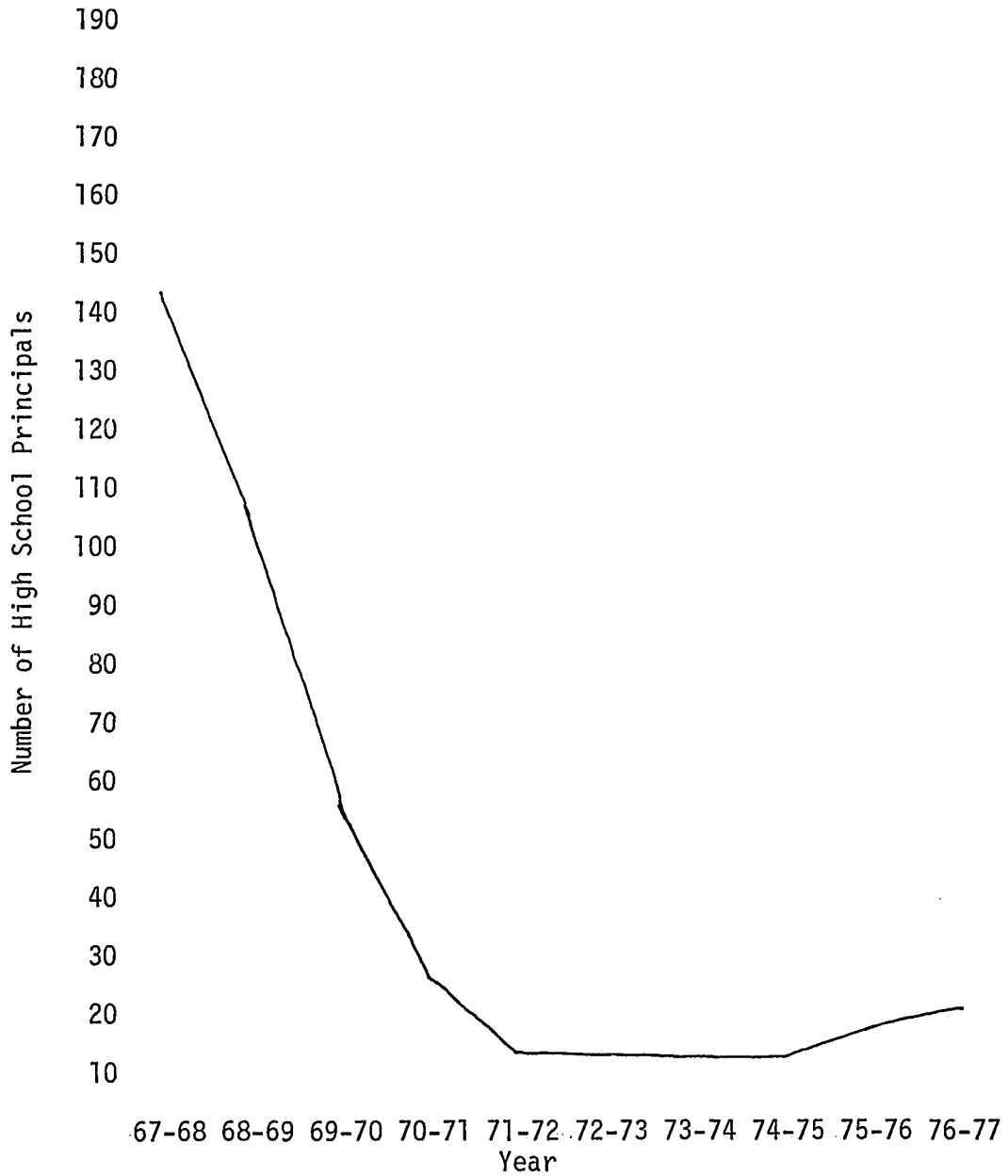
TABLE 5

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF ALL SUBJECTS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

RESPONDENT	Displaced					Non-Displaced					Total	
	Demotion	Lateral Transfer	Forced Resignation	Early Retirement	Promoted to Sinecure Position	Employment Terminated For Causes Unrelated to Desegregation	Retired	Elem. School Status Unchanged	Promoted to H.S. Principal since 67-68	Resigned-Employed Elsewhere		
1										X		
2	X											
3	X											
4	X											
5	X											
6	X											
7	X											
8												
9												
10												
11					X							
12			X									
13			X									
14												
15												
16		X										
17	X											
18	X											
19	X											
20	X											
21	X	X										
22	X											
23												
24				X								
25				X								
26	X											
27	X											
28	X			X								
29	X											
30	X											
31	X											
Total	31	3	2	4	1	0	1	0	6	0	1	(31)

FIGURE 2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND THE
NUMBER OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS
EMPLOYED: 1967-1977



thirty-eight of the 142 predominantly black high schools (97.2 percent), in existence in 1967-68 and administered by black principals, have either been altered (e.g., elementary, middle or junior high) or they have been closed completely, as indicated in Figure 3.

The scope and momentum of desegregation have increased notably in the school districts under study during the last 10 years. Large percentages of black pupils were integrated in predominantly white high schools; concurrently, more than three-fourths (77 percent) of the black high school principals lost their positions. Based on the preceding facts, there is a strong relationship between forced desegregation and the striking decrease in the number of black high school principals.

Certification, Degrees, Experience, Age, Family and Sex

The second question examined was:

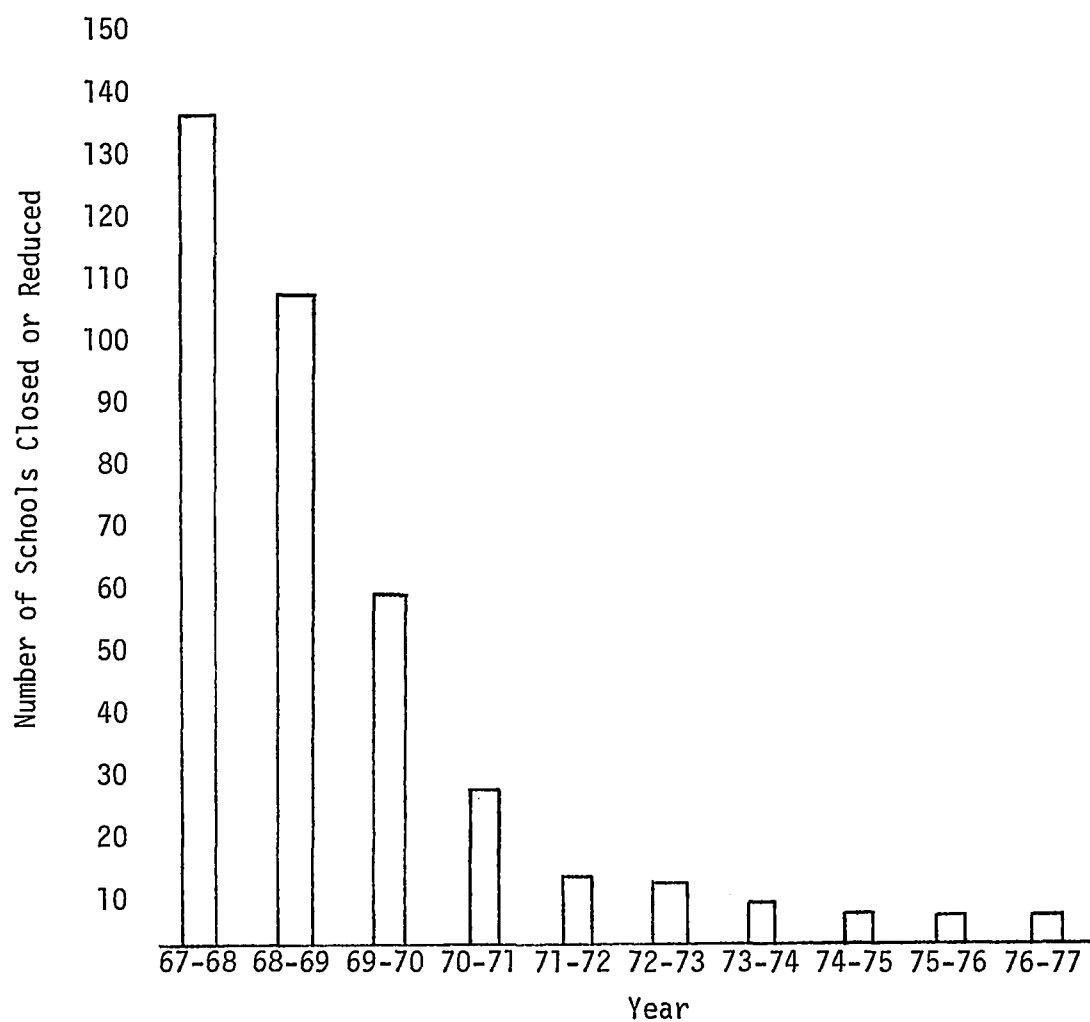
What relationship exists between displacement of black high school principals and their certification status, college degrees, experience, ages, family status, and sex?

A tabulation of information obtained from the questionnaire and the certification records of the respondents disclosed the data found in Tables 6 and 7.

One of the requirements for licensure as a principal in North Carolina is possession of a principal's certificate which includes:

1. A master's degree with a graduate major in school administration or a master's degree and graduate credit in school administration, supervision, and curriculum as follows:
 - a. Three (3) semester hours in basic school supervision
 - b. Nine (9) semester hours in school administration
 - c. Six (6) semester hours in curriculum with emphasis at the appropriate level

FIGURE 3

TOTAL NUMBER OF FORMER BLACK HIGH SCHOOLS
CLOSED OR REDUCED IN GRADE LEVELS

Source: North Carolina Educational Directory, 1967-77. State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina.

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DATA ON ALL
SUBJECTS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY: 1977

Certification			Years of Experience	Age	Family Status				Dependents
M	Ed.S.	Ed.D.			M	D	S	W	
25	6	0	Range 2-40	Range 40-72	28	0	1	2	Range 1-2
			Mean 21.5	Mean 62.5					Mean .5

TABLE 7
 PROFILE OF ALL SUBJECTS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY: 1977

Respondent	Certification			Granting Institution	Years of Experience as H.S. Principals	Age	Sex		Marital Status				Dependents
	Ed.D.	Ed.S.	M.Ed.				M	F	M	S	D	W	
1		X		Appalachian	10	59	X		X				0
2			X	U. of Mich.	38	69	X		X				1
3			X	N.C. Central	19	60	X		X				0
4			X	Atlanta U.	35	69	X		X				0
5			X	N.C. Central	20	62	X		X				0
6			X	A&T State	33	65	X		X				0
7		X		UNC-CH	14	55	X		X				2
8			X	A&T State	12	51	X		X				2
9			X	U. of Mich.	28	75	X		X				0
10		X		N.C. Central	16	48	X		X				1
11			X	N.C. Central	24	70	X		X				2
12			X	U. of Mich.	40	68	X		X				0
13			X	U. of Penn.	9	63	X		X				0
14		X		N.Y.U.	17	59	X		X				2
15		X		N.C. Central	26	52	X		X				0
16			X	Atlanta U.	20	59	X		X				0
17			X	A&T State	27	72	X		X				0
18			X	U. of Iowa	32	69	X		X				0
19			X	N.C. Central	23	63	X		X				1
20			X	N.C. Central	8	64	X		X				0
21			X	Iowa State College	8	61	X		X				0
22			X	Atlanta U.	17	61	X		X				0
23			X	Ohio State	26	63	X		X				0

TABLE 7-Continued

Respondent	Certification			Granting Institution	Years of Experience as H.S. Principals	Age	Sex		Marital Status				Dependents
	Ed.D.	Ed.S.	M.Ed.				M	F	M	S	D	W	
24		X		A&T State	12	68	X					X	0
25		X		N.Y.U.	35	69	X			X			0
26		X		Hampton Inst.	32	71	X					X	0
27		X		N.Y.U.	20	70	X			X			0
28		X		U. of Mich.	37	73	X			X			0
29		X		N.Y.U.	17	62	X			X			2
30		X		E.C.U.	2	46	X			X			2
31		X		N.C. Central	5	40	X			X			2

2. Three years of full-time teaching experience in a public or nonpublic elementary or secondary school.

The state of North Carolina does not include a minimum age requirement for licensure as a principal; however, the requirement of a master's degree in effect constitutes a minimum age limit of approximately 23 years. The maximum age limit for new licensure is 62 (can't get into the retirement system) years, due to mandatory retirement at age 70 (by federal regulation; however, an individual unit may elect to hire the applicant after 70). North Carolina regulations do not stipulate what one's marital status must be in order to become certified as a principal.

An analysis of the information in the questionnaire along with data displayed in Tables 6 and 7 indicated that:

1. The mean age of the study's population was 62.5 with a range of 40-72 years of age.

2. All respondents were holders of the bachelor's degree. In addition, all persons possessed master's degrees or above: 84 percent held master's degrees, 16 percent held educational specialist's degrees.

3. The mean number of years experience for the respondents was 21.5 with a range from 2-40.

4. All respondents were married except two who were widowed and one who was single.

5. All respondents were in possession of valid teacher certificates, and met all of the North Carolina requirements in administration and supervision, as well as others for licensing as high school principals. Eighty-four percent held master's level certification, 16 percent held educational specialist's level certification.

6. The mean number of dependent children of the respondents was .5 with a range of 0-2.

Of the 31 respondents, Table 8 shows that a majority (one half) of these individuals (16 or 51 percent) earned their graduate degrees in institutions outside of North Carolina. This table also shows that eleven degrees (35 percent) were earned at predominantly black institutions within North Carolina and 3 degrees (9 percent) were earned at predominantly white institutions within the state.

From the data presented, there is little relation between displacement of black high school principals and their:

1. Certification status - all of the 31 respondents met all state requirements for full licensing as high school principals. Sixteen percent of the respondents exceeded the states' master's degree requirement with educational specialist degrees. All of the respondents had engaged in graduate study in educational administration within the five years prior to displacement. The states' requirement for certification renewal is graduate study within the 5-year period prior to the renewal request.

2. Experience - the mean experience for the respondents was 21.5 years which was distinctly higher than mean experience for the white high school principals employed to replace them or receive their students at the new high schools.

3. Age - the compulsory retirement age for educators employed in North Carolina was 70 years in 1967, or whatever the system required. All of the respondents were under age 70 at the time of their displacement. Nearly 83 percent of these individuals were under 60 years of age.

TABLE 8
 SUMMARY OF INSTITUTIONS FROM WHICH RESPONDENTS OBTAINED
 THEIR HIGHEST GRADUATE DEGREE

Institution	Masters	Educational Specialist	Doctorate
Appalachian State University		1	
University of Michigan	4 (3)*		
North Carolina Central University	6 (5)	1	
Atlanta University	3 (3)		
North Carolina A&T State University	4 (4)		
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill		1 (1)	
University of Pennsylvania	1 (1)		
New York University	3 (2)	1	
University of Iowa	1 (1)		
Iowa State College	1 (1)		
Ohio State University	1 (1)		
Hampton Institute	1 (1)		
East Carolina University	1		
Total	26 (23)	5 (1)	

* The number in the parenthesis represents displaced high school principals.

The mean age for the study's population in 1977 was 62.5; however, in 1967, it would have been 52.5.

4. Family status - twenty-eight of the respondents were married. One was single and two are currently widowed. Only ten of the 31 respondents had children. This characteristic was evenly distributed among all age groups.

5. Sex - This study's population consisted of all males. Of the 23 white principals employed in the districts where the displacement occurred, all were males.

Since all of these characteristics correspond very closely with similar ones among the white high school principals and the non-displaced black high school principals employed throughout the state as the displaced principals, there is hardly any evidence to support them as being factors in displacement. Consequently, for the second question (What relationship exists between displacement of black high school principals and their certification status, college degrees, experience, ages, family status and sex?) there is no relationship.

Displacement, Legal Problems, Contractual Status

The third question examined was:

Was displacement of black high school principals related to the emergence of legal problems regarding contractual status (continuing contracts) and the intent of certain decrees?

Of the 23 respondents who were classified as displaced in this study, no one reported any legal problems regarding his contractual status. All of the respondents held continuing contracts as high school principals. Although all of the new positions assigned to these individuals were classified by the respondents as demotions and sinecure positions, all

of them reported that their salaries were based on that of a high school principal. According to these respondents, their school boards made no attempt to remove them from continuing contractual status.

Only one of the 23 displaced principals reported that he had legal problems regarding the intent of certain court decrees dealing with displacement. The case involved the refusal of the school board to appoint him to a high school principalship vacancy in the community in which he lived. The respondent stated that there was not a more qualified white applicant for the position. According to the respondent, the class action suit ended in 1976 or 1977 with a "meager settlement." The other 22 displaced principals' statements were either ambivalent or they gave no response to this question on the questionnaires or in telephone interviews.

Responses to this third question may not clearly portray the situation at that particular time. The facts that displacement has taken place and that displaced principals were not offered principalships in other high schools when vacancies occurred indicate that the school districts have not acted in accord with court decisions in the cases of Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District and Lee et al. v. Macon County Board of Education.

Thus, evidence relevant to the third question was inconclusive. Although displacement in and of itself usually constitutes a legal problem, only one suit was brought among the twenty-three displaced principals. Apparently, problems regarding one's employment status tended not to be regarded as crucial if salary and continuing contractual status were maintained.

Employment Opportunities of Black Educators to Serve
as High School Principals Curtailed

The fourth question examined was:

Did the employment practices of North Carolina School Boards usually sharply reduce or curtail employment opportunities for black educators to serve as high school principals since the implementation of public school desegregation laws?

An analysis of Table 4 indicates a striking decline in the number of high school principalships held by black educators in the state during the period from 1966-67 to 1975-76. One hundred and twenty-four or 84 percent were discontinued during this period. From 1975-76 to 1976-77, there was an increase of five new principalships in the state, as seen in Figure 2. During the period from 1967 to 1977, twenty-nine counties employed no black high school principals, although a total of 110 public high schools were located within their boundaries. Forty-four of the counties have neither retained nor employed black high school principals during the school year 1968-69.

1969-70 - 66 counties have neither retained nor employed
a black high school principal

1970-71 - 74 counties have neither retained nor employed
a black high school principal

1971-77 - an average of 17 black high school principals
located in 15 of the 100 counties of North
Carolina

During the school year 1967-77, the number of black high school principals was twenty-one, which is an increase of six from 1971-72.

The effect of displacement is that it appears to have a chilled effect on the attitude of many black educators regarding aspiration to becoming high school principals.

Of the twenty-three displaced high school principals in this study, only one reported that application had been made for reassignment to high school principalships and the applicant was refused assignment. When the displaced high school principals were questioned about not having applied for high school principalships, the writer encountered such statements as:

"What would be the use?"

"As long as the pay's the same, I don't care."

"My job in superintendent's office in charge of A-V is a promotion."

The data indicate that school boards in the districts under study have usually reduced or sharply curtailed employment opportunities for blacks to serve as high school principals in the state (see Figure 2).

Black High Schools Have Either Been Closed or Their Grade Offerings Have Been Reduced

The fifth question examined was:

Were most of the high schools formerly administered by black high school principals closed or changed to elementary, middle, or junior high schools?

Desegregation practices during the period from September, 1967 to June, 1977 produced a second phenomenon--school closings and grade level reduction of formerly black high schools--that corresponded with the first phenomenon of the desegregation process--displacement. The effect of this unusual occurrence caused a sharp curtailment in the number of high schools available to the districts included in this study. A tabulation of data germane to this situation can be found in Table 9.

An analysis of the data shown in Table 9 disclosed that:

Of 135 predominantly black high schools in existence in September, 1967, 124 or nearly 92 percent were closed or reduced in grade level. Only eleven (8 percent) were continued as high schools:

TABLE 9

GRADE LEVEL STATUS OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICTS
INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY: 1967-1977

Schools	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77
Jordan Sellars	7-12	7-12	7-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	9-9	9-9	9-9	9-9
Happy Plains	7-12	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beauford County	1-12	1-12	1-12	K-7	K-7	K-7	K-7	K-7	K-7	K-7
Chocowinty	1-12	1-12	1-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12
P. S. Jones	7-12	7-12	8-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Bladen Central	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	3-8	3-6	3-6	3-6	3-6	3-6
East Arcadia	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-9	1-9	K-9	K-9	K-9	K-9
Spaulding-Monroe	1-12	1-12	1-8	3-4	3-4	3-4	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8
Brunswick	1-12	1-12	1-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8
Lincoln	1-12	1-12	1-5	1-5	1-5	K-3	K-3	K-3	K-3	K-3
Union	1-12	1-12	1-5	1-5	1-5	K-3	K-3	K-3	K-3	K-3
Logan	1-12	1-8	1-6	1-6	1-6	-	-	-	-	-
G. W. Carver	1-12	1-12	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7
Marian Anderson	1-12	1-12	1-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8
Queen Street	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Caswell Co. Jr.	1-12	9-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ridgeview	1-12	1-12	1-12	K-6	K-6	-	-	-	-	-
Chatham	1-12	1-12	1-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8
J. S. Waters	1-12	1-12	1-12	5-9	5-9	K-8	K-8	K-8	K-8	K-8
Horton	1-12	1-12	1-12	5-9	5-9	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8
Armoor	1-12	1-12	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
Arteria	1-12	1-12	K-6	K-6	K-6	-	-	-	-	-
Mt. Olive	1-12	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tabor City	1-12	1-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12
Westside	1-12	2-12	5-8	7-9	7-9	-	-	-	-	-
Central	4-12	5-14	7-9	7-9	7-9	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8
Newbold Jr.	1-12	1-12	1-12	3-8	3-8	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 9-Continued

Schools	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77
J. T. Barber	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-9	9-9	9-9	9-9	9-9	9-9	9-9
Armstrong	1-12	1-12	4-7	4-7	4-7	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Chesnutt	8-12	8-12	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
E. E. Smith	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	-	-	-	-	-
Currituck Union	1-12	1-12	1-8	1-8	1-8	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
Church Street	1-12	1-12	1-6	8-8	8-8	6-6	6-6	6-6	6-6	6-6
Charity	1-12	10-12	8-9	8-9	8-9	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8
E. E. Smith	1-12	1-12	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Douglas	1-12	1-12	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
Little River	1-12	1-12	1-6	1-6	K-7	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6
Merrick-Moore	1-12	1-12	1-6	1-6	K-6	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5
Hillside High	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12
G. W. Carver	1-12	1-12	K-12	K-12	K-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6	2-6
Conetoe	6-12	6-12	7-12	7-12	-	-	-	-	-	-
Phillips	1-12	1-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-8	K-8	K-8	K-8	K-8
W. H. Patillo	1-12	1-12	1-12	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	4-6
Atkin High	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10
Getsemane	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perry	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. F. Person	1-12	1-9	1-5	1-5	1-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5
Lincoln	7-12	7-12	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Hawley	1-12	1-12	1-8	3-8	3-8	3-8	3-8	3-8	3-8	5-8
G. C. Shaw	1-12	1-8	1-8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary Potter	5-12	5-12	5-12	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8
Dudley	1-12	1-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Wm. Penn	10-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brawley	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-9	1-9	K-9	K-9	K-9	K-9	2-9
Eastman	1-12	1-12	1-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12
McIver	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-8	1-8	1-8	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6

TABLE 9-Continued

Schools	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77
Ralph J. Bunch	9-12	9-12	9-10	5-9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Harnett	1-12	1-12	5-8	5-8	5-8	K-8	K-8	K-8	K-8	K-8
Johnsonville	1-12	1-12	1-4	1-4	1-4	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5
Shawtown	1-12	1-12	1-6	1-6	1-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
Robert L. Vann	1-12	1-12	1-12	5-8	5-8	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5
C. S. Brown	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-8	1-8	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5
Upchurch	1-12	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	7-8	7-8
David	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
Unity	1-12	1-12	1-8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dunbar	1-12	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6
Morningside High	1-12	1-9	1-6	1-6	1-6	-	-	-	-	-
Frink	1-12	1-12	1-12	6-9	6-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Sanawah	1-12	1-12	1-12	6-9	6-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Woodington	1-12	1-12	1-12	10-12	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Adkin High School	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-10	9-10	8-8	8-8	7-7	7-7	7-7
Newbold	1-12	1-8	1-8	1-8	1-8	1-6	1-6	1-6	K-3	1-4
Mars Hill	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	K-8	K-8	K-8
East End	1-12	1-12	1-12	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	K-8	K-5	K-5
E. J. Hayes	1-12	1-12	1-12	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-6	4-6	4-6
West Martin	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-8	1-8	K-8	K-8	K-8	K-8	K-8
Second Ward	10-12	10-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
W. Charlotte	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Peabody	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Berkley	1-12	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Academy Height	1-12	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
W. Southern Pines	1-12	1-12	1-3	1-3	K-3	K-3	K-3	K-4	K-4	K-4
Spaulding	1-12	1-12	1-12	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8
Swift Creek	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-8	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
B. T. Washington	10-12	10-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 9-Continued

Schools	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77
Williston Senior	10-12	7-9	7-9	7-9	9-9	9-9	9-9	9-9	9-9	9-9
Gumberry	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12
Wittie Hare	1-12	1-12	1-4	1-4	1-4	K-4	K-4	K-4	K-4	K-4
W. S. Creecy	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12	K-12
Georgetown	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
P. W. Moore	7-12	7-12	7-9	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7	7-7
C. F. Pope	1-12	1-12	1-8	1-8	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12	9-12
Perquiman Union	1-12	1-12	2-12	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8
H. B. Suggs	1-12	2-12	3-12	4-12	4-6	4-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
W. H. Robinson	1-12	2-12	3-12	4-12	K-3	K-3	K-3	K-3	K-3	K-3
Epps	7-12	7-12	7-9	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
Mineral Spring	1-12	1-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	4-6	4-6	4-6	4-6	4-6
Monroe Ave.	6-12	-	-	-	7-8	5-6	5-6	4-6	4-6	4-6
Oak Ridge	1-12	1-12	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Proctorville	1-12	1-8	1-8	1-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
Southside	1-12	1-12	1-12	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8
Rosenwald	1-12	1-9	1-9	1-4	1-4	-	-	-	-	-
South Lumberton	7-12	7-12	8-9	8-9	8-9	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-4	K-4
R. B. Dean	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-6	1-6	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-4
Douglas	1-12	1-6	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4	K-4	K-4	K-4	K-4
Charles Drew	1-12	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	-	-	-	-	-
R. A. Clement	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dunbar	1-12	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Price	7-12	7-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carver High	9-12	9-12	9-12	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8
Clear Run	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-9	8-9	8-9	8-9	8-9	8-9
Hargrove	1-12	1-12	1-6	1-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
Pleasant Grove	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Charles E. Perry	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	K-8	K-8	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5
Sampson	1-12	1-12	1-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	6-8

TABLE 9-Continued

Schools	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77
Carver	1-12	2-12	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9
Gibson	1-12	1-8	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8
Shaw	1-12	1-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9
London	1-12	1-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	-	-	-	-	-
Tyrrell	1-12	1-12	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6
East Union	1-12	1-12	1-8	7-8	K-8	K-8	7-8	7-8	7-8	6-8
Western Union	1-12	1-8	1-8	7-8	K-8	K-8	7-8	7-8	K-5	K-5
Henderson Institute	8-12	9-12	9-12	9-9	9-9	9-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Dubois	1-12	1-12	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lockhart	1-12	1-8	1-8	7-8	7-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8	6-8
Shepard	1-12	1-12	1-12	-	6-8	-	-	-	-	-
J. W. Ligon	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
John R. Hawkins	1-12	1-12	1-12	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9	7-9
Washington Co. Union	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8	4-8
Carver	1-12	1-12	1-12	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5	K-5
Central	1-12	1-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dillard	9-12	9-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Speight	1-12	3-10	6-12	6-6	6-8	6-9	K-9	K-9	6-9	6-9
Springfield	1-12	3-12	6-12	6-8	6-8	6-8	K-8	K-8	6-8	6-8
Darden	8-12	8-12	8-12	10-10	10-10	10-10	10-10	10-10	10-10	10-10

Source: North Carolina Educational Directory, 1967-77. State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina.

- a. closed 36 (29 percent)
- b. reduced to elementary schools - 41 (33 percent)
- c. reduced to middle schools - 26 (15 percent)
- d. reduced to junior high schools - 23 (19 percent)

The data reveal that nearly 92 percent (124) of the 135 of the predominantly black high schools have either been closed or changed to elementary, middle, or junior high schools. This desegregation practice has produced a sharp decline in the number of former black high schools in operation since September, 1967 (see Figure 3). Consequently, the fifth question is confirmed.

Distribution and Racial Affiliations of Educators Who Replaced Displaced Black High School Principals

The sixth question examined was:

Did white educators replace most displaced black high school principals when their positions were not phased out?

Table 10 is a presentation of data regarding the distribution and racial affiliations of the educators who replaced the displaced high school principals when their schools were reduced in grade level during the desegregation process.

According to the data in the preceding table, of 19 displaced principals whose high schools were reduced in grade level, 4 (21 percent) were replaced by black educators, 4 (21 percent) were replaced by white educators, and 11 (57 percent) remained as principals in the reorganized schools. The number of blacks appointed as replacements constitutes half of the replacements of the total positions available due to displacement of the previous principal. Thus, the sixth question's answer is no.

TABLE 10

THE DISTRIBUTION AND RACIAL AFFILIATION OF EDUCATORS REPLACING
DISPLACED BLACK PRINCIPALS WHOSE HIGH SCHOOLS' GRADE
LEVELS WERE CHANGED IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICTS
INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY: 1967-77

Respondent	Same Principal	Replaced by Black	Replaced by White
1			X
3	X		
4	X		
5	X		
6			X
7	X		
11			X
12		X	
16	X		
17	X		
18		X	
19	X		
20			X
23	X		
26	X		
27	X		
28		X	
29	X		
13		X	
Total	11 (5%)	4 (21%)	4 (21%)

The seventh question examined was:

How are black high school principals presently employed?

Black principals are employed as follows: Six are high school principals, two are junior high school principals, four are elementary school principals, one is a middle school principal, four are on district office staff, one is in higher education, one is in private sector and twelve are retired. A tabulation of information pertinent to answering this question is presented in Table 11.

TABLE 11

SUMMARY OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE 31 SUBJECTS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

Respondent	Senior	Junior	Middle	Elementary	Asst. Princ.	District Office Staff	Coordinator	Teacher	Retired	Higher Education	Private Sector
1						X			X		
2				X					X		
3											
4									X		
5						X					
6		X									
7									X		
8		X							X		
9											
10		X									
11									X		
12										X	
13											
14											X
15		X									
16		X									
17											
18									X		
19						X			X		
20										X	
21				X							
22		X							X		
23									X		
24									X		
25									X		
26									X		
27									X		
28									X		
29				X							
30		X									
31											
Total	6	2	1	4		3			13	1	1

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of the study was to determine if a relationship existed between the desegregation of public schools and the percentage of black high school principals employed in the 31 selected school districts in North Carolina from 1967 to 1977, and if a relationship existed, to determine its nature and scope as well as its implications for future employment of black administrators.

Specifically, the purposes of this study were:

1. To identify 141 black high school principals who were in office in 1967 and determine, of that number, those who have been displaced because of school desegregation and integration in selected public school districts in North Carolina.
2. To determine the major reasons for such displacements as a result of desegregation.
3. To gather information about the qualifications, certification status, age, family status, and sex of those who have been displaced.
4. To determine how those who have been displaced were subsequently employed.
5. To determine if legal problems have arisen from the displacement of black high school principals.

6. To determine if a relationship existed between the desegregation of public schools and the percentage of black high school principals employed in selected North Carolina School districts from 1967 to 1977.

The subjects for this study consisted of black high school principals employed in thirty-one of the one hundred and forty-one school districts as principals of black high schools in 1967. This study was concerned exclusively with black high school principals. Therefore, the conclusions derived from this study were also limited to this specific population.

The principal data-gathering device was the "Displaced Principals Assessment." Permission was obtained from the developer for use with this study. Other important sources of data for the study included: the certification file of each subject, Department of Health, Education and Welfare school desegregation reports, Equal Employment Opportunity report summaries, Elementary and Secondary Civil Rights Survey Forms OS/CR101-2 and OS/CR102-1, summary of enrollment and staff forms OE-7001, relevant North Carolina Teacher Association (NCTA) records of displaced black educators in North Carolina, school desegregation plans as mandated by Department of Health, Education and Welfare and/or the federal courts for each district involved in the study, the North Carolina Educational Directory (1967 through 1977), and appropriate resource persons.

After data were collected, they were systematically examined, evaluated and tabulated. The data were then analyzed to determine the relation and relevance to the problem under study. These data are reported in Chapter IV of this study.

The review of the literature revealed that the Supreme Court's landmark decision (Brown v. Board of Education) in 1954 which made the practice of racial segregation in the public schools illegal was not nearly enough to end it. Approximately 20 years of additional court decisions and federal government coercion were required in order for significant progress to be made in school desegregation in the southern states (including North Carolina).

Not until several years after 1954 did largely unforeseen effects of desegregation begin to appear. Among them was the dramatic decline in the proportion of black educators (especially the black principals), and the continued steady decrease in this group as the desegregation process gained in scope and momentum. As schools were consolidated into broader units, school boards often faced genuine dilemmas in reassigning the previous number of principals to a reduced number of positions. Concern began to rise about the black educators and the future of black educators in the nation's schools. As indicated in Chapter II, some research had already been done on the problem of displacement of black educators and the courts had begun to respond to it.

The literature indicated a considerable problem involving the displacement of black educators in the public school system. It also revealed that there was little knowledge and understanding of the scope and momentum of the desegregation process and its effects on black educators in North Carolina.

Conclusions

This study sought to examine seven questions. Conclusions are as follows:

Question one

As the desegregation in North Carolina public schools gained in scope and momentum during the period September, 1967, through June, 1977, was there a strong relationship that existed between desegregation and the striking decrease in the number of black high school principals?

A strong relationship existed between desegregation and the striking decrease in the number of black high school principals employed in the districts included in this study. During the period beginning September, 1967, and extending to June, 1977, the number of high school principalships occupied by black educators in these districts diminished from 141 to 21, a decrease of 85 percent.

Only six of 31 principals employed during the 1967-68 school year continued as high school principals for the next ten years. Twenty-three of the 31 predominantly black high schools (74 percent) in existence in 1967-68 and administered by black principals, had either been altered (e.g., changed to elementary, middle, or junior high schools) or they had been closed completely.

The preceding statements supported a strong relationship between desegregation in the districts under study and the displacement of black high school principals who were employed by these districts.

Question two

What relationship exists between displacement of black high school

principals and their certificate status, college degrees, experience, ages, family status, and sex?

An analysis of the data disclosed that all 31 respondents met all state requirements for full licensing as high school principals. Seventeen percent of the respondents exceed the state's master's degree requirement with educational specialist degrees.

The respondents had an average of 21.5 years' experience as high school principals which was higher than white educators with similar employment in the districts under study. All of the respondents were under age 70 (North Carolina's compulsory retirement age) at the time of their displacement. Nearly 100 percent of these individuals were well under 60 years of age.

All of the respondents were male. All of the respondents except one were married.

All of the characteristics cited regarding the subjects in this study corresponded very closely to similar ones among the white high school principals employed in the same districts. Therefore, there is little evidence to support these characteristics as factors in displacement.

Question three

Was displacement of black high school principals related to the emergence of legal problems regarding contractual status (continuing contracts) and the intent of certain court decrees?

Although twenty-three of the new positions assigned to the 23 displaced high school principals were classified as demotions and sinecure positions, all of the principals reported that their salaries were based on that of a

high school principal. According to these respondents, the school boards made no attempt to remove them from continuing contractual status.

Only one of the displaced principals reported that he had legal problems. The other twenty-two displaced principals' statements were either ambivalent or they gave no response to this inquiry in interviews or on the questionnaire.

Responses to questions bearing upon question three may or may not have clearly portrayed the current situation. Apparently, problems regarding employment status tended not to be regarded as crucial, or at least legal problems did not emerge if salary and continuing contractual status were maintained. Thus, evidence did not support the question in the affirmative except for one individual.

Question four

Did employment practices of North Carolina school boards reduce or curtail sharply employment opportunities for black educators to serve as high school principals since the implementation of public school desegregation laws?

As stated previously, of 141 high school principalships held by black educators in the state during the period from 1966-67 to 1975-76, one hundred and twenty-four or 84 percent were discontinued. During the period from 1975-76 to 1976-77, there was an increase of five new principalships in the state.*

Of the twenty-three displaced high school principals in this study, only one reported that he had applied for reassignment to high school principalship

*State Department of Public Instruction Data File

and was refused reassignment. The effect of displacement is that it appears to have chilled the attitude of many black educators regarding their aspirations to becoming high school principals in their districts.

When the displaced high school principals were questioned about not having applied for high school principalships, the writer encountered such statements as:

"What would be the use?"

"As long as the pay's the same, I don't care."

"My job in superintendent's office is a promotion."

The data indicate that school boards in the districts under study have usually reduced or sharply curtailed employment opportunities for blacks to serve as high school principals since the implementation of public school desegregation laws.

On the basis of the preceding data, the fourth question is supported in the affirmative.

Question five

Were most of the high schools formerly administered by black high school principals closed or changed to elementary, middle or junior high schools?

During the period from September, 1967, to June, 1977, school closings and grade level reductions of formerly black high schools correspond to displacement. One hundred and twenty-four (nearly 92 percent) of the one hundred and thirty-five predominantly black high schools were closed or changed to elementary, middle, junior high schools or others. The practice produced a sharp decline in the number of former black high schools in operation since September, 1967. Consequently, the fifth question is affirmative.

Question six

Did white educators replace most displaced black high school principals when their positions were not phased out?

Nineteen displaced principals' high schools were reduced in grade level. Of these principals, four were replaced by black educators, four were replaced by white educators, and eleven remained as principals of their reorganized schools. Since the number of blacks appointed as replacement principals constituted half of the replacements of the total positions available, the sixth question is negative.

Question seven

How are black high school principals presently employed?

In the school districts under study, the employment status of the respondents during 1976-77 was as follows: 13 were serving as principals (6 as high school principals, five in original positions), four were in district office staff, one was in higher education, one was in private sector and twelve were retired.

No attempt was made through the examination of the preceding questions to either establish causation or draw conclusions beyond the population of this study.

Summary of Major Findings

In the population of this study:

1. The scope and momentum of desegregation in North Carolina schools increased sharply during the period September, 1967 to June, 1975.

2. A strong relationship exists between desegregation and the striking decrease in the number of black high school principals.

3. Displacement of black high school principals had little or no relation to their certification status, college degrees, experience, age, family status, or sex.

4. Problems regarding the employment status of displaced high school principals tended not to be crucial or involve legal problems if salary and continuing contract were maintained.

5. Most of the high schools formerly administered by black high school principals have either closed or been changed to elementary, middle, or junior high schools.

6. No displaced high school principal was either dismissed or forced to resign from employment.

7. All displaced high school principals regarded their change in employment status as a direct outcome of the desegregation process.

Recommendations

The findings gave rise to the following suggestions:

1. Fair, objective, and nonracial criteria should be established and used by school districts that are in the process of consolidating or desegregating to determine professional staff assignments, promotions, and retentions.

2. School districts should not change the ratio of black to white educators when change from a dual to unitary school system causes a reduction in the professional staff.

3. Staff vacancies in desegregating school districts should not be filled until each displaced staff member who is qualified has been offered the opportunity to fill the vacancy, or declined the offer.

4. Effective placement and counseling services should be set up for displaced staff in both local school districts and the Department of Education.

5. Positive attitudes should be instilled in school board members, superintendents, and other educational leaders toward effective utilization of black principals and other black educational personnel. These attitudes would engender greater receptivity to black principals and other personnel by school patrons.

6. Displaced Negro principals should apply for vacancies annually. Some complain that vacancies are filled before they know about them.

7. School districts should ensure that new positions assigned to displaced professional staff are both meaningful and at least commensurate with the position they formerly held.

Recommendations for Further Study

1. This study was limited to thirty-one districts in the state. Using the foundations of this research design, a comprehensive study should be conducted in the other 69 North Carolina school districts.

2. Sociological studies should be conducted to determine the impact on students, parents, educators, and communities of:

- a. displacement of black educators
- b. displacement of white educators

- c. school closings
- d. grade level reductions

3. A study should be designed to analyze the relationship between desegregation of the public schools and the increasing proportion of the black population to the white population in urban communities.

4. Studies should be designed to determine if a causal relationship exists between desegregation and displacement, school closings, and student unrest.

5. A study should be designed to determine the nature of the relationship between desegregation of the public schools and the growing number of white educators seeking employment in private schools.

6. Case studies involving causes for differential effectiveness of selected principals in desegregated schools should be conducted.

The black high school principal played a number of roles that were outside the terms of his contract and specific training and were not of his choosing. In addition to his legal school and educational responsibilities, the black principal was expected to avoid antagonizing the white community and its power structure while providing services that facilitated the progress and interests of the black community. If he violated the expectations of the former, he would be unceremoniously removed and "black balled" as an educator, and if he violated the expectations of the latter, he would be ostracized and despised by those whom he served. In effect, the black high school principal was always the man in the middle, expected to deliver something to his various publics who were in basic conflict over the products desired. The black principal was in a "no win" game that required a winning strategy if he were to justify his efforts as a professional educator, man,

and citizen. School systems in North Carolina failed to realize that when they removed the black high school principals from black schools, they produced a sterile black community. However, I believe that they were fully aware of the importance of the many roles played by the black principals and the contribution that the black high school made to the black community in North Carolina, and the legislation gave them the means to impede the many contributions that black principals and black high schools made to the black community.

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APPENDIX A
DISPLACED PRINCIPALS ASSESSMENT
QUESTIONNAIRE

An Important Note: The names and school districts of persons contributing data to this assessment will be kept strictly confidential.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Telephone _____

Age _____ Sex _____ Are you at present: Married _____

Single _____ Widowed _____ Divorced _____ ?

Do you have dependent children? _____ If so how many? _____

Present position _____

Name of school system in which you are now employed _____

Number of years in present position _____. Salary for present

position _____. Name of school system in which you were

employed in 1967 _____.

SECTION I

1. Educational Qualifications

a. Bachelor's degree:

B.A. _____ B.S. _____ Other _____
Major _____ Minor _____
Institution _____, Year earned _____.

b. Master's degree:

M.A. _____ M.S. _____ Other _____
Major _____ Minor _____
Institution _____, Year earned _____.

APPENDIX A (Continued)

c. Specialist degree:

Ed.S. _____ Other _____, Major _____
 Minor _____, Institution _____,
 Year earned _____.

d. Doctor's degree:

Ph.D. _____ Ed.D. _____ Other _____
 Major _____ Minor _____
 Institution _____, Year earned _____.

e. Number of additional hours earned beyond your degrees: _____

In educational administration _____, Others _____
 _____, Year most recent hours earned _____.
 Institutions _____.

2. Certification Status

a. Valid North Carolina certificate: Yes _____ No _____

b. Certified areas: _____

c. Rank: I _____ I-A _____ II _____ III _____

d. Kind: Graduate _____ Provisional _____ Temporary _____
 Other _____

e. Certificate expires _____.

3. Experience

a. Number of years as a teacher _____ In this system _____

b. Number of years as a high school principal _____ In this system _____

c. Number of years in other administrative positions _____
 In this system _____

APPENDIX A (Continued)

d. Number of years in other educational positions (e.g., counselor, librarian, etc.) _____ In this system _____

4. Contractual Status

a. Annual _____ b. Continuing contract _____

c. Continuing contract (4 or more years experience) _____

d. No contract _____

Displacement is defined as any change in position involving dismissal, demotion, lateral transfer, forced resignation, early retirement, or promotion to sinecure positions resulting from school desegregation.

5. According to the preceding definition, are you a displaced principal?

Yes _____ No _____

If your answer to question 5 is no, please give answers to the following inquiry (If your answer is yes, omit questions 6 through 9).

6. What position did you hold prior to becoming a high school principal?

_____ How long did you hold that position? _____

What was your salary? _____

7. How many teachers did you supervise? Black _____ White _____

How many students were enrolled in your school? Black _____ White _____

8. Was your school to be closed for the 1972-73 school year? _____ (or)

Were the grades in your school to be cut back? _____

If the grades in your school were to be cut back, what grades were in your school the following year? _____ Was the staff also reduced? _____

If so, how many staff members did you lose? _____

9. If your school was either cut back or closed, were you reassigned? _____

APPENDIX A (Continued)

If so, where and to what position? _____

What was your salary? _____ Was this assignment comparable to your present position? _____

If your answer to question 5 is yes, please give answers to the following inquiry:

10. What was the nature of your displacement?

- a. dismissal _____ b. lateral transfer _____
 c. demotion _____ d. promoted to a sinecure position _____
 e. early retirement _____ f. other _____

11. How did you obtain the position you held after the displacement?

- a. volunteered _____ b. forced to accept it _____
 c. one of several choices _____ d. other _____

12. How was your displaced position funded?

- a. county funds _____ b. state funds _____
 c. federal funds _____ d. other _____

13. How was your school classified?

- a. high school _____ b. junior high school _____
 c. middle school _____ d. elementary school _____
 e. other _____

14. Was your school closed? _____ Were the grades in your school cut back? _____ If the grades in your school were cut back, what grades were in your school after it was cut back? _____

15. Since being displaced, did you request reinstatement as a high school principal? _____ Did the school board offer you a position similar to the one you held prior to displacement? _____ If your

APPENDIX A (Continued)

- answer is yes, what was your reply to the offer? _____

16. Has your school system had vacancies for high school principals since you were displaced? _____ If your answer is yes, how many vacancies did they have? _____
17. If you are no longer principal at your former school and it was not closed, which of the following replaced you?
 a. black educator _____ b. white educator _____
 c. other _____
18. When were you displaced? _____ What year did your school begin desegregating? _____ What reasons were given for your displacement? _____

19. Did your displacement cause you to have legal problems in relation to your contractual status or a court decree (e.g., Singleton v. Jackson*)? _____ If so, explain the problem briefly. _____

*With regard to desegregation of the public schools,...if there are any dismissals or demotions of principals, teachers, teacher-aides, or other professional staff employed by the school district, no staff vacancy may be filled through recruitment of a person of a race, color, or national origin different from that of the individual dismissed or demoted until such displaced staff members who are qualified have had an opportunity to fill the vacancies and have failed to accept an offer to do so.

SECTION II

Other Comments and/or Reactions

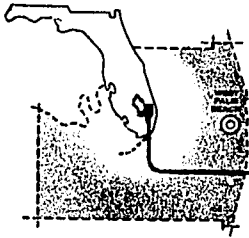
APPENDIX A (Continued)

A Special Note:

The names and school districts of persons contributing data will be kept strictly confidential.

Interviewed by _____

**THE SCHOOL BOARD
OF PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA**



THOMAS J. MILLS
SUPERINTENDENT
OF SCHOOLS

3323 BELVEDERE ROAD
WEST PALM BEACH, FLORIDA 33402
TELEPHONE 683-0050

August 9, 1978

THOMAS W. SANSBURY
CHAIRMAN
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JAMES C. DE LONGA
DANIEL W. HENDRIX
BERNARD KIMMEL, M.D.

Mr. Walter Childs, III
The University of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina 27412

Dear Mr. Childs:

In response to your letter of July 25, 1978, you have my permission to use my questionnaire, Displaced Principals Assessment.

I look forward to receiving a copy of your completed dissertation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Joseph A. Orr".

Joseph A. Orr
Assistant Superintendent
Special Instruction

JAO:dmr

APPENDIX C

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TEACHERS

Boyd Bosma

INTEGRATED EDUCATION:
A REPORT OF RACE AND THE SCHOOLS

(January-February 1972)

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TEACHERS

Boyd Bosma

(abstract)

Following are a number of conclusions and guiding principles with respect to racial discrimination against educators in the schools:

1. Racial segregation can no longer be tolerated in the public schools of this nation.
2. Discrimination against teachers constitutes an element of that racial segregation.
3. The utilization of the forms of due process by certain superintendents may confuse issues presented to the courts when hearings have been conducted, dossiers have been collected, adequate notice of has been given, (sic) and statement of cause appears to be adequate. The burden of proof is often on the teacher to demonstrate that his dismissal or demotion is the result of racial discrimination.
4. Teachers assigned to ESEA Title I programs and other federally-sponsored projects are protected against constitutional violations of their rights in the same way as other employees of the school system, although they continue to be vulnerable when the federal projects are terminated.
5. The current policy of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is that districts wishing to remain eligible for federal funds must take new measures to correct the effects of past discrimination against school staff, including reinstatement and reimbursement of teachers for past losses as a result of lack of employment.
6. Racial or ethnic discrimination in the staffing of schools deter the achievement of high quality educational opportunities and it is unconstitutional on the basis of the interest of children in their own equal protection.
7. Investigation by federal officials (HEW) may result when there has been an abrupt and significant change in the

- racial balance of a school or when the presence of members of any one racial group appears to be predominantly different from former balances within teaching staffs.
8. Recruitment efforts are now a basis of the evaluation by HEW as to the efficacy of a school board's desegregation plan.
 9. The most common pattern in teacher displacement has resulted from reduction of "surplus" faculty members following allegations that desegregation has reduced the need for teachers.
 10. A teacher dismissed as a result of civil rights activity not in violation of federal law may expect the support of the courts.
 11. The exercise of constitutionally protected rights as a basis for dismissal or demotion constitutes a discriminatory application of a school board's powers.
 12. The *Fourteenth Amendment* forbids the selection, retention, and assignment of public school teachers on the basis of race, except when such action is undertaken to overcome the effects of past discrimination.
 13. The reduction of students and or faculties in a formerly all-black school will not alone justify the discharge of or failure to re-employ teachers in the school system.
 14. Teachers displaced from closed schools must be judged by definite and objective standards against all other teachers in the system for continued employment.
 15. A teacher may be entitled to additional remedies as well as reinstatement, including financial damages, as a result of a discriminatory dismissal.
 16. Faculty segregation encourages pupil segregation and is detrimental to achieving a constitutionally required, non-racially operated school system.
 17. Race may be taken into account in order to counteract or correct the effects of segregated assignments of faculty and other staff in a dual school system.
 18. Where, as a result of school desegregation, teachers or other professional staff are to be displaced, no vacancies shall be filled with outside recruitment unless there is no displaced staff member qualified to fill the vacancy.

19. Faculty desegregation cannot be left to the free choice of teachers, but the board must exercise its authority in making assignments to bring about school desegregation.
20. Teachers employed in a system may not be required to pit their qualifications against new applicants in retention of their positions.
21. State tenure protection may not be selectively denied to majority black school districts.
22. Graduation from an "inferior" college is not admissible as a reason for the selection of one candidate over another.
23. If there is to be reduction in the numbers of principals, teachers, teacher aides, or other professional staff, the staff member to be dismissed or demoted must be selected on the basis of objective and reasonable non-discriminatory standards from among all the staff of school district. (sic)
24. If there is any such dismissal or demotion, no staff vacancy may be filled through recruitment of a person of a race, color, or national origin different from that of the race, color or national origin different from that of the individual dismissed or demoted until each displaced staff member who is qualified has had an opportunity to fill the vacancy and has failed to accept an offer to do so. (sic)
25. School boards are required to develop or require the development of nonracial criteria to be used in selecting staff members to be dismissed or demoted.
26. Such criteria shall be available for public inspection and shall be retained by the school district.
27. The school district shall record and preserve the evaluation of staff members under the objective criteria, and such evaluations shall be made available upon request to the dismissed or demoted employee.
28. Demotion includes any reassignment under which the staff member receives less pay or has less responsibility, which requires a lesser degree of skill than before, or under which the staff member is asked to teach a subject or grade other than the one for which he is certified or for which he has had substantial experience within a reasonably current period, usually defined as five years.

29. There is legal precedent with regard to the misuse of the National Teacher Examination as a device in supporting the dismissal of black teachers and principals. Where school districts that utilize the NTE as a criterion for hiring have been challenged in court, such practice has been held discriminatory and its use enjoined.
30. The use of the Graduate Record Examination has been disqualified as objective under the Singleton standard.
31. A standardized test may lawfully be used in selecting persons for employment only if it fairly measures the knowledge or skill required by the particular job or class of jobs which the applicant seeks or which fairly affords the employer a chance to measure the applicant's ability to perform such a job.
32. It is unreasonable and discriminatory to use ostensibly neutral criteria for jobs which are not related to job requirements or where the criteria disqualify substantially more black applicants.
33. The courts have held that objective criteria may include such factors as: degrees held; experience in the school system; total experience in the position; and other experience in education, although other objective factors may also be relied upon.
34. A teacher has the right not to be treated in a significantly different manner than others in the same class, such as other teachers holding similar positions.
35. A white teacher dismissed for advocacy of civil rights causes or for association with persons of other races is also entitled to protection under civil rights legislation and the equal protection clause.

APPENDIX D

IN THE

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

No. 26285

DEREK JEROME SINGLETON, ET AL
APPELLANTS,

versus

JACKSON MUNICIPAL SEPARATE
SCHOOL DISTRICT, ET AL,
APPELLEES

Appeal from the United States District Court for the
Southern District of Mississippi, at Jackson

(January 14, 1970)

DEREK JEROME SINGLETON, ET AL,
Appellants,

versus

JACKSON MUNICIPAL SEPARATE
SCHOOL DISTRICT, ET AL,
Appellees.

DESEGREGATION OF FACULTY AND OTHER STAFF

(abstract)

The School Board shall announce and implement the following policies:

1. Effective not later than February 1, 1970, the principals, teachers, teacher-aides and other staff who work directly with children at a school shall be so assigned that in no case will the racial composition of a staff indicate that a school is intended for Negro students or white students. For the remainder of the 1969-70 school year the district shall assign the staff described above so that the ratio is to the teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system.

The school district shall, to the extent necessary to carry out this desegregation plan, direct members of its staff as a condition of continued employment to accept new assignments.

2. Staff members who work directly with children, and professional staff who work on the administrative level will be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted,

dismissed, and otherwise treated without regard to race, color, or national origin.

3. If there is to be a reduction in the number of principals, teachers, teacher-aides, or other professional staff employed by the school district which will result in a dismissal or demotion of any such staff member, the staff member to be dismissed or demoted must be selected on the basis of objective and reasonable non-discriminatory standards from among all the staff of the school district. In addition if there is any such dismissal or demotion, no staff vacancy may be filled through recruitment of a person of a race, color, or national origin different from that of the individual dismissed or demoted, until each displaced staff member who is qualified has had an opportunity to fill the vacancy and has failed to accept an offer to do so.

Prior to such a reduction, the school board will develop or require the development of non-racial objective criteria to be used in selecting the staff member who is to be dismissed or demoted. These criteria shall be available for public inspection and shall be retained by the school district. The school district also shall record and preserve the evaluation of staff members under the criteria. Such evaluation shall be made available upon request to the dismissed or demoted employee.

"Demotion" as used above includes any reassignment (1) under which the staff member receives less pay or has less responsibility than under the assignment he held previously, (2) which requires a lesser degree of skill than did the assignment he held previously, or (3) under which the staff member is asked to teach a subject or grade other than one for which he is certified or for which he has had substantial experience within a reasonably current period. In general and depending upon the subject matter involved, five years is such a reasonable period.

APPENDIX E

IN THE

United States Court of Appeals
FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

No. 71-2963

ANTHONY T. LEE, ET AL,
Plaintiffs,

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Plaintiff-Intervenor and
Amicus Curiae,

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Plaintiff-Intervenor-Appellant,

versus

MACON COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION, ET AL,
Defendants,

(MUSCLE SHOALS SCHOOL SYSTEM),
Defendant-Appellee.

Appeal from the United States District Court for the
Northern District of Alabama

(December 28, 1971)

LEE, ET AL v. MACON CO. BD. OF ED.

Before GEWIN, GOLDBERG, AND DYER
Circuit Judges.

(abstract)

GOLDBERG, Circuit Judge: This is a case of faculty fallout in the wake of desegregating the school system of Muscle Shoals, Alabama. In such situations human aspirations are sometimes thwarted by tides of history. Though we may not levee the tides completely, we can log our journey leaving as few professional heartaches as possible.

Charles Carter was removed in 1967 as principal of an all-black school pursuant to a court desegregation order that required the closing of his school. Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, M. D. Ala. 1967, C. A. No. 604-E. The white principals were retained or replaced with other white principals. From 1967 to 1971 principalships in three of Muscle Shoals' four schools became vacant. Charles Carter was not contacted regarding any of the vacancies, and each was filled with a white man or woman. In May, 1971, another principalship vacancy arose in the Avalon Middle School. Again, Carter was not appointed, the school board choosing instead a white assistant principal from the high school. Alleging that he was denied appointment because of his race in violation of the Constitution and of this court's directives, Carter appeals from the district court's denial of his motion for an order directing the Muscle Shoals school board to appoint him to a position tantamount to his demotion, specifically

to the principalship of Avalon, and to restore to him any back pay and retirement benefits of which he had been unlawfully deprived because of the discriminatory practices of the board. We find that the school board has failed to comply with this court's procedures for the reappointment of principals who are affected by desegregation orders, and we reverse.

After his school was closed in 1967, Carter, who had served as principal since 1959, requested that he be appointed either principal of another school or director of Muscle Shoals Head Start program. He was not offered either position. Instead he was offered, and accepted, a position as teacher with the Head Start program. Carter testified that he had been told during several conversations with the superintendent in 1967 that this Head Start teaching position was the only position available to him in Muscle Shoals, although he was offered, and refused, two other positions in other areas of the state. That testimony is undisputed in the record, although the superintendent who formed the other end of these 1967 conversations regarding available position died in 1970. Carter obtained a leave of absence from the school system in order to accept the position at Head Start. He taught in the Head Start program for three years, during which time he often expressed to the school board his continuing desire for another principalship or for a position equal to that which he had occupied prior to the desegregation order. Three principalships arose in 1969

and 1970, but Carter was not hired, or even consulted.¹ Prior to the 1970 school year Carter was informed by the new superintendent that his leave of absence could no longer be continued under Alabama law, and that he would have to return to the Muscle Shoals school system or resign altogether. Even though he had been passed over for principalships three times since 1967, Carter resigned from Head Start and returned to the school system in the hope that he might be placed in a position of responsibility equal to that which he had held as principal for eight years.

Carter holds a Master's Degree in School Administration; at the time of the hearing he lacked six hours of course-work before he was to receive a Master's Degree in Elementary Education. He is certified by the State Board of Education as qualified to serve as Principal, assistant superintendent, guidance counsellor, social studies instructor, English instructor, and physical education instructor. He was assigned in 1970 as a physical education instructor. For the 1971 school year he was also assigned to teach a seventh grade social studies class.

Subsequent to Carter's return to the system and to his assignment as physical education instructor, the principalship of the Avalon Middle School became vacant.² Once again Carter requested that he be

¹In addition to the principalships, Carter was passed over in favor of white applicants for an assistant principalship, two positions as guidance counsellor, and two openings as coach.

²The principal of Avalon, hired in 1969 over Carter, was dismissed one year later as "not qualified."

reinstated to a position tantamount to that which he had occupied in 1967, specifically to the principalship of Avalon. Once again the school board hired a white applicant, allegedly on the basis of "higher" qualifications.³ This time Carter sued and the National Education Association and the Department of Justice intervened in his behalf. Without going behind the school board's allegations that Carter was "less qualified" for a principalship than the white applicant, the district court denied Carter's petition for reinstatement as principal of Avalon, for back pay, and for lost retirement benefits. At the same time, the district court ordered the school board to file objective, non-racial criteria for the demotion and dismissal of principals and teachers, pursuant to this court's decision in Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 5 Cir. 1970, 419 F.2d 1211, cert. denied. 396 U. S. 1032, 90 S. Ct. 612, 24 L. Ed. 2d 530, and to offer to Carter "the first vacancy in a principalship or assistant principalship for which he qualifies."⁴ Because we conclude

³The present principal of Avalon has a Master's Degree in School Administration. He had served as assistant principal at the Muscle Shoals High School for five years, but had no experience as principal.

⁴The part of Singleton relevant to the filing of criteria reads as follows:

"Prior to such a reduction (in the number of principals, teachers, teacher aides, or other professional staff employed by the school district), the school board will develop or require the development of nonracial objective criteria to be used in selecting the staff member who is to be dismissed or demoted. These criteria shall be available for public inspection and shall be retained by the school district." 419 F.2d at 1218.

that Singleton has not been followed with regard to the Avalon principalship and because we doubt the district court's interpretation of Singleton, we reverse the denial of Carter's motion for immediate reinstatement, back pay, and retirement benefits.

It is clear that Singleton controls this case, but there is disagreement among the parties regarding Singleton's meaning and thrust. With regard to the administration and faculty correlatives to a school desegregation order, this court concluded in Singleton:

"...(I)f there is any such dismissal or demotion (of principals, teachers, teacher-aides, or other professional staff employed by the school district), no staff vacancy may be filled through recruitment of a race, color, or national origin different from that of the individual dismissed or demoted, until such displaced staff member who is qualified has had an opportunity to fill the vacancy and has failed to accept an offer to do so."

419 F.2d at 1218 (emphasis added).

APPENDIX F

FALL 1971
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CIVIL RIGHTS SURVEY
Required Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
U. S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office for Civil Rights. Washington, D. C.

Form OS/CR 101
OMB No.: 85 RO
Expiration Date:

SCHOOL SYSTEM SUMMARY REPORT
Due October 15, 1971
(Copy)

- I. Name of School System _____
- II. Street Address _____
- III. City _____, County _____
State _____, Zip Code _____
- IV. Name of Chief Administrative Officer of
School System _____
- V. Number of Individual School Campus Report
Forms (OS/CR 102) Attached _____

APPENDIX F (Continued)

	Col. 1 American Indian	Col. 2 Negro	Col. 3 Oriental	Col. 4 Spanish Surnamed American	Col. 5 All Indi- viduals NOT In- cluded in Cols. 1-4	Col. 6 Totals
VI. PUPIL MEMBERSHIP IN THIS SYSTEM						
A. Sum of pupils reported on IN- DIVIDUAL SCHOOL CAMPUS REPORT FORMS, Item VI (PUPILS IN MEMBERSHIP)						
1. Nonresident pupils in mem- berships in this system						
2. Resident pupils in member- ship in this sytem						
VII. During the previous school year, how many pupils were officially expelled from any school in this system?						
VIII. RESIDENT SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN NOT ENROLLED IN THIS SCHOOL SYSTEM						

APPENDIX F (Continued)

	Col. 1 American Indian	Col. 2 Negro	Col. 3 Oriental	Col. 4 Spanish Surnamed American	Col. 5 All Indi- viduals NOT In- cluded in Cols. 1-4	Col. 6 Totals
A. Resident pupils enrolled in another public school system (estimate)						
B. Resident pupils enrolled in non-public schools (estimate)						
C. Resident School age children not in school (estimate)						
IX. FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF (Working FULL-TIME in this school system in an instructional capacity. Report the number, do not use percents, fractions, or full-time equivalents. See Instructions for definition of "Professional Instructional Staff".)						
A. Sum of classroom teachers reported on INDIVIDUAL, SCHOOL CAMPUS REPORT FORMS, Item IX A4 (Total full-time professional instructional staff assigned to ONLY ONE SCHOOL CAMPUS)						

APPENDIX F (Continued)

	Col. 1 American Indian	Col. 2 Negro	Col. 3 Oriental	Col. 4 Spanish Surnamed American	Col. 5 All Indi- viduals NOT In- cluded in Cols. 1-4	Col. 6 Totals
B. Sum of full-time professional instructional staff reported on INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL CAMPUS REPORT FORMS, Item IX E (Total full-time professional instructional staff assigned to ONLY ONE SCHOOL CAMPUS)						
C. Professional instructional staff assigned to MORE THAN ONE SCHOOL CAMPUS employed full-time in this school system.						
X. PART-TIME PROFESSIONAL INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF (Working less than full-time in this school system)						

APPENDIX F (Continued)

XI. BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION

A. Do any of the teachers in this school system teach any subject-matter (other than foreign language instruction) in a language other than English? (Example: Is science taught in Spanish?) Yes ___ No ___

1. If yes, how many teachers offer such instruction? _____

2. How many pupils receive such instruction? _____

B. Are any instructional materials in any subject-matter (other than foreign language instruction) written, at least in part, in a language other than English? (Example: Are history texts in Navajo used?) Yes ___ No ___

XII. NEW SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION OR ACQUISITION OF SITES

A. 1. Between October 1, 1971 and September 30, 1972, do you expect to acquire any property upon which you can anticipate operating one or more schools in the future? Yes ___ No ___

APPENDIX F (Continued)

2. If yes give the number of sites to be acquired _____

B. Between October 1, 1971 and September 30, 1976, do you expect:

1. a. To begin construction on any new school buildings? _____

YES ___ NO ___

b. If yes, how many schools? _____

2. a. To make any permanent additions or renovations which will increase the student capacity of any currently operating school building? _____

YES ___ NO ___

b. If yes, how many school buildings? _____

To assure the submission of correct Title VI compliance data, please check the completeness and accuracy of each item reported. Errors or omissions may require a refiling of this form. Be sure there is an Individual School Campus Report for each school campus in this system.

Certification: I certify that the information given above is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. (A wilfully false statement is punishable by law (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 100 1).)

Signature of Person Furnishing Information Title (Area Code) Telephone No. Date Signed

APPENDIX F (Continued)

Form OS/CR 102
OMB No. 85 RO-110
Expiration Date:

FALL 1971
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CIVIL RIGHTS SURVEY
Required Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office for Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.

INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL CAMPUS REPORT
Due October 15, 1971
(Copy)

- I. Name of School System _____
- II. Name of School Campus _____
- III. Street Address _____
- IV. City _____, County _____
State _____, Zip Code _____
- V. Grades offered (Put an "x" on the appropriate line for every grade offered on this school campus.)
- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------|-------------------|
| Pre-K | K | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | Ungraded | Special Education |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

APPENDIX F (Continued)

		Col. 1 American Indian	Col. 2 Negro	Col. 3 Oriental	Col. 4 Spanish Surnamed American	Col. 5 All Indi- viduals NOT In- cluded in Cols. 1-4	Col. 6 Totals
VI. PUPILS IN MEMBERSHIP: Report the number of pupils in membership at this school campus as of October 1, 1971							
VII. Report the number of pupils retained this school year in the same grade they attended last year (if this school is ungraded, see Instruction)							
VIII. Report the number of pupils for each of the grades indicated if they are offered at this school If none of the indicated grades is offered, report for the lowest grade offered and name the grade here _____	GRADE:						
	A. 3						
	B. 6						
	C. 9						
	D. 12						
	E. Special Education						
F. Lowest Grade _____							

APPENDIX F (Continued)

		Col. 1 American Indian	Col. 2 Negro	Col. 3 Oriental	Col. 4 Spanish Surnamed American	Col. 5 All Indi- viduals NOT In- cluded in Cols. 1-4	Col. 6 Totals
IX. FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF (Working FULL-TIME at this school campus. Report the number; do not use percents, fractions, or full-time equivalents. See Instructions for definition of "Professional Instructional Staff".)							
A. Classroom Teachers (including teaching principals and teaching assistant principals) by their major assignment	1. Elementary						
	2. Secondary						
	3. Other (see Instructions)						
	4. Totals						
B. Non-Teaching Principal							
C. Non-Teaching Assistant Principals							
D. OTHER FULL-TIME professional instructional staff							

APPENDIX F (Continued)

	Col. 1 American Indian	Col. 2 Negro	Col. 3 Oriental	Col. 4 Spanish Surnamed American	Col. 5 All Indi- viduals NOT In- cluded in Cols. 1-4	Col. 6 Totals
E. SUM OF A4, B, C and D (Total FULL-TIME professional instructional staffing)						
F. FULL-TIME professional instructional staff who joined this school system between October 1, 1970 and September 30, 1971						

G. Number of current vacancies in FULL-TIME professional instructional staff _____

PART-TIME PROFESSIONAL INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF (Working less than full-time at this school campus)						
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

XI. Does this school participate in the NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM (NSLP)? YES ___ NO ___

APPENDIX F (Continued)

	Col. 1 American Indian	Col. 2 Negro	Col. 3 Oriental	Col. 4 Spanish Surnamed American	Col. 5 All Indi- viduals NOT In- cluded in Cols. 1-4	Col. 6 Totals
A. If yes, report the number of pupils participating as of October 1, 1971						
B. If yes, report the number of pupils eligible to receive free or reduced price meals as of October 1, 1971						
C. If yes, estimate the number of pupils actually receiving free or reduced price meals as of October 1, 1971						
XII. How many pupils are transported at public expense to this school campus? (See Instructions) _____						
XIII. Does this school offer Departmentalized Instruction in English Language Arts?					YES	NO

APPENDIX F (Continued)

XIV. PUPIL ASSIGNMENT WITHIN SCHOOL: Answer question A or B below for grades 3, 6, 9 and 12 if taught here. If none of these grades are offered or if the school is partially ungraded, answer the lowest grade offered except pre-kindergarten and kindergarten. Report the entire section if that section has at least one pupil in the grade specified. (See Instructions)

- A. For grades with self-contained classroom (non-departmentalized instruction in English language arts), report the number of pupils in each class section by grade level and section number or other identification.
- B. For grades with departmentalized instruction in English language arts, report the number of pupils in each English language arts section, separately by grade level and section number or other identification.

If the pupils in a grade have departmentalized instruction in English language arts and also self-contained classroom instruction, answer only B for that grade.

If the school is totally ungraded, see Instruction.

Grade Level	Section (Class, Module, Level etc.) Name and/or Identification Number	Col. 1 American Indian	Col. 2 Negro	Col. 3 Oriental	Col. 4 Spanish Surnamed American	Col. 5 All Individuals NOT Included in Cols. 1-4	Col. 6 Totals

APPENDIX F (Continued)

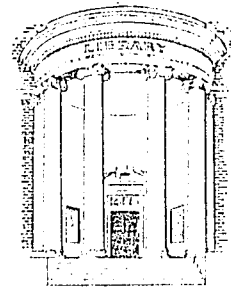
USE CONTINUATION SHEET IF NECESSARY, STATE NUMBER OF CONTINUATION SHEETS ATTACHED _____

Certification: I certify that the Information given above is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. (A wilfully false statement is punishable by law, U. S. Code, Title 18, Section 1001.)

Signature of person Furnishing Information Title (Area Code) Telephone Number Date Signed

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

AT GREENSBORO



School of Education

December 14, 1978

TO: Present and Former Black High School Principals

FROM: Walter Childs, III - UNC-G Doctoral Candidate

I am conducting a study of the displacement of black educators in North Carolina from 1967-1977. A major goal is to identify black high school principals who have been displaced because of desegregation. It is also a major goal of the study to identify black educators who have not been displaced. Consequently, you have been selected to participate in this very important research. The information gathered through this study will be reported in the form of a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education at UNC-G.

Many areas face shortages of trained personnel experienced in educating the poor and disadvantaged. It has been reported that many such educators are either being released or are not being considered for employment in school districts all over North Carolina for reasons of race. The irony of this tragic phenomenon, alleged to be widespread, is that it appears to follow compliance with federal laws designed to end discrimination.

Undoubtedly, more and accurate information is needed about the displacement of black educators, especially black principals. It is mainly for this reason that this study is being initiated. Presently, widely varying and conflicting estimates exist concerning the scope of the North Carolina problem of downgrading. Considerable uncertainty prevails about the nature and intensity of the problem and the degree to which the problem may be intensified in the years immediately ahead.

A significant decrease in the percentage of black educators could have grave implications and could very easily become one of the important educational and sociological problems with which North Carolina must be prepared to deal. In addition, the arbitrary removal of black administrators and replacement of them with white educators at schools that are desegregated is likely to have a deleterious effect on the attitudes of children and adults, both black and white, by reinforcing stereotypes such as "white supremacy."

It is clear then, that a comprehensive, in-depth, and systematic study based on valid and reliable data, needs to be conducted about the displacement problem in North Carolina to determine its nature, scope, and effect on black educators.

This study starts with you and it is my sincere hope that you are willing to participate in it. It will take only a short time to complete the enclosed questionnaire. Very little writing is required, but space for

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA / 27412

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an equal opportunity employer

Present and Former Black High School Principals
Page 2

additional comments is provided if you choose to use it. Your name and school district (county) will be kept strictly confidential and the questionnaire will be destroyed immediately after the data has been studied and tabulated

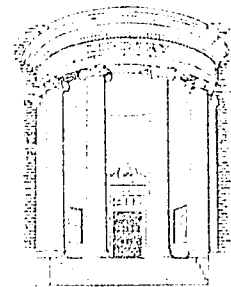
The result of the study, along with information gathered by other researchers, should provide a basis for preventive and remedial action (e.g., legal and legislative) to be taken at the state and national levels. Should you desire a summary of the findings, it will be provided at your request.

Do accept good wishes, and I look forward to an immediate response to this request as it would most assuredly facilitate the study. If you need further information, please call me collect at (919) 379-5067 anytime between 8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. or (919) 883-0711 after 6:00 p.m. In Greensboro, North Carolina, return the questionnaire in the stamped, self-addressed envelope enclosed for your convenience.

If you are not presently involved with schools please fill out to indicate when you were with the School System.

WC/hb

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT GREENSBORO



School of Education

February 27, 1979

TO: Present and Former Black High School Principals

FROM: Walter Childs, III, UNC-G Doctoral Candidate

I know that it is difficult to find time to complete the many tasks on your busy schedule, but won't you please take a few minutes to complete and return the questionnaire (Displaced Principals Assessment) we sent to you during the week of February 2nd.

Your participation is vital to the study of the North Carolina displacement problem. Without it, both the reliability and validity of the study's results will be questionable. Consequently, our data will remain, for the most part, the same as it is now - guesswork.

Again, your name and school district (county) will be kept strictly confidential and the questionnaire will be destroyed immediately after the data has been studied and tabulated.

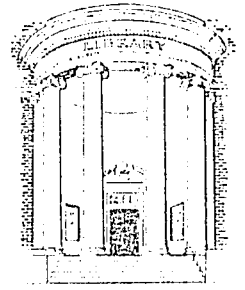
Do accept good wishes, and I look forward to an immediate response to this request. Most of your colleagues have returned the questionnaire. We can finish tabulating the data as soon as we hear from you.

WC/b

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA/27412

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an equal opportunity employer

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT GREENSBORO



School of Education

February 27, 1979

Dear Colleague:

I have received your completed questionnaire regarding the displacement of black high school principals. Your contribution to this assessment is an important one and I appreciate your taking time from your busy schedule to complete and return the information I requested.

Do accept good wishes, and it is my hope that your spring will be both restful and pleasant.

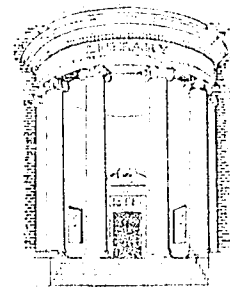
Cordially,

Walter Childs, III

Walter Childs, III
UNC-G Doctoral Candidate

WC/hb

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT GREENSBORO



School of Education

February 27, 1979

Dear

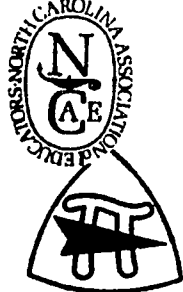
This letter is to acknowledge your recent contribution to the research project concerning desegregation and displacement of black high school principals that was conducted during the winter. Please accept my gratitude for helping to facilitate this study through data collection.

Do accept good wishes and I hope that your spring and summer will be unusually profitable for you.

Sincerely,

Walter Childs, III
UNC-G Doctoral Candidate

WC/b



North Carolina Association of Educators, Inc.

111 W. Morgan St. /P.O. Box 27347 /Raleigh, N.C. 27611 / (919) 833-3058

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SECRETARY
E. B. Palmer

Dear Colleague,

Due to a job change in terms of my responsibilities I have not been able to communicate with you as I have in the past, however, this letter has been prompted by a request by Walter Childs to locate former Black high school principals in North Carolina during the period between 1967-1977. His problem at this point has been that his instrument that he has sent to school systems for former Black principals has not been returned and my belief is that many could not be located through the school system. Dr. Palmer and I have given Walt your name as we know that you will be able to help him in locating the Black principals included on the list.

Mr. Childs is in the final stage of completing his doctorate and as you are probably aware there is a move by the Human Relations Department of the Governor's office to address the decreasing job opportunities for Black Administrators in North Carolina. His dissertation will certainly address this problem and it could be a help in setting up a program to address the Human Relations Problem also.

Dr. Palmer and I support this project and we know that you will give Mr. Childs all the help you can in locating the principals that were located in your area.

Sincerely yours,

Bernard Allen
Uni Serv Consultant

/b

RICHMOND COUNTY SCHOOLS

POST OFFICE DRAWER 1269

HAMLET, NORTH CAROLINA 28345

DR. IRIE LEONARD, SUPERINTENDENT

PHONE - (919) 582-5860

March 26, 1979

S O S

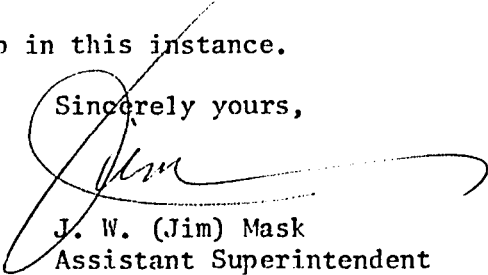
Dear Friend:

Another friend and young educator, Walter Childs, needs our help in completing the requirements for his doctorate. He has solicited my help, in as much as the number of responses received to date is below the minimum to make his study significant.

As one who has contributed significantly to the education of youth in our state for many years, I know you will take just a few minutes to complete the enclosed questionnaire.

Thank you for your help in this instance.

Sincerely yours,



J. W. (Jim) Mask
Assistant Superintendent

JWM/pdb

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

RALEIGH

April 13, 1979

Mr. Walter Childs, III
University of N. C. at Greensboro
Triad Teacher Corps
106 Curry Building
Greensboro, NC 27412

Dear Mr. Childs:

Re: Your letter of April 3

When you are ready to verify information using our files, please contact Mrs. Mable Watkins concerning a time. You may contact her at (919) 733-4125. You do have permission to review a selected number of principals to enable you to complete your doctoral dissertation.

If I can be of additional service, please contact this office.

Sincerely,

a. m. Garriss, Jr.

A. M. Garriss, Jr.
Assistant Director for Certification
Division of Standards and Certification

AMGjr:d1