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A STUDY OF PERSONNEL PRACTICES AND POLICIES WITH
RELATION TO UTILIZATION OF TEACHERS FROM
THE NEGRO MINORITY GROUP IN
CERTAIN MICHIGAN PUBLIC
SCHOOL DISTRICTS

~~presented by~~

~~Jack McBride Ryder~~

has been accepted towards fulfillment
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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF PERSONNEL PRACTICES AND POLICIES WITH RELATION TO UTILIZATION OF TEACHERS FROM THE NEGRO MINORITY GROUP IN CERTAIN MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS

by Jack McBride Ryder

The purpose of this study was to gain insights into the operating personnel practices, policies, and procedures existing in certain Michigan public schools to discover those factors involved in the employment and integration of Negro teachers. It was hoped that common patterns might be discovered among districts which could result in the development of a set of guidelines for the practicing administrator; and that numerous hypotheses would be generated which would be worthy of considerable research effort.

The following research directing questions provided a framework for the study:

1. What factors were related to the initial employment of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?
2. What factors were related to the process of the successful integration of the Negro teacher on the faculty?
3. What factors were perceived as important to the future successful employment and integration of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?

Because of the complex nature of the problem an extensive review of the literature was conducted and related to the findings of this study. In this review attention was given to Negro employment in the armed services, government service, business and the professions, industry, unions, and education. In addition sociological theory relating to the employment and integration of Negroes was studied and presented in an effort to provide a framework for analysis.

The research procedure consisted of:

1. The identification of six school districts to serve as case studies selected on the basis of a number of pertinent criteria. Four of the six districts were studied in considerable depth.
2. The development of interview schedules to be used as guides for depth interviews with school board members, superintendents and other administrators, as well as Negro teachers.
3. Securing data by visiting the six school districts and conducting personal interviews with four (4) school board members, five (5) superintendents, seven (7) other administrators (not including principals), eight (8) elementary school principals, seven (7) high school principals, ten (10) elementary school Negro teachers, seven (7) high school Negro teachers and one white elementary school teacher.

The conclusions advanced in relation to the major research directing questions are as follows:

Factors related to the initial employment of Negro teachers

1. The superintendent of schools is the key to the decision to employ the Negro teacher. He may serve to prevent or advance the cause of nondiscriminatory employment practices.
2. The boards of education and other administrators share in their influence with regard to employment

of Negro teachers. The support of both the board and the principals is essential to successful integration of the Negro teacher.

3. Written personnel policy concerning employment without regard to race, religion, color or national origin existed, if at all, in only one district and thus was not considered a major influence in the districts involved in the study.
4. The pressure of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Fair Employment Practices laws are important factors stimulating the employment of Negro teachers.
5. Recent changes in the attitudes and memberships of boards of education have resulted in more liberal attitudes toward nondiscriminatory employment practices.
6. The universities often play a major role in stimulating employment of Negro teachers by encouraging the placement of Negro student teachers in districts which do not have integrated faculties.

Factors related to the process of integration of Negro teachers

1. The Negro teachers were viewed by themselves and by white teachers as symbols or models for Negro youth to emulate, thus creating more esteem for the Negro teacher.
2. The lack of opportunity for social contact with Negroes on the same educational level was a major problem for the Negro teacher.
3. Negro teachers felt they were restricted to a great extent from advancing to administrative positions within the system as a result of continued discriminatory practices.
4. Negro teachers expected much more difficulty in the integration process than was encountered.
5. Administrators should expect more problems with Negro teachers as they become accepted members of the staff who perceive themselves as having the same rights and privileges as white teachers.
6. Advancement opportunities were, in fact, limited to some extent but will be opening up rapidly for the exceptionally qualified Negro teacher.

Factors perceived as important to future utilization of
Negro teachers

1. The employment and integration of Negro teachers in the districts involved in this study were highly successful.
2. The relationships between the Negro teacher and school personnel, students, parents, and community citizens were highly satisfactory and better than anyone expected.
3. Negro teachers perform a quality teaching service on a highly professional basis.
4. Few significant problems developed as a result of integration and the advantages far outweighed the disadvantages.
5. There was a need for the development of a definition of teaching competency within each district to serve as a guide to all teachers, particularly the Negro.
6. There was a need for a systematic and careful screening process of all teachers to properly assess personality characteristics, professional qualifications, and other factors relating to successful integration.
7. Negro teachers educated in the South were not considered as highly qualified as those educated in the North.
8. Negro teachers are placed in buildings with some concern for race, but this was considered to be to the advantage of both the district and the teacher.
9. Stereotypes of the Negro still play a significant role in the employment and integration of the Negro teacher.
10. White teachers and administrators need more basic understanding of the Negro in America.
11. Oversensitivity of the Negro teacher was considered a major barrier to employment and a significant source of difficulty after employment.

In addition a set of guidelines for the practicing administrator, numerous recommendations, hypotheses and suggestions for further study are advanced.

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By

Jack McBride Ryder

A THESIS

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1962

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The rampant social change evident in American society is a cause for consternation and confusion among scholars who endeavor to understand it and for the average citizen who hopes to function effectively as a participant in a milieu where patterns of behavior seem to shift from one moment to the next.

Inherent to rapid social change are many problems which need research analysis, but none are of more immediate concern to our American democracy than the relationships among people of different colors, creeds, or national origins.

This exploratory study, dealing with one aspect of this major problem area, is concerned with the recent developments in the employment and integration of Negro teachers in Michigan public schools. It appears to be timely and meaningful in terms of extending the range of knowledge and suggesting insights for more successful human relations.

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The specific problem is to gain insights into the operating personnel practices, policies and procedures of certain Michigan public schools, as viewed by personnel

directly connected with the schools, in an effort to discover and analyze those practices, policies and procedures which have proven successful in the employment and integration of Negro teachers.

Through analysis of the findings, common and divergent patterns of perceptions regarding solutions to the existing problems are identified and developed into a set of guidelines which may be of use to the practicing administrator.

Finally, through the analysis of the findings of this study, numerous hypotheses are generated which may be worthy of considerable research effort.

In order to provide a structure for a systematic analysis of the problem, the following research-directing questions are considered.

1. What factors were related to the initial employment of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?
 - a) Who are the "significant others" with regard to the employment decision?
 - b) What personal qualifications and characteristics were considered in the initial employment?
 - c) What role, if any, did written personnel policies play in the initial employment?
 - d) What preparations were made for the integration of the Negro teacher on the faculty?
2. What factors were related to the process of the successful integration of the Negro teacher on the faculty?

- a) What problems are related to the successful performance of the Negro teacher in the teaching role?
 - b) What opportunities are available for the Negro teacher?
3. What factors were perceived as important to the future, successful employment and integration of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?
- a) What preparations should be made for the successful integration of Negro teachers?
 - b) What problems can be anticipated with regard to the employment and integration of Negro teachers?
 - c) What practices, policies and procedures should be considered as basic to successful employment and integration of Negro teachers?

II. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The controversy concerning the integration of Negro children in Southern schools is well known throughout the nation but only more recently have problems of integration in the large Northern cities come into focus. Although the 1954 Supreme Court decision has had a tremendous impact upon the integration of Negro children, until recently comparatively little national attention has been given to the employment and integration of Negro teaching personnel.

In the 1960 Report of the President's Commission on National Goals, compiled by a non-partisan group of outstanding national leaders, the second goal concerning equality states that:

Vestiges of religious prejudice, handicaps to women, and, most important, discrimination on the basis of race must be recognized as morally wrong, economically wasteful, and in many respects dangerous. In this decade we must sharply lower these last stubborn barriers.

...
 Respect for the individual means respect for every individual. Every man and woman must have equal rights before the law, and an equal opportunity to vote and hold office, to be educated, to get a job and to be promoted when qualified, to buy a home, to participate fully in community affairs. These goals, which are at the core of our system, must be achieved by action at all levels.¹

Thus, a factor in the total social scene, which influences school administrators and boards of education at least indirectly with regard to the employment of Negro teachers, is the national and international concern over equality as a goal of our democratic society. The international implications of discrimination against the American Negro are difficult to fully assess, but to most students of international relationships they appear to be tremendous. In each instance of racial strife in the United States, whether it be a lynching or denying a Negro the right to eat in a restaurant, the response is heard around the world.

Many of the people of the emerging nations of Africa seem to know more about the Americans' racial problems than do the citizens of the United States. The Russian Communists

¹The Report of the President's Commission of National Goals, Goals for Americans (New York: The American Assembly, 1960), pp. 3-4.

revel in any opportunity to picture the Communist world as providing the only chance for full racial equality.

Although resulting propaganda may be far from an accurate portrayal of conditions, either in Russia or in the United States, it does have a bearing on the American democratic image. This is an important factor in United States foreign policy.

The implications with regard to America's staunchest allies are substantial and are indicated by the following quotation from a Paris newspaper.

The problem is the eternal problem of colonialism, which is a manifestation of the eternal problem of racism. Colonialism is a problem, or was yesterday in Great Britain, whose colonies are overseas. The essential difference is that the United States has its colony in the very interior of the country, while a third kind of empire, the USSR, has its on the borders--not too many frenchmen [sic] have the right to give lessons to Americans in this area. However, certain Americans have a tendency to give lessons to others before having swept before their own doors.²

On the Federal level there have been extremely important developments in the protection of civil rights over the past twenty years, from the executive order by President Roosevelt in 1941 to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission to insure nondiscrimination in plants holding defense contracts, to the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 establishing the Civil Rights Commission with its

²Liston Pope, The Kingdom Beyond Caste (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 12.

fact-finding power and right to make recommendations. Recent executive orders of Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy enforce even more strongly the nondiscrimination clauses in government contracts.

Moreover, the decisions of the United States Supreme Court have tended to uphold the Federal government in suits pressed to obtain civil rights in various sectors of individual life. All these developments on the part of local, state, and national government set the trend and establish the need for more serious consideration of the most effective method of dealing with the problem.

On the domestic scene, developments in the use of the authority of the law to prevent discrimination in employment has created the need for close attention to the problems of employment of people from all minority groups, particularly the Negro.

Many cities have passed ordinances insuring employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. These ordinances vary from barring discrimination in public employment by the city to bans on all employment discrimination whether private or public.

Sixteen states have Fair Employment Practices Acts empowering investigation of discrimination in employment and other fields. These states contain fifty percent of the nation's total population and twenty-five percent of

the nation's Negro population.³

In 1955 the state of Michigan passed a Fair Employment Practices Act (Act 251, Public Acts of 1955) establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission. The Act specifically states that it is:

An Act to promote and protect the welfare of the people of this state by prevention and elimination of discriminatory employment practices and policies based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry; to create a state fair employment practices commission, defining its functions, powers and duties; and for other purposes.

The People of the State of Michigan enact:

Sec. 1. The opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry is hereby recognized as and declared to be a civil right.

• • • Sec. 3. It shall be an unfair employment practice:

(a) For any employer, because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of any individual, to refuse to hire or otherwise to discriminate against him with respect to hire, tenure, terms, conditions or privileges of employment, or any matter, directly or indirectly related to employment, except where based on a bona fide occupational qualification.⁴

The Act goes on to define the functions, powers and duties of the Fair Employment Practices Commission in considerable detail giving it the right to establish certain types of rules and regulations which relate to compliance with the laws.

³Jacob K. Javits, Discrimination - U. S. A. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960), p. 97.

⁴State of Michigan, "Act 251 of the Public Acts of 1955 Fair Employment Practices Act" (Lansing, 1955), 115.

The Commission's task has three phases which include, (1) the processing of claims of discrimination, (2) educational and community services, and (3) research. Through efforts on behalf of the educational and community services phase, the Commission seeks to make the citizens of Michigan more aware of their "rights" under law and the employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies more aware of their "obligations" under law.

As a part of this function the Commission has published a "Pre-Employment Inquiry Guide" which outlines lawful and unlawful pre-employment inquiries which can be made with regard to various subjects that might be included in application forms or discussed in personal interviews. In addition to the Act's implication for recruitment it also has many ramifications with regard to personnel practices which exist in the places of employment.

Although most of the cases, where sufficient evidence of discrimination is found, are settled by persuasion and conciliation, some are carried to the courts for final disposition. For example, the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission after proper public hearings, on November 9, 1960, issued orders to the Taylor Township Board of Education requiring the Board to offer immediate employment to the Negro claimants as well as back pay from the dates of the discriminatory acts. This case has been appealed to the Circuit Court, which has not yet rendered

a decision, but it illustrates the impact of the law on discriminatory practices in public schools.⁵

Thus, school superintendents and boards of education in the state of Michigan should be cognizant of the provisions of this law as it applies to the implementation of recruitment and personnel policies.

Other factors influencing the domestic scene are the mobility of the American Negro, which has increased at a rapid pace, and the migration to the Northern cities which has resulted in major changes in the problems of urban areas.

In most Northern metropolitan areas, such as Detroit, Chicago and New York, the immigration of Negroes plus the natural population increase have contributed to the lack of sufficient school facilities and teachers necessary to provide the education required for today's complex world. The problems of housing, economic competition and employment opportunity are other vital factors connected with this phenomenal shift in population from the South.

Dr. James Conant in his recent book, Slums and Suburbs, points to the massive problems developing in large cities which are closely related to the lack of employment opportunity for Negroes. He sees an integrated staff as making a significant contribution to the solution of these

⁵Fair Employment Practices Commission, On the Job in Michigan (Information Bulletin 1960-61 Special Year-End Issue, Detroit: Fair Employment Practices Commission, 1961), p. 2.

problems in terms of providing better models for Negro youth as well as enlarging the employment opportunity for the Negro in the teaching profession.

In fact, Conant feels that the principle of an integrated teaching staff, if initiated previously, might have prevented many of the problems we face today. Conant states:

As we now recognize so plainly, but so belatedly, a caste system finds its clearest manifestation in an educational system. By the same token, in the critical days when slavery had just vanished and caste lines were not yet established on a new basis, a system of free public schools for Negroes and whites together might have softened the caste lines even if a majority of pupils attended all-white or all-Negro schools. Above all, the existence of such schools, guaranteed by the power of the federal government, might have assured the eventual establishment of a corps of Negro and white teachers working together for the betterment of the recently liberated Negro slaves. To be sure, most of the white teachers would have come from the Northern states at first, and normal schools for both races would have been required. The principle of an integrated teaching staff, however, would have been established. And once such a staff had been established in at least some of the former Confederate states, the whole problem of Negro education would have been viewed in a different light.⁶

The employment of more Negro teachers could help to alleviate the critical teacher shortage confronted by many school districts in the state of Michigan. In addition it would provide white children with the educational opportunity of a close association with a successful person of the Negro race.

⁶James B. Conant, Slums and Suburbs (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961), p. 11.

If superintendents and boards of education could consider all of the ramifications of employing Negro teachers, they would be more likely to utilize them far more extensively. However, the reason for considerable hesitation at this point among many educators seems to be concerned with the fact that there is insufficient evidence available which could be helpful in approaching the problems which they perceive as confronting them. They need principles or guidelines for developing procedures which would enable them to successfully employ and integrate Negro teachers without creating conflict among faculty members, students and community citizens. One of the central purposes of this study is to discover those factors which will enable school boards and administrators to exercise good judgment with regard to this problem.

It is not the purpose of this study to prove or disprove arguments concerning the integration of Negro and white students. But it does seem apparent from the trends in the law and in the thinking of our national leadership that the course of events will continue in the same direction and will advance at an even more rapid pace than it has in recent years. Thus, it appears that it is to the interest of the individual, the state, and the nation that this sociological change occur with a minimal amount of disorder in the society.

III. ASSUMPTIONS

The following assumptions are basic to this dissertation and consequently must be considered in relation to conclusions and recommendations drawn from the study.

1. That the weight of law and national trends will continue to support increased employment of Negro teachers in the public schools.
2. That school personnel including board of education members, superintendents, other administrative personnel, principals and teachers have an appreciable influence on the employment and successful integration of Negro teachers.
3. That the employment of Negro teachers is a problem of concern to superintendents and boards of education in the state of Michigan.
4. That the writer was able to secure valid information and true perceptions of the respondents in the interview process.

IV. PROCEDURAL STEPS AND METHODS

To provide the reader with an understanding of the methodology utilized in this study it will be reviewed briefly. A more detailed account of the procedure employed will be found in Chapter III on Methodology.

Because of the delicate nature of the subject under study the interview technique was considered a major factor in the Methodology. Thus, extensive treatment is given to this aspect. Efforts to replicate this study would require the development of similar levels of rapport achieved in the relationships of the interviewer with all persons who directly or indirectly affected the interview.

The author's experience in the employment of Negro teachers and the close friendship with superintendents who would permit the study in their respective districts are both factors which were considered important in securing valid data.

The six districts involved in this study were selected on the basis of six criteria, (1) variation in number of enrollments, (2) number of Negroes in the community, (3) location in the state, (4) number of Negro teachers in the system, (5) length of time Negro teachers had been in the system, and (6) availability of the system in terms of personal acquaintance with the superintendent or other administrative officers who would permit the opportunity to probe beneath the surface of this delicate subject. The school districts involved are designated (A, B, C, D, E, and F) to protect the identity of the district. See Table III on page 111 for an analysis of each district.

Based upon the experience of the author, the review of literature with regard to the employment and integration

of Negro teachers and the help of committee advisers an interview schedule was constructed. It was designed to draw out responses which could, when properly analyzed, suggest answers to the problem as previously stated.¹

To improve the conversational flow of questions, to get some idea of the space needs for writing down responses and to eliminate ambiguity, the interview schedule was administered to two doctoral graduate students on campus. Both had previous experience working on integrated public school faculties, one as an assistant superintendent and the other, a Negro, as a school psychologist.

The interview schedule was then administered to personnel connected with the school districts included in the study. Out of the six districts four were studied in considerable depth while two of the districts were represented by one interview each with a respondent who was perceived as being reliable and having rather comprehensive knowledge of the developments within the system.

The interview results were recorded and analyzed to ascertain any differences or similarities of problems, practices or perceptions. The results were then compared with the findings of studies done in American industry and other fields of employment.

¹See interview schedules in the Appendix, p. 213.

V. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has a number of limitations which must be acknowledged. It is limited to six school districts in the state of Michigan. Thus, although it may have implications for other districts within and outside the state, it cannot be expected to produce results which are necessarily generalizable.

Five of the school districts studied had previously employed Negro teachers and one had contracted with a Negro teacher for the coming year. Consequently, the study was confined to districts which are now utilizing or plan to utilize Negro teachers.

The investigation was limited to interviews with school board members, superintendents of schools, principals, Negro teachers, other administrators and one white teacher in a building with a Negro principal. This modified case study approach precludes white teachers with one exception, students, parents and community organizations as factors which might have a bearing on the employment and integration of Negro teachers.

Despite these limitations the body of material gathered in these "depth" interviews is believed to be in most part, factual and reliable. The opinions expressed by the respondents are also considered to substantially represent their true feelings.

Both the experience, background of the author in employment and association with Negro teachers and the close acquaintanceship with the school administrators who agreed to permit this study, contributed to close rapport with the respondents. Further, many of the questions asked of the various respondents were substantially the same and thus there was an opportunity to audit the responses.

Moreover, all administrators and most of the other respondents in the districts involved were generally proud of the fact that their district had assumed successful leadership in this area. Thus, perhaps, they were more willing to contribute information concerning both past and present experiences.

VI. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Some terms are used in this dissertation which may not be commonly defined in the vocabulary of persons who may read it. Thus, it is important that these words be defined since they will be used throughout the dissertation.

Negro teacher. A teacher who is perceptibly a member of the Negroid Race or who declares himself/or is accepted as being of the Negroid Race.

White teacher. A teacher who is perceptibly a member of the Caucasian Race or who declares himself/or is accepted as being of the Caucasian Race.

Interview schedule. The series of written questions and phrases used by the interviewer to elicit responses regarding pertinent areas of the study. Interview schedules are found in the Appendix.

Prejudice. "A categorizing pre-judgment of the members of a human group; it is an attitude or belief that may or may not express itself in overt action."⁷ Thus, prejudice is a belief or judgment while discrimination involves action which may or may not be the result of prejudice. No real attempt was made in this study to measure the extent of prejudice held by the respondents.

Discrimination, racial. "The denial of certain rights or privileges to some individuals on the basis of race or color."⁸ In this study it will refer to the Negro teacher. Numerous questions in the interview schedules attempt to identify discrimination. For example, questions (5, 12, and 14) in interview schedule number one are specific questions relating to discrimination.

Integration, social. "Harmonious personal adjustment of the individual to the standards, demands, and responsibilities of the group of which he is a part."⁹ Thus, the

⁷George Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, "The Changing Patterns of Race Relations," Phylon XV (October, 1954), 328.

⁸Carter V. Good (ed.), Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 178.

⁹Ibid., p. 292.

term integration as used in this study regarding the Negro teacher as a member of a social group, the school faculty, is distinguished from the simple condition of employing Negro teachers in a school system. Questions (8 and 14-19), for example, in interview schedule number one, all concern the extent of integration of Negro teachers.

VII. ORGANIZATION OF REMAINDER OF STUDY

This study has been divided into six chapters:

Chapter I includes a statement of the problem and a general orientation to the study; Chapter II contains a review of the pertinent literature on the topic under study as well as a review of the literature concerning aspects of the employment and integration of the Negro in other occupations and professions; Chapter III reports in considerable detail on the methodology involved in the construction of the interview schedule, the selection of districts, the process of data collection and the implications of the data collection process.

Chapter IV consists of the analysis of the practices, policies, problems and perceptions related by the interview respondents; Chapter V discusses the conclusions and implications of the study for educational leaders with some suggestions for practicing administrators with regard to the employment and integration of Negro teachers; Chapter VI is the final chapter and includes recommendations and suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter is devoted to a careful review of the literature pertinent to the employment and integration of Negro teachers. To place the problem under study in its proper perspective, it is important to comprehend the developmental aspects of Negro employment, generally, and Negro teacher employment, specifically.

Thus, Chapter II is divided into four parts. The first part deals briefly with the general historical aspects of Negro employment in the United States. The next part is a review of studies conducted concerning the employment and integration of Negroes in various sectors of the economy including military, government service, business and the professions, industry, and unions. The third part presents the findings in the sociological-psychological fields which are directly concerned with the processes of change involved in the employment and integration of Negroes in many fields of endeavor. The last part reviews the pertinent writings and research studies conducted concerning the employment and integration of Negro teachers in American public schools.

I. HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT

Prior to Emancipation the Negro was primarily located in the South where, as a slave, he represented a major economic force in the plantation economy. Since unskilled work was considered to be inferior and fit only for Negroes, most were relegated to domestic and laboring jobs.

A relatively small number of Negroes were trained to perform as mechanics and draftsmen, developing skills as carpenters, painters, bricklayers, harnessmakers, tailors, blacksmiths and shoemakers. These were considered "Negro jobs" and few white people in the South developed such skills since the slave owners preferred slave labor.¹

After Emancipation, the only protection the Negro had for employment was the fact that the Southern white was reluctant to give up his view of unskilled work and the crafts as typically "Negro jobs." Even though these jobs were badly paid it did provide employment opportunity for the Negro.

However, as Rose points out, the position of the Negro in the nonagricultural labor market of the South was affected by two trends working in opposite directions: (1) the general expansion of the Southern nonagricultural

¹Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1948), p. 102.

economy, which tended to increase employment opportunity for Negroes, as well as for whites and (2) competition from white jobseekers which tended to exclude Negroes from employment and to relegate them to the very lowest occupational levels.²

The result of these two trends was that the newly developing industries which were usually less strenuous, less dirty and generally more attractive became known as "white man's" work. While the hazardous, dirty, strenuous occupations in more backward industries were considered "Negro jobs."

Although the Negro was denied access to the better jobs, opportunities did increase and between 1890 and 1910 Negro male workers in nonagricultural pursuits increased by two-thirds. Most of the increase was in the saw and planing mill, coal mining, and railroad maintenance occupations which were now considered "Negro jobs."³

In the North and West where small numbers of Negroes had migrated, there was stiff competition by white job seekers for the traditionally Negro jobs. The rapidly expanding industries of the North sought the skilled and unskilled cheap labor provided by the European immigrants who

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 103.

were at that time streaming into the Northern states. Thus, the Negro was again relegated to the most menial tasks.

The labor union, such as the American Federation of Labor, which was stronger in the North than in the South, either denied the Negro access to the union or organized him separately placing him in competition with the white unions. This fact and the use of Negroes by industry for strike breakers increased racial antipathy and resulted in even stronger restrictions against Negro labor.⁴

Until about the time of World War I, the employment of the Negro was characterized largely by relegation to the occupations of menial nature or those jobs in industry considered to be at the bottom of the occupational ladder. However, the advent of the war stimulated both Southern and Northern industrial development opening up employment opportunity in both regions.

As a result of the strong racial barriers in the South and the pronounced need for cheap labor in the North, the opportunities were brighter for the Negro in Northern cities. Thus began the great migration which is still persistent.

The great migration. In 1910 almost ninety percent of the Negro population lived in the South while according

⁴"Negro American," Encyclopaedia Britannica (30 ed.), XVI, 199.

to the 1950 census about sixty-five percent of the Negroes lived in that same region. The 1960 census registered a five percent decrease in the ten year period indicating that only sixty percent of the Negro population still lives in the South.

Although the percentage of Negroes in the population declined from 14.1 percent in 1860 to 9.8 percent in 1940, it is shown in Table I that the trend may be reversing, evidenced by a figure of 10.6 percent in 1960. Despite this decline in percentage, the number of Negroes continued to increase in the South as well as the North, but it was offset by the more rapid increase in the white population primarily as a result of foreign immigration.

In describing the migration, mobility and assimilation of the Negro, Taeuber reached the conclusion that "the fundamental change in the Negro population was not the movement from south to north but the concentration in industrial sections of the country, including the South."⁵ Usually the first move was from the rural areas of the South to southern industrial cities. Afterwards, the promise of improved employment opportunities in the industrial cities of the North and the experience of migrating resulted

⁵Irene B. Taeuber, "Migration, Mobility, and the Assimilation of the Negro," Population Bulletin, XIV, (November, 1958), 129.

Table I.--White and Negro population in the coterminous
United States 1860 - 1960*

Census year	All classes	White	Negro	% Distribution**	
				White	Negro
1960	178,464,236	158,454,956	18,860,117	88.8	10.6
1950	150,697,361	134,942,028	15,042,286	89.5	10.0
1940	131,669,275	118,214,870	12,865,518	89.8	9.8
1930	122,775,046	110,286,740	11,891,143	89.8	9.7
1920	105,710,620	94,820,915	10,463,131	89.7	9.9
1910	91,972,266	81,731,957	9,827,763	88.9	10.7
1900	75,994,575	66,809,196	8,833,994	87.9	11.6
1890	62,947,714	55,101,258	7,488,676	87.5	11.9
1880	50,155,783	43,402,970	6,580,793	86.5	13.1
1870	38,558,371	33,589,377	4,880,009	87.1	12.7
1860	31,443,321	26,922,537	4,441,830	85.6	14.1

*U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960 General Population Characteristics, United States Summary, Final Report PC (1) - 1B, (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1961), p. 145.

**Figures do not include the percentage of other non-white races.

in an exodus to large cities of the Northeast, North Central and Western regions of the nation.

Thus, according to an analysis of Census data in 1960 the Negro represented 6.8 percent of the population of the Northeast region; 6.7 percent in the North Central region; 20.6 percent in the South and 3.9 percent in the Western region. The concentration of these apparently small percentages of Negroes in the large industrial cities of the Northern and Western regions is a major factor in the development of enormously complex problems faced by cities like Detroit, Chicago, and New York City.

A sample of major cities in the North where the percentage of Negroes has increased significantly between 1950 and 1960 shows the following:

Washington - up from 35.0 percent Negro in 1950 to 53.9 percent in 1960.

Newark, N. J. - up from 17.1 percent in 1950 to 34.1 percent in 1960.

Baltimore, Md. - up from 23.7 percent to 34.7 percent.

Detroit, Mich. - up from 16.2 to 28.9 percent.

St. Louis, Mo. - up from 18.0 to 28.6 percent.

Chicago, Ill. - up from 13.6 to 22.9 percent.

Philadelphia, Pa. - up from 18.1 to 26.4 percent.

It should be noted that Washington D. C. is the only major metropolitan area in the country with a majority

of Negroes in its population.⁶

However, Taeuber states:

Numerical facts alone indicate that the great historic process of Negro migration and mobility is nearing an end. The number of southern farms operated by non-whites declined 17.1 percent in the four years from 1950 to 1954. Decline amounted to 8.2 percent for owners, 27.5 percent for crop-share tenants and 19.1 percent for croppers. By 1954, there were only 160 thousand farms operated by non-white croppers in the south, and more than two-fifths of the operators were aged 45 and above. Clearly the croppers cannot long remain a major source of supply for urban labor, whether south or north.⁷

Therefore, as Clark points out this great population shift can best be understood in terms of the change in the American economy from agrarian to a highly industrialized economy.⁸

After World War I the migration continued and employment opportunities for the Negro were increasing steadily, although slowly, until the Great Depression. The Negro was the first to lose his job and was without significant political power with which to gain his share of the relief and government spending initiated to regain stability in the country. This was a time of despair for the American Negro.

⁶"Migration of Negroes--Here is the Real Story," U. S. News and World Report, LII (May 7, 1962), 55.

⁷Taeuber, op. cit., p. 130.

⁸Mathew H. Ahmann, The New Negro (Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishers, 1961), p. 145.

The advent of World War II again bolstered the economy and full production required for the War effort led to a rapid increase in industrial employment for the Negro in the factories of the North. Migration of Negroes from the rural south to southern and northern industrial cities again increased rapidly.

Despite the need for labor in American industry as it prepared for capacity production, there was still widespread discrimination against the Negro. On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt in response to a proposed march on Washington, D. C. by Negroes throughout the country signed an executive order declaring that there should be no discrimination in the employment of workers in government or defense industries because of race, creed, color or national origin. This meant that all defense contracts written by all government agencies would have this provision written into the contract, regardless of whether the industry was located in the North or South.⁹

The presidential order also established a Committee on Fair Employment Practices to carry out its provisions by receiving and investigating violations. Although the order was violated to a large extent in the South, it had a great impact on employment opportunity for the Negro in the North.

⁹"Negro American," Encyclopaedia Britannica, (30 ed.), XVI, Vol. 16, p. 198.

Reviewing the developments in Negro employment

Pope said:

Vast changes have occurred in the economic state and opportunities of Negroes during the last fifteen years. Traditionally they have been confined largely to domestic service and agriculture; when they entered industry at all, it was generally at the level of unskilled employment, and opportunities for training and advancement were poor. During World War II, an unprecedented number of Negro workers were admitted to the factories. Hitherto barred from white-collar jobs that would bring them into contact with the general public--serving as clerks in departments stores, front office secretaries and receptionists, and the like--they have now been admitted to such occupations very widely. The riots and boycotts that had been feared have failed to materialize.¹⁰

A review of census data in Table II revealed striking changes in Negro employment which occurred between 1940 and 1960. Although it is a fact that the Negro was more highly represented in the unskilled jobs, somewhat distorting percentage figures to suggest large gains in certain areas of employment, it is significant that major gains have been made.

Between 1940 and 1960 the percentage of Negroes employed as professional, technical and kindred workers increased 181.6 percent compared to a 113.6 percent increase among the white population. The Negro occupied as a farmer had decreased by 72.4 percent in the same period of time reflecting the industrialization of the

¹⁰Liston Pope, The Kingdom Beyond Caste (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 68.

Table II.--Employed white and nonwhite persons in the United States, by major occupational group, 1940 to 1960 (in thousands)

Occupational group	White			Nonwhite****		
	***	**	*	% Change		% Change 1940-60
	1960	1950	1940	1940-60	1950	
Total	58,010	50,625	40,495	+43.3	6,629	+41.9
Professional, technical and kindred workers	6,880	4,717	3,220	+113.6	352	+181.6
Farmers and farm managers	2,313	3,781	4,443	-48.0	193	-72.4
Managers, officials, and proprietors, exc. farm	5,288	4,908	3,686	+43.5	121	+92.1
Clerical and kindred workers	8,883	6,699	4,559	+95.0	424	+635.2
Sales workers	4,533	3,854	2,866	+58.2	106	+186.4
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	8,317	7,490	4,918	+69.1	425	+210.2
Operatives and kindred workers	10,621	10,103	7,764	+37.0	1,276	+205.3
Private household workers	795	589	1,096	-28.0	930	-8.4
Service workers, except private household	4,353	3,439	2,909	+50.0	1,128	+105.4
Farm laborers and foremen	1,083	1,859	2,267	-52.2	362	-56.0
Laborers, except farm and mine	2,306	2,540	2,415	-4.5	801	+23.4
Occupation not reported	2,637	654	351	+651.3	547	+1853.6

*U. S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Population, Vol. III, The Labor Force Part I, United States Summary, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943, pp. 88-90.

**U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, U. S. Summary, Chapter C., U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1953, pp. 276-278.

***U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960 General Social Characteristics, United States Summary, Final Report PC (1) - 10, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1962, p. 217.

****Mainly Negro.

cities both North and South and the resultant increase in employment opportunity.

The traditional Negro occupation as a private household worker decreased for the Negro by 8.4 percent while perhaps the most outstanding increase has come in the clerical and kindred occupations where a gain of 685.2 percent has occurred.

Substantial gains were registered in the craftsmen, foremen, and kindred occupations, the operatives and service workers, reflecting to some degree increasing opportunities within the unions.

To complete this brief analysis of the historical aspects of Negro employment, two additional interrelated factors must be considered. The first is the growing political power of the Negro in the North where he is concentrated in the large central cities. Wilson points to the fact that:

There is greater ferment among Northern Negroes today than at any period since the Depression. In most cities, Negroes are better organized for race ends than ever before, and these organizations are devoting more and more attention to the problems of the Negro in the northern city than they have in the past. Local issues in the North are coming to have an importance that rivals the continuing national issue of race relations.¹¹

¹¹James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), p. 342.

The second related factor is the growing strength and overt action of two large organizations which adhere to equal employment opportunity as a major goal. These are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League.

Both of these organizations include both white and Negroes in their ranks and both have had a major influence in promoting civil rights legislation and equal employment opportunity.

Bozeman contrasts the two organizations by the approach used in implementing their respective objectives.

The National Urban League's efforts tend to be characterized by more indirection, less militancy, and by a conspicuous reliance upon interracial good will and interracial cooperation. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's program is better characterized by its more direct approach, its vocal militancy, and its persistent utilization of the courts as an instrument to facilitate desired modifications in aspects of educational opportunities for Negroes.¹²

The NAACP was instrumental in the legal fight which finally resulted in the 1954 Supreme Court decision ending legal segregation in the public schools of the nation. It provided the major legal support against the resistance to

¹²Herman Hollis Bozeman, "Attitudes of Selected Racial Leadership Organizations Toward Educational Policies and Practices for Negroes During the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1956), p. 305.

integration encountered in the South and is now turning its attention to the conditions existing in the large northern metropolitan areas.

The National Urban League works more quietly with employers in the large cities and it has been instrumental in securing the breakdown of racial barriers in many businesses and industries.

Although there is still much discrimination in the North as well as in the South, the tide appears to be turning. The massive pressure exerted by the change from an agrarian to an industrial economy and the subsequent migration of the Negro from the South; the enactment of Fair Employment Practices Acts on the federal and state levels, the prevailing decisions of the Supreme Court; the political power of the Negro and liberal white supporters; and the increasing efforts of such organizations as the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; all contribute to the conclusion that equal employment opportunity for Negroes will continue to grow at a rapid pace.

In analyzing the revolution which has taken place in the last twenty years Pope says:

This revolution has brought not only a remarkable improvement in the condition of the Negro; it has also wrought profound changes in his relations with the whites. When viewed in long perspective, one of the salient characteristics of this generation in the United States may be the fact that the walls of segregation have been torn down at a rapid rate.

For the most part this has been effected thus far in nonviolent fashion, with occasional mobs and riots receiving publicity out of all proportion to their importance in relation to the total picture.

So many changes have taken place that many pages would be required merely to list them.¹³

II. EMPLOYMENT OF THE NEGRO IN VARIOUS SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY

The literature related to the employment of the Negro in various sectors of the economy is primarily limited to the writings of people interested and working in the field of race relations. Except for the classic works of sociologist Gunnar Myrdal and Arnold Rose in 1944, An American Dilemma, there has been extremely little comprehensive research. However this part deals with the pertinent writings and the limited research which does exist.¹⁴

Despite the great advances in employment opportunity for the Negro, there is still discrimination in the market place. In a report submitted to the House of Representatives of the Fifth Congress of the United States by the Committee on Education and Labor in support of a bill for equal employment opportunity, the following statement was presented:

¹³Pope, op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁴Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 2 Vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944).

The committee finds that testimony received regarding the need for this legislation could scarcely be more cogent and convincing. The conclusion inescapably to be drawn from 98 witnesses in 12 days of hearings, held in various sections of the country as well as in Washington, and from many statements filed without oral testimony, is that in all likelihood fully 50 per cent of the people of the United States in search of employment suffer some kind of job opportunity discrimination because of their race, religion, color, national origin, ancestry, or age. It should be made clear that the evidence poured in from all parts of the Nation--East, West, North, and South. This act cannot then be viewed as an act intended merely to correct abuses in any one section of the country. Clear enunciation and implementation of a national policy on equal employment opportunity are obviously long overdue at this point in the history of the United States.

To emphasize specifically the extent of the problem and the acute need for this act, the following items are pertinent:

A. Employment discrimination of some kind can be found in almost every industry--if not with respect to initial employment, then certainly with respect to opportunity for promotion.

C. Industries such as banks and financial institutions, electronic and electrical manufacturing companies, advertising agencies, insurance companies, trade associations, management consulting firms, book and publication companies, and paper products firms--traditionally the prime employers of young people--are perhaps the most flagrant practitioners of employment discrimination against minority groups.¹⁵

Clark elaborated further stating that:

Northern patterns of segregation and discrimination, however, exist in spite of laws against them and in spite of protestations of elected political officials.

¹⁵United States Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1962, Report No. 1370 (To Accompany H. R. 10144), 87th Congress 2d Session, February 21, 1962 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 1-2.

Northern patterns of segregation and discrimination reflect among other things custom, habit, apathy, conflicts, and inconsistencies among whites and some Negroes.

.....
 In spite of the fact that a number of northern states such as New York, Massachusetts, and Michigan, have fairly strong laws against racial discrimination in employment, there is rather consistent evidence that this type of discrimination never-the-less persists in these states. The progress in this sphere cannot mask the pervasive residual patterns of racial discrimination in employment. The role of labor unions in the perpetuation of these violations must be examined with more toughminded realism.¹⁶

In a study by Turner it was found that:

For nonwhite males discrimination is principally on the basis of type of occupation available rather than on attainment of educational qualification, and excessive unemployment is principally a by-product of the occupational distribution. In the South, for both men and women, discrimination is more on the basis of educational qualifications and less on employment per se. For nonwhite women, the principal focus of discrimination is on employment rather than on qualification.¹⁷

However, Lewis pointed out that most jobs in the South lead nowhere for the Negro. Moreover, he indicated that many employers outside the South refused to hire Negroes. It was particularly true in the major fields of female employment, where only recently a small number of Negro girls and women have been employed. Furthermore, he suggested that Negroes were concentrated in jobs which

¹⁶Mathew H. Ahmann, The New Negro, pp. 29-30.

¹⁷Ralph H. Turner, "Foci of Discrimination in the Employment of Nonwhites," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (November, 1952), 247.

provide the least opportunity for advancement.¹⁸

Ginzberg viewed discrimination against the Negro as a great waste of human resources. He pointed to the serious economic losses in the South and the expected losses in the North unless action is forthcoming.¹⁹

The elimination of discrimination against the Negro will not solve the immediate problem since it will take a period of time to undo the damage already perpetrated. He stated that:

A major disability of the young Negro in the world of work is his lack of intimate knowledge of the values and behavior of the white population with whom he is in frequent contact. His ability to cope with the problems presented by working with whites depends largely on the opportunities he has had in his formative years to live in close association with members of the white race. The armed forces provide him with an excellent chance to expand such experience in living and working with whites as he has earlier acquired. Hence, rejection for service represents a much greater loss, for the Negro than for the white man.

By the time the Negro youth reaches adulthood, he is likely to be triply handicapped in his preparation for work by experiences at home, in school, and in connection with service in the armed forces.²⁰

Furthermore, the most significant of recent gains for the Negro family with resultant better opportunity for

¹⁸El1 Ginzberg (ed.), The Nation's Children (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 110.

¹⁹El1 Ginzberg, "Segregation and Manpower Waste," Phylon, XXI (Winter, 1960), 311.

²⁰El1 Ginzberg, The Negro Potential (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 104.

more complete development of its youth, was the improvement in job opportunity for the Negro husband who received the increased status and monetary rewards which derive from the job.²¹

Thus, the central concern of all, who are interested in eliminating discrimination and improving racial relationships, is job opportunity since the basic problem is economic.²² However, education and housing are so interrelated to job opportunity that all three areas need attention at the same time.²³

In a study by Moore in Cleveland he found that the status of the Negro in terms of economic opportunity was and continues to be inferior, although there was some evidence of recent gains.

It was found that many jobs formerly closed to Negroes now have some Negro representation, the most obvious to the general public being sales and clerical jobs in all the large department stores. Negroes are being upgraded in some industries for the first time, and labor unions which formerly refused membership to Negroes now have a few. Segregation, in those industries which formerly practiced it, is

²¹Eli Ginzberg, (ed.), The Nation's Children, p. 136; Ginzberg, "Segregation and Manpower Waste," Phylon, XXI, 312.

²²Roi Ottley, New World A-Coming (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), p. 346.

²³Edward Duff, "Discrimination's Blight," Social Order, XI (April, 1961), 146.

being abandoned. This is true in the garment industry and the taxi organization.²⁴

He attributes much of the progress to the years of armament manufacture, the National Fair Employment Practices Commission and since 1950, the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance of Cleveland which opened new opportunities for Negro labor.

In a paper concerning the Negro's progress toward employment equality, Augustine points to the fact that the Negro made great advances during the 1940's. Using this period as a base he projects the changes in employment equality to the time when Negroes would achieve equality in proportion to the percentage of the population which they represent. According to his findings:

1. Negro women would achieve equality at the professional level in 1990.
2. Negro males, becoming a progressively smaller part of the employed male professionals, would be only 2.1 per cent of all male professionals in 1990.
3. While Negro women would attain equality as proprietors and managers in 1980, Negro males would not reach equality in this occupational group until 2010.
4. In clerical and sales occupations, Negro men, leading Negro women slightly, would attain equality in 1970.
5. As skilled workers, Negro women would reach equality about 1960, but it would be at least 1990 before Negro men attain equality in this occupational group.²⁵

²⁴William Franklin Moore, Jr., "Status of the Negro in Cleveland," (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Ohio State University, Columbus, 1953), p. 105.

²⁵Thomas Augustine, "The Negro Progress Employment Equality," Personnel and Guidance Journal, XXXVI (March, 1958), 634.

Other significant developments which indicate the growing concern for improved racial relations and increased opportunity for the Negro, have come in the entertainment and movie industries.

The Negro entertainer and actor has long contributed his talents to the American scene. But in the past the entertainment provided or the portrayal of a role in movies was such that white people could consider it either something for their amusement or the work of an outstanding individual who was unique and very different from his race.

In recent years the movie industry has cast Negro actors in more serious roles. Some movie productions have dealt with the problems of race relations attempting to explore, at least to some degree, the bases for prejudice and discrimination.

The role of the Negro entertainer has changed from one concerned with the exploitation of typical white stereotypes of the Negro as a lazy, slow talking, incompetent fool to the image of a sophisticated individual whom both white and Negroes can appreciate for his talent.

The most recent and perhaps most indicative development related to changing racial attitudes is the acceptance of a Negro comic, Dick Gregory. His routine is replete with jibes and innuendoes related to prejudice and discrimination against the Negro. Gregory is able to make light, witty remarks which point up the foibles of prejudice and

discrimination, the inconsistencies to which white people ordinarily give little attention. It is doubtful that Gregory would have been accepted ten years ago, but now his routine goes into the living room of people all over the country, including the South, on nationwide television.

One of the most dramatic breakthroughs in equal employment opportunity for the Negro has come in the field of professional baseball. "Prior to 1947 there were no Negroes playing professional baseball in either the American or National Leagues."²⁶

Many said that it would not work out, that white people would boycott the baseball parks, but none of these predictions proved to be true. In some Southern training camps, however, there have been problems with regard to accommodations and eating arrangements for the Negro players.

"Of the sixteen (16) major league teams, (in 1956) all but two (2) have Negroes on their varsity teams and fifty-five out of the 400 players during the regular season are Negroes."²⁷ Since that time numerous other Negro players have joined the National and American Baseball Leagues achieving great success.

²⁶James Allen Moss, "Utilization of Negro Teachers in Colleges of New York State" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1957), p. 267.

²⁷Ibid.

Professional football has followed the same pattern and as the game has become increasingly more popular through television, the Negro stars have achieved success on the same level as whites.

Despite the fact that breakthroughs in sports and entertainment involves only a limited number of employment opportunities for Negroes it does prove to both whites and Negroes that the Negro can achieve success in competition with whites. In addition the nationwide attention which is given to sports activities, makes it even more significant.

According to Steele in a study of integration in industrial plants, one ". . . firm placed its first Negro on a tough, skilled job about the time that Larry Doby entered big league baseball. The personnel director pointed out to the new worker that he too was 'carrying the ball' for his race."²⁸

Armed services. Prior to World War II the Armed Services were completely segregated among the races. Negroes were assigned to all Negro units under white commanders, primarily in the transportation and construction battallions. This limited their opportunities to develop

²⁸Ellsworth H. Steele, "Jobs for Negroes: Some North-South Plant Studies," Social Forces, XXXII (December, 1953), 159.

skills required for significant advancement, thus contributing to low morale.

In 1940 the Selective Training and Service Act contained a clause barring discrimination against draftees, however this was interpreted by the Armed Services as meaning "separate but equal" facilities and training. Although considerable pressure was exerted on the military and even the President of the United States, the condition was considered to be a reflection of prevailing social conditions in the country. Thus, any changes were viewed as creating conditions detrimental to preparation for the defense of the country.²⁹

During the war some progress occurred resulting in the appointment of a Negro, Benjamin O. Davis, as a brigadier general and Judge William Hastie, dean of the Howard University Law School, to a post as aid to the Secretary of War. Although the officers candidate schools were integrated, almost total segregation of the Armed Services lasted throughout the war.³⁰

Contrary to the image of the Negro as a happy, dull, indifferent creature who accepted his role in the military system, Stouffer, et al. found this could not be supported

²⁹U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report: 1961 Employment, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 46.

³⁰Ibid.

by facts. It was learned that "Negro attitudes indicated a basic racial orientation highly sensitized to evidences of racial discrimination, both real and imagined. There was a readiness to protest which was quite inconsistent with the stereotype of the happy-go-luck indifference."³¹

The Negro soldier legitimized his protest on the basis of the American creed which emphasizes achieved status based on individual performance, contrary to ascribed status based upon birth, class, religious, or ethnic group. This was a powerful argument.³²

After the war, Lieutenant General Alvan C. Gillem was appointed by the War Department to head a board to review the situation regarding the Negro soldier. The Gillem report contained recommendations which were partially adopted as Army policy in April of 1946. Later the remainder of the recommendations were accepted. They are as follows:

1. Inclusion of Negroes in the Army in the same ratio as in the civilian population.
2. Assignment of Negroes to both combat and service-type units.
3. Assignment of Negroes to separate outfits to range in size from companies to regiments, some of which units will be grouped together with white units into composite organization.

³¹Samuel A. Stouffer, The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life, Vol. I of Studies of Social Psychology in World War II, 4 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 595.

³²Ibid., p. 599

4. Establishment of uniform procedures in processing all enlisted men to insure proper classification and assignment of individuals.

5. Gradual, complete replacement of white officers assigned to Negro units with qualified Negro officers.

6. Acceptance of officers into the Regular Army without regard to race and continuation of "the present policy of according all officers, regardless of race, equal opportunities for appointment, advancement, professional improvement, promotion and retention in all components of the Army."

7. Continuation of present policies barring segregation in the use of recreational facilities at Army posts.

8. Stationing of Negro units in localities and communities where attitudes are most favorable and in such numbers as will not constitute an undue burden to the local civilian facilities.³³

However, the action taken by President Truman in July, 1948, signaled the beginning of the end of segregation in the Armed Services when he issued Executive Order 9881. It laid down the provision that there would be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the Armed Services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. The policy was to be put into effect as rapidly as possible.³⁴

Judge Charles Fahy formerly United States Solicitor General was appointed chairman of a seven-man advisory committee to advise the President on the manner of carrying out the policy. After sufficient study the committee made recommendations for integration without racial quotas

³³Ibid., pp. 597-598.

³⁴U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 46.

in all services. The Korean conflict hastened the process drastically and finally "in 1955 the Department of Defense announced that integration in the regular armed forces had been achieved. . . ."35

Although there is some reason to question the extent of progress since 1955,³⁶ it is apparent that great changes have occurred in the regular Armed Services since 1948.

Dwyer indicates that the Army found segregation to result in: (1) caste consciousness; (2) inefficiency in terms of time and money; (3) discriminatory practices in job and unit assignments and (4) a lack of quality in Negro leadership.³⁷ On the other hand, since desegregation, he reports there are indications of more adequate and economical utilization of available manpower, higher morale and greater all-around efficiency.

The policy of the Armed Forces in the integration of schools, housing, and other military installation services in both the North and South has had a far reaching effect. It provided an opportunity for Negroes and whites from throughout the nation to associate with each

³⁵Ibid., p. 47.

³⁶Ibid., p. 48

³⁷Robert J. Dwyer, "The Negro in the United States Army," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVIII (September--October, 1953), 110.

other and to learn that integration could be achieved successfully.³⁸

Desegregation of the Armed Forces has been a major factor in improvement of opportunity for the Negro. The United States Commission on Civil Rights points to the fact that:

The Armed Forces of the United States offer work opportunities second in quantity only to the civilian establishment of the Federal Government. In breadth of training opportunities they are second to none, offering training in almost every type of skill and learning either through their own facilities or through reimbursement to private institutions. To the Negro, who is often discriminatorily denied such opportunities as a civilian, enlistment in the Armed Forces is particularly attractive. Thus many Negroes have elected to become military career men. Others have acquired skills through military training which have enabled them to qualify for civilian jobs--particularly those requiring technical skills--which would not otherwise have been open to them.³⁹

As a result of analysis of integration in the Armed Services, Dwyer, suggests two hypotheses which bear consideration in other Negro-white institutional relationships:

(1) When non-segregation and nondiscrimination are sanctioned and enforced by law, the pattern is generally accepted by the community group. [This supports Myrdal's contention that the mores are not immutable and that planned legislation is a means of modifying existing mores.]

³⁸Lee Nichols, Breakthrough on the Color Front (New York: Random House, 1954), p. 199; Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 129.

³⁹U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 45.

(2) When Negro-white intermingling occurs and relationships are on a nonsegregated basis, there is no perceptible increase in frictions or overt antagonism, but rather a tendency toward the establishment of attitudes of mutual acceptance on the basis of individual personality and merit.⁴⁰

Despite the hesitation and fear exhibited among military officers prior to integration and their consequent enthusiastic approval after it was an established fact, the experience has not proven sufficient to appreciably affect discrimination in the reserve corps and national guard units. The Civil Rights Commission in its 1961 Report to the President and Congress presents recommendations to correct this situation.

Government service. The employment of Negroes in Federal and local government service until recently has been almost directly related to the limited progress made in the individual community and the political power of Negroes as a voting block.

In various sections of the country and particularly in the North, as was alluded to previously, this political power has increased rapidly as a result of Negro migration to central metropolitan areas. Thus, in these areas, employment of the Negro in government has moved more rapidly.

⁴⁰Robert J. Dwyer, "The Negro in the United States Army," Sociology and Social Research, pp. 111-122.

A detailed study of segregation in Washington, D. C. by Lohman, et al., in 1948 revealed that in some agencies Negroes were excluded completely, in others they were segregated and employed in the most menial jobs, while in another group of agencies Negroes were integrated and employed on equal terms.⁴¹

In a detailed report the 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights concluded that:

. . . the vicious circle of discrimination in employment opportunities was clear: The Negro is denied, or fails to apply for, training for jobs in which employment opportunities have traditionally been denied him; when jobs do become available, there are consequently few, if any, qualified Negroes available to fill them; and often, because of lack of knowledge of such newly opened opportunities, even the few who are qualified fail to apply.

Perpetuation of discriminatory training and employment practices is often supported by State employment offices.

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In the building and construction trades, the crafts unions are the main source of recruitment and also largely determine admission into apprenticeship training programs. Here, too, there is a vicious circle of discrimination. Many crafts unions formerly denied membership to Negroes; some still do; others admit only a few Negroes.⁴²

Furthermore the Commission reports:

. . . the goal of equal employment opportunity is still far from achievement. Efforts of the Federal

⁴¹Joseph D. Lohman and Dietrich C. Rietizes, "Note on Race Relations in Mass Society," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (November, 1952), 243.

⁴²U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report: 1961 Employment, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 153-154.

Government to promote nondiscriminatory employment by Government contractors and Federal agencies have not generally been effective in overcoming resistance to hiring Negroes in any but the lowest categories. Although opportunities for employment by the Federal Government have increased in recent years, the Commission's one-city survey disclosed a disproportionate number of Negroes in the lower Classification Act positions and a concentration of Negroes in the unskilled Wage Boards jobs. Similarly, Commission investigations in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Detroit revealed examples of racial discrimination in the form of "underemployment," outright refusal to employ, and exclusion from company-sponsored training programs by Government contractors.

Some progress has been made in providing increased training and employment opportunities for Negroes. Through the efforts of the former Committee on Government Contracts, opportunities were made available to Negroes--even if sometimes only on a "token" basis--in nontraditional jobs, including Office clerical, technical, and professional positions. One large automobile manufacturer now employs Negroes in management and administrative positions. Companies that had refused to hire any Negroes have finally employed them. Even one of the most restrictive of the construction craft unions eventually agreed to refer a Negro for work on a Government project. Educational programs undertaken by this Committee and by the former Committee on Government Employment Policy focused attention on the problem of motivation of minority group members and resulted in increased training and counseling services in some communities. The desegregation of the Armed Forces initiated by the Executive Order 9981 in 1948 resulted in increased "employment" opportunities for Negroes and, even more would not otherwise have been available to them.⁴³

Moreover, in this most comprehensive report in the field of employment the Commission points to the tremendous impact of the government as an employer.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 155-156.

The Federal Government is the Nation's largest employer. Almost 10 percent of the country's work force, about 6 million persons, are on the Federal payroll: 2.3 million civilian employees; 2.48 million full-time members of the Armed Forces; and 1.08 million part-time members of the Armed Forces, serving in the Active Reserves on in the National Guard. The total annual payroll exceeds \$24 billion, including over \$13.5 billion for civilian employment and almost \$11 billion for the military. Obviously the Federal Government's impact on the national economy and overall employment is enormous. By adopting and enforcing a policy of equal employment opportunity, it may open up employment and training opportunities for minority group members. In so doing and by setting an example for the rest of the Nation, it may also affect employment opportunities throughout the country.⁴⁴

The order of President Kennedy on March 6, 1961, Executive Order 10925, which assures all Americans regardless of race, religion, color or national origin of equal access to employment opportunity within the government, and with those who do business with the government may be a "landmark in the history of efforts of the Federal Government to eliminate discrimination in employment financed, in whole or in part, by Federal funds."⁴⁵

In a survey reported in "U. S. News and World Report" it was found that President Kennedy was exerting pressure to employ more Negroes and had as one goal the naming of a Negro to a cabinet post for the first time in the history of the country.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 19.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁶"For Negroes: More and Better Jobs in Government," U. S. News and World Report, LII (March 5, 1962), 83.

The report indicates that out of 2.2 million Federal workers 13 percent are Negroes. Thus Negroes are employed in the Federal Government in a higher proportion than they are found in the population which is 10.6 percent in the coterminous United States. Although most are clustered in the low paying jobs many are now being upgraded to the professional grades of Civil Service.⁴⁷

According to the figures for spring and summer of 1961 among the major Federal agencies in descending order of total number of persons employed the percent of Negroes was: Defense Department, 9 percent; Post Office Department, 17 percent; Veterans Administration, 23 percent; Agriculture Department, 4 percent; Health, Education and Welfare Department, 20 percent; Interior Department, 4 percent; Federal Aviation Agency, 3 percent; General Services Administration, 34 percent; Commerce Department, 10 percent; National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 3 percent; State Department, 9 percent. Atomic Energy Commission, 2 percent; and the Labor Department, 18 percent.⁴⁸

Business and the professions. The function of the Negro in business and the professions, to a large extent, has been limited to the Negro community. Rose, points to

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 83-84.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 83.

the fact that the Negro has lost out to foreign-born groups such as the Chinese and Japanese in the restaurant business and in many of the other services. Negroes once served the whites in the laundry, barbering and catering businesses but are now largely limited to the Negro community in these capacities.⁴⁹

The Negro has not established himself in manufacturing industries, primarily, as a result of the fact that he has had insufficient opportunity to learn the managerial skills necessary for success. In addition Negroes have been severely limited in securing credit which is usually required for a manufacturing venture.⁵⁰

The major achievements of the Negro in business, according to Frazier, are in banking, newspapers and life insurance companies.⁵¹ All serve the Negro in the South and in the Northern cities. Although success has been achieved in these fields, the impact on the American economy is very small and the number of Negroes employed is very limited.

Historically the Negro doctor, dentist, clergyman, teacher, lawyer and businessman have been the leaders in

⁴⁹Arnold Rose, The Negro in America, p. 108.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 109.

⁵¹E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 57.

the Negro community. Some have become famous nationally providing an image for which young Negroes could aspire while others according to Frazier "exploited the Negro masses as ruthlessly as have whites. As the intellectual leaders in the Negro community, they have never dared think beyond a narrow, opportunistic philosophy that provided a rationalization for their own advantages."⁵²

Wilson suggests that since World War II, Negro leadership has changed from the "prestige leader" to the "organizer." The NAACP, a more militant group, is interested in "status desegregation" and not just in the material welfare of the Negro. The leadership of the Negro minister, he points out, has decreased enormously and now the ministers are beginning to organize for action and not just talk. The new Negro leadership is distinctly middle class.⁵³

This new middle class which Frazier calls the "Black bourgeoisie" includes the professionals, businessmen and the rapidly increasing number of white collar workers. The striving for status among this group is very pronounced. This Negro middle class has accepted the goals and aspirations of the white man but is very insecure about

⁵²Ibid., p. 236.

⁵³James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 297-299.

competition with the white man outside the Negro community.⁵⁴

Considering the development of Negro potential, Ginzberg suggests that the situation is changing and that the Negro can find employment opportunities in a variety of fields outside the Negro community. Elaborating on this point he says:

This is especially true in the sciences and engineering where, for a number of years, the demand for qualified persons has been much larger than the supply. The professionally trained Negro is still discriminated against by many employers. Yet the speed with which the professional employment of Negroes will increase in the future will depend more on the number of Negroes who complete professional training than on breaking down additional barriers to their employment. Agencies engaged in broadening the economic opportunities for Negroes have found in recent years more job openings at the professional level than fully qualified Negroes to fill them.

Increasing the number of Negroes who receive college and graduate training and improving the quality of higher education for Negroes are, therefore, the most important ways of insuring that a larger number will be employed at the professional level.⁵⁵

Edwards, in his study of the Negro professional class in Washington, D. C., reports that changes have occurred in the legal profession in recent years when he says:

Present opportunities for playing a more active role in politics, especially in the South, are helping to fashion the new image of the place of the Negro in the legal profession. Already, with the abolition of poll taxes in many Southern states and

⁵⁴Frazier, op. cit., p. 217.

⁵⁵Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, pp. 108-109.

the establishment of the right of Negroes to participate in primaries, coupled with their awakened interest in securing a more equitable place in the society, Negroes are seeking public office in larger numbers. There seems to be among Negroes, as indeed among whites, the conception that legal training provides the best background preparation for those wishing a career in politics.⁵⁶

In the field of medicine, which according to Edwards' research was the most desired profession among Negroes studied, opportunities are opening rapidly in medical schools and hospital residencies. However, further specialization is often very difficult to secure.⁵⁷

The Negro professionals in Edwards' study were largely the sons of white collar workers who work in professional fields as compared to past studies which showed they tended to be the sons of Negro proprietors. This fact indicated upward mobility and was evidence of the changing racial pattern.⁵⁸

Industry and the unions. The employment and integration of the Negro in industry since World War I has been the outstanding factor contributing to the Negroes' increase in economic achievement. Thus, perhaps in industry more than in any other field, considerable attention

⁵⁶G. Franklin Edwards, The Negro Professional Class (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 138.

⁵⁷Dietrich C. Reitzes, Negroes and Medicine (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 342.

⁵⁸Edwards, op. cit., p. 163.

has been given to the problems involved in the successful integration of the Negro as a productive worker.

Despite the fact that research on employment and integration of Negroes in industry is limited, one finds more in this field than any other. A review of significant writings and research on the processes of employing and integrating the Negro in industry and the relationship of the unions will be presented in this section.

Well known for its ability to equate all things necessary to production into economic terms, American industry views labor as a cost factor in the production of goods and services. On this basis, Negro labor was as good as any, given the same ability needed to do the work. The factor considered intangible by some, prejudice and discrimination, could be measured sufficiently well to derive its cost in production.

Thus, as Becker states in discussing the economics of discrimination:

Money, commonly used as a measuring rod, will also serve as a measure of discrimination. If an individual has a "taste for discrimination," he must act as if he were willing to pay something, either directly or in the form of the reduced income, to be associated with some persons instead of others. When actual discrimination occurs, he must, in fact, either pay or forfeit income for this privilege. This simple way of looking at the matter gets at the essence of prejudice and discrimination.⁵⁹

⁵⁹Gary S. Becker, The Economics of Discrimination (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 6.

Consequently, industry in competition for the market has been able to hold the right to a job over the heads of white labor where ordinarily discrimination might be practiced. This has been true in the South as well as in the North, although often times industrial leadership has complied with local customs.

In a study of selected southern and northern industrial plants, Steele found that northern firms contacted were employing more Negroes than ever before and that a more tolerant attitude was emerging. Contrasted with this, in the South he found an essentially static situation. Negroes were employed on certain kinds of jobs reserved for the Negro while other types of jobs were given almost exclusively to whites.⁶⁰

Studying the effects of southern white workers on race relations Killian found, that prior to the concentration of both Negro and white migrants in World War II defense centers, little interest was shown in the effects of Southern white migrants on race relations. It was assumed even by Myrdal that the Southern migrant acts toward Negroes essentially the same way as he did in the South. The Detroit Race riot has been blamed to a great extent on the Southern white migrant.⁶¹

⁶⁰Ellsworth H. Steele, "Jobs for Negroes: Some North-South Plant Studies," Social Forces, XXXII (December, 1953), 101.

⁶¹Lewis M. Killian, "The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations in Northern Plants," American Sociological Review, XVII (June, 1952), 327.

However, Killian concluded:

On the basis of the policies and practices of management in these fourteen plants, it is evident that the presence of Southern white workers did not cause an increase in discrimination against Negroes. In plants where management took a firm stand against discrimination, Southerners not only failed to incite other white workers to voice protests against the policy, but at least some "hillbillies" accepted the policy themselves by encouraging employment. In other plants, already existing policies of nonemployment of Negroes arrived at independently of the instance of southern whites, made it possible for the migrants to enjoy the dubious fruits of racial segregation in employment as fully as they might have in the South. The primary significance of the presence of the "hillbillies" was that their availability made possible the continuation of previously established discriminatory practices in spite of the shortage of local white labor.⁶²

According to Harding and Hogrefe, many business firms have employed Negroes since World War II as clerical workers and sales people. Since this represented a radical departure from pre-war experiences resistance might have been expected on the part of a majority of white workers. However, although white employees were seldom consulted, he reports the behavior of all, including the most prejudiced, has been uniform. It has been for all practical purposes the same as toward other white workers.

Summarizing the results of their study they conclude:

The evidence so far available indicates that equal status work contact between whites and Negroes may produce large favorable changes in attitude among

⁶²Ibid., p. 329.

the white workers, small favorable changes, or no changes at all, depending primarily on the nature of the work situation and the type of attitude measured. In the department store situation . . . equal status work contact produced a large increase in willingness to work with Negroes on an equal basis, but no significant change in willingness to accept other relationships with them.⁶³

An important work concerning the employment and integration of Negroes in industry is Sara Southall's book Industry's Unfinished Business published in 1950. As a personnel worker in the industrial relations department of International Harvester, she was credited with much of the success of the company's policies on equal employment opportunity.

Elaborating on procedures involved in introducing a Fair Employment policy in industry, Southall outlines the following:

1. The situation should be appraised.
2. Top management should be informed.
3. The outside community should be informed about company policy.
4. Key groups within the organization should be informed and convinced on the policy.

A formula for discussion with supervisory groups, found to be successful by a number of companies, involves three separate steps:

1. The setting forth of reasons for policy, so framed to be acceptable to the group.

⁶³John Harding and Russell Hogrefe, "Attitudes of White Department Store Employees Toward Negro Co-Workers," The Journal of Social Issues, VIII No. 1 (March, 1952), 28.

2. The use of certain emotional stimuli.
3. The stimulation of personal contact.
5. Agreement should be reached with the union.
6. Employees not covered by union contracts must be introduced through cooperation with informal leaders.
7. Action should be taken after the stage is set. Persuasion should be used in case of opposition but there should be no retract.
8. The program should be reviewed periodically.⁶⁴

Stressing the importance of company policy and the significant role of the supervisor in the successful employment and the integration of Negro workers, London and Hammett agree with Southall as a result of their study of the impact of company policy upon discrimination.

There can be no dispute with the importance of the issuance of policy statements regarding race relations by those in authority. Such issuance of policy statements defines the expected behavior of those in the situation and offers yard sticks for the measurement of subsequent behavior desired, . . . the only significant difference is that one company and union actively implemented its nondiscrimination policy, while the other company merely announced it without insuring its effective communication to the supervisory force, with the result that discriminatory practices continued.⁶⁵

Once policy has been established Southall suggests ten steps toward integration which should be considered:

⁶⁴Sara E. Southall, Industry's Unfinished Business (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1950), pp. 142-154.

⁶⁵Jack London and Richard Hammett, "Impact of Company Policy Upon Discrimination," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVIII (November-December, 1954), 91.

1. Make superior selection in the original hiring of Negro workers.
2. Hire only on a qualification basis, disregarding all quotas.
3. Start hiring Negro workers for all jobs in which they have skills.
4. Establish unsegregated work patterns.
5. Require the same performance from Negroes as from white workers.
6. Use Negroes in personnel departments whenever warranted.
7. Sponsor employee activities only on an unsegregated basis.
8. Work jointly and cooperatively with the Unions.
9. Use community resources for selection and information.
10. Use communication and public relations programs.⁶⁶

Hope, in his study of the industrial integration of Negroes suggests that a change in top-management policy "from one which gives preference to some racial, religious or national origin group or groups, to one which assures equality of employment opportunity to all without regard to minority status, rather profound and not readily reversible changes are set in motion."⁶⁷

Furthermore, he concludes:

⁶⁶Southall, op. cit., pp. 155-160.

⁶⁷John Hope II, "Industrial Integration of Negroes: the Upgrading Process," Human Organization, XI (Winter, 1952), 5.

Such a change involves a process of adjustment over a period of time, encompassing the following general stages: (1) complete exclusion of the minority; (2) restricted utilization, in which minority status is a factor in choice, manner and extent of utilization; (3) utilization of the minority on the basis of objective efficiency qualification alone.⁶⁸

The most recent, comprehensive and insightful study of the utilization of the Negro in industry, which could be located was authored by Paul H. Norgren, et al., entitled Employing the Negro in American Industry: A Study of Management Practices, published by Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc.

This book is a result of a study conducted by the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc. of New York City with the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation, the National Urban League, Inc., E. I. duPont de Nemours and Company, International Business Machines Corporation, Standard Oil Company of California, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), and the Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

The purpose of the study was to bring together a body of experience from widely representative industrial firms, "to reflect industrial experience in inducting and retaining Negro employees on the basis of their qualifications and potential in jobs which formerly were not available to them."⁶⁹

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Paul H. Norgren, et al., Employing the Negro in American Industry: A Study of Management Practices (New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1959), p. 16.

The study was conducted by means of interviews in forty-four establishments of thirty-four companies with company presidents, top line and staff executives, industrial relations directors, staff specialists, plant managers, supervisors and local union officers.

The detailed results of this research are discussed in the book under the following topic headings: The Management Decision; Recruitment and Selection: Initial Experience; Recruitment and Selection: Current Approaches; Placement and Orientation; Job Progress; Performance as an Employee; On-The-Job Relationships and the factor of Unions.⁷⁰

The following conclusions represent the major findings of this most significant study:

1. Manpower problems, when viewed from the individual company's point of view, are local or regional rather than national, and arise in different ways.
2. An employer cannot expand Negro employment without giving consideration to his employment policies and to the fact that the Negro may not be qualified in the occupations in which the company has vacancies.
3. Employers frequently find that Negro candidates do not have the educational background that is normally required for training.
4. In formulating a policy for broader employment of Negroes, a company cannot disregard the conventions and traditions within the community in which it operates.

⁷⁰Ibid.

5. Despite the difficulties, the progress of the Negro in recent years has been remarkable, as he has had opportunities to shift into better and more highly skilled occupational areas.
6. Advance planning is important to avoid the problems that can arise in the employment of Negroes.
7. Where the employment of Negroes departs from what employees have come to expect as normal and usual, the organization has to be made ready to accept the new policy.
8. Discernment in communicating management policy on the employment of Negroes is essential.
9. Companies have to be concerned with the attitudes of their present employees prior to the introduction of Negroes into jobs that will throw white employees into direct contact with them for the first time.
10. Fair, equal treatment of Negro employees according to uniform standards is of primary importance.
11. Adaptation of procedures in selection, placement, transfer and promotions may be necessary to permit fair treatment for the new Negro employee.
12. By and large, the chances of real success in the employment of Negroes are enhanced where Negroes are properly selected and brought into beginner jobs in an occupational area from or within which promotions are possible.
13. Negroes will be found to exhibit the same work performance as whites where they have the training and experience required for the job.
14. Where Negroes have had the ability and the service, their job progress has been steady and continuous.
15. The supervisor is important in supporting and implementing a policy of employing Negroes.
16. A program of employing Negroes requires that a company consider all factors bearing on such employment, and the policy of the union representing employees

in the company's plant is one of them.⁷¹

Consideration of the utilization of Negroes in American industry would be very impractical without some understanding of the role of the union as a major factor.

Numerous writings by Norgren,⁷² Ginzberg,⁷³ Pope,⁷⁴ Duff,⁷⁵ Ashmore,⁷⁶ Velie,⁷⁷ Hill,⁷⁸ Southall,⁷⁹ Marshall,⁸⁰ and Hope,⁸¹ and others all discuss the role of the union as it affects the employment opportunity of the Negro. Fundamentally, the results can be summarized by the following statements:

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 4-10.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 145-154.

⁷³Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, p. 106.

⁷⁴Pope, The Kingdom Beyond Caste, p. 69.

⁷⁵Edwards Duff, "Discrimination's Blight," Social Order, XI (April, 1961), 145.

⁷⁶Harry S. Ashmore, The Other Side of Jordan (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 78-81.

⁷⁷Lester Velie, "Race Discrimination With a Union Label," Reader's Digest, LXXX (May, 1962), 66-71.

⁷⁸Herbert Hill, "Racism Within Organized Labor: A Report of Five Years of the AFL-CIO, 1955-1960," Journal of Negro Education, XXX (Spring, 1961), 100-118; and Herbert Hill, "The Negro in Industry," The New Leader, XL (May 6, 1957), 3-5.

⁷⁹Southall, op. cit., pp. 119-120.

⁸⁰Ray Marshall, "Union Racial Practices and the Labor Market," Monthly Labor Review, LXXXV (March, 1962), 269-270.

⁸¹John Hope II, Equality of Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs, 1956), pp. 106-108.

1. Although most unions on the national level have contract clauses providing for nondiscrimination the local unions tend to reflect the local customs and traditions with regard to actual practice.
2. The extent of employment discrimination varies widely among unions with the craft unions considered to be the most discriminatory and the auto unions perhaps the least discriminatory.
3. The exclusion and otherwise discouragement of the Negro from apprenticeship training in most of the crafts and other technical programs is a major roadblock to the provision of opportunity for the Negro.
4. The effect of automation and at least its local dislocation of labor results in increasing discrimination within the unions. Moreover, the insufficient education of the Negro in many cases restricts his opportunity to readjust to an automating industry.
5. There have been significant advances in recent years but equal employment opportunity with the full rights and privileges of the unions is still far from being achieved. Thus, there is a definite move by responsible leaders to seek Federal legislation which could help in this direction.

In testimony to the Committee on Education and Labor,
AFL-CIO President George Meany said:

The leadership of the AFL-CIO, and of the separate federations before merger, has been working ceaselessly to eliminate those prejudices. The leaders of every affiliated national and international union are enlisted in the same effort. We have come a long way in the last 20 years--a long way farther, I might say, than any comparable organization, including the religious organizations as a whole, and certainly we are a generation or more ahead of the employers as a whole.

But we have said repeatedly that to finish the job we need the help of the U. S. Government. . . . when the rank-and-file membership of a local union obstinately exercises its right to be wrong, there is very little we in the leadership can do about it, unaided. . . .

In short, I am not here to ask for special exemptions for unions; quite the contrary. I hope the law you draft will cover the whole range we ourselves have written into our constitution and we hope you will make sure the law will also apply to apprenticeship programs of every kind, as I urged this very committee last August.⁸²

III. SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY: THE EMPLOYMENT AND INTEGRATION OF THE NEGRO

This part presents a review of the findings in the discipline of sociology which are concerned with the processes of change related to the employment and integration of the Negro. These findings in the form of concepts or

⁸²United States Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1962, Report No. 1370 (To Accompany H. R. 10144) 87th Congress 2d Session, February 21, 1962 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 4-5.

or principles should be applicable for consideration in the process of the utilization of Negro teachers in the public schools.

Prejudice and discrimination. Despite the fact that sociologists, psychologists and social psychologists differ to some extent in defining prejudice it appears that agreement is imminent. Fundamentally, prejudice is an individual attitude negative or positive, whether rational or irrational in character, toward a stereotyped perception of a category of phenomena.⁸³ While discrimination is the differential treatment or denial of rights of privileges to individuals belonging to a particular group.⁸⁴

The distinction between these two terms is very significant when one is considering the strategy for achieving integration or any particular social change.

Although prejudice and discrimination are most often found together, one supporting the other, under certain conditions the two functions may vary independently. For the purpose of analyzing race relations, this concept leads to conclusions which subsume the common belief that social change will only occur when the hearts of men are ready.

⁸³Arnold M. Rose, "Intergroup Relations Vs. Prejudice: Pertinent Theory for the Study of Social Change," Social Problems, IV (October, 1956), 173.

⁸⁴George Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, "The Changing Patterns of Race Relations," Phylon, XV (October, 1954), 328.

To support the contention of this important distinction, Rose points to the mass of research indicating that prejudice is a function, among other less important factors, of the individual personality. Moreover, that it is a function of the authoritarian personality which is a product of individual experience and development.

The authoritarian personality "tends to react toward its environment in a certain way, usually a combination of outward conformity and inward hostility."⁸⁵ The established system of race relations may be supported with dedication through this exterior conformity but the inward hostility may result in the psychological requirement for harsh interpersonal relationships with members of another group.

Rose, points to evidence which indicates that authoritarian personalities tend to be misanthropes, that if conformity is required in one situation hostility toward man will find some outlet for its manifestation in another. Thus, prejudicial attitudes can be expressed against almost any distinguishable group not just members of another race.

The individual who displays his prejudice through discriminatory acts looks for justifications, creating and accepting reasons which "prove" that the minority group

⁸⁵Rose, op. cit., p. 174.

members deserve the treatment which they receive.⁸⁶

Discussing discrimination Rose says:

There are, of course, alternative theories of prejudice (6), but they all have reference to individual psychological mechanisms. Because of this feature, I have come gradually to the opinion that race prejudice, as it has been conceptualized and studied by contemporary social psychologists, has little to do with patterns of intergroup relations in our society. The typical Southern system of intergroup relations--although it has some regional variations--is that which sociologists call "caste," or "no social equality." The typical Northern system--again with variations--is that of avoiding and ignoring the existence of Negroes. There is no evidence that the "authoritarian personality" or frustration-aggression or scapegoating, or any known source of "prejudice" in the psychological sense, is any more prevalent in the South than in the North. Yet there is a world of difference in intergroup relations as far as Negroes and whites are concerned.⁸⁷

There are many factors in the society which tend to perpetuate both prejudice and discrimination. The struggle for power, income, and status within and between societies has its impact. Less discernible is the effect of various forms of the mass media which offer subconscious suggestions concerning race relations.

In a study by Shuey on stereotyping of Negroes and whites it was found that in the leading magazines between eighty and ninety percent of all pictures of whites in advertisements portrayed them as above the class of skilled labor while actually less than twenty percent are in that

⁸⁶Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 329.

⁸⁷Rose, op. cit., p. 174.

category. Contrary to this, Negroes occupied a relatively low position. Most were portrayed as semi-skilled or unskilled laborers often in the roles of servants, porters and waiters.⁸⁸

Rose points out that:

Prejudice, stereotyping, and other attitudes arising from an authoritarian upbringing, frustration, free-floating anxiety, and so on, are undoubtedly tending to buttress the shell of caste that remains. But the latter attitudes are seemingly not declining as the walls come tumbling down; rather, they are being transferred to new objects and they have new manifestations.⁸⁹

Further, in support of the relative independence of prejudice and discrimination, Blood found in a study of personnel managers of fifty large retail stores in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, that discrimination existed without apparent prejudice on the part of the managers.

He claims the managers did not exhibit prejudicial attitudes toward Negro employees but, conversely, showed an awareness of individual differences and rated the potential job performance of Negroes in the so-called "white jobs" as very good.⁹⁰

⁸⁸Audrey M. Shuey, "Stereotyping of Negroes and Whites: An Analysis of Magazine Pictures," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII (Summer, 1953), 286-287.

⁸⁹Rose, op. cit., p. 175.

⁹⁰Robert O. Blood, Jr., "Discrimination Without Prejudice," Social Problems, III (July, 1955-April, 1956), 115.

However, Blood, concludes that the most salient factors resulting in job discrimination by the personnel managers were: (1) the belief that customers and store employees would not share the liberal viewpoint held by the managers and (2) the belief that the manager had no responsibility as a social reformer and that risk of continuous good customer-employee relations was not in the interest of good business.⁹¹

Rose suggests that prejudice is psychogenic while discrimination is sociogenic and that no study of prejudice is very useful in understanding the process of integration in the present social scene. "The explanation," he states, "is apparently to be looked for in terms of legal, economic, political and social structural forces."⁹²

Self-image. Experiences in the employment and integration of Negroes in industry suggests the wisdom of giving considerable attention to the personality of the individual to be employed. Thus, in the utilization of Negroes in education, personality would rate at the top of a list of factors involved in employment because of the more intimate personal relationships which exist in education as contrasted with industry. Consequently, the findings relating to personality as a factor of importance

⁹¹Ibid., p. 116.

⁹²Rose, op. cit., p. 176.

in the integration process are now presented.

Studies of the image one has of himself have shown the importance of a healthy self-image to a normal personality. These findings provided part of the bases for the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 which overruled segregation in the public schools.⁹³

As a result of the stigma of inferiority and stereotypes, high visibility and discriminatory treatment, most Negroes have tended to believe the same distorted notions about themselves that many whites accept.

The Negro can find many examples which lead him to such conclusions. The use of the word "black" or "dark" as a loaded word, like "black as sin" has derogatory implications, while "white" has connotations of purity in the linguistics of the American culture. Although these words may be uttered accidentally with no racial overtones, the Negro may perceive them in an entirely different social context.⁹⁴

Clark suggests that, "if a child observes that in his school all the adults with prestige and authority are of one skin color, while all those in menial positions are of another, naturally he begins to believe that skin color

⁹³Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg, Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955), p. 120.

⁹⁴Ronald J. Rousseve, Discord in Brown and White (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), p. 60.

is an aspect of status."⁹⁵

Thus, as the Negro grows and develops he painfully comes to the conclusion that the group to which he belongs is, indeed, inferior. Not many are able to acquire a satisfactory self-image or to develop unqualified allegiance to values of a society that are so ambiguous.⁹⁶

In a study related by Gittler, involving an intensive psychiatric analysis of twenty-five Negroes from varying socio-economic backgrounds it was found that each suffered from low self-esteem and a depreciated background.⁹⁷

Analyzing the well known phenomenon of minority group self-hatred Rose points to the Negro as an outstanding example. He suggests that:

Group self-hatred may be thought of as the opposite of group identification. It manifests itself in all the expressions of prejudice, that characterize the prejudiced members of the minority group. It also appears in a desire to escape all identification with the minority group--one passes, tries to pass, or becomes an emotional advocate of passing. A distinction should be made however, between the person who advocates assimilation because of a rational belief that it is the best solution to the minority problem, and the person who advocates assimilation solely because he personally would like to escape being a member of the minority group.⁹⁸

⁹⁵Kenneth B. Clark, Prejudice and Your Child (Boston: Beacon Press, Inc., 1955), p. 90.

⁹⁶Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 331.

⁹⁷Joseph Gittler, Understanding Minority Groups (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 132.

⁹⁸Arnold M. Rose, The Negro's Morale (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1949), pp. 85-86.

The constant search for material advantage, which is a primary goal in American life, often leads to group and individual self-hatred. Both affect the personality adversely and are often manifested by poor relationships with members of one's own race.

Another factor related to manifestations of an unsatisfactory self-image is the tendency of many Negroes to be more envious of one another than whites. Negroes do not perceive themselves as being in competition with whites and are not envious when whites get ahead. But, since another Negro is not beyond envy like whites, there is a feeling of competition.⁹⁹

Furthermore Brookover suggests:

The educated Negro who has been taught the American creed of equality, is constantly faced with conflicting models of behavior. As a citizen he may expect to have privileges and rewards commensurate with those of other citizens. He is constantly aware that many of the privileges of citizenship are denied him. He must find ways of resolving these conflicting expectations. Many do this by a satisfactory separation of roles so that they function in terms of two different models. For many others, the conflict causes frustration and increases hostility toward the group imposing the conflict upon him. The uneducated Negro may be less hostile because he knows only the model of the Negro as a second-class citizen.¹⁰⁰

Thus, manifestations of deprivation in the self-image of the Negro, results in personality characteristics which

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁰⁰Wilbur B. Brookover, A Sociology of Education (New York: American Book Company, 1955), p. 126.

may have significant implications in the process of the employment and integration of Negro teachers.

Social class. It is dangerous to generalize about the role of the Negro teacher with regard to social class. However, it is logical to consider the fact that the personality characteristics, attitudes and beliefs of the Negro teacher are significantly influenced by the cultural heritage and existing social system of which he is a member. For this purpose, then, review of studies concerning social status differentials and the role of the middle class Negro are here presented.

In two different studies, one among Negroes and the other among whites, concerning the relationships between members of the opposite race, Westie found the following principles which apply to both races:

(1) The social distance between Negroes and whites as expressed by whites, varies with differences in the occupational status of the Negro. This variation in response consistently took the following direction: the higher the occupational status of the Negro, the less distance expressed toward him. This is true for all socio-economic classifications of respondents employed in the present study.

(2) The extent to which the responses of whites to Negroes are affected by Negro occupational status varies considerably, depending upon the socio-economic status of the responding white. The following broad generalization emerges: The higher the socio-economic status of the responding white, the greater the alteration of response with variations in the occupational status of the Negro.

(3) Social distance is least where both Negro and white have high socio-economic status; social distance is greatest where both Negro and white have low socio-economic status.

(4) The extent to which the foregoing generalizations apply varies with the interaction areas in which distance is expressed. Respondents are most rigid in their responses in the areas of Interpersonal-Physical Distance and Residential Distance, and least rigid regarding Position Distance and Interpersonal-Social Distance.¹⁰¹

Thus, it might be hypothesized that social distance among Negro and white teachers in integrated schools would not present significant problems. Perhaps crucial to this question, would be the image of socio-economic status which both the white and Negro teacher have of their own positions.

Related to these studies are others which provide evidence of the Negroes' unsatiated desire for increased status. King concluded in a study of social stratification among urban Negroes in a North Carolina city that:

. . . the Negro population does socially differentiate itself and that difference in values, behavior, and attitudes tend to be noticeable and recognized by the group itself. There is a continuum apparent in social distance with regard to social intercourse and differentiation in formal associations within the group . . . education is the most important factor, with occupation following, in ascribing status and prestige in the group. Education tends to have a high value, as it serves as a means not only of facilitating movement upward within the group but also affords an expected means of overcoming barriers hampering the group's assimilation into American society. It also provides members of the group practically the only means of circumventing the economic barriers to

¹⁰¹Frank R. Westie, "Negro-White Status Differentials and Social Distance," American Sociological Review, XVII (October, 1952), 552-554.

security imposed upon it by the power relations controlled by the dominant group.¹⁰²

Although King's study was done in the South, where the lack of economic opportunity has resulted in more dependence on education as a status symbol and a proliferation of organizations, Frazier suggests that many of the same factors are evident in the North.

The difference found in the North is that the Negro has more money and greater economic opportunity. Therefore wealth has become the symbol for what Frazier calls the new "black bourgeoisie" or middle class.¹⁰³

Furthermore, he purports that the standards of consumption which the criminal and "sporting" elements maintain are the measure of success for the black middle class. Thus, the great proliferation of organized Negro societies which offer status within the Negro community.

Frazier, goes on to suggest that Negro "society" is a phoney mechanism which results in preventing the Negro from facing reality. The status seeking is so severe that "school teachers wear mink coats and maintain homes beyond their income for fear that they may lose status."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Charles E. King, "The Progress of Social Stratification Among an Urban Southern Minority Population," Social Forces, XXXI (May, 1953), 354.

¹⁰³Frazier, op. cit., p. 149.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 319.

The middle class Negroes have failed, according to Frazier, to provide the leadership and dedication to the Negro masses which were once characteristic of the educated Negro. He points out, for example, that:

Many Negro teachers refuse identification with the Negro masses and look upon teaching primarily as a source of income. In many cases they have nothing but contempt for their Negro pupils. Moreover, they have no real interest in education and genuine culture and spend their leisure in frivolities and in activities designed to win a place in Negro "society."¹⁰⁵

Although this view is a generalization with regard to the Negro middle class it apparently represents major aspects of life where opportunity for status and association is limited to the Negro community. Frazier, suggests that in Northern communities Negroes are finding increasing acceptance on the basis of their skills and abilities. Where the Negro has an opportunity for more free association in an integrated community he predicts the Negro will detach himself from the Negro community and play a more responsible role, as salaried professional and white-collar workers.¹⁰⁶

Strategy for social change. Common knowledge has considered a major social change to be the result of a long gradual change in the fundamental beliefs of the

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 236.

¹⁰⁶E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro Middle Class and Desegregation," Social Problems, IV (April, 1957), 301.

members of society. However, analysis of the problem has shed new light and it appears that social change can occur without fundamental changes in individual beliefs. Whether this is a result of the changes in American society from a rural folk social system to a mass, group-oriented social system has not been clearly demonstrated.

However, it is the role that the individual has accepted as a part of a group which provides the bases for social change without a departure from the individual's specific belief system. Lohman and Reitzes indicate that:

Modern society is increasingly characterized by the fact that individuals participate in specific social situations not as singular and unchanging entities but by playing specifically differentiated roles (i.e., as homeowners, workers, shoppers, merchants, etc.). Such role-playing comes less and less frequently under definitions provided by traditional folkways and mores. It is increasingly structured and defined by the demands and requirements of organizations set up for the purpose of realizing specific objectives. For the most part, the interests of individuals as homeowners, workers, or merchants are now realized within the framework of such institutions.

... In this view of the matter, a view of race relations which centers upon the concept of individual attitudes is severely limited. While there are some situations in which the behavior of persons toward others can be explained individual qua individual, in terms of specific attitudes, in the major and significant areas of social life--namely, jobs, business, and the community--this conception is not adequate. Thus most situations of racial contact are defined by the collectively defined interests of the individuals concerned and do not merely manifest their private feelings toward other races, for example, Negroes.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Joseph D. Lohman and Dietrich C. Reitzes, "Note on Race Relations in Mass Society," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (November, 1952), 240-241.

Thus, an individual can behave in a discriminatory manner as a member of the homeowners association and yet support equal employment opportunity as a member of the local union.

In a study in Chicago by Lohman regarding Negro-white interaction in three different situations: (1) the residential neighborhood; (2) the industrial work situation; and (3) neighborhood shopping centers:

. . . it was discovered that the individual's generalized feelings and attitudes toward Negroes were inadequate to explain actual behavior. Such generalized feelings were systematically repressed and subordinated in the face of more specific interests. Thus, in the work situation, the specific interests of wages, working conditions, and job security were identified with the union, and hence the union's position on racial questions was in control. On the other hand, in the neighborhood, such interests as personal and social deference as well as protection of property values were identified with the objectives of the local improvement association, consequently, the civic organizations' position of completely rejecting Negroes as potential neighbors were determinative.

It is of particular interest to note that there was no statistical correlation between acceptance or rejection of Negroes on the job and acceptance or rejection of Negroes in the neighborhood. That is, there was no evidence to support the common belief that persons who show a high degree of acceptance of Negroes on the job will necessarily show a low degree of rejection of Negroes in their home communities.¹⁰⁸

Although Simpson and Yinger suggest that different kinds of strategies need to be used to effect social change

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 244.

in different situations, it is also agreed in harmony with Lohman that:

Perhaps the most important single development has been the demonstration--in the face of strong beliefs to the contrary--that a democratic government can, through law and political action, significantly influence patterns of discrimination and, if our present theories are correct, ultimately prejudice as well.¹⁰⁹

Strategies of exhortation, propaganda, equal status contact, and education have all been used with varying degrees of success. Their use coupled with law and political action of organized groups seem to provide the most promise.¹¹⁰

Numerous studies suggest that efforts toward eliminating discrimination in institutions should be proceeded by the establishment of firm policy and then persistent implementation of that policy to bring about compliance.

Clark, in suggesting a set of principles for consideration to effect desegregation with a minimum of social disturbance states that it depends upon the following:

- A. A clear and unequivocal statement of policy by leaders with prestige and other authorities;
- B. Firm enforcement of the changed policy by authorities and persistence in the execution of this policy in the face of initial resistance;
- C. A willingness to deal with violation, attempted violations, and incitement to violations by resort to the law and strong enforcement action;

¹⁰⁹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 345.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 343-345.

- D. A refusal of the authorities to resort to, engage in, or tolerate subterfuges, gerrymandering or other devices for evading the principles and the fact of desegregation;
- E. An appeal to the individuals concerned in terms of the American traditions of fair play and equal justice.¹¹¹

In studies led by Robin Williams at Cornell University and reported by Pope it was found that when policy changes are anticipated:

- A. It is generally better to begin with moral principles, such as the American Creed of equality, rather than bogging down at the beginning in concrete problems.
- B. It is better to have a positive policy than no policy, in order that the position may be perfectly clear to all.
- C. In case, the organization is an affiliate of a national body, the expressed policy of the national body can often be very useful in the local situation.
- D. Examples of successful integration in kindred or neighboring institutions can often be very helpful and reassuring.
- E. No effort should be made to stifle potential opposition by facing it with an accomplished fact, especially if the potential danger lies in the group responsible for making policy. But it is well to study in advance the possibility of opposition and the capability for meeting it.
- F. Even if no policy of desegregation is possible at the moment, a policy adopting desegregation as a goal to be achieved as rapidly as possible provides a direction for future movement.

¹¹¹Kenneth B. Clark, "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence," The Journal of Social Issues, IX (October, 1953), 97.

7. Desegregation that proceeds by firm and decisive steps backed by the responsible authorities is more readily accepted and taken for granted than a halting desegregation that appears unsure of itself.¹¹²

Furthermore, other principles of importance in understanding intergroup relations have emerged from these studies:

1. Sustained interaction between majority and minority is essential.
2. Persons inexperienced in intergroup relations frequently alienate minority persons with whom they wish to be friendly by inadvertently expressing themselves in the language of prejudice.
3. Intergroup understanding is impeded by ignoring individual and group differences and treating all persons as though they were alike.
4. An effective intergroup relations program generally required adequate minority representation among those who develop and guide; the activities of the organization.
5. Major changes in individual prejudices occur most quickly and thoroughly from exposure to social interaction in a new social environment rather than from information and exhortation alone.
6. Within wide limits, prejudiced persons will accept and participate in a thoroughly mixed and integrated setting if integrated patterns are established and accepted as appropriate by other participants in that situation.¹¹³

Thus, the strategy for social change suggested by sociologists takes account of the differences between prejudice and discrimination; prejudice as a function of the

¹¹²Pope, op. cit., p. 92.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 87.

individual personality and discrimination or nondiscrimination as largely a function of group identification on the part of the individual.

The promise of elimination of racial discrimination lies in the establishment and firm implementation of institutional policy and the resultant tendency for compliance by the individual with the policy of the group or institution of which he is a member.

IV. EMPLOYMENT AND INTEGRATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

Despite the fact that much has been written concerning the employment and integration of Negro teachers, research of a definitive nature is sadly lacking. Largely, the writing and research found in the literature concerns the developments in desegregation in the South and southern border states.

There are significant differences between integration in the South and integration in the North. In northern communities, segregation is not overtly accepted as a part of public policy though it may exist in fact. While in the South, an apparent majority of the white population has supported segregation both publicly and privately as part of the existing social system.

Moreover, the 1954 Supreme Court decision was mainly directed at Southern states where complete segregation of

Negro and white children still existed. The process of desegregation represented a major change in the administration and operation of public schools.

Thus, the review of literature concerning desegregation of Negro teachers in the South is perhaps not quite so relevant to this study as research done in Northern communities. However, those findings which do appear to be appropriate, from studies conducted in both North and South, are presented in this fourth part.

Valid information concerning employment and integration of Negroes is difficult to secure and when it is, it should be considered within its proper context. The United States Commission on Civil Rights points out that:

The mere establishment of a racial pattern in employment of itself does not establish the existence or absence of discrimination. The degree of employment of minority group members must be considered in relation to many other factors, including the available source of manpower among minority group members, availability of training opportunities, and methods of recruitment, to name but a few. These factors, of course, may be related to more subtle forms of discrimination, or to discrimination in education and other areas besides employment. Moreover, the entire employment relationship is fraught with immeasurable, subjective factors, such as the personality of an employee or his ability to get along with his fellow workers.¹¹⁴

Many articles which deal with the integration of Negro teachers fail to consider the subjective factors

¹¹⁴U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report: 1961 Employment, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 4.

which most administrators consider important in their employment practices. Often attention is given only to "head counts" with deficiencies in the relative proportion of Negro teachers to the Negro population interpreted as discrimination. This, however, is to be expected when one considers the extent of actual discrimination which has been practiced in the past.

Integration in the South. The decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 was unclear concerning the integration of Negro teachers and consequently this has been a source of difficulty in both Southern and border states. As a result, Negro teachers in the South have been uneasy concerning integration and in some cases have openly opposed it to protect their own interests.

Some have been apprehensive about unpleasant situations which might arise as a result of contact with white administrators and white teachers. Others were openly fearful of losing their jobs or being transferred to non-teaching unprofessional positions.

These fears were not altogether unfounded, since the records of many states, which have desegregated, show that a disproportionate number of Negro teachers have lost their jobs. During the desegregation process in many states the existing one and two room segregated schools were eliminated and the teachers, often poorly qualified in the first place,

were discharged.¹¹⁵

Generally, teachers in the larger school districts, where tenure laws existed, have fared better than their rural counterparts. However, in some states Negro teachers have been intimidated by various means including threats to repeal state tenure laws and threats of job loss for belonging to the NAACP or promoting integration.

The process of integration of both Negro children and Negro teachers has been uneven. Border states have moved more rapidly than states in the deeper South. But Negro teachers in many cases have been released despite the critical teacher shortage.

In a study of the consequences encountered by Negro teachers in the desegregation process in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and West Virginia, Spruill found that there had been both losses and gains in terms of employment. The gains outweighed the losses.¹¹⁶

However, he points out that only one school district, Baltimore, Maryland, has employed Negro teachers to any appreciable extent. In addition future employment seemed to be uncertain and indefinite.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵United States Commission on Civil Rights, Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights: 1959 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 270.

¹¹⁶Albert W. Spruill, "The Negro Teachers in the Process of Desegregation of Schools," Journal of Negro Education, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 80-84.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 81.

One of the factors affecting the employment of Negro teachers in the South is that poorly qualified Negro teachers willing to accept low salaries were often employed in the Negro segregated schools. Upon desegregation white school officials often considered these same Negro teachers as unqualified to teach in mixed schools.

There may be some validity to this position as discriminatory as it may appear. Ginzberg states:

In terms of formal educational qualifications, Negro teachers in many parts of the South are at least as well-prepared as white teachers. This is so, in part, because the Negro college graduate has few other professional employment opportunities. On the average, however, Negro teachers are much less able than white teachers in spite of the fact that they have about the same amount of formal preparation. Like other young Negroes, those preparing to teach usually are handicapped by poor schools and deprived backgrounds. A recent study by Arthur L. Benson of the Educational Testing Service analyzed the abilities of prospective white and Negro teachers in states with segregated schools. Test scores of white and Negro freshmen in Southern teacher-training institutions and liberal arts colleges in which a large number of the freshmen were planning to teach were compared with the test scores of freshmen in the country as a whole. The average score of the white freshmen in the Southern schools was exceeded by 65 per cent of the freshmen throughout the country. The average future Negro teacher in the South ranked below 95 per cent of the freshmen in the whole country.

A parallel study was also made of almost 1,500 seniors in thirty-seven colleges located in nine Southern states who were preparing to teach. On the professional information test, the white seniors in the South achieved an average score which was very near the national average, but the average Negro senior, like the Negro freshman, was bettered by 95 per cent in the nation as a whole. With respect to English expression tests, the Negro seniors did somewhat better. In terms of the combined score on all phases of the testing program, white seniors in the South were again

near the national average, but the Negro senior who was preparing to teach in the South was outscored by 96 per cent of all college seniors. Moreover, the scores of Negro seniors who came from rural backgrounds and were planning to teach in rural areas were much lower than the scores of other Southern Negroes.¹¹⁸

Certainly, one could point out the moral consideration which, perhaps, should be involved under these conditions. Only the future will determine if the loss in employment to the poorly qualified teacher was the price of the development of the truly professional Negro teacher.

The three cities which have received the most acclaim for the orderly desegregation of schools since the Supreme Court decision are St. Louis, Washington, D. C. and Louisville. Spruill states, however, that integrated schools in Louisville does not mean integrated facilities. The Negro "faculty members attend integrated professional meetings and luncheons, but teach in the schools which have a predominance of their race."¹¹⁹

In St. Louis, where community citizens and school personnel had worked on human relations projects for ten years prior to the Supreme Court decision the local officials were well prepared for desegregation.

One month after the May 17, 1954, decision a letter was sent to the members of the board calling a meeting to

¹¹⁸Ginzberg, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

¹¹⁹Spruill, op. cit., p. 81.

consider acting upon the question of desegregating the schools. The board unanimously adopted a program under its control.¹²⁰

A significant feature of the program was a stipulation:

. . . that the tenure rights of teachers would be preserved and as far as possible they would retain their present assignments, being transferred only to meet the needs of the service. New appointments would be made from a single rated list on the basis of examination scores. Vacancies among lunchroom or matron and custodial staff would be filled on the basis of competence and adaptability, and employees in these and other non-certified classes would be appointed from lists compiled from examination scores, without regard to race or color.¹²¹

All prospective teachers in the St. Louis system are required to take national and state teacher examinations. Once accepted, a teacher is on probation for three years. If they are employed beyond the third year they are considered to be competent and can only be dismissed for cause. The Negro teachers have the same tenure rights as white teachers.

When the schools were desegregated, teaching staffs were integrated along with student bodies. No attempt was made to apportion Negro teachers in accordance with the proportion of Negro students. Assignments were made strictly on the basis of matching teaching skills available with those needed.

. . . There are both Negro and white administrative officers, as well as department heads. A white dean and a Negro registrar counsel students without regard to race. A

¹²⁰Bonita H. Valien, The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1956), p. 27.

¹²¹Ibid., p. 28.

Negro coaches basketball, while baseball and track are handled by white coaches.

Three of the nine former white high schools now have mixed faculties, and of the elementary schools, ten have mixed faculties. Up to the present time, Negro teachers have been employed only in those schools where there is a mixed enrollment. Altogether, more than 500 St. Louis teachers are serving on integrated faculties.¹²²

Although there were only a few months preparation prior to desegregation in Washington, D. C., the board of education and administration followed a similar policy to that established in St. Louis. The board approved a policy which stated:

Appointments and promotions of all school personnel are to be made on a merit system and assignment will be in keeping with the needs of the service. Tenure rights will be preserved, although the duties of some officers will necessarily be changed.

The transition of a desegregated system is to be accomplished by natural and orderly means. Artificial and immediate reassignments of large numbers of pupils, teachers, and officers would be disruptive and should be avoided.¹²³

Thereafter, according to Hansen, teachers were employed on the basis of merit and specific qualifications. This policy proved beneficial to the system since it enabled the use of manpower to its best advantage.

Both in St. Louis and Washington, D. C. the successful integration of students and teachers has been attributed

¹²²Ibid., p. 40.

¹²³Carl F. Hansen, Miracle of Social Adjustment: Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1957), p. 46.

to the establishment and implementation of a firm policy which was considered fair to all concerned.

Integration in the North. In New Jersey the increased employment of Negro teachers is credited to the provision in the new constitution prohibiting racial discrimination and the enactment of a fair employment practices law which has specific provisions for its implementation.

This is in contrast to a law in Illinois withholding state funds from districts maintaining segregated schools. The result of this policy, Wright suggests, is that:

. . . citizens of this state are being compelled to fight for integration on a community by community basis, while in New Jersey the DAD was charged with the duty of desegregating the schools by a governor who had on more than one occasion expressed his determination to see that the law was enforced.¹²⁴

History had clearly demonstrated the fact that formal education had failed to achieve results in improving living conditions for minority groups. In this state educational procedures backed by functional legislation are achieving results. People still have the right to possess prejudices against other persons, but they are being restrained by law from indulging in the outward manifestations of these prejudices to the harm of the victims.¹²⁵

Despite the fact, that fewer Negroes are located in the North and the existence of fair employment laws are far more prevalent, manifestations of employment

¹²⁴Marion Thompson Wright, "Extending Civil Rights in New Jersey Through the Division Against Discrimination," The Journal of Negro History, XXXVII (January, 1953), 105.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 104.

discrimination still exist.

The 1959 United States Commission on Civil Rights states that this:

. . . is indicated by the fact that Michigan for example has had a reservoir of minority group teachers qualified but unemployed. One of the reasons for this, according to the Michigan Advisory Committee of the Commission on Civil Rights, is a fear on the part of many school boards that the hiring of non-white teachers may have public repercussions.¹²⁶

In a two year study of white and Negro relationships in a Connecticut town, Lee received the same kinds of responses. A school board member and many different businessmen attributed the lack of Negro employment in business and in the schools to the prejudice of the public and the reluctance of the leaders to oppose the public's view.¹²⁷

Both Simon and Record, indicate specific cases of underutilization of Negro teachers in Illinois and California pointing to the large number of white teachers on substandard certificates, while the Negro teachers can only find employment in the large cities.¹²⁸

Despite the discriminatory employment practices which still exist in most states, a substantial number of Negro

¹²⁶United States Commission on Civil Rights, Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights: 1959 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 269.

¹²⁷Frank F. Lee, Negro and White in Connecticut Town (New York: Bookman Associates, 1961), p. 88.

¹²⁸Paul Simon, "Let's Integrate Our Teachers," Christian Century, Vol. 74 (February 20, 1957), 231; Wilson Record, "Racial Integration in California Schools," Journal of Negro Education, XXVII (Winter, 1958), 22.

teachers are being employed each year in different school districts throughout the nation. Thus it is important to review the findings of the limited number of research studies which concern the process and problems encountered in integrating Negro teachers.

Problems and process of Negro teacher integration.

Fundamentally, research findings indicate, that in the South where Negro teachers have been integrated in mixed schools in the process of desegregation the arrangement has been successful. Relations with parents, children, and co-workers were generally much better than expected.¹²⁹

Where educational leadership has been firm, the Negro population small and good race relations existing prior to desegregation, the greatest success has been achieved. When the opposite of these factors obtained, the process has been very difficult and in many cases integration has not effectively been achieved.¹³⁰

According to Spruill, the integration of Negro teachers in some cases has challenged both white and Negro teachers to exemplify a high degree of professional performance.

¹²⁹Elizabeth Mae Kaufman, "Some Problems of Negro Teachers Related to Integration of Pupils in Public Schools," (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1960), Abstract; Albert W. Spruill, "The Negro Teacher in the Process of Desegregation of Schools," Journal of Negro Education, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 84.

¹³⁰Robert J. Dwyer, "The Negro Teacher and Desegregation," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 42 (September-October, 1957), 84.

Although both white and Negro teachers are apprehensive at first the tension rapidly disappears.¹³¹

Spruill, suggests that the status of the Negro teacher has been raised by employment in mixed schools. This may be a significant factor in the future development of high quality Negro teachers.¹³²

In a study of mature adult male Negro professionals including doctors, lawyers, dentists and college teachers in Washington, D. C., Edwards found that teaching was the least desirable profession. The favored occupation was that of the medical doctor.¹³³

Although considerable prestige is given to teaching in the Negro community, most college teachers indicated they would have chosen another profession but for one reason or another felt trapped in their particular field.

A significant element in the decision that teaching is least desirable, is the fact that other professions, like law and medicine, are more independent. Many respondents in this study were counseled to more independent professions by their parents who had received discriminatory treatment at the hands of white superiors as would be found

¹³¹Spruill, op. cit., p. 84.

¹³²Ibid., p. 83.

¹³³G. Franklin Edwards, The Negro Professional Class (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 143.

in the teaching profession. Perhaps the highly satisfactory adjustments related by Spruill will result in a better attitude toward teaching as a profession.¹³⁴

Two studies conducted in the North by Moss and Rivers are relevant to the problem under study.¹³⁵ Moss, reporting his study conducted in New York State through interviews with thirty-two full time Negro college teachers and twenty-six deans and department heads in the colleges employing the Negro teachers, found that three factors contributed to the apparent lag between the availability of qualified Negro teachers and their employment.

1. Reluctance by the Negro teachers to apply for positions in non-segregated institutions.
2. Reluctance by white institutions to recruit in Negro colleges for able Negro teachers.
3. Reluctance by a predominant segment of the white society to accept the Negro as an intellectual and social equal.¹³⁶

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 143.

¹³⁵James Allen Moss, "Utilization of Negro Teachers in the Colleges of New York State" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1957). Marie Davidson Rivers, "Peer Acceptance and Rejection of Negro Teachers Who Were First or Among the First to Be Employed in White or Predominantly White Schools North of the Mason-Dixon Line," (unpublished Doctoral thesis, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1959).

¹³⁶Moss, op. cit., p. 171.

In addition he suggests that the small number of Negro college teachers recruited through the college placement services in New York State tends to substantiate the Negro's belief that college placement services will only recommend Negro teachers to Negro colleges.

With regard to the circumstances under which the Negro college teachers were employed, Moss found that "in each instance, the success of the change was related to the extent to which those responsible for implementing the new policy did so with firmness and conviction. Once colleagues were exposed to the Negro teacher in this new situation they were more acceptive of the change than those who were not exposed."¹³⁷

The implementation of a nondiscriminatory policy and the exposure of white colleagues to the Negro teacher were instrumental in further Negro employment. While the method of introducing the change, the time required, geographical factors, the number and proportion employed, and the attitude held by white individuals or groups prior to the change, were less influential.¹³⁸

Rivers' study in thirteen cities involving nineteen school superintendents, a college dean, forty-nine principals

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 273.

¹³⁸Ibid.

and a total of 176 white and Negro teachers is similar in some respects to the study reported in this dissertation.

The general conclusions reached in that study are:

1. Faculty integration in the 13 cities was a success on all levels and in all phases of teaching.
2. The high criteria used by school administrators for selecting the 88 Negro teachers insured the success of the initial trials of faculty integration.
3. Competent Negro teachers are not unlike competent teachers of other races in reflecting good influence in the school and the community.
4. Administrators were forthright in their praise of the high efficiency of the 88 Negro teachers and expressed a willingness to continue and extend their programs of faculty integration.
5. White co-workers accepted the 88 Negro teachers professionally and included them in all school and social activities which were conducted in the public schools investigated for the study.
6. White students reacted favorably to the Negro teachers from the very beginning. A small percent of parents reacted unfavorably at the initial stages, but changed after experienced faculty integration.
7. Community civic groups, real estate associations and social interest groups are strong determiners of the social acceptance of the Negro teachers who worked on integrated faculties in the communities.
8. The major issues of faculty integration seem to lie within the act itself, of employing Negro teachers for a white community, and are not those of inefficiency or lack of preparation on the part of Negro teachers.¹³⁹

¹³⁹Rivers, op. cit., pp. 224-225.

V. SUMMARY

In this chapter the historical aspects of Negro employment in the United States were briefly sketched from the period prior to emancipation to the present time. Analysis was made of the deprivations of employment opportunity for the Negro, the great migration to the North, and the rapid changes which have occurred in recent years.

More precisely, the factors involved in the employment and integration of Negroes in various sectors of the economy were traced in terms of past experience, methods of approach, and accomplishments. The various sectors under consideration included the military, government service, business and the professions, industry and unions.

In an effort to provide a means for understanding the basic problems related to the employment and integration of the Negro, certain fundamental sociological and psychological concepts were presented. The concepts of prejudice and discrimination, self-image, social class, and the strategy for social change were each explored and documented.

Furthermore, in this chapter the writings and limited research studies concerning the employment and integration of Negro teachers were reviewed and the major contributions presented.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapter dealing with the review of literature the studies and writings of many individuals were cited to provide an orientation to the subject under study. The discussion in this chapter is concerned with creating an understanding of the basic method of research, the instrument utilized, how it was developed, the procedure employed in administering the instrument, the factors regarding selection of the districts involved, the collection of data and the implications of the process of data collection.

I. METHOD OF RESEARCH

The basic method of research used in this investigation was a modification of the case study approach with the use of a structured interview schedule in the collection of data. It was a modification in as much as it did not meet the full criteria of a case study as defined by Good and Scates by taking into account ". . . all pertinent aspects of one thing or situation, employing as the unit of study an individual, an institution, a community or any

group considered as a unit."¹

Since this study was limited to the response of persons directly connected with the schools, excluding students, parents, patrons or white teachers (with one exception), it is apparent that "all pertinent aspects" have not been studied. However, those persons interviewed in this study did represent major forces relating to the employment and integration of Negro teachers. In addition, the resources in terms of time and money were limited and it was deemed sufficient to extend the study on a broader base, including districts of various size and location, in preference to a more extensive study within a single district.

The limited number of cases involved in this study obviated the statistical treatment of the data collected. But as Good and Scates indicated:

The argument that case study does not lend itself to statistical treatment need not prove too disquieting. Case study and statistical techniques are not necessarily antagonistic or mutually exclusive, since statistical concepts are employed when cases are combined and classified to reveal frequencies, types, trends, uniformities, or patterns of behavior. However, in one's zeal to collect and use quantitative evidence, it is especially important in educational, historical, and other social research not to overlook qualitative interpretations.

.....

¹Carter V. Good and Douglas E. Scates, Methods of Research: Educational, Psychological, Sociological (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 726.

. . . many statisticians are likely to think of case studies as only the raw data for a later statistical study. While this is one possibility, it is by no means the chief contribution made by case knowledge. This tendency to seek laws may prove a barren use of the rich pictures produced by case studies; it may be something like analyzing the painting of great artists to ascertain how many tubes of red paint were used by the various artists. While statistical studies are essential and defensible, in a social field they must be looked upon as the lesser rather than the major influence. Statistical and experimental studies do not play the role in education and in the various social areas that they do in physical sciences. This is because the social sciences represent, by comparison, not only the scientific aspects of a problem or undertaking, but also the managerial, judicial, legislative, and various other practical aspects of putting science to work in the interest of our social institutions.²

The interview, which is a major tool of the case study approach and almost the exclusive data collecting process utilized in this study, has been criticized in the past because of the problem of checking reliability.

Over the past decade the qualitative interview has received new dimensions and has undergone reassessment. The lack of other methods to achieve sufficient depth of investigation has been the chief reason and:

. . . as a consequence, there is a movement back to the qualitative interview through the use of the interview guide which requires certain items of information about each respondent but allows the interviewer to rephrase the question in keeping with his understanding of the situation. This permits the interviewer to express the question in such a fashion that the respondent can probe more deeply when the occasion demands. This permits a more adequate interpretation of the

²Ibid., pp. 772-773.

answers to each question. In addition, the development of content analysis and qualitative coding permits some standardization of answers not of the "yes-no" type. Thus, one of the basic objections to the qualitative interview has been partially removed.³

Considering the fact that the nature of this study involved high emotional overtones and potential for tension and threat with regard to the individual, it appeared that the interview in sufficient depth was the only way to elicit the feelings of those involved. Bingham and Moore in their book, How To Interview, indicate that:

To learn objective facts of common knowledge recourse is often had to the interview, but its more appropriate uses are to ascertain facts, whether of personal history, opinion, or attitude, which only the individual himself can supply. Even where the facts are readily available from other sources, perhaps more accurately than they could be determined from an interview, it is frequently important to find out how the individual feels about the facts, how they seem to affect his opinions, attitudes, and behavior.

The interview is often the only means available to obtain these subjective facts of attitude, preference, and opinion as well as objective facts known only to the individual being interviewed.⁴

II. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The interview schedule was developed to provide a framework or guide for drawing out reactions and perceptions from the respondents to the circumstances, and conditions

³William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952), pp. 185-186.

⁴Walter Van Dyke Bingham and Bruce Victor Moore, How To Interview (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 8.

surrounding: (1) the first Negro teacher employed in the school system; (2) the first Negro teacher in a particular school; and (3) their perception concerning a number of specific factors in the employment and integration of Negro teachers.

The schedule was constructed deliberately to approximate a conversation with respondents in order to develop the rapport deemed so necessary in this investigation. Goode and Hatt see this as an extremely important dimension when they point out that:

The interview which is developed in an easy, natural fashion, approximating a conversation in its effect on both participants, stimulates the interviewer himself to a better effort. He loses his initial anxiety quickly, and finds time to ask questions which make definite the sometimes vague answers which the respondent may give. He feels more confident and thus--because of the respondent's own insight--makes the respondent feel his competence.

One of the immediate results of attempting to make the interview approximate a conversation is that the silences which occur need no longer be filled quickly by a hurried question, and the respondent does not feel that he has to have a prepared answer. The answer to the silence may sometimes be merely an interested look, or a sympathetic half-smile, or a pursing of the lips to indicate that the comment is being digested. The silence will not be embarrassing, for it can be taken as a matter of course. The interviewer may extend it somewhat by lighting a cigarette, or shifting his questionnaire pad. He may invite the respondent to "think out loud" for a while. Or he may simply wait in a relaxed fashion, as though he is certain that the respondent has a further comment to make. In this manner, what could have been embarrassing becomes an integral part of the give and take of the interview.⁵

⁵Goode and Hatt, op. cit., pp. 196-197.

Another major aspect of the development of the interview schedule was the use of the probing question or phrase. Kahn and Cannell point out that, "a major part of the interviewer's job involves the use of techniques to focus and control the interaction after a primary question, in order that the objectives of the question will be met adequately."⁶ A "primary question" is one which introduces a new topic or asks for new content while a "secondary question" or probe is intended to elicit more fully the information already requested by the primary question.

The probing question or phrase was used extensively in the development of the schedule in anticipation of some reluctance on the part of the respondent to volunteer certain items of information which might be emotionally loaded.

For the actual interview the author was prepared to rephrase questions which the respondent was reluctant to answer. However, in some cases when the respondent was not aware of the information requested a response of "don't know" served as a measure of the extent of knowledge about a particular topic and thus was extremely useful.

The leading questions in the interview schedule were

⁶Robert L. Kahn and Charles F. Cannell, The Dynamics of Interviewing (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957), p. 205.

denoted by numbers (1, 2, 3, etc.) while the probing questions and phrases were denoted by letters (a, b, c, etc.). See the interview schedules in the Appendix.

Discussing the problem of eliciting responses to the questions in the schedule Goode and Hatt say:

Even when difficult words are avoided in the schedule, there will be some respondents who will not immediately understand the question. Sometimes it is necessary only to ask the question over again, in exactly the same fashion. In other cases, when it is clear that this will not or does not help, the interviewer may have to rephrase the question so that it is clear. In the above case, the "Don't know" answer was simply a way of avoiding the confession that the question was not understood. . . .

It is clear that the function of a probe question is to get beneath the "easy answer." Sometimes this may take the form of a further "Why?" question, or a phrase such as "That's very interesting. Would you tell me more about that?" As noted above, at times the respondent is not answering the real question or is avoiding it in some fashion, and the interviewer must recognize these answers in order to go beyond them.⁷

Furthermore, state Kahn and Cannell, the:

Inadequacy of response is the common denominator of all situations that necessitate probing, or the formulation of secondary questions. If the primary interview questions are successful in evoking adequate responses, probe questions are superfluous. The purpose of each probe or series of probes is to transform an inadequate response into one that meets the interview objectives.

How this is done will vary, of course. A probe must be tailored to fit the type of response inadequacy, and to take account also of the probable causes of the inadequacy.⁸

⁷Goode and Hatt, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

⁸Kahn and Cannell, op. cit., p. 217.

In summarizing the use of the probe question in interviews dealing with sensitive topics Kahn and Cannell say:

First, it must enable the interviewer to motivate additional communication on the required topic. Second, it must enhance, or at least maintain, the interpersonal relationship between respondent and interviewer. Third it must accomplish both these purposes without introducing bias or modifying the meaning of the primary questions. We need a technique which the interviewer can use when necessary in order to get the respondent to talk more, to talk in the relevant subject-matter area, and to do so without being influenced by the interviewer's attitudes in this same area.⁹

In the process of the development of the interview schedule a preliminary schedule was administered to two doctoral students in the College of Education. One had been an assistant superintendent of schools in a district which employed Negro and white teachers; and the other, who was a Negro, had been employed as a school psychologist in a large district which also employed both Negro and white teachers.

After each of these interviews, which were both written on paper and recorded on tape, the process was discussed with the respondents in terms of improving the conversational flow of questions and reducing ambiguity. Later the results were reviewed again, numerous changes made and specific amounts of space were allotted on the

⁹Ibid., p. 206.

working interview schedule for the purpose of taking notes conveniently below each question.

Three distinctive schedules were developed, each designed for a different type of respondent. The schedules listed in the Appendix by number were utilized as follows:

Schedule No. 1 - For use with the superintendent of schools and other administrative officers.

Schedule No. 2 - For use with elementary, junior high and high school principals.

Schedule No. 3 - For use with the Negro teachers.

Schedule No. 4 - For use with school board members.

This schedule is not listed in the appendix since it is basically the same as schedule No. 1 except for question five. Question No. 5 on schedule No. 4 can be found on page 221 at the end of schedule No. 1.

III. CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF STUDY

The respondents were fully apprised of the confidential nature of the study in the opening remarks of the interview. This was necessary because of its sensitive nature and the realization that candid reactions could only be expected if the respondent felt little threat in the interview situation.

Respondents were informed that reactions would not be made available to anyone in the school system and further, that even the school district would not be identified in the completed dissertation.

Moreover, the decision to take notes while the interview was in progress rather than recording it on tape was made in an effort to assure the respondent of confidence and to eliminate a possible barrier which might have prevented the required degree of rapport needed in the interview.

IV. SELECTION OF DISTRICTS FOR STUDY

The school districts involved in this study were selected on the basis of six criteria: (1) variation in number of enrollments; (2) number of Negroes in the community; (3) location in the state; (4) number of Negro teachers in the system; (5) length of time Negro teachers have been in the system; and (6) availability of the system for study in terms of personal acquaintance with the superintendent or other administrative officers in the system who would provide the opportunity to probe beneath the surface of this delicate area of employment and integration of Negro teachers. Table III presents an analysis of each district according to the factors used in its selection.

Because of the need for interviews in considerable depth and the desirability of achieving a more comprehensive

Table III.--Analysis of districts by various factors used in selecting
the sample

Districts	Range of enrollment	Estimated range of percent Negroes in the enrollment	Location	Type	Number of years Negro teachers in system
A	1500-7000	15-25	Outstate	Rural	over 10
B	1500-7000	15-25	Outstate	Rural	5-10
C	7001 & up	5-15	Outstate	Urban	over 10
D	1500-7000	0-15	Metropolitan	Suburban	0-2
E	7001 & up	10-20	Metropolitan	Urban	over 10
F	7001 & up	0-5	Metropolitan	Suburban	0

NOTE: The wide ranges used in the presentation of this data provide sufficient information for the purpose of this study and yet assure the anonymity of the districts involved.

understanding of the developments within a particular system, it was decided to limit the study to six Michigan school districts. Four of these districts (A, B, C, and D) were studied in considerable depth and two were studied through interviews with a respondent in each district who had historical and developmental perspective with regard to the employment and integration of Negro teachers in the system.

V. SAMPLING PROCESS

Table IV presents an analysis of interview respondents by position and school district. Thus it can be observed that a total of forty-nine interviews were conducted including four school board members, five superintendents, six central office administrators and one guidance counselor listed under Other, fifteen elementary and high school principals, eighteen Negro teachers and one white teacher.

Referring to Table IV: in districts "A" and "D" all of the Negro teachers were interviewed; in district "B" all but one Negro teacher was interviewed and this person had been in the system only one year; in district "F" there was no Negro teacher to be interviewed; and in district "C" the following sampling procedure was utilized.

1. The high schools and junior high schools in the system which had the largest and smallest number of Negro students in enrollment were selected for

Table IV.--Analysis of respondents by position and district

District	Board members	Superintendents	Other	Principals		Negro teachers		Total
				Elementary	High School	Elementary	High School	
A	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	11
*B	1	1		1	1	3	2	9
C	1	1	3	*4	4	**4	4	21
D	1	1	1	1	1	1		6
E			1					1
F		1						1

*One of these principals was a Negro.

**One was a white teacher in the school of the Negro principal.

study. In three of these four schools the principal and the Negro teacher, who had remained on the staff longest, were interviewed. The exception was in one junior high school where the principal and the Negro teacher, who was readily available and second in tenure on the staff, were interviewed.

2. Four elementary schools ranging from less than 1 percent to approximately 100 percent Negro students in enrollment were selected and the principal and the Negro teacher, who had the longest tenure on the staff, were interviewed. Included within these four schools was one which had changed the character of its student population from a minority of Negro students to a substantial majority in a relatively few years.

All of the interviews were conducted between March 1, 1962, and July 6, 1962. Interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to four hours in length and averaged approximately two and one-half hours. The interviews with Negro teachers usually lasted closer to three hours while the other interviews were about two hours in duration.

VI. PROBLEMS OF COOPERATION

Several months prior to the initiation of this study it was discussed briefly with three close associates who are superintendents of schools with Negro teachers in their

districts. Later, when the formal request was made to include their districts in the study, their cooperation was granted with enthusiasm.

However, in the other three districts where there was only an acquaintanceship with the administrator, reluctance to participate was shown at first on the part of either the superintendent of schools or another administrative officer whom the superintendent invited into the discussion. In two of these districts the superintendent of schools had previously been contacted by the major advisor Dr. William H. Roe, indicating that the investigator was fully competent to handle such a delicate area, assuring them of its confidential nature and requesting their participation.

After the nature and purpose of the study was explained more fully, two of the three administrators agreed to cooperate and lend their support to the study. In one case only, district "E," cooperation was never completely achieved and permission to interview the number of people desired was not granted. However, an interview was conducted with an administrator in the district who was perceived as being reliable and having rather comprehensive knowledge concerning the employment and integration of Negro teachers in the system.

Some of the questions in the interview schedule requested the administrators to supply statistics concerning

the number of Negro teachers, custodians, secretaries and other information which according to the Fair Employment Practices Act in the State of Michigan should not be recorded. As a result, it was not surprising to find that some administrators were reluctant to provide information until the nature and purposes of the study were fully explained and they were convinced of the strictly confidential aspect of the study.

There was some concern that supplying such information might, in some way, jeopardize the proper functioning of the respective districts. Furthermore, there was some fear that a "politician" in his own personal interest might twist the facts and exploit the situation to the disadvantage of the school district.

VII. PROCESS OF DATA COLLECTION

In each district the superintendent of schools was contacted and asked if he would consent to a personal interview. Moreover, in the four districts "A, B, C, and D" he was asked to make arrangements for the interview of certain personnel connected with the school districts.

In the above mentioned districts the superintendent and in one instance the elementary principal scheduled appointments with the people to be interviewed or contacted them, indicating that the author would be calling them for an appointment and requested their cooperation in the study.

The person to be interviewed was informed that the study concerned the employment and integration of Negro teachers in Michigan public schools.

Thus, the initial contacts for all of the interviews were made by an administrator in the school system, implying his approval. The actual interviews were either arranged with the respondent by phone or personal contact or were the result of a schedule worked out by the administrator.

Interviews were conducted in numerous locations including a principal's office, superintendent's office, motel room, teacher's classroom, teacher's lounge, teacher's home, auxiliary office, board room and a picnic table in a teacher's back yard. The only request made of the interviewee was that the location of the interview should provide a measure of privacy which would permit the respondent to speak freely.

In describing the relationship which should exist between the interviewer and respondent, "a state of rapport," say Goode and Hatt, "exists between interviewer and respondent when the latter has accepted the research goals of the interviewer, and actively seeks to help him in obtaining the necessary information."¹¹

¹¹Goode and Hatt, op. cit., p. 190.

The development of rapport with the respondents was considered of primary importance in this study because of its unusually delicate nature. Consequently, at the outset of the interview the author indicated: (1) that the study concerned the employment and integration of Negro teachers; (2) that he had been a superintendent in a school system which employed Negro teachers; (3) that the study was being conducted as a part of the requirement for the doctor's degree; (4) that the study might prove helpful to school administrators and Negro teachers; and (5) that it was imperative that the research get beneath the surface of the topic in order to achieve anything of value.

It was also pointed out to administrators, particularly, that the author had full knowledge of the Fair Employment Practices laws regarding the employment and integration of Negro teachers, but that again it was necessary to get beneath this formal level if the study was to be of any significance.

Referring to the problem of developing adequate rapport with the respondent Kahn and Cannell suggest that:

First, the interviewer should tell the respondent as much as he can, without negating the purpose of the interview. In cases where information must be withheld from the respondent, the interviewer should state the general purpose of the interview, withholding some information rather than making a fictitious statement. Second, the interviewer should, in these cases as in all others, make clear to the respondent what the process of the interview will be, and what

will be required of him during the interview.¹²

Furthermore, they go on to say:

Applying these criteria to the information-getting interview, we may conclude that a basic condition for optimum communication is that the respondent perceive the interviewer as one who is likely to understand and accept him and what he has to say. The interviewer must be perceived as "within range" that is, he must be seen as a person to whom the respondent's statements and experience will not be foreign or offensive. This does not mean that the respondent needs to see the interviewer as similar to himself, but he must view the interviewer as capable of understanding his point of view, and of doing so without rejecting him.¹³

An endeavor was made to state these opening remarks in a matter-of-fact way without value connotations. It was an effort to bring to the interview the aspect of objective scholarly investigation and yet with the attempt to communicate a feeling of warmth and good will.

Discussing the need for intrinsic motivation in the development of rapport in the interview situation Kahn and Cannell state that:

An individual is motivated to communicate with another when he receives gratification from the communication process and the personal relationship of which it is a part. Such motivation sometimes occurs because the interview offers the respondent an opportunity to talk about topics in which he is interested but which usually do not obtain adequate opportunity of expression. This does not imply that the respondent in an informational interview ordinarily obtains the cathartic release that we associate with the psychiatric interview. It means simply that he obtains satisfaction from talking with a receptive, understanding

¹²Kahn and Cannell, op. cit., p. 89.

¹³Ibid., p. 47.

person about something in which he is interested and involved.

Interviewers are often surprised to encounter this intrinsic motivation in an interview in which the possibility (or desirability) of a therapeutic type of relationship appears remote. Experience shows, however, that if the information-getting interview is conducted properly, this intrinsic motivation is usually present. The relationship between the interviewer and respondent in such interviews resembles the counseling relationship in many respects.¹⁴

Goode and Hatt point out that even the inexperienced researcher will usually meet with an adequate reaction. The interviewer is providing the respondent with an opportunity to present his views on a vital subject and these views are taken seriously by the interviewer. Thus, it is relatively easy to establish initial rapport.¹⁵

Another factor contributing to the rapport developed with the respondent in the interview stems from the social norm which exists among members of the teaching profession. First, as a professional person there is a wrong and right way to treat the researcher, for example, courteously, hospitably, answering when spoken to, telling the truth, and conforming to reasonable requests on the positive side and the reverse of those factors on the negative side. Furthermore, the image of the educator includes the concept of research as an integral part of the academic life and

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Goode and Hatt, op. cit., p. 190.

thus there is some empathy for the interviewer on the part of the respondent.

The respondents were told that notes would be taken during the interview since it was so lengthy and it would be impossible to remember all the reactions. Thus the respondent-interviewer relationship was conversational for the most part with notes taken as rapidly as possible. Many direct statements were taken in the respondent's own words in an effort to preserve the exact meaning. At times the respondent was stopped at a convenient point and asked to repeat a reaction or to clarify a point.

In describing the interview process Goode and Hatt indicate that:

. . . when the interview is of an intensive, qualitative type, with many unstructured probe questions, the problem of recording becomes crucial. So far as possible, the exact words of the respondent should be recorded. They should not be edited for grammar or meaning. Since most interviewers will not have a command of shorthand, it is necessary to develop skill in writing fast and legibly, with some attention to symbols for common short phrases such as "of the," or words common in the particular research study. However, even the best writer will fail to copy all that is said at conversational speed. It will often be useful, at such times, to interrupt by some such comment as "That sounds like a very important point. Would you mind repeating it, so that I can get your words exactly as you say them?" The respondent is usually flattered by this attention and rapport is not disturbed.¹⁶

¹⁶Ibid., p. 207.

At the end of the interview there was usually a period of from ten to thirty minutes in which the respondent with enthusiasm and good humor seemed interested in continuation of the discussion. Usually this continued discussion was interesting but the press of time called for a tactful move to end the meeting within a reasonable period.

Considering the rapport developed and the termination of the interview, Goode and Hatt suggest that for the more intensive interview of long duration the interviewer should carefully select the moment of departure. Although the interviewer has obtained the necessary information he needs, the respondent has expended between forty-five minutes to several hours in the questioning process. He deserves not to be antagonized by an abrupt ending to the interview. Moreover, the good relations which an interviewer develops will have a bearing upon the rapport which future researchers might establish with a particular respondent.¹⁷

At the termination of each interview genuine appreciation was expressed in recognition of the respondent's cooperation and generous provision of time and attention.

Later the interview notes were read by the author and put on tape in an effort to make complete sentences,

¹⁷Ibid., p. 208.

recall discussion that was not recorded and to record some reactions to the respondent's attitudes and expressed feelings. Subsequently, the responses to each question were typed on separate cards to permit analysis of reactions among respondents occupying various positions in the school systems under study.

VIII. IMPLICATIONS OF THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

The author was repeatedly impressed by the apparent resistance of many respondents at the outset of the interview. However, after only a few minutes had passed there was complete cooperation.

There appeared to be some cathartic value in the interview process, since invariably after the interview the respondent would express his enthusiastic appreciation for the opportunity of being interviewed, despite the fact that it lasted from two to three hours or more. The respondents also expressed the hope their reactions would be of value to the study.

Some respondents, particularly Negro teachers, expressed their interest in the results of the research and praised the author for undertaking such a study.

In the book How To Interview Bingham and Moore point out that:

The interview may have any one of all three main functions. It may be used in securing information from people, in giving information to them, and in

influencing their behavior in certain ways. Included in this last, although differing somewhat in intent and strategy, is psychotherapeutic interviewing.¹⁸

Although there was no intent to change the behavior of the respondent or to do therapeutic counseling, the nature of the questions asked and the thinking required of the respondent to answer them may have led directly or indirectly to changes in the attitudes of the respondents.

In one or two cases the author took the liberty of indirectly suggesting a new line of thought which might have been helpful to the individual and the school system. This process was used with great discretion in order to protect the confidential nature of the study as well as in consideration of the effect on the validity and reliability of the interview results.

An apparent failure by an administrator to notify one respondent concerning the study, may have provided a good example of what can happen if sufficient rapport is not established.

The respondent, an administrator who was contacted for the purpose of arranging an interview, indicated that he knew nothing about the study. He was informed that the interview concerned the employment and integration of Negro teachers and that it might take up to two hours to complete.

¹⁸Bingham and Moore, op. cit., p. 7.

The respondent indicated that he could not devote that much time to it. However, after assurance that the study was legitimate and the suggestion that he call the central administrative officer who had authorized it, he agreed to spend up to an hour.

When the author arrived at the office he was welcomed with the comment, "I can only devote a few minutes to this." The author, somewhat startled at this prospect of limited time, simply indicated the nature of the study, failing to precede the questioning with remarks concerning the fact that the author had been a superintendent in a system employing Negro teachers, that he knew all about the Fair Employment Practices Act and that it was imperative to get beneath this level of discussion.

The result was a lack of rapport which resulted in typical responses which might be expected in such a touchy area. Many of the questions were simply not answered while others drew stock responses such as "There is nothing different in the entire program."

After the interview was completed, which only lasted approximately 25 minutes, the respondent continued to talk for 15 or 20 minutes in such a way as to suggest that, perhaps, he felt somewhat guilty about the way he had treated the author, withholding information which he had available.

Certainly, there could be numerous other possible explanations for the lack of rapport in this particular case but it seemed to stand out vividly in contrast with all of the other forty-eight interviews.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

I. INTRODUCTION

To determine the existing patterns of practices, policies and problems related to the employment and integration of Negro teachers, interview schedules were prepared and administered in six selected school districts in Michigan.

A board member, the superintendent, other central office administrators, principals, and Negro teachers were interviewed in four of the districts involved in the study. In addition a white teacher in one of the four districts was also interviewed. The other two districts were studied through interviews with a single respondent in each district, an assistant superintendent and a superintendent, both of whom had historical and developmental perspective with regard to the employment and integration of Negro teachers within the system.

In this chapter the data secured by means of interviews are presented and analyzed. The findings are summarized and related to the results of the findings in Chapter II concerning employment and integration of Negroes in the military, government service, business and the professions,

industry, and education.

Chapter V presents conclusions and implications for educational leaders with some specific guidelines which may prove useful to practicing school administrators. Chapter VI includes recommendations, hypotheses, and suggestions for further study.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES

School board members. The board members interviewed in this study were selected by the superintendents as mature individuals with insightful comprehension of developments within the system relating to the employment and integration of Negro teachers.

Analysis of personal data in Table V showed that of the four board members interviewed all were from an urban background, with fathers who were professional men. The age range of the group was from forty-one to fifty-six with an average of forty-six years. Two of the members were women who had completed high school in the North. The two male members were professional men both educated in the North, one with a law degree and the other a masters. None of the members had their elementary education in integrated schools although two had their high school education in integrated schools. Considering their prior contact with Negroes all respondents indicated "some" association on a scale of "little," "some" or "much."

Table V.--Personal data on respondents

Characteristics	Board members		Superintendent and other administrators		Principals		Negro teachers	
	N=4	Frequency	N=11	Frequency	N=15	Frequency	N=17	Frequency
Sex:								
Male	2		8		13		5	
Female	2		3		2		12	
Background:								
Rural	0		7		3		3	
Urban	4		4		12		14	
Father Occupation:								
Professional or	4		4		5		3	
Proprietary	0		7		10		14	
Non-Professional								
Undergraduate College:								
North	2		10		15		14	
South	0		1		0		3	
Highest Degree:								
Bachelors	1		0		0		9	
Masters	1		9		15		8	
Doctors	0		2		0		0	

(continued on next page)

Table V. (continued)

Characteristics	Board members		Superintendent and other administrators		Principals		Negro teachers	
	N=4	Frequency	N=11	Frequency	N=15	Frequency	N=17	Frequency
Educational Experience in Integrated Schools:								
Elementary	0 of 4		1 of 11		3 of 15		8 of 17	
Secondary	2 of 4		1 of 11		6 of 15		12 of 17	
College (undergraduate)	2 of 4		8 of 11		11 of 15		13 of 17	
*Association with Negroes Prior to this Position:								
Little	0		5		6		0	
Some	4		5		6		5	
Much	0		1		3		12	
Average Age	46		51.6		40.2		38.5	

*This refers to association with whites rather than Negroes in regards to the last category on Negro teachers.

Superintendents and other administrators. The analysis of personal data for superintendents and other administrators in Table V including eight men and three women showed that seven out of eleven had rural backgrounds with only four coming from homes where the father was a professional or proprietor. Of the total only one attended undergraduate college in the South and only two had elementary or secondary educational experiences in schools where there were any significant numbers of Negro students. Out of eleven, two had doctor's degrees while nine had completed Masters degrees. The average age of the respondents was 51.6 years and only one had "much" association with Negroes prior to his experience in the present position.

Principals. The breakdown of personal data in Table V, pages 129 and 130, for principals showed that of the thirteen males and two females only three came from rural backgrounds. One-third of the principals were the children of professional or proprietary families and all had graduated with Masters degrees from Northern colleges. Only nine had a public school education where there was a significant number of Negro students, while eleven received their undergraduate college education in integrated colleges or universities. The average age of the principals was 40.2 years. Only three indicated "much" association with Negroes prior to his present position.

Negro teachers. It is shown in Table V, pages 129 and 130, that only three out of seventeen Negro teacher respondents came from a rural background. Fourteen were from non-professional families. Of the five male and twelve female respondents fourteen had received their undergraduate college education in the North. Nine had completed only the bachelors degree while eight had received Masters degrees. Eight of the respondents attended elementary schools in which they were one of few Negroes in a white school, or at least it was not a segregated Negro school. Twelve out of seventeen attended the same kind of high school situation while thirteen received their degrees from integrated colleges. The average age of the Negro teachers was 38.5 years and all seventeen respondents had "some" or "much" association with white people prior to their present experience.

III. ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

Systematic analysis of the interview data follows the procedure of interpreting, categorizing, when possible, and presenting the data with regard to the three major research directing questions stated in Chapter I. The major questions and subquestions are as follows:

1. What factors were related to the initial employment of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?

- a) Who are the "significant others" with regard to the employment decision?
 - b) What personal qualifications and characteristics were considered in the initial employment?
 - c) What role, if any, did written personnel policies play in the initial employment?
 - d) What preparations were made for the integration of the Negro teacher on the faculty?
2. What factors were related to the process of the successful integration of the Negro teacher on the faculty?
- a) What problems are related to the successful performance of the Negro teacher in the teaching role?
 - b) What opportunities are available for the Negro teacher?
3. What factors were perceived as important to the future, successful employment and integration of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?
- a) What preparations should be made for the successful integration of Negro teachers?
 - b) What problems can be anticipated with regard to the employment and integration of Negro teachers?
 - c) What practices, policies and procedures should be considered as basic to successful employment integration of Negro teachers?

In analyzing the interview responses with relation to these three major research questions, different queries in the interview schedule were considered to be most pertinent. Although there is some overlapping, Table VI presents an analysis of the interview schedule by query number and relates it to the major research directing questions.

Table VI.--Analysis of the interview question numbers by schedule as they relate
to the major research questions

Major Research Questions	Interview Schedules		
	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3
	Question Numbers	Question Numbers	Question Numbers
1. What factors were related to the initial employment of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?	1--6	1--7	1--9
2. What factors were related to the process of the successful integration of the Negro teachers on the faculty?	8--10, 12, 13, 15--19	9, 14, 16--22	10, 11, 14--24
3. What factors were perceived as important to the future successful employment and integration of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?	7, 9--15, 20	8, 10--15, 23	12--16, 25, 27

Despite the fact that question number one in all three interview schedules is primarily concerned with the first research question, pertinent information was obtained relating to the remaining two research questions. In addition to the interview queries tabled as pertaining to the research questions, other information was secured in the administration of the interview schedule. For example, responses to those items found on pages 216 through 221 of schedule number one, were used in the analysis pertaining to all three research questions.

Tables III and IV in Chapter III presented a detailed breakdown of the districts included in the study. For the purpose of analysis, the respondents were grouped into four larger categories: (1) School board members; (2) Superintendents and Other administrators; (3) Principals; and (4) Negro teachers.

A separate analysis was made of interviews conducted with the Negro elementary principal and the one white teacher. One interview of a central office administrator was considered insignificant as a result of a lack of adequate rapport, and the interview results were eliminated from analysis. This was discussed in Chapter III.

Generally, the responses of these groups are presented, analyzed and summarized in relation to each of the research directing questions. The following headings are used in the format: (1) School board members; (2) Superintendents and

other administrators; (3) Principals; (4) Negro teachers and (5) Summary. Next the findings of the analyses are summarized and compared to those found in the military, business and professions, industry, government, and education.

IV. FACTORS RELATED TO THE INITIAL EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO TEACHERS

One of the districts involved in this study had employed Negro teachers in a segregated school from World War I until the abandonment of that school in the early 1950's. Of the four Negro teachers who had served the school for many years, one retired, another was released and two remained in the system. However, the two remaining Negro teachers were not assigned regular classroom teaching duties until 1956. Since then the two Negro teachers, both of whom had taught in the segregated Negro school for nine years or more, have taught mixed classes.

Despite the fact that two Negroes were on the staff, the district did not employ a single new Negro teacher in the period ten years prior to 1960. Thus, for the purpose of this analysis, attention was given to the factors relating to the employment of Negro teachers in that district since 1960.

School board members. Of the four respondents three were members of the board of education during the period of

the employment of the first Negro teacher. The fourth board member was unable to provide any information concerning the initial employment.

The three responding indicated that significant factors leading to the employment of the first Negro teacher were: (1) a more liberal viewpoint by new board members in recent years; (2) the expectation of criticism or pressure from the Negro community through such an organization as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; (3) the difficulty of securing qualified white teachers; (4) pressure placed on the superintendent by the board of education to secure highly qualified Negro teachers; (5) the establishment of board policy in the minutes to employ teacher candidates without regard to race, creed or color; (6) the employment of a new superintendent who either had experience with Negro teacher employment or at least was interested in employing teachers on the basis of qualifications and (7) the encouragement of the new superintendent by the board of education to employ Negro teachers.

Negative factors as shown in Table VII which delayed the employment of Negro teachers were: (1) the inertia of historical evidence of nonemployment of Negro teachers; (2) apprehensiveness on the part of the superintendent and principal; and (3) the reluctance of the board of education to force the superintendent to take action which he apparently did not feel wise at that time. Although the numbers of

Table VII.--Analysis by district of factors involved in
employment of first Negro teacher as perceived
by board members

Responses	Districts			Total
	A	B	D	
<u>Positive</u>				
More liberal viewpoint by new board members in recent years	x	x	x	3
Expectation of criticism from Negro community	x	x		2
Difficulty of securing qualified white teachers		x		1
Pressure on superintendent by board of education	x	x		2
Employment of a new superintendent with a more liberal viewpoint	x	x	x	3
Encouragement of new superintendent by board to employ Negro teacher	x			1
Established board policy in minutes on employment without regard to race, creed, or color		x		1
<u>Negative</u>				
History of nonemployment of Negro teachers	x		x	2
Apprehensiveness of superintendent	x	x	x	3
Reluctance of board to force superintendent to act	x	x		2
Apprehensiveness by principal	x	x	x	3

responses by district were shown in Table VII, page 138, it is not so important as the nature of the factors suggested by the board members. For example, the superintendent appeared as a major stumbling block until a new superintendent was employed.

The respondents indicated that the superintendents who blocked the Negro teacher employment were good administrators, but apprehensive about possible reaction in the community. In one district, according to the board members, when interviewing candidates to replace the former superintendent, questions were raised by board members to determine attitude toward and extent of experience with the employment of Negro teachers. Both of the top two candidates for the position had prior experience in the employment of Negroes.

With regard to the board members' perceptions of the attitudes of others concerning the first employment, two of the members representing districts which had sizable Negro populations felt that, although some principals were apprehensive, the other school personnel, business people, professionals, opinion leaders, average citizens, students, and laboring people were ready to accept the Negro teacher. However, it was cautioned there would be exceptions among all groups.

One board member suggested that if the board and superintendent agree on employment of the Negro teacher

then nobody else would have to be informed. It was also suggested that some people would say no, if asked, and thus it would not be wise to raise the question.

In district "D" there were no Negroes living in the district and many people, by their own admission according to the respondent, had moved into the area to escape association with Negroes. The board member expressed the view that the average citizen would not be too favorable to the idea at the outset. This was attributed to a tendency on the part of the average citizen in the district to associate all Negroes with the "undesirable Negro." In general students were expected to reflect the attitudes of their parents.

Board members in districts "A" and "D" felt that laboring people from the South, some of whom are the so-called "white trash" would be against the employment of Negro teachers. However, according to these board members, the most important factor preventing the decision to employ was the attitude of the superintendent and not the reactions of others in the school or community.

Districts vary in their procedures with regard to the selection of teacher candidates. All those studied rely upon the superintendent for recommendations for selection. Some districts have teacher credentials at the board meeting for perusal by the members, others do not. In three cases of initial employment of the Negro teacher, the candidates

were discussed at somewhat greater length than were white teacher candidates. In any event, the recommendation for employment was left to the discretion of the superintendent in a routine manner and was endorsed upon his recommendation.

Only one of three districts had personnel policies in the board minutes which stated that teachers would be employed without regard to race, creed or color. Even here, this policy was not made available to the public so that few people realized it existed.

In district "B" the board member suggested that written policies did have a bearing on employment while the other two districts had no written policies. However, all three respondents indicated that board members were aware of the Fair Employment Practices Law in the State of Michigan and suggested it may have had some effect but it was not considered a controlling factor.

Considering characteristics which were important or should be significant in the decision to employ the Negro teacher candidate, the respondents indicated that:

1. The candidate should be highly qualified with every likelihood of achieving success as a teacher.
2. Experience was desirable but not necessary.
3. The candidates should meet the same qualifications as white teachers in appearance and vocal expression.
4. The candidate should be better than the average white teacher.

5. The moral and home background was important but no more than with the white teacher.
6. Marital status was not too significant.
7. Steadiness or maturity was important.
8. Educational qualifications were left to the superintendent as were the assessments of all the above factors.

Prior to the acceptance of the Negro teacher all administrators in the system were informed about the impending employment. Although board members considered it the responsibility of the superintendent to make any other necessary preparations, they were of the opinion that it was unnecessary to prepare anyone else including teachers, students, or community citizens.

Superintendents and other administrators. An analysis of factors which affected the decision to employ the first Negro teacher as perceived by superintendents and other administrators is shown in Table VIII. There was considerable variation in the nature of factors perceived as affecting the initial employment. Part of this was due to differences among the districts in relation to factors which go beyond this study. But it was significant to find that the preponderance of responses relate to the position manifested by the superintendent and board of education.

In Table VIII it is shown that seven responses concerned the readiness of the board of education and

Table VIII.--Positive factors affecting the decision to
employ the first Negro teacher as perceived
by superintendents and other administrators

Response	N=11 Frequency
Historical change to more liberal attitude by the board	1
Board felt community was ready and that competent Negro teachers should be employed	4
Board went along with superintendent	3
Apparent readiness by P.T.A. groups in each attendance area	2
Pressure from the NAACP or F.E.P.C.	4
Superintendent's discussion with board regarding F.E.P.C. laws	2
Publicity concerning F.E.P.C. cases of discriminatory employment in schools	2
Written personnel policies approving employment without regard to race, creed, or color	1
Superintendent submitted recommendations for Negro teacher in routine manner-- the board was not aware	1
Superintendent has support of the administrator of school in which the Negro teacher was to be placed	4
Administrators felt need for Negro teacher because of significant Negro enrollment	2

(continued on next page)

Table VIII (continued)

Response	N=11 Frequency
Administrator had background of experience in employment or association with Negro teachers	2
Reports by other districts of good experience with Negro teachers	2
Needed teachers badly and Negro was only one available	1
Needed teachers and it was expected that highly qualified Negroes could be obtained	3
An intercultural program conducted with the staff over a period of time	2
Liberal-minded staff	2
Association of staff members with Negro teachers who served the district from an outside source	2
Encouragement by the universities to accept Negro student teachers	4

superintendent. Three other major factors affecting the decision to employ were: (1) support by the administrator in the school in which the Negro teacher would be placed; (2) encouragement of school officials to accept Negro student teachers by the universities; and (3) pressure from the NAACP or the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The frequency of these responses suggested that superintendents and other administrators basically viewed the board, the superintendent and principals as "prime movers" concerning Negro teacher employment. Although pressure from the NAACP or F.E.P.C. and encouragement from the universities were not deciding factors, they were also considered significant.

Analysis with regard to personnel policies relating to employment without regard to race, creed or color showed that only one district had such policies written and as a part of the board records. Even in this district some administrators were not certain this was a part of the written personnel policies. In most districts the superintendent arrived at the conclusion that he had approval from the board to recommend Negro teacher candidates as a result of informal discussion with the board of education.

On the issue of written policy there was confusion among administrators and board members. In two different districts, a board member and superintendent and a superintendent and central office administrator respectively,

disagreed on the question of whether or not written policy existed on this matter.

Discussion by the board and superintendent concerning the F.E.P.C. laws and the publicity resulting from court cases on discriminatory employment practices, appeared to stimulate more thorough consideration of employment practices. Experience of administrators in employment or association with Negroes on an integrated staff also had a bearing on the decision to employ but few of the administrators had this background.

The teacher shortage, the perceived availability of highly qualified Negro teachers, the association of staff members with Negro teachers who served the system as part of a county-wide service, and reports by other districts of good experience with Negro teachers, all were factors contributing in different situations to the employment of the Negro teacher.

Analysis of Table IX suggests that in certain districts few teachers apply for available vacancies. The two involved particularly were found to be those without Negroes living in the district. Some concern was shown in those districts for the adjustment of the Negro teacher with regard to finding housing or companionship with other members of the Negro race. In districts including a sizeable Negro population the administration usually contacted a Negro leader in the community to help find suitable

Table IX.--Negative factors affecting the decision to
employ the first Negro teacher as perceived
by superintendents and other administrators

Response	N=11 Frequency
Not many Negro teachers apply	2
Lack of Negroes in community	3
Negative attitude on part of principal	1
Negro teacher married to a white spouse	1
Negro teacher might be a "plant" by organized group	1
Housing for the Negro teacher	2
Previous superintendent overly selective or anti-Negro and board reluctant to press the issue	2
Administrator perceived certain board members as not being receptive to employment of Negro teachers	2
After employment of first Negro one gets numerous other applications	1

housing for the Negro teacher.

The negative attitude of a principal or previous superintendent were both factors presenting barriers to employment. Moreover, superintendents and other administrators had some fear that the first Negro teacher might be a "plant" by the NAACP just for the purpose of breaking down the barrier.

A Negro teacher married to a white spouse was considered a barrier to employment, largely on the basis that it would not be socially acceptable in the community. The administrator did not want the responsibility of, in effect, condoning such an arrangement by providing employment.

Finally, the superintendents' perceptions of disapproval of the idea of Negro employment on the part of even one or two board members creates some feelings of insecurity. The superintendent usually likes to have unanimous support on an issue which has the potential of being so controversial.

In relation to those who might be considered "significant others," there was most agreement among respondents that students would accept the Negro teacher as an individual. School personnel were expected to be somewhat more receptive than the average citizen although the respondents did not feel it wise to consult them since they might reflect the more conservative elements in the community. Moreover, the respondents did not consider it a proper thing for school personnel, other than administrators, to decide.

Generally, the respondents expected the opinion leaders and professional people to support utilization of Negro teachers while there was wide division of opinion concerning business people. Some reactions by average citizens or laboring people were expected but to the surprise of the respondents there was little reaction even among people from the South. One superintendent suggested that laboring people had accepted Negroes on the job as individuals and thus he expected they would accept Negro teachers as individuals.

Thus, superintendents and administrators perceived students and school personnel as the most receptive and the average citizens and laboring people as the least receptive, prior to the actual employment of the first Negro teacher. Despite the initial apprehensiveness among all groups including the respondents, fears were soon dispelled and the respondents were surprised at the relative ease of adjustment.

Reacting to the question concerning the characteristics which were considered or should be considered in the employment of Negro teachers, the respondents suggested the following:

1. Appearance--Qualifications should be the same for white and Negro. Some considered Caucasian features with absence of large lips and nose as most desirable. Skin color was not considered a significant

factor among most respondents. A neat attractive person Negro or white was considered desirable.

2. Professional qualifications--For the initial Negro teacher the qualifications were set high. Credentials were expected to be very good including a good experience record or student teaching performance. Although experience was not considered imperative it was considered desirable. A good experience record was perceived as providing a measure of assurance of success in the routine formal education aspects of the teaching role. All of the above factors were considered important in the employment of white teachers but the strength of concern was greater for the Negro. The first Negro teacher was expected to present an over-all impression of being better than the average white teacher. Marital status was not considered too important.
3. Personality--The most important factor was a sense of poise and maturity with a positive outlook on life. Oversensitivity to the responses of others with regard to race was considered very undesirable.
4. Moral and home background--This was considered important for any teacher. In some cases a more thorough investigation was made of the Negro teacher. The procedure was no longer considered necessary and now the same procedures as for whites are utilized.

5. Southern training--Almost all respondents had reservations about Negro teachers trained in the South. There was some question of the quality of training including the lack of adequate contact with white students and parents in the student teaching situation. The remaining few considered each institution in the South on its own merits. Although there was some disagreement on this point, some felt that even accredited Negro colleges were inferior to Northern institutions.

Preparation of people for the Negro teacher usually involved acceptance by the principals in the system, particularly the principals in whose building the Negro teacher would be working. In two cases, the total teaching and administrative staff of the building and the Parent Teachers Associations were required to express approval before a Negro teacher was placed in the building. This same general practice has continued in one of the two districts while the other district has abandoned the plan.

In five of the six districts, teachers, students or community citizens were informed about the Negro only after the employment and often this was a result of contact with or observation of the Negro teacher. One administrator suggested that the employment of a teacher on bases other than qualifications was not within the rights of teachers, students or community citizens to decide and thus they were

not informed. Moreover, it was felt the less attention given the change the better chance of success.

The board of education in one district adopted a policy prior to the employment of the Negro teacher which stated that no student would be permitted to change from one teacher to another for reasons based on race. During the teacher orientation period prior to the opening of school, a white teacher served as a buddy to the new Negro teacher in the same pattern as followed for white teachers.

Principals. Table X presents an analysis which shows that principals also attributed most of the influence in the decision to employ Negro teachers directly to the superintendent and the board of education. An insight into this perception was achieved by analysis of responses concerning the principals' perception of how people felt prior to the employment of the Negro teacher.

There was divided opinion, but in most cases where Negro teachers have been employed principals perceived the attitudes of school personnel, citizens, opinion leaders, business people and professionals as being much more opposed than did board members or superintendents and other administrators.

One principal suggested the notion that board members and the superintendent were somewhat removed from the firing line. As a result, it was his perception that the principal would receive all the headaches that would come with the

Table X.--Factors affecting the decision to employ the
first Negro teacher as perceived by principals

Responses	N=14 Frequency
Historical change to more liberal attitude by the board	1
New superintendent and board mutually interested in employment of Negro teacher	4
Pressure from NAACP or other members of the Negro community	3
Superintendent's prior experience in mixed community	1
Needed teacher badly	2
Satisfaction with Negro student teacher or substitute	4
A Negro teacher employed now would prevent difficulty later when Negro population grows	1

employment of the Negro teacher. The principals, whether approving or not, considered the superintendent and board of education to be the innovators, with the superintendent the most important.

Again, the influence of association in developing a receptive attitude toward the Negro teacher was brought out by the response regarding experience with Negro student teachers. Pressure by the NAACP or F.E.P.C. through claims made against the district also had much saliency in stimulating action by the board and superintendent. This factor was mentioned previously by board members and superintendents and other administrators.

Despite the fact that perceptions were divided regarding the attitude of various groups within the community, few principals disagreed with the feeling that school children would accept the Negro teacher as an individual. The major barriers were perceived as being within the adult community.

Analysis indicated that the major negative influences on Negro teacher employment as perceived by principals were as follows: (1) previous superintendent was against employment of Negro teachers; (2) apprehensiveness by principals; (3) in the high schools, the fear of parental attitude concerning the association of a male Negro teacher with white daughters; (4) fear of citizen attitudes reflected by their statements that they had moved to that community to escape

association with Negroes and (5) the notion that it takes considerable time to break down prejudice and thus the Negro teacher should not be employed until there were Negroes in the community.

None of the respondents were aware of any written policy regarding employment without regard to race, creed or color. Although some indicated there were informally accepted policies to which they ascribed.

Moreover, according to the principals, they knew of no such policy existing as a part of the constitution of any of the teacher organizations represented in the district. There were, however, Negro teachers who were members of those organizations.

Despite considerable difference in perceptions the respondents suggested the following five areas as most important:

1. Appearance--Good grooming, appropriate dress not too flashy, were both considered significant. Skin color was not deemed of much importance although Caucasian features were considered desirable by some.
2. Ability to communicate successfully--This was considered imperative for both Negro and white but was more important for the Negro because of the need to break down white stereotypes.
3. Positive attitude--A resentful, militant, oversensitive attitude was considered a major deterrent.

4. Personality--A mature professional person who gets along well with people, is sincere, honest, and has a sense of humor was most desirable.
5. High qualifications--The Negro teacher was expected to impress the principals as being above the average white teacher in teaching skill and ability.

Analysis shows that most of the factors suggested by the principals were applied, as well to white teacher candidates. The major difference was the strength of the trait which was required of the Negro teacher.

The respondents, in almost total agreement, indicated that the only people who were informed prior to the actual employment of the first Negro teacher outside the board and superintendent were the principals. Again the assumption was made that requesting approval by teachers, citizens, or students might result in a negative response.

One-fifth of the principals indicated that either the respondent or the superintendent had specifically discussed with the Negro teacher her role in the community and the problems which might arise. Some Negro teachers were told they would have the full backing of the principal. Other respondents accepted the Negro teacher on the same basis as white teachers making no special overtures.

Negro teachers. Analysis of the data concerning the Negro teachers' perceptions of factors important to the employment of the first Negro teacher in the system show an

absence of any particular pattern. In two cases, it was the superintendent who took the initiative while the other two districts apparently responded to pressure from the NAACP, among other forces which were not perceptible to the Negro teachers.

Continued employment of Negro teachers was related to acceptance of Negro teacher candidates who had completed student teaching in the district or who were products of the local school system.

In the early stages of Negro teacher employment as they perceived it, certain districts maintain quota systems. For example, no more than two Negro teachers were to be employed each year. After the successful performance of Negro teachers this quota system was apparently lifted and, to a great extent, Negroes are now employed on the basis of qualifications.

The perceptions of Negro teachers relating to the feelings of people in the community vary to some degree but generally they expected white people at all levels to be somewhat apprehensive. However they were confident this fear would dissipate over a short period of time.

The respondents expected at least a majority of the board to support Negro employment since the board was considered the final authority in their employment. Despite the fact that the respondents expected some reactions in the community, very few heard of any problems which resulted

from their employment.

Practically all of the respondents had made applications to other districts without success before securing employment. Many were denied employment previously in the district in which they were presently employed. In some cases persistent applications resulted in employment, while pressure was applied in others.

Once the district had employed a **Negro** teacher its access seemed to be more likely. The respondents made applications on their own, or were recommended personally by whites. Both types of applications have been successful and no patterns can be discerned.

The respondents felt that, in the initial stage, **Negro** teachers were more carefully screened for employment. Sometimes they were interviewed by a number of people rather than by only one or two as in the case of white teachers.

Respondents were not aware of any written policies in the school districts regarding employment without regard to race, creed or color but after being employed they assumed the district would now employ additional **Negroes**.

All respondents replied in the affirmative to the question of applying for and accepting a teaching position in a school district which had not previously employed **Negroes**. Some school districts were well known by the respondents for discriminatory employment practices.

At least two Negro teachers who were previously denied teaching positions in two of the districts involved where they made their homes, commuted to cities at some distance and returned home on week-ends. This went on for up to ten years prior to their appointment in their home communities. Another two respondents indicated they accepted their present positions at a financial loss in an effort to make a step forward for their race.

Generally the respondents perceived the principals as the only persons except the board members whom the superintendent had prepared for their appearance as faculty members. There were no significant discernible reactions except in a few cases. In the districts including a significant Negro community, the respondents perceived satisfaction on the part of Negro citizens as a result of their employment.

Often the first Negro teacher in a building was counseled by the superintendent, the principal or both concerning any problems that might arise related to race. The next Negro teacher was usually given the same preparation as white teachers.

Analysis shows that the respondents pointed to many of the same factors previously mentioned with regard to important personal characteristics required of the Negro teacher.

1. Appearance--Respondents considered neatness, appropriate dress, and good manners as important. Some felt that lightness of skin was considered desirable by administrators but that it should be no factor.
2. Ability to communicate--It was considered a significant factor in employment and a desirable criteria, recognizing the poor speech patterns of many Southern Negroes.
3. Positive attitude--This was considered one of the most significant attributes for the Negro teacher. He must be able to withstand inadvertent and blatant examples of prejudice with composure. Obsequious behavior should not be expected of the Negro teacher but he should not be oversensitive.
4. Professional qualifications--The respondents felt they were fully qualified to teach, often better than white teachers.
5. Personality--The same characteristics as expected of whites should be required of the Negro teacher.

Respondents expected more careful screening of home and moral background in the initial stages but firmly believed that no special concern was given after successful integration of the Negro teacher. There was no reason to believe that marital status was a factor in Negro teacher employment but some felt stability was more likely if the

teacher was married.

The attitude concerning Southern college training for Negro teachers was mixed but Northern training was preferred. Those few trained in Southern colleges indicated that the quality of teaching was very good but the facilities and available resources such as libraries and laboratory equipment were very poor.

Summary. The key factor in the employment of Negro teachers as perceived by all groups was the positive attitude of the superintendent of schools. If he supported nondiscriminatory employment practices, the board of education supported him or at least the board was willing to go along with him.

Changes in the attitude and membership on boards of education has resulted in more liberal attitudes toward nondiscriminatory employment practices. In some cases boards and the people of the community were ready for the employment of Negro teachers long before the superintendent of schools.

The attitude of the principal in the school where the Negro teacher might be placed was considered critical in the decision to employ a Negro teacher at a particular time. To place a person in an environment where the principal was not eager to make it work was considered undesirable for all involved. In high schools the principal usually was

given veto power over employment of any teacher while this was not true in elementary schools. However, the elementary principal often was given the power to veto a Negro teacher for his building

In three districts all groups perceived the NAACP as being a factor stimulating the initial employment of the Negro teacher. Two other districts were responsive to some extent to recognition of the Fair Employment Practices law. Thus, some external pressure emerges as a significant factor in the employment of Negro teachers.

The shortage of qualified white teachers in some particular areas such as special education had a bearing on initial employment. In addition some respondents assumed that highly qualified Negro teachers could be secured more easily than white teachers to teach in predominantly Negro schools.

Encouragement from the universities to accept a Negro teacher or at least a Negro student teacher often led to changes in attitudes among school personnel. Once acceptance was gained in a school-community by a Negro student teacher it was considered possible to employ a Negro teacher on a full time basis.

Written personnel policies concerning employment without regard to race, creed or color were almost nonexistent. There were unwritten policies perceived by all groups but there was much confusion concerning the basic elements.

Even within the same district there were often differences in perceptions of the basic elements of the informal policy.

A high degree of uniformity was manifested among respondents concerning characteristics considered desirable in the Negro teacher.

1. Positive attitude--An expression of maturity and perspective. Oversensitivity was a most undesirable trait which according to all respondents characterized many Negroes.
2. High qualification--The Negro teacher was expected to efficiently and successfully handle the formal teaching role.
3. Personality--The ability to get along with others, interest in others, sense of humor and ability to withstand some emotional pressure.
4. Appearance and ability to communicate--Although stressed for whites as well, was considered more important for the Negro.

Predominant factors which tended to prevent the employment of Negro teachers were:

1. Lack of Negroes in the community and thus no apparent urgency or pressure to employ.
2. Lack of adequate housing for a middle class Negro teacher.
3. Apprehensiveness by superintendents and principals.

V. FACTORS RELATED TO THE PROCESS OF
INTEGRATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

School board members. Firm patterns of perception emerge from the analysis of data concerning the factors related to the process of integration of Negro teachers. The most evident is the pattern relating to problems encountered as a result of employment of the Negro.

Fundamentally, there was consistent agreement, that the relationships between the Negro teacher and administrators, teachers, students, parents and community citizens, were highly satisfactory. Many board members expected problems which never materialized. The highest expectations of the respondents were confirmed as a result of almost complete acceptance of the Negro teacher by students.

School board members perceived the Negro teacher as making satisfactory social adjustments including participation in teacher organizations and all school social events. However, they were unaware of the extent of socialization outside the school environment, but perceived it as meeting the needs of the individual.

Again, consistent agreement was exhibited with regard to the highly satisfactory performance of the Negro in the formal teaching role. No differences were observed between the effectiveness of the Negro teacher as compared to white teachers, with the exception that the Negro was often

considered to represent the highest standards while some white teachers were considered to be less than the best. This observation was considered to be the result of the screening process used in selection of the Negro teacher.

The respondents heard many compliments and no complaints from white people concerning the teaching ability of the Negro teacher. This reaction was considered to be the result of novelty and the ill-defined expectations of white parents to a highly qualified, effective Negro teacher.

One respondent expressed the opinion that all Negro teachers trained in Northern colleges and universities would be fully qualified to teach. The assumption was made that if a Negro could complete college or university then he must be fully prepared to teach. In one district reservations concerning Southern training of Negro teachers persisted despite the fact that two of the Negroes on the staff had received training in the South.

Evidence indicated a feeling that the Negro teacher has presented a good image for Negro youngsters to emulate and provided vicarious recognition for members of the Negro community. With one exception the respondents perceived no significant changes in business, industry or housing which might have been related to the employment of the Negro teacher. In the one case mentioned there had been limited

increases in the number of Negroes employed in a department store.

Analysis of the data indicated that the respondents perceived all positions within the school system as open to Negro teachers. However, it was the general consensus that the appointment of a Negro principal, if made, would come as the result of observation of a Negro teacher from within the system who had proved highly satisfactory in his role as a teacher.

In two cases where there was a substantial number of Negro youngsters in the high school, the respondents expressed a particular need for a Negro counselor. However, it was felt that a Negro counselor would not be expected to counsel only Negro students.

Superintendents and other administrators. Despite the fact that the respondents expected problems of many kinds as a result of the employment of Negro teachers, most of the difficulties never materialized. The relationship with school personnel, students, parents and community citizens were considered highly satisfactory.

Respondents perceived the Negro teachers as making highly satisfactory adjustments to community life except with regard to social life in the Negro community. In the smaller community the shortage of educated professional Negroes created problems for the Negro teacher in terms of desirable social relations.

The respondents stated that the only problems of some concern which had arisen in their past experience were related to: (1) the sensitivity of some white parents concerning a Negro male teacher's classroom association with white daughters; (2) requests by the Negro teacher for administrative or supervisory positions for which the administration considered them unqualified; and (3) the release or firing of a Negro teacher for good reason.

Although these problems could involve white teachers as well as Negroes, they assume greater proportions with the Negro. Any suspected familiarity of a Negro teacher with either white or Negro girls tends to reinforce the stereotypes held by many white parents.

Some respondents expressed concern about the possibility of the Negro teacher using the charge of racial discrimination against the administration with regard to lack of promotions or releasing of Negro teachers from contracts.

Respondents from two large districts suggested that the appointment of Negroes to top administrative posts often created a barrier between the appointee and the common Negro people. Thus, the selection of a Negro as a principal in a building serving lower class Negroes required a thorough screening process if success was to be achieved. In relation to the selection of a Negro principal, respondents point to the occasional accusations by Negro parents that employment of Negro teachers degrade the schools which their children attend.

Only one of the six districts made any special efforts to make it known to placement officials that the district was employing without regard to color. The respondents in the other five districts were somewhat fearful of the deluge of possible Negro applicants which they would have to screen if an issue was made of it. Moreover, it was felt that it was not desirable as a matter of policy to request a teacher because of race.

Respondents generally agreed that Negro teachers trained in the North were more likely to succeed because of better quality education, more extensive association with white people and more experience with Northern cultural mores. Out of all the respondents only two suggested that, perhaps, some Negro teachers graduating in the North were not adequately trained because of the tendency to give a "B" to graduate students if they try hard.

The respondents commended the Negro teachers in their respective systems for their excellent teaching performance which was considered equal to their best white teachers and most often better than the average. Respondents expected the Negro teacher to do much better academically with Negro students than white teachers, but generally, they concluded there was no significant difference. However, the respondents did point out that the influence of the Negro teacher was important to all Negro youngsters as a symbol of possible

achievement and thus raised the sights of Negro students in all classrooms.

The few Negro teachers who were considered ineffective had difficulty with discipline. But the following account of turnover among Negro teachers gives some idea of their success as teachers in the districts involved in this study.

District "A". The contract for only one Negro teacher had not been renewed and this was the result of closing a segregated school. The teacher was not considered adequate to teach in a mixed school. Another teacher resigned for a better position in a larger city.

District "B". One teacher was asked to resign because of indiscretion with a married person of the opposite sex. The only other Negro teacher leaving the system accepted a position in a larger city with higher remuneration.

District "C". This is a larger district but it has only lost two persons during a decade because of unsatisfactory performance. Numerous other teachers have left the system voluntarily for reasons often common to white teachers. They are as follows: (1) marriage, (2) maternity, (3) non-promotion or better position, (4) family problems, (5) lack of marriage prospects for females, (6) to get out of teaching, (7) to be closer to home, and (8) difficulty adjusting to an all white school.

The consensus of opinion indicated that the same opportunities were open within the system to Negroes as whites but that for practical purposes certain ones would come before others. Generally, in the larger systems the appointment of principals and administrators is from within the system and thus a time period is involved in appointment of Negroes to administrative posts.

Two of the districts involved had appointed a Negro administrator, one in the central office and the other as an elementary principal in a school with a predominately Negro enrollment. Both appointments were considered highly successful.

There was mixed opinion on opportunities available at the present time without much consistency except for special education and adult education. Both were considered outside the usual teaching role and apparently acceptable. Moreover, the shortage in special education teachers provided sufficient rationalization to counter any opposition.

Respondents concluded that the employment of Negro teachers generally had a healthy impact on the community, creating better understanding and good will. In some cases stores and businesses began the utilization of Negroes for positions where they met the public. Whether or not the employment of Negro teachers was a factor in those changes was not considered possible to determine.

Principals. The perceptions of the principals were in basic agreement with the superintendents and other administrators reaffirming the success of the Negro teacher as a highly respected member of the teaching staff.

Respondents perceived oversensitivity on the part of the Negro teacher as a major problem in those few cases where it existed and was a major concern of all principals with regard to future employment of Negroes. There were some indications that Negro teachers did not show sufficient interest in extra-curricular activities and were less likely to make parent contacts.

Principals received few complaints from Negro or white parents concerning Negro teachers. Compliments were perceived as given disproportionately by white parents for the Negro teachers. Usually the remarks concerned increase in the rate of learning by youngsters and the affection which white youngsters had for their teacher.

The Negro teacher was perceived as accepting their share of responsibility and sometimes more than their share of professional duties. Many accepted leadership when given to them but few were aggressive in seeking it. A few were not humble about their success which apparently had an adverse effect upon relations both with Negroes and whites.

Negro teachers. The Negro teachers interviewed in this study considered themselves fully qualified teachers

doing a job equally as well or better than their white counterparts.

The respondents perceived their relationships with school personnel, students, and parents as satisfactory and successful. Most problems, they felt, were a result of the guilt feelings on the part of whites. The view was expressed that white people need more help in adjusting than do Negroes.

Districts which practice discriminatory employment practices appear to be well known among Negroes, although when a change in position is taken Negroes are not always aware of it.

Negro teachers felt that the administrators set the stage for the relationships which will exist among Negroes and whites within the school building. Sometimes evidence of prejudicial attitudes came out but it was not considered a major problem. The lack of opportunity to secure decent housing in good neighborhoods and the unavailability of a sufficient number of Negro professionals with whom to associate were two major concerns.

In one district Negro teachers refrained from attending faculty affairs where dancing was a part of the scheduled activities, thus preventing strain in this sensitive area. However they did attend most affairs including dinner meetings.

Negro teachers felt some social pressure to conform to white standards of behavior which were often considered

less professional. Negro teachers tended to dress and behave as professional persons while white teachers sometimes became lax about appearance, according to the respondents.

The respondents are not as optimistic as the administrators concerning the opportunity to advance to administrative posts and other more visible teaching positions. In districts with a Negro population they perceive themselves as presently being limited at the elementary level to schools in lower socio-economic areas. This appeared to be true even though there were few Negro children in some areas where Negroes were teaching.

Special education was viewed as wide-open to Negroes, primarily because it is an "off-beat" profession serving a high percentage of Negro youngsters. Respondents expressed the hope that Negro counselors would be employed to serve in schools with Negroes in enrollment.

Negro teachers felt that administrators supported them in encounters with parents and children even better in many instances than white teachers. In a few situations, however, administrators were inclined to believe a parent's story before checking it out with the teacher.

The respondents suggested the following list of precautions important to successful integration for the new Negro teacher:

1. Don't be oversensitive, exhibit a positive attitude.

2. Know your subject matter.
3. Be punctual.
4. Provide a high quality teaching performance.
5. Maintain high moral standards.
6. Don't become a part of a clique.
7. Request a clear definition of your responsibilities.
8. Don't become too familiar socially with either white or Negro parents.
9. Be loyal to the administration but not obsequious.
Be frank and open.
10. Don't push in social activities--let people invite you.
11. Play no favorites with youngsters, white or Negro.
12. Attempt to live in a decent neighborhood.

Summary. The analysis of factors related to the process of integration of Negro teachers suggested that all groups of respondents were of the common perception that Negro teachers were highly successful in the teaching role despite the apprehensiveness on the part of all those involved.

The relationships which existed between the Negro teacher and students, white teachers, administrators and parents were also better than was expected.

Negro teachers have enjoyed tenure in their positions and satisfaction with their jobs. Although prejudice and discrimination was decreasing it still existed to some

extent and was considered by Negro teachers as a barrier to advancement in administrative and more prestigious positions within the school system.

Administrators and board members considered opportunities as available, but were not in complete agreement. Administrative appointments were usually made from within the system and thus the time interval was perceived as working to the disadvantage of the Negro teacher.

Consensus existed with regard to the desirable symbol which the Negro teacher provided for Negro youngsters and the good effect it had on white youngsters who perhaps for the first time associated with a successful intelligent Negro. Racial relationships were considered better on a community-wide basis.

The primary concern of administrators was related to: (1) parental fears concerning association of white girls and the Negro male teacher, (2) fear of the charge of racial discrimination by Negro teachers as a dodge against incompetency or behavior not consistent with the teaching profession, and (3) the disharmony which an oversensitive Negro teacher could bring to the school situation.

Negro teachers were primarily concerned about decent housing and more opportunity for social relationships with Negroes on the same educational level. According to the Negro respondents, the administrators set the stage for effective interracial relations within the school system.

Despite the extent of good will Negroes felt more was expected of them than of white teachers and thus they try to remain on a high professional level.

VI. FACTORS PERCEIVED AS IMPORTANT TO FUTURE UTILIZATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

Board members. The questions asked the respondents at this point were designed to draw out perceptions of desirable changes in the process of employment and integration of Negro teachers which came as a result of past experience.

In three cases the respondents indicated that some consideration was given to the placement of the Negro teacher within the system to prevent concentration in any one school. In districts with a substantial Negro enrollment the first Negro teacher was often placed in the school which had a concentration of Negro students. However, the expressed attitude was to spread Negro teachers throughout the system including schools having only white students. Each district involved had taken positive steps to implement that policy.

Board members stated that the Negro teacher could serve at any grade level and teach any type of course. There was, however, some concern for parental attitudes and stereotypes concerning the Negro male teacher in relation to high school girls.

One board member reaffirmed the position stated previously, that teachers and P.T.A. members should be asked concerning the placement of a Negro teacher, while the other board members strongly opposed this approach suggesting that only the administrators should be given consideration since they would be responsible for the Negro teacher. They felt that it might be wise to inform the teachers of the accomplished fact and suggest their support as mature community citizens. Only one board member suggested the establishment of a formal policy of employment without regard to race, creed or color.

One problem suggested, which might be expected with continued employment of Negroes, revolved around the possibility of agitation by organizations such as the NAACP for the transportation of students to force more effective integration than existing housing patterns would ordinarily permit.

There was some concern shown for keeping the number of Negro teachers in balance on a long range basis but interest in high quality teaching was considered more important. This problem was not vital to board members at the time of the study because of the relatively low percentage of Negro teachers.

Although the respondents were proud of the fact of Negro employment, they were not of the opinion that Negroes should be employed because of race. Providing employment

opportunity on a nonracial basis was considered a basic objective.

Finally the respondents suggested consideration of the following factors by boards and superintendents considering employment of a Negro teacher:

1. Establish an understanding among board members and the superintendent concerning the employment of Negro teachers. This could be done through open discussion of the issues involved.
2. Provide for careful screening of candidates, accepting those with high professional qualifications and every likelihood of success.
3. Make an attempt to eliminate those candidates who are oversensitive, lacking in maturity or serving as an NAACP sponsored candidate.
4. Consult with the administrators including the principals when considering employment. Proceed on a firm basis as with any other teacher. Do not seek publicity.
5. Make the same effort to involve both Negro and white teachers in school social events.
6. Do not request aid from Negro organizations, for example the NAACP, with regard to employment of Negro teachers. Employment should be viewed as the responsibility of school officials.

Superintendents, principals and other administrators.

The differences in the responses of the principals and superintendent and other administrators relating to factors important to future successful employment and integration of Negro teachers are so insignificant that they are treated together in this analysis.

There were two different approaches to Negro teacher employment utilized by the districts involved in this study. In one district the approach consisted of preparing community citizens, teachers, and administrators for the Negro teacher by means of a gradual process of education. The other approach utilized by the other districts was to employ Negro teachers with the support of the board and administration like any other teacher. Teachers, students, and parents were expected to behave in a mature democratic manner conforming to the law of the land and moral principle.

Both approaches as perceived by administrators resulted in the employment of Negro teachers with a high degree of success. The first approach, however, after some experience was changed considerably because of the finding that people were now more ready to accept the Negro teacher.

In four districts with more than one or two Negro teachers it was admitted that Negro teachers were not placed indiscriminately throughout the district but were placed in those schools where the administration expected success. However a definite trend was to spread Negro teachers

throughout the system and not to concentrate them in the lowest socio-economic area.

In response to questions concerning procedures and qualifications which should be considered in employing the Negro teacher the respondents suggested the following:

1. Procedures:

- a) Consult the board of education discussing implications of the Fair Employment Practices Act and be sure of board approval.
- b) Be sure of the support of the principal in whose building the Negro teacher will be placed.
Attempt to enlist the support of all administrators.
- c) Thoroughly define the criteria for teaching competency.
- d) Know the community--determine extent of readiness.
- e) Expect mature behavior of all people.
- f) Provide administrative backing or support.
- g) Don't be too quick to jump to conclusions concerning any problems relating to the Negro teacher.
- h) Clearly define the Negro teacher's responsibilities.
- i) Be prepared to deal with problems which might occur.
- j) Maintain a frank open relationship with the Negro teacher concerning race.
- k) Don't patronize the Negro teacher.

- l) Have policies ready to deal with certain problems such as requests for room changes on the basis of race.
- m) Be thorough in the screening process for the benefit of the district and the Negro teacher.
- n) Consider starting staff integration with a Negro student teacher.
- o) Do not publicize the employment of the Negro teacher--it should be matter-of-fact.
- p) Justify employment of the Negro teacher on the basis of need for high quality teachers, with the teacher in question more than meeting the established criteria.

2. Qualifications:

- a) Screen candidates for high professional qualifications.
- b) Experience should be preferred but not mandatory.
- c) Attempt a thorough assessment of the candidate's personality. Identify, if possible, the kind of self-identity which the candidate has formed. Look for a positive attitude.
- d) Do not consider a militant, oversensitive crusader.
- e) Look for good speech patterns with ability to communicate properly.

f) Give stronger consideration to Negroes trained in the North.

g) Be confident that the Negro teacher will be successful given a minimum of assistance.

There were many other scattered suggestions, such as, working with some Negro leaders informally, placing the teacher in an attendance area of high stability, getting highly qualified Negro teachers before pressure is exerted, employing two Negro teachers in all white schools, and numerous others which were not considered as important as those mentioned above.

Negro teachers. The respondents believed the employment of Negro teachers had a good impact on both Negroes and whites in the community. Negro students were perceived as viewing the Negro teacher as a symbol of success, of a person to emulate.

In some cases teachers felt more Negro students were going on to college and others were more serious about schoolwork as a result of the employment of Negro teachers. Moreover, many white parents were surprised to find that their youngster's favorite teachers was a Negro.

Respondents were firmly convinced that college instructors had not provided special treatment for them any more than for white students. However, many had received encouragement from individual professors.

Negro teachers generally opposed any special class to help Negro candidates, but suggested more attention be given to human relations to help both white and Negroes understand each other and the problems they will face as teachers in the public schools. More often than not many education courses were regarded as impractical and useless in providing a background for teaching.

Respondents reported some Negro parents were resentful of the Negro teacher, claiming unfair treatment of their youngsters, but generally Negro people were happy to have Negro teachers in the public schools.

Some female respondents encountered resentment by Negro males in the community who considered a tavern a satisfactory place for socialization. This example substantiates the problem of the female Negro teacher in a small community lacking in sufficient numbers of professional Negroes on an educational level with the teacher.

The respondents were confident of the future, but were skeptical concerning complete abolishment of discriminatory practices at all levels and in all positions within the system. The administration was expected to maintain a balance of Negro-white teachers in the system which would remain below the proportions in the community. Despite the fact that Negro teachers preferred the employment of all teachers on the basis of qualifications, they were also concerned to some degree about the problems which might occur

with an all Negro staff.

Consensus existed among the respondents on the desirability of entering the teaching profession again if they had a choice of profession. The prestige, economic security, and opportunity to work with youngsters were given as reasons for satisfaction with teaching. However, in several interviews respondents suggested that the prestige of the Negro teacher in the Negro community had become lower in recent years because of increased opportunity for the Negro in other businesses and professions.

Considering factors which administrators might explore in efforts to integrate the staff more easily, the respondents suggested the following:

1. Do not patronize the Negro teacher.
2. Relate to Negro and white teachers in the same manner.
3. Never discuss a Negro teacher's problems with other teachers.
4. Make some attempt to help Negro teachers find decent housing.

Analysis of the Negro principal's reactions to the questionnaire were essentially the same as other Negro teachers. The respondent was aware of increasing social stratification among Negroes in the community as the Negro population grew.

Further analysis indicated considerable concern for single female Negro teachers who were beyond 25 years of age. Because of the limited number of single Negro men on the same educational level, it was considered difficult to provide sufficient companionship of the opposite sex. Since the Negro teacher must present a better image than white teachers they generally socialize in each other's homes through sororities and societies.

Analysis of the responses given by one white teacher interviewed suggested complete confidence in the Negro teacher as a highly competent professional person. The staff, including Negroes and whites, was considered more professional than many white staffs because the mixed staff could not afford the petty griping and back-biting which is often evident. The Negro teacher refrains from such unprofessional behavior and thus raises the standards of the total group.

Summary. Although the respondents perceived many factors as important to the future utilization of Negro teachers there was no change in viewpoint concerning the approach considered most desirable.

The two approaches which might be called the "gradual approach" and the "direct approach" represent significant differences. The "gradual approach," discovered in one large district, attempts to bring the people along by means of human relations activities and relies on the Parent

Teachers Associations, teachers, and building principals to indicate readiness to accept the Negro teacher.

The "direct approach" relies on the support of the board of education superintendent, administrators, and principals, with the expectation that all other people concerned will abide by the law and democratic principles.

Except for one district there was a striking lack of concern for written policy which might be utilized in interpretation of the position taken by the school board and administrative officials.

In consideration of future Negro teacher employment there was agreement even among Negro teachers that it would not be desirable to concentrate Negro teachers in one building. The resultant conclusion was that Negro teachers should be spread throughout the system.

Analysis indicates consistent support for those procedures and criteria for qualifications listed in this section. The major concerns of Negro teachers relating to successful integration were largely a plea for full equality in treatment and the opportunity to secure the rewards of success such as decent and adequate housing.

The white teacher suggested the significant possibility that a mixed staff may behave in a more professional manner than an all white or all Negro staff.

VII. GENERAL SUMMARY

The findings resulting from the analysis of the interview data collected for this study were assembled and comparisons were made with the research reported in Chapter II. This involved relating the employment and integration of Negroes in the military, business and professions, industry, education, and government to the utilization of Negro teachers in six Michigan school districts.

Factors relating to initial employment. In the review of literature in Chapter II it was found that in all fields mentioned above, disregarding education, attention to the establishment of a firm policy of nondiscrimination by those in authority and then strict implementation of that policy, was regarded as essential to satisfactory integration. Five of six districts involved in the study tended to follow this course while the sixth one did not.

Moreover, studies in various sectors of the economy pointed out the significant value of written policy in the initial stage of employment of the Negro. A clearly written nondiscriminatory policy followed by strict adherence was cited as providing no room for doubt among the workers.

However, only one respondent of the districts represented in this study reported any written policy concerning employment of teachers without regard to race, religion, color or national origin. In this one case, if written

policy in fact did exist it was not widely known but was to be found only in the minutes of the board of education.

Studies in the field of education in the South provided evidence of failure and success with both the "gradual" approach and the "direct" approach. Both approaches were largely successful in the North which was consistent with the findings of this study of six Michigan school districts. Perhaps some combination of both approaches would bring the best results since each have advantages and disadvantages in the school situation.

Studies reported by Rivers¹ in education and others in different fields tended to confirm the importance of leadership and the support of persons in authority. Thus, a similar finding resulting from this study was further substantiated.

Chapter II and the analysis of data in this study both suggested that the act of integration of the Negro teacher based upon a firm policy on the part of authorities tends to effectively break down the prejudice which existed prior to integration.

The importance of some external pressure, suggested in Chapter II as a result of NAACP action, Fair Employment

¹Marie Davidson Rivers, "Peer Acceptance and Rejection of Negro Teachers Who Were First or Among the First to be Employed in White or Predominantly White Schools North of The Mason-Dixon Line," (unpublished Doctoral thesis, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1959), p. 68.

Practices Acts, or non-discriminatory policies with regard to defense contracts, seemed to help create the conditions which resulted in change. External pressure was established as a significant factor in this study.

Factors relating to the integration process. Consistent agreement was found in this study with those completed in other fields with regard to the finding that after the decision to employ was made and implemented, integration occurred with a minimum of difficulty and the Negro teacher demonstrated a highly satisfactory performance.

The attention given in this study to the oversensitivity of some Negro teachers as a major source of difficulty was matched by similar concern in other fields as well as in the studies reviewed in education.

This chapter has brought together the basic research directing questions, the interview results, and the review of literature, and presented an analysis of them in terms of the data collected. It now remains to draw conclusions, set forth a set of guidelines for the practicing administrator, propose pertinent recommendations, and make suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERS

I. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is concerned with the personnel practices and policies used in the employment and integration of Negro teachers. It traces the history of Negro employment, presents the research findings in other fields including the military, government service, business and the professions, industry and unions, analyzes the results of interviews in six Michigan school districts and relates the findings each to the other.

Interview schedules were designed as guides for the purpose of investigating by means of interviews with board members, superintendents, other administrators, principals and Negro teachers the following questions:

1. What factors were related to the initial employment of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?
 - a) Who are the "significant others" with regard to the employment decision?
 - b) What personal qualifications and characteristics were considered in the initial employment?
 - c) What role, if any, did written personnel policies play in the initial employment?
 - d) What preparations were made for the integration of the Negro teacher on the faculty?

2. What factors were related to the process of the successful integration of the Negro teacher on the faculty?
 - a) What problems are related to the successful performance of the Negro teacher in the teaching role?
 - b) What opportunities are available for the Negro teacher?
3. What factors were perceived as important to the future successful employment and integration of Negro teachers in the school districts involved in this study?
 - a) What preparations should be made for the successful integration of Negro teachers?
 - b) What problems can be anticipated with regard to the employment and integration of Negro teachers?
 - c) What practices, policies and procedures should be considered as basic to successful employment and integration of Negro teachers?

The results of these interviews were presented, analyzed, and related to other fields of Negro employment. This chapter states the conclusions of the study and advances some guidelines for the practicing administrator.

II. CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions are advanced in relation to the major research directing questions:

Factors related to the initial employment of Negro teachers.

1. The superintendent of schools was the key to the decision to employ the Negro teacher. He may serve to prevent or advance the cause of nondiscriminatory employment practices.

2. The boards of education and other administrators shared in their influence with regard to employment of Negro teachers. The support of both the board and the principals is essential to successful integration of the Negro teacher.
3. Written personnel policy concerning employment without regard to race, religion, color or national origin existed, if at all, in only one district and thus it was not considered a major influence in the districts involved in the study.
4. The pressure of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Fair Employment Practices laws were important factors stimulating the employment of Negro teachers.
5. Recent changes in the attitudes and memberships of boards of education have resulted in more liberal attitudes toward nondiscriminatory employment practices.
6. The universities often played a major role in stimulating employment of Negro teachers by encouraging the placement of Negro student teachers in districts which did not have integrated faculties.

Factors related to the process of integration of Negro teachers

1. The Negro teachers were viewed by themselves and by white teachers as symbols or models for Negro youth to emulate, thus creating more esteem for the Negro teacher.

2. The lack of opportunity for social contact with Negroes on the same educational level was a major problem for the Negro teacher.
3. Negro teachers felt they were restricted to a great extent from advancing to administrative positions within the system as a result of continued discriminatory practices.
4. Negro teachers expected much more difficulty in the the integration process than was encountered.
5. Administrators should expect more problems with Negro teachers as they become accepted members of the staff who perceive themselves as having the same rights and privileges as white teachers.
6. Advancement opportunities were, in fact, limited to some extent but will be opening up rapidly for the exceptionally qualified Negro teacher.

Factors perceived as important to future utilization of Negro teachers

1. The employment and integration of Negro teachers in the districts involved in this study were highly successful.
2. The relationships between the Negro teacher and school personnel, students, parents, and community citizens were highly satisfactory and better than anyone expected.
3. Negro teachers performed a quality teaching service on a highly professional basis.

4. Few significant problems developed as a result of faculty integration and the advantages far outweighed the disadvantages.
5. There was a need for the development of a definition of teaching competency within each district to serve as a guide for all teachers, particularly the Negro.
6. There was a need for a systematic and careful screening process of all teachers to properly assess personality characteristics, professional qualifications, and other factors relating to successful integration.
7. Negro teachers educated in the South were not regarded as highly qualified as those educated in the North.
8. Negro teachers were placed in buildings with some concern for race, but this was considered to be to the advantage of both the district and the teacher.
9. Stereotypes of the Negro still play a significant role in the employment and integration of the Negro teacher.
10. White teachers and administrators need more basic understanding of the Negro in America.
11. Oversensitivity of the Negro teacher was considered a major barrier to employment and a significant source of difficulty after employment.

Fundamentally, the findings of this research with regard to strategies for employment and integration of Negro

teachers are the same as those suggested by sociologists as reviewed in Chapter II. However, it is striking to find a significant amount of ignorance of the findings of existing research even among educators judged to be well informed.

III. GUIDELINES FOR THE PRACTICING ADMINISTRATOR

The conclusions of this study suggest guidelines which could serve the administrator who is preparing for the employment of the Negro teacher. Although these guidelines may be simple and often self-evident, representing the best practice and behavior of any good administrator, their cogency in relation to the successful employment and integration of Negro teachers cannot be overestimated.

While these guidelines are important to the operation of a school system including only white teachers, they become imperative for successful administration of the employment and integration of a mixed Negro and white staff.

1. Establish written policies, declaring employment without regard to race, religion, color, or national origin, which are approved by the board of education.
2. Make the policy known in writing within the school system and community in a matter-of-fact manner relating it to state law.
3. Develop a definition of teaching competency and provide a copy for all teachers within the system.

4. Be sure of administrative support.
5. Develop a careful screening process for the employment of all teachers.
6. Develop policies concerning such problems as requested transfers by students from one class to another based on race.
7. Employ teachers on a nondiscriminatory basis.
8. Be prepared for difficulties but don't expect them.
Be armed with information and knowledge which can quickly answer irrational charges. Implement a continuous program on human relations.
9. Treat Negro teachers like white teachers.
10. Perform your role as an administrator based on the best administrative practice and don't make an issue of Negro teacher employment.

CHAPTER VI

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The conclusions listed previously suggest some changes or modifications which may serve to improve existing practices or policies. The following recommendations were submitted to that end.

I. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The universities should give more attention to including interracial professional experiences for prospective teachers. This could be in relation to observations and student teaching.
2. University curriculums in teacher education and programs for administrators should contain units dealing with minority individuals as members of the teaching profession.
3. University programs of teacher education should explore with candidates the difference between prejudice and discrimination and establish acceptance of nondiscriminatory employment and integration of minority teachers as central to the ethics of the professional teacher.
4. University leaders in educational administration should provide refresher workshops and institutes

for practicing administrators which deal with policy, procedures, and practices of special importance in working with integrated teaching staffs.

5. School board members should give serious consideration to attitudes concerning employment without regard to race, religion, color or national origin when interviewing candidates for the superintendency or principalship, in particular, and of other employees to a lesser extent.
6. Administrators employing Negro teachers should continue to consider race as a factor in placing Negro teachers within the system. Moreover, as rapidly as Negro teachers become available as the best qualified teacher candidate, they should be spread throughout the district without regard to the socio-economic level of the attendance area. In the event that racial discrimination against the Negro disappears from the American scene this recommendation would no longer be of value.
7. All school districts should adopt written policies which specifically state that employment of personnel is without regard to race, religion, color, or national origin.
8. All school districts should develop a definition of teaching competency and a careful screening process for all teachers.

9. All districts should employ teachers on the basis of qualifications with the reservation that a balance among the races may be an important factor in the total educational development of children. In the event of essential racial equality this recommendation may become obsolete.
10. All teaching and administrative positions in all schools should, in fact, be available for qualified Negro teachers and administrators.
11. All teachers including Negroes should be released from contract or fired on the basis of specific procedure with no fear of charges of discrimination.
12. All teacher organizations should establish as central to the fabric of their constitution, the employment of all teachers without regard to race, religion, color or national origin. This position should be widely publicized throughout the organization.
13. Teacher organizations should provide legal support for any teacher who is a member and who is the victim of discriminatory employment practices.
14. A more forthright effort should be made in all school districts to develop understanding among students concerning minority group membership, prejudice, discrimination, and general human relations.

II. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

One of the major objectives of this study was the generation of hypotheses which might stimulate further research effort. Therefore, the following hypotheses and suggestions for study are set forth with the hope that extensive research efforts will be concentrated on this most important aspect of human relations.

Hypotheses.

1. The nature and extent of prior association with Negroes on the part of white school officials is a determining factor in the decision to employ Negro teachers.
2. The Northern background of school officials and board members is a determining factor in the decision to employ Negro teachers.
3. An urban background of board members, superintendents, and principals is a determining factor in the decision to employ Negro teachers.
4. Professional training in the North on the part of school administrators is a determining factor in the decision to employ Negro teachers.
5. Negro teachers from urban backgrounds, educated in the North, have greater opportunity for employment as teachers in Northern schools because of this background than other Negro teachers.
6. The prior association of Negro teachers with white people during secondary and college education in integrated (mixed) or predominantly white schools is a favorable factor in their employment.
7. External pressure from organized groups like the Association for the Advancement of Colored People or state Fair Employment Practices laws are necessary ingredients to the precipitation of decisions required for basic social changes involved in the nondiscriminatory employment of teachers.

Suggestions for study.

1. An exploratory study should be made in depth in a single school system including interviews with representative people from the total community in an effort to discover additional factors not within the scope of this study.
2. A study should be conducted to determine the extent of understanding which exists among school authorities concerning human relations and the process of social change.
3. A study should be made of the social class expectations of Negro teachers and its effect on their contribution in the integration process.
4. A study should be made to develop a testing program or technique to discover the extent of oversensitivity existing as a function of the personality of the individual Negro teacher candidate. The results might be used as one factor in the screening of Negro teacher candidates.
5. A study should be made of university programs on a nationwide basis in the field of teacher education to discover the nature and extent of time and attention given to developing better understanding of minority group teachers in American public schools as well as minority group children.
6. A study should be made in depth of an "all white" or "all Negro" staff prior to integration and after integration of the faculty in an effort to appraise the results in terms of overall educational effectiveness.
7. A study should be made of social interaction within a faculty-integrated school as a social system to ascertain what factors lessen or intensify social distances.

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APPENDIX

Date of Interview _____ Schedule No. 1

Initial Employment of a Negro Teacher

1. Please tell me the story of how the first Negro teacher was employed in this school system and the circumstances surrounding it.
2. Was anything in particular done to prepare people for the Negro teacher?
 - a. Administrators
 - b. Teachers
 - c. Students
 - d. Community citizens
3. How did the board of education members feel about the employment of a Negro teacher?
 - a. Before the first one was employed?
 - b. After the first, how about subsequent Negro teachers?
4. How did you feel people felt about this before you employed the Negro teacher?
 - a. School personnel
 - b. Business people
 - c. Opinion leaders
 - d. Professionals
 - e. Average citizens
 - f. Students
 - g. Laboring people
5. What particular characteristics, if any did you consider in employing the first Negro teacher?
 - a. Appearance
 - b. Speech habits, grammar, vocal expression
 - c. Experience in teaching
 - d. Impression of being better than average white teacher
 - e. Moral background
 - f. Home background
 - g. Credentials-southern training
 - h. Marital status
6. Did you have personnel policies at the time of employment of the first Negro teacher?
 - a. Did these policies have any bearing on your action?
 - b. Were they written?
7. In what ways would you proceed today if you were employing the first Negro teacher?

Date of Interview _____ Schedule No. 1

Initial Employment of a Negro Teacher-2

8. Have you encountered any significant problems relating to the Negro teacher on your staff?
 - a. Relations with the superintendent
 - b. " " " principals
 - c. " " " other staff members
 - d. " " " students
 - e. " " " parents
 - f. " " " community citizens, organizations, etc.
 - g. " " " in teacher organizations, etc.
9. Have you sought to make it known that you employ Negro teachers?
10. What impact do you feel the employment of the Negro teacher or teachers has had on other segments of the community?
 - a. Business
 - b. Industry
 - c. Housing
 - d. Other employment
11. Do you see any problems in the future with relation to the employment of Negro teachers in this system?
 - a. Do you feel there is some point in numbers beyond which one would go in employing Negro teachers?
 - b. How do you think the board feels about this?
 - c. " " " principals
 - d. " " " teachers
 - d. " " " community citizens
12. What kind of opportunities are available within your system for the Negro teacher?
 - a. What about the visible positions such as:
 1. Counselor
 2. Coaching
 3. Principal
 4. Other Administration
 5. Special education
 6. Band director
 7. Vocal Music
 8. Adult education
13. From your experience in the employment of Negro teachers what opinions do you have about the college or university preparation of them as teachers?

Schedule No. 1

14. What factors do you consider now when you employ a Negro teacher?
- Placement
 - Socioeconomic level of attendance area
 - Grade level
 - Type of course
 - Attitude of teachers or administrators
 - Appearance, vocal expression, better than white teacher, moral or home background, marital status, training-southern
15. Have Negro teachers had any problems that you know of making adjustments to the school system?
- Any problems adjusting with regard to social life?
 - Any problems adjusting with regard to community life?
16. How do you feel students do in classes taught by Negro teachers?
- White students?
 - Negro students?
 - Compared with white teachers?
 - Do you have any systematic data to support this?
17. How does the number of complaints from parents with regard to the Negro teacher compare with white teachers?
- How about compliments?
18. What does the Negro teacher in your system do most effectively?
19. What does the Negro teacher in your system do least effectively?
20. What advice would you give to any school superintendent who is considering employing a Negro teacher?
- Consult the board
 - Survey teachers or key citizens or public
 - Consult with staff
 - Consult with administrators
 - Would you make a public announcement
 - Involve Negro teachers in social activities
 - Contact NAACP or other Negro organizations
21. Personal data
- _____ your home town - born, raised
- _____ Rural, City, Village

Schedule 1

	Fathers occupation
	How many years you have lived in Michigan
	Where did you attend college or university
	What degrees do you have
	Was the elementary, Jr. Hi or High School or college you attended integrated among the races
	Prior to your involvement in this situation have you had some, much, or little association with Negro people
	a. Nature of contacts
	Tenure of superintendent in district by years
	Total enrollment
	Valuation per membership child
	Elementary enrollment
	Secondary enrollment
	Number of elementary school buildings
	Number of junior high school buildings
	Number of high school buildings
	Percent Negro students of total enrollment
	Total population of district
	Estimated percent Negroes of total population of district
	Total number of teachers, white and Negro in the system
	Total number of Negro teachers on the staff
	Total number of Negroes in other positions of a professional nature

Schedule No. 1

_____	Total number of Negroes in visible positions - head
_____	a. Counselors
_____	b. Band directors
_____	c. Coaching - head
_____	d. Special education
_____	e. Vocal music
_____	f. Other
_____	How many are in assistant positions? Asst. coach etc.
_____	a. What accounts for this?
_____	Total number of Negroes in custodial, secretarial, etc.
_____	Number of years since first Negro teacher was hired
_____	Number of Negroes in administrative positions
_____	Number of Negro teachers who have not returned after receiving a contract
_____	a. What were the reasons for not returning
	1. Relations with parents
	2. " " students
	3. " " teachers
	4. " " community
	5. " " adminis-
	tration
	6. " " other
_____	Number of Negro teachers who have not been offered a second contract or were released
_____	a. What were the reasons for not returning?
	1. Relations with parents
	2. " " students
	3. " " teachers
	4. " " community
	5. " " adminis-
	tration
	6. " " other

SCHOOLS WHERE NEGRO TEACHERS ARE EMPLOYED

School Name	Principal's Name	Identify High School Junior High Elementary	High, Medium, Low Socio-Ec. Level of attendance area	No. White Teachers	No. Negro Teachers	How Long-Negro Teachers Here-Years

Schedule No.

1

Schedule No. 1

List of persons in the central office who officially or unofficially have anything to do with the employment of Negro teachers or the integration of Negro teachers on the staff.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
Etc.	_____	_____

List anyone else in the school system having particularly good insight into the historical and present developments with regard to the employment and integration of Negroes to the teaching staff. What characteristics or circumstances made the person listed particularly perceptive about this? Rate them (1) FOR MOST PERCEPTIVE etc.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc.	_____	_____

List of school board members who were particularly insightful into the factors involved in employment and integration of Negro teachers in your system. What characteristics or circumstances made them particularly perceptive about this.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Address and Phone</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc.	_____	_____

Schedule No. 1

List any persons on your total staff or school board members who were at one time outwardly or covertly skeptical, by your perception, of the employment and integration of a Negro teacher to the staff. What characteristics or circumstances made them particularly skeptical?

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Address and Phone</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc. _____		

This schedule (number 1), used for Superintendents and miscellaneous personnel, is the same as that used for school board members with the exception that the following question number (5) replaces question number (5) in this schedule.

5. Did the board review the credentials of the first Negro teacher?
 1. Was this done for all teacher candidates?
 2. What characteristics did you look for:
 - a. Appearance
 - b. Speech habits, grammar, vocal expression
 - c. Experience in teaching
 - d. Impression of being better than average white teacher
 - e. Moral background
 - f. Home background
 - g. Credentials - southern training
 - h. Marital status

Date of Interview _____ Schedule No. 2

INITIAL EMPLOYMENT OF A NEGRO TEACHER

1. Please tell me the story of how the first Negro teacher came to be employed in this school and the circumstances surrounding it.
2. Was anything in particular done to prepare people for the Negro teacher?
 - a. Administrators
 - b. Teachers
 - c. Students
 - d. Community citizens
 - e. Was there any public or rumored announcement before the person was hired?
 - f. Was there any reaction?
3. How did you feel people felt about this before the first Negro teacher was employed?
 - a. School personnel
 - b. Students
 - c. Average citizens
 - d. Opinion leaders
 - e. Business people
 - f. Professionals
4. Was anything done to prepare the Negro teacher for becoming a member of the staff?
5. What particular characteristics, if any, should be considered in employing the first Negro teacher?
 - a. Appearance
 - b. Speech habits, grammar, vocal expression
 - c. Experience in teaching
 - d. Impression of being better than average white teacher
 - e. Moral background
 - f. Home background
 - g. Credentials - southern training
 - h. Marital status
6. Did you have personnel policies at the time of employment of the first Negro teacher?
 - a. Did these policies have any bearing?
7. Does the teachers organization have anything in its constitution or by-laws regarding employment without regard to race, creed or color?
 - a. Did this have any bearing on the employment?

Schedule No. 2

8. In what ways would you proceed today if you were employing the first Negro teacher?
9. Have you encountered any significant problems relating to the Negro teachers on your staff?
 - a. Relations with superintendent
 - b. " " other staff members
 - c. " " students
 - d. " " parents
 - e. " " community citizens, public organizations, etc.
 - f. " " in education circles, teacher organizations, etc.
10. Have you sought to make it known that you employ Negro teachers? Why?
11. What impact do you feel the employment of the Negro teacher or teachers has had on other segments of the community?
 - a. Business
 - b. Industry
 - c. Housing
 - d. Other employment
12. Do you see any problems in the future with relation to the employment of Negro teachers in this system?
 - a. Do you feel there is some point in numbers beyond which one would go in adding Negro teachers to the staff?
 - b. How do you think the superintendent feels about this?
 - c. How do you think the teachers feel about this?
 - d. How do you think the community citizens feel about this?
13. What kind of opportunities are available within this school for the Negro teacher?
What about visible positions such as
 1. Counselor
 2. Coaching
 3. Principal
 4. Other administration
 5. Special education
 6. Band director
 7. Vocal Music
 8. Dramatics
 9. Adult Education

Schedule No. 2

14. From your experience in working with Negro teachers what opinions do you have about the college or university preparation of them as teachers?
15. What factors are considered now when a Negro teacher is employed?
 - a. Placement
 1. Socio-Economic level of attendance area
 2. Grade level
 3. Type of course
 4. Attitude of teachers or administrators
 - b. Appearance, speech, better than white, moral and home background, marital status, training institution.
16. Have Negro teachers had any problems that you know of in making adjustments to this school?
 - a. Any problems adjusting with regard to fellow teachers?
 - b. Any problems adjusting with regard to social life?
 - c. Any problems adjusting with regard to community life?
17. How do you feel students do in classes taught by white teachers as compared to Negro teachers?
 - a. Negro students
 1. Discipline - relaxed, severe, more severe
 2. Academic performance
 3. Participation in extra-curricular activities
 4. Attendance
 - b. White students
 1. Discipline - relaxed, severe, more severe
 2. Academic performance
 3. Participation in extra-curricular activities
 4. Attendance
18. Do parents of children in the Negro teacher's class come out for P. T. A. as often as in white teachers' classes?
 - a. Could check banners given for most attendance, etc.
 - b. Other community or school functions
19. How does the number of complaints from parents with regard to the Negro teacher compare with white teachers?
 - a. What is the nature of the complaints?
 1. Do they come from white or Negro parents?
 - b. Compliments compare
 1. The nature of compliments
 2. Do they come from white or Negro parents?

Schedule No. 2

20. What does the Negro teacher in your school do most effectively?
21. What does the Negro teacher in your school do least effectively?
22. Does the Negro teacher or teachers in your school readily accept leadership responsibilities?
23. What advice would you give to any school principal who is considering employing a Negro teacher?
- Consult the superintendent
 - Survey teachers or key citizens or public
 - Would you make a public announcement
 - Involve Negro teachers in social activities

24. Personal data

_____ your home town, born, raised

_____ Rural, city, village

_____ Father's occupation

_____ How many years you have lived in Michigan

_____ Where did you attend college or university

_____ What degrees do you have

_____ Was the elementary, Junior High, High School or college you attended integrated among the races

_____ Prior to your involvement in this situation have you had some, much, or little association with Negro people

_____ a. Nature of contacts

Statistical Data

_____ Tenure of principal in school district

_____ Years in this school

_____ Years as principal in this school

_____ Type of school-Elementary, Junior High or Senior High

Schedule No. 2

 School enrollment

 Total number of Negro students enrolled

 Percent Negro students of total enrollments

 Estimate of total population of attendance area

 Estimated percent Negroes of total population of attendance area

 Estimated percent Negroes of total population of district

 Total number of Negro teachers on the staff in this school

 Estimated number of teachers on the staff in this school

 Total number of Negroes in other positions of a professional nature.

 Total number of Negroes in custodial, secretarial, hot lunch, etc. positions in this school

 Number of years since first Negro teacher was hired

 Total number of Negro teachers in visible positions - dept. heads, etc. in this school

a. Counselors

b. Band directors

c. Head coaches

d. Special education

e. Vocal Music

f. Dramatics

 How many are in assistant positions ass't coaches, etc.

 a. What reasons for this?

 Number of Negroes in administrative positions

 Number of Negro teachers who have taught here but who have not been offered a second contract or were released

 What were the reasons for no contract or release

a. Relations with parents

b. " " students

c. " " teachers

d. " " community citizens

e. " " administrators

f. " " other

Schedule No. 2

Number of Negro teachers who have not returned after having received a contract

What were the reasons for not returning

a. Relations with parents

b. " " students

c. " " teachers

d. " " community

citizens

e. " " administrators

f. " " other

Rate the socio-economic level of the attendance area of this school-high, medium or low.

List of persons in the central office who officially or unofficially have anything to do with the employment of Negro teachers or the integration of Negro teachers on the staff.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc. _____		

List of anyone in this school or in the whole system having particularly good insight into the historical and present developments with regard to the employment and integration of Negroes to the teaching staff. What characteristics or circumstances made the person listed particularly perceptive about this? Rate them (1) for most perceptive etc.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc. _____		

Schedule No. 2

List any person on the total staff in this school who was at one time outwardly or covertly skeptical, by your perception, of the employment and integration of a Negro teacher to the staff. What characteristics or circumstances made them particularly skeptical? Are they still skeptical?

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. etc. _____		

List any person in the system outside the staff here who by your perception was skeptical of the employment and integration of a Negro teacher to the staff. What characteristics or circumstances made them particularly skeptical? Are they still skeptical?

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. etc. _____		

Date of Interview _____ Schedule No. 3

INITIAL EMPLOYMENT

Keep spontaneous reactions separate

1. Please tell me the complete story of how you became a teacher in this school system.
2. Did you know that no other Negro teachers were employed in the district?
 - a. Anyone encourage you - friends, NAACP, church
 - b. Had you been turned down in this system before
 - c. Had you been turned down in other systems.
3. How do you think the white people felt about the employment of a Negro before you were employed?
 - a. The board of education
 - b. Teachers
 - c. Students
4. As the first Negro teacher to be employed what characteristics do you feel you had which resulted in your getting the position?
 - a. Appearance
 - b. Speech habits, grammar, vocal expression
 - c. Experience in teaching
 - d. Impression of being better than average white teacher
 - e. Moral background
 - f. Home background
 - g. Credentials - southern training
 - h. Marital status
5. What were the personnel policies in the school system at the time you were employed, with regard to race, creed or color?
 - a. Were they written?
 - b. Had you seen those policies?
6. How many people interviewed you for the position?
 - a. Do you think the procedures are different for Negroes and whites?
 - b. Do you know other Negro teachers who were turned down?
 - c. What did you have which resulted in your getting the position?
7. Was anything in particular done to prepare people for your becoming a member of the staff?

Date of Interview _____ • Schedule No. 3

7-(continued)

- a. Administrators
 - b. Teachers
 - c. Students
 - d. Was there any public or rumored announcement before you were hired?
 - e. Community citizens
 - f. Was there any reaction?
 - g. Was too much done?
8. Was anything done to prepare you for becoming a member of the staff?

PRESENT PROCEDURES

9. If you were looking for employment today, would you do anything differently?
- a. Would you try in a system which had not employed Negroes?
10. All teachers have problems the first year of teaching-- what kinds of problems did you have the first year in this school?
- a. Relations with administration
 - b. " " other staff members
 - c. " " students
 - d. " " parents
 - e. " " community citizens
 - f. " " in educational circles-organizations
11. Is it well-known among Negro teachers that this system has employed Negro teachers?
- a. Have you encouraged any of your Negro friends to seek employment in this system?
 - b. Are there school systems which Negro teachers consider to be out of bounds?
12. What impact do you feel your employment or that of other Negro teachers has had on other segments of the community?
- a. Business
 - b. Industry
 - c. Housing
 - d. Other employment

Schedule No. 3

13. Do you see any problems in the future with relation to the employment of Negro teachers?
 - a. Do you feel there is some point in numbers beyond which one should go in employing Negro teachers?
 - b. How do you think the board of education feels about this?
 - c. How do you think the community citizens feel about this?
 - d. How do you think the white teachers feel about this? Negro teachers?
14. What kind of opportunities are available within this system for you or other Negro teachers?
 - a. What about the visible positions such as
 1. Counselor
 2. Coaching
 3. Principal
 4. Other administration
 5. Special education
 6. Band director
 7. Vocal music
 8. Dramatics
 9. Adult Education
15. How would you describe the quality of preparation you had for teaching?
 - a. Did instructors make it easier for you because you were a Negro?
 - b. How could the program of preparation for teachers be improved?
 - c. Should anything special be done to help Negro teacher candidates?
 - d. Southern training
16. What factors do you think are considered now before a Negro teacher is employed?
 - a. Placement
 1. Socio-economic level of attendance area
 2. Grade level
 3. Type of course
 4. Attitude of teachers or administrators
 - b. Appearance, speech, better than white, moral and home background, marital status, training institution.
17. Have Negro teachers had any problems that you know of in making adjustments to this school system?
 - a. To the teaching staff?
 - b. Any problems adjusting with regard to social life?
 - c. Any problems adjusting with regard to community life?

Schedule No. 3

18. How do you feel students do in your classes as compared to white teachers?
 - a. Negro students
 1. Discipline
 2. Academic performance
 3. Participation in extra-curricular activities
 4. Attendance
 - b. White students
 1. Discipline
 2. Academic
 3. Participation in extra-curricular activities
 4. Attendance
19. Do parents of children in your class come out for P. T. A. as often as in white teacher's classes?
 - a. How about other school activities?
20. What kinds of complaints do you get from parents?
 - a. White parents
 - b. Negro parents
 - c. What kinds of compliments?
 1. White nature of compliments?
 2. Negro nature of compliments?
21. Does the Administration support the Negro teachers as well as it does white teachers?
 - a. With parents
 - b. With students
22. What do you consider to be your greatest strength or contribution to this school?
23. What do you find it most difficult to do effectively?
24. What advice would you give to a Negro who is being employed as the first Negro teacher in the school system?
 - a. What things would help with faculty
 - b. " " " students
 - c. " " " parents
 - d. " " " administrators
 - e. " " " community citizens
 - f. " " " social life
 - g. Would the advice be different for subsequent teachers?
 - h. What else might they do to make acceptance easier?
25. What could administrators do or not do to make the Negro teacher a part of the staff more easily?

Schedule No. 3

26. If you had it to do over again would you enter the teaching profession? Why?
27. Have you ever encountered an expression of resentment from a Negro student, parent, or community citizen?
- What was the reason?
 - Professional status
 - Better education

_____* Years in this school system

_____* Years in this school

_____* Different teaching assignments

_____* Type of school - Elementary,
Junior High or High School

_____* Estimate of number of Negro students
enrolled

_____* Percent Negro students of total
enrollment

_____* Estimate percent Negroes of total
population of attendance area

_____* Total number of Negro teachers on
staff in this school

_____* Total number of Negroes in other
professional positions in this
school

_____* Total number of Negroes in custodial
secretarial, hot lunch, etc. posi-
tions in this school

_____* Number of years since first Negro
teacher was hired in this school

_____* Total number of Negroes in this
school as

- Dept. heads
- Counselors
- Coaching
- Special education
- Vocal music
- Administration

_____* How many are in assistant positions,
assistant coach, etc.

_____* a. What are the reasons for this?

Schedule No. 3

PERSONAL DATA

_____	Your home town - born, raised
_____	Rural, city, village
_____	Father's occupation
_____	How many years you have lived in Michigan
_____	Where did you attend college or university
_____	What degrees do you have
_____	Was the elementary, Junior High, or High School or college you attended integrated among the races
_____	Prior to your involvement in this situation have you had some, much or little association with white people
_____	a. nature of contacts
_____	Number of Negro teachers who have not returned after having received a contract
	a. What were the reasons for not returning
	a. Relations with parents
	b. " " students
	c. " " teachers
	d. " " community citizens
	e. " " administrators
	f. " " others
_____	Number of Negro teachers who have taught here but who have not been offered a second contract or were released
	a. What were the reasons for no contract or release?
	a. Relations with parents
	b. " " students
	c. " " teachers
	d. " " community citizens
	e. " " administrators
	f. " " others

Schedule No. 3

Rate the socio-economic level of the attendance area of this school high, medium or low.

List of persons in the central office who officially or unofficially have anything to do with the employment of Negro teachers or the integration of Negro teachers on the staff.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc. _____		

List of anyone in this school or in the whole system having particularly good insight into the historical and present developments with regard to the employment and integration of Negroes to the teaching staff. What characteristics or circumstances made the person listed particularly perceptive about this? Rate them (1) for most perceptive etc.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc. _____		

List any persons on the total staff in this school who were at one time outwardly or covertly skeptical, by your perception, of the employment and integration of a Negro teacher to the staff. What characteristics or circumstances made them particularly skeptical? Are they still skeptical?

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc. _____		

Schedule No. 3

List any persons in the system outside the staff here who by your perception was skeptical of the employment and integration of a Negro teacher to the staff. What characteristics or circumstances made them particularly skeptical? Are they still skeptical?

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
2. Etc. _____	_____	_____

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