

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Calvin O. L. Henry for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education  
presented on April 16, 1997. Title: A Qualitative Study Designed To Explore  
Some Factors That White Educators Need To Teach Black Students Effectively

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Abstract approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Barbara McEwan ' ' "

The purpose of this study was to explore some of the factors White educators need to teach Black students effectively. It examined what role the race of the teachers may play in Black students' academic success and whether White teachers are able and willing to meet the educational needs of Black students. Eight White teachers were interviewed. In this study, race is defined as a grouping of individuals who display the same phenotypic skin color by which people in the United States identify themselves and are identified by others.

Today's reality is that more and more Black students are being taught by White teachers in public schools even where Black students are a majority. There are still marked disparities in the academic achievement between Black and White students. The gap between the academic achievement of White and Black students in public secondary schools is increasing. White teachers have not been properly prepared by their pre-service education programs and in-service training to teach Black students effectively. White teachers recognized that their preparation and training for teaching came out of their own cultural background for the traditional students, either White students or students who conform to mainstream Eurocentric standards, and that they are not being held responsible and accountable for the productive academic achievement of the

Black students they teach. White teachers did not identify with their Black students, and they dealt with Black students from their "White privilege" perspective.

This study revealed the presence of racism in the public school and that the race of the teacher did affect the achievement of Black students. It pointed out that White teachers fear the Black students they teach. White teachers need to be antiracist educators. They must understand racism and how different forms of racism affect their belief systems and their philosophies of teaching. Also they should know and understand how these forms of racism affect the academic achievement of the Black students they teach. The concept of "customer" being applied to teaching Black students might encourage White teachers to be more responsive, accountable and productive in teaching Black students.

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A QUALITATIVE STUDY DESIGNED TO EXPLORE  
SOME FACTORS THAT WHITE EDUCATORS NEED  
TO TEACH BLACK STUDENTS EFFECTIVELY

by

Calvin O. L. Henry

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I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

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Calvin O. L. Henry, Author

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# A QUALITATIVE STUDY DESIGNED TO EXPLORE SOME FACTORS THAT WHITE EDUCATORS NEED TO TEACH BLACK STUDENTS EFFECTIVELY

## CHAPTER 1

### THE PROBLEM

#### INTRODUCTION

There are marked disparities in the outcomes of education for Black and White students. In its 1965 report, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) noted that Black students do not achieve as well in school as White students. According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1965), these disparities result, in part, from factors that influence the achievement, aspirations, and attitudes of school children. These factors as reported by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1965) were: background of family, social class of student classmates, social class of the school, quality of school, quality of the teaching, and racial composition of school.

In 1994 and 1995, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) of the U. S. Department of Education reported that Black students continue to trail White students with respect to educational access, achievement, and attainment (NCES, 1994a; NCES, 1995). The reports of the U.S. Department of Education do not discuss who is teaching Black students or whether these teachers are prepared to teach Black students effectively.

In this study, the terms, Black and African American, are interchangeably used by the researcher to describe people of African decent who are citizens of the United States of America. According to the Equal Protection Clause in the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution, Black Americans are guaranteed equal opportunities as citizens of the United States. In 1954, Brown v. Board of

Education of Topeka extended the 14th Amendment to public school education (Reutter, 1985; & Blaustein and Ferguson, 1957).

Pang and Sablan (1995) noted that race is a powerful aspect of schooling given its impact on attitudes towards African Americans. Historically, the two major groupings in the United States have been identified as being Blacks and Whites (Myrdal, 1944). These groupings have led to many divisions in the United States society. Also the United States is a society where the people are obsessed with skin color. Hacker (1992) pointed out that Americans spend a great deal of time defining themselves in terms of race. Because of their skin color, certain assumptions are being made about black students in terms of their ability to be successful in school. In this study, race is defined as a grouping of individuals who display the same phenotypic skin color by which people in the United States identify themselves and are identified by others (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld, & York, 1966).

#### Differences in Achievement between Black and White Students

In its Condition of Education 1994, the U.S. Department of Education points out that the gap between the academic achievement of White and Black students in public elementary and secondary schools has been historically very large and that this gap may be increasing. From the 1992 assessments of the proficiencies in reading, writing, mathematics and science between White and Black students, the U. S. Department of Education reported that Black students were behind White students at all age and grade levels (NCES, 1994<sup>a</sup>; NCES, 1995).

In reading proficiency, the gaps between scale scores for Black and White nine year old students decreased between 1971 and 1992 (Table 1).

Although the gaps for 13 and 17 year-old students decreased from 1971 to 1988, the trends reversed after 1988 to about the same as levels in 1984.

**Table 1. Average Reading Proficiency (Scale Score) By White/Black And Age**

<b>YR</b>	<b>White Students</b>			<b>Black Students</b>			<b>Differences</b>		
	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>
1971	214	261	291	170	222	239	44	39	52
1975	217	262	293	181	226	241	36	36	52
1980	221	264	293	189	233	243	32	31	50
1984	218	263	295	186	236	264	32	27	31
1988	218	261	295	188	243	274	30	18	21
1990	217	262	297	182	242	267	35	20	30
1992	218	266	297	184	238	261	34	28	36

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education 1995, p50.

**Table 2. Average Writing Proficiency (Scale Score) By Grade & White/Black**

<b>YR</b>	<b>White Students</b>			<b>Black Students</b>			<b>Differences</b>		
	<b>Grade 4</b>	<b>Grade 8</b>	<b>Grade 11</b>	<b>Grade 4</b>	<b>Grade 8</b>	<b>Grade 11</b>	<b>Grade 4</b>	<b>Grade 8</b>	<b>Grade 11</b>
1984	211	272	297	182	247	270	29	25	27
1988	215	269	296	173	246	275	42	23	21
1990	211	262	293	171	239	268	40	23	25
1992	217	279	294	175	258	263	42	21	31

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education 1995, p52.

In writing proficiency, the differences between White and Black students were 21 to 31 scale points at grade levels 8 and 11 during 1992. The gap in writing proficiency between White and Black students was lowest in 1990 at grades 4 and 11 and in 1992 at Grade 8. See Table 2. The gap in writing proficiency increased in 1992 for Grades 4 and 11. The writing proficiency

difference at Grade 11 in 1992 was greater than the writing proficiency difference at Grade 11 in 1984.

**Table 3. Average Mathematics Proficiency (Scale Score) By White/Black And Age**

<b>YR</b>	<b>White Students</b>			<b>Black Students</b>			<b>Differences</b>		
	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>
1973	225	274	310	190	228	270	35	46	40
1978	224	272	306	192	230	268	32	42	38
1982	224	274	304	195	240	272	29	34	32
1986	227	274	308	202	249	279	25	25	29
1990	235	276	310	208	249	289	27	27	21
1992	235	279	312	208	250	286	27	29	26

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education 1995, p54.

During the period from 1973 to 1992, the gaps in the average mathematics proficiency between White and Black students were lowest in 1986 for age levels 9 and 13 (See Table 3.), but it began to increase in 1990. For age level 17, the gap in mathematics proficiency was lowest in 1990 and it increased in 1992. The difference in mathematics proficiency in 1992 was 26 to 29 scale points at age level. This difference in mathematics proficiency was smaller than the difference in 1973, but it was an increase in difference over 1990.

In the science proficiency, the gap difference between White and Black students was lowest at all the age levels in 1986 (See Table 4.) and this difference increased with all these age levels during 1990. The gap difference in science was 39 to 48 scale points at age levels in 1992. This difference increased with school age level.

**Table 4. Average Science Proficiency (Scale Score) By White/Black And Age**

<b>YR</b>	<b>White Students</b>			<b>Black Students</b>			<b>Differences</b>		
	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>	<b>Age 9</b>	<b>Age 13</b>	<b>Age 17</b>
1970	236	263	312	179	215	258	57	48	54
1973	231	259	304	177	205	250	54	54	54
1977	230	256	298	175	208	240	55	48	58
1982	229	257	293	187	217	235	42	40	58
1986	232	259	298	196	222	253	36	37	45
1990	238	264	301	196	226	253	42	38	48
1992	239	267	304	200	224	256	39	43	48

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *The Condition of Education 1995*, p56.

When the U.S. Department of Education (NCES, 1994<sup>a</sup>; NCES, 1995) made its comparison of Black students' proficiencies with the proficiencies of White students in reading, writing, mathematics and science, these gaps in proficiencies reflect that Black students are behind. Also the proficiency differences reflect an increase in 1992 differences over 1990 differences. The academic performance of Black students is of great interest to the Black community as well as the nation. Black children are not achieving in public schools (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Reglin, 1995).

For the year 1993, the U.S. Department of Education reported that the national high school dropout rate was 11.0 percent (NCES, 1994<sup>d</sup>), but there were racial differences. Dropout rate for Black high school students was 13.6 percent, and the rate for White high students was 7.9 percent (NCES, 1994<sup>d</sup>). Perhaps this difference in dropout rates may indicate that the gaps between the achievement of Black and White students may be even greater than those reported by the federal government.

The two major reasons for Black students dropping out of high school were that teaching techniques did not match learning style (34.5 percent) and a lack of support for cultural identity (25.9 percent) (See Table 5). The two major

reasons for White students dropping out of high school were that course work was not relevant (32.6 percent) and peer pressure to not achieve (22.5 percent). Lower quality of education is one of the critical reasons for the difference in dropout rates among Black and White students (Avery & Walker, 1993).

**Table 5. Reasons For High School Students Dropping Out**

<u>Reasons for Dropout</u>	<u>All Students</u>	<u>White Student</u>	<u>Black Students</u>
Course Work was not relevant	31.4%	32.6%	15.5%
Peer pressure to not achieve	21.3%	22.5%	12.1%
Teaching techniques did not match learning style	16.3%	15.7%	34.5%
Lack of personal attention in class	15.6%	15.7%	6.9%
Lack of support for cultural identity	11.5%	10.3%	25.9%
Threatened by other students	3.8%	3.4%	5.2%
Percent Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Theories of cultural deficit, teacher low expectations and cultural differences have been used in the past to explain why Black students have performed poorly in school (Banks, 1994; Ford, 1993; King, 1994; Villegas, 1991; Woolfolk, 1995). These theories may not tell the full story because they only view student performance. They do not deal with how teachers may influence Black students' achievement. Nor do these theories deal with the effect of the teacher's race on the achievement of Black students.

### White Teachers and Black Students

Nationally, in 1993, Black students made up 16.7 percent of the students in grades 1-12 (NCES, 1995). This proportion has not changed much since 1981. Since 1970, one out of every three students in central city public schools has been Black (NCES, 1994; NCES, 1995). The average percentage of Black students in the central city public schools since 1981 is 33.5 percent. In 1993, ten percent of the students in metropolitan-area public schools outside of central cities were Black (NCES, 1995).

During 1993, White teachers made up 86.5 percent of all teachers in the United States (NCES, 1994<sup>b</sup>). African Americans constituted 8.3 percent of all teachers in the United States, about one-half of the proportion of Black students (NCES, 1994<sup>b</sup>). The proportion of White students is expected to decrease during the 21st Century, yet the number of White teachers is expected to increase during the same time (Hatton, 1988).

More and more Black students across the United States can be expected to be taught by White teachers (NCES, 1994<sup>b</sup>). Pang and Sablan (1995) noted in their study that race is a powerful element in schooling when discussing attitudes about African Americans. Also Pang and Sablan (1995) noted that teachers may assume that the African American students lack the ability to do as well academically as White students. Such teachers, according to Pang and Sablan (1995), may believe this because African American students have had inadequate parenting. In her research, Cross (1993) emphasized that teachers' values, beliefs, attitudes, and prejudices do affect their teaching. Beady and Hansell (1981), in their study, noted that teacher race was strongly associated with expectations for students' future success in college, and from their results, they revealed that Black teachers had significantly higher expectations for their African American students than White teachers. Lomotey (1989), in his study of

African American principals, agreed that the race of the teachers may affect how teachers view Black students and what their commitment may be to the education of these Black students. According to Branch (1994), racial attitudes and ethnic identity influence the learning and development of African American students. Branch (1994) noted that racial attitudes may play a critical dimension in the learning equation in that those attitudes may create or discourage the development of a sense of academic growth and development through expansion of Black students' knowledge base. Herbert Kohl (1991) revealed in his essay book, entitled I Won't Learn from You! The role of Assent in Learning, that he had seen a number of cases where White teachers treated very young African American boys as if they were seventeen, over six feet tall, addicted to drug, and menacing. Beady and Hansell (1981) expressed that the Black teachers' high expectations for Black students' success in college may be the result of Black teachers' own successful experience in college, a wish to provide well motivated and encouraging role models, a stronger belief that their students are capable, or a belief that affirmative action policies make it possible for more Black students to enter and graduate from college. The number of White teachers is expected to increase while the number of Black teachers will decrease in the years ahead.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

More than thirty years ago, after the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights reported that Black students do not achieve as well in school as White students (USCCR, 1965), the U.S. Department of Education is reporting similar results when it compared level of academic proficiencies between Black and White students (NCES, 1994<sup>a</sup>; NCES, 1995). Why? Discussions about the lack of academic success of Black students tend to lead to discussions about factors

external to schools such as Black students' performance and inadequate preparation as well as lack of family support for Black students. The question of what is happening to Black students in the school and classroom is often overlooked, and when it is examined, the recognition of the shortage of Black teachers is noted (Avery & Walker, 1993; Hatton, 1988; Ladson-Billings, 1994)

Professional education literature encourages the recruitment, training and retention of more African Americans as teachers (Fielder, 1996). Although this is a noble goal and it should be pursued vigorously, how many Black teachers will be needed to address academic needs of all African American students? The reality of today is that teachers of Black students are mostly White (See Table 6). A more reasonable expectation is that White teachers will always be teaching Black students unless African American teachers' representation is disproportionately high.

But, what role do White teachers play in facilitating Black student success or contributing to their academic failure? Can the lack of success of Black students be fully attributable to factors outside of schools, such as their family lives, influence of their peers, or their lack of ability. This study therefore addresses the question, are White teachers able and willing to address the educational needs of African American students? Have the White educators been properly prepared by their pre-service institutions or their in-service training to teach Black students? Do their views of Black students allow them to address the educational needs of these Black students?

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There is significant documentation reflecting that Black students lag behind their White counterparts in academic achievement and have higher high school dropout rates (USCCR, 1965; NCES, 1994<sup>d</sup>; NCES, 1995; Ladson-

Billings, 1994; Avery & Walker, 1993), but there is little research to reflect how the race of the teachers affects the academic achievement of Black student (Pang & Sablan, 1995). The impact of White teachers on the academic achievement of Black students has not had sufficient study, and it is becoming increasingly critical that the dynamics of this relation be understood.

Society needs educators who can help all Black students to prepare for intensifying national and international competition, and to handle the change that will determine how competitive the United States will be in a global system. This study is an outgrowth of today's reality that more White teachers than Black teachers will be teaching Black students in the future (Table 6). The findings of this study should help in the training and development of White educators to meet this challenge of teaching Black students and other students of color.

## CHAPTER 2

### DESIGN, PROCEDURES, AND DATA

#### INTRODUCTION

This study departs from prior research which primarily focused upon Black students in terms of their performance (Banks, 1994; Ford, 1993; King, 1994; Villegas, 1991; & Woolfolk, 1995) and upon motivation (Graham, 1994) of at risk Black students within the context of an Eurocentric model of teaching and learning (Pine & Hilliard, 1990). Motivation studies on African Americans seem to have remained remarkably insensitive to the complexities of race in this society (Graham, 1994). This study examined whether the race of the teacher is a factor that affects the academic achievement of Black students.

The framework of this study is based in today's realities. Black students are not achieving as well as White students in the public high schools. Since Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954, Black students have been taught primarily by White teachers. The teaching force in the public high school is predominantly White, making it a monocultural teaching force, and it is expected to continue that way into the 21st Century. Thus there will be more White teachers teaching Black students in the future.

This study consisted of multiple-case studies and then cross-case analysis to identify topic or themes. Analysis involved the examination of some of the philosophical concepts of teachers of Black students, White teacher efficacy in teaching Black students, and some White teacher-student interactions from the perspectives of White teachers who are currently teaching Black students. Individual cases will not be reported since characteristics of

subjects could reveal their identity. Related literature will be used to bring meaning to the findings for both cases and across cases.

## DATA SOURCES

Evidence of this study was derived from documents, interviews, unobtrusive observations, and participant observations. Documents included rules, reports, records, publications and findings published by a high school and its school district.

Interviews were employed to allow the subject to share their insight into their experiences of teaching Black students and to explore significant areas in the plan of investigation. Open-ended interview questions, in which the subject teachers were encouraged to answer in their own words at some length, were used to provide a greater depth of response. The open-ended interview questions were asked to focus the respondents and prompt discussion. My intention, as a researcher, was to have a good conversation with each subject teacher. Below are the interview questions that were used in this study.

1. When and where were you educated?
2. When were you licensed as a teacher?
3. When and where did you begin teaching
4. How long have you taught school?
5. What levels of schooling have you taught?
6. What is your subject specialty?
7. How long have you taught at (this) High School?
8. Indicate your ethnic identity.
9. How would describe your philosophy of teaching? What do you believe "works?"

10. Does your school has a philosophy of teaching that it want its teachers to adhere.
11. How much of what you know about teaching Black students did you learn as a result of teacher training, either preservice or in-service?
12. How would you change teacher education so that teachers would be more effective with Black students?
13. Do you view students as customers of your teaching specialty?
14. How do you rate your success in teaching Black students whom you have taught?
15. What kind of role do you believe parents play in the success of Black students? How would you describe the kinds of relationships you've had with parents of Black students you've taught?
16. Can you take responsible of the learning gains for Black students whom you have taught?
17. Do you believe that a teacher is limited in what he/she can achieve with Black students because the Black home environment is a large influence on the Black students' achievement?
18. Can you successfully teach Black students if you are afraid of them? What do you need in order to be success with them?
19. Can you think of any characteristics that Black students as a group bring to the classroom.
20. How do you handle discipline? Are there special things that teachers of Black students should know about discipline?
21. Are you afraid of the Black students you teach?
22. What kinds of things have you done in the classroom that have facilitated the academic success of Black students? Would these things benefit other White teacher of Black students?

23. Who should handle discipline of Black students?
24. How often do you send Black students out of your class for disciplinary reason?
25. How do you think the schooling experience of the Black students you teach differs from that of White students in middle-class communities?

Each teacher was interviewed on these questions developed by me as a result of my involvement and observations within the school. The interview contained some unstructured questions about demographics and some structured questions on philosophy, White teacher efficacy and White teacher-Black student interaction.

Unobtrusive observations were made of subjects' behavior at faculty meetings, site council meetings, in-service days and staff training. Also unobtrusive observations were made of subjects' interactions with Black students in the school hallways during changes of class periods and at student rallies.

As an intern and staff volunteer to the high school's principal, this researcher was a participatory observer and interacted with all teachers and administrators concerning school issues and problems. I was a member of the school site council, and as a staff volunteer, I attended teacher meetings, staff training sessions, and in-service activities. This involvement provided me with the opportunity to observe and begin to perceive reality from the viewpoint of someone "inside" the study rather than external to it.

## PROCEDURES

As a researcher, I was given approval by the high school principal to conduct the study at the school. One hundred letters explaining the study were sent to all members of the school staff, and teachers were invited to participate

in the study. Those teachers who agreed to participate were asked to read and sign an informed consent form (Appendices C and D).

Nine White teachers and four Black teachers agreed to participate in the study and allow themselves to be interviewed. Since this study was examining the impact of White teachers on Black student achievement, data used in study were limited to those White teachers who had been licensed to teach in the state in which this study was conducted.

All areas of the school were accessible to me as if I was a regular staff member. I attended faculty meetings, curriculum planning meetings, staff development activities, and inservice days. The school principal and I met regularly, and I observed classroom teaching and activities. Also I observed school wide activities.

The teachers' interviews were thirty minutes to an hour. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed by a professional transcriber. Each teacher was given a copy of her or his transcribed interview for review and additional comments. All teachers who were interviewed were assigned codes to protect their identities. These codes were used to preserve the confidentiality of the information collected from the teachers. Complete confidentiality of each and every participant was maintained by me with the use of these identification codes.

## THE HIGH SCHOOL

The high school in which this study was conducted is a comprehensive high school. It is a neighborhood school and a city-wide magnet high school for two substantive areas. A magnet school is one which offers specialized courses designed to attract White as well as Black students (USCCR, 1965). Students in this school's district may apply to attend any public high school in

the district. The high school has a site council to help it prepare a school improvement plan.

The school site council is a local 21st Century School Council which was established in accordance with the school's district policy and state law. The local site council's primary purpose is to develop and coordinate plans for staff professional growth and for school improvement based on student achievement. The school's site council was composed of students, teachers, parents, classified employees and the principal or principal's designee. Also I was a member of this site council. At this school, the site council prepared a profile of the school and developed a school improvement plan.

The study was conducted between 1994 and 1996. During 1994-95, Black students made up 59.4 percent of school's student population, and the percentage of White students was 25.1 percent. The school had 81 teachers and five administrators. White teachers represented 87.7 percent of the teaching staff while Black teachers represented only 8.6 percent of the teaching staff. Eighty percent of the administrators were African Americans. During 1994-95, the overall students to teacher ratio at the school was 14.4 students for every one teacher. The ratio of White students to White teacher at the school was 4.3 to one while the ratio of Black students to Black teachers at the school was 97.1 to one. Also the ratio of Black students to White teacher at the school was 9.6 to one.

During 1995-96, the percentage of Black students at the subject high school increased to 60.9 percent while the percentage of White students decreased to 24.3 percent (Table 6). The percentage of the teachers stayed the same.

**Table 6. Percentage Of Students And Essential School Personnel By Race In The School**

<u>Race</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Administrators</u>
Black	60.9%	8.6%	80.0%
White	24.3	87.7	20.0
Others	<u>14.8</u>	<u>3.7</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Since 1990, the percentage of Black students at the school increased by 3.2 percent while the percentage of White students decreased by 7.3 percent. This trend is expected to continue because the school has acquired the image of being a "Black high school."

According to the high school profile prepared during 1994-95 for the site council, the dropout rate for the subject high school was 18 percent for the year 1994-95. A dropout was defined as a student who withdrew from school prior to obtaining a high school diploma and did not re-enroll in another diploma program.

According to the high school's site council 1994-95 profile, 98 percent of the staff agreed that the subject high school had good teachers, yet 48 percent of the staff indicated that the subject high school students would get a better education at other district high schools.

Based on grade point average (GPA) for the 1995-96 school year, the academic achievement of Black students at the high school was below the academic achievement of White students at every grade level (Table 7). The GPA of the school's Grade 9 is less than a "C" in a four-point grading system.

The school's GPA for all its grades is 2.29 which is less than the district GPA of 2.52.

**Table 7. Subject High School GPA By Grade for Black/White Students**

<u>Grade</u>	<u>GPA</u>		<u>Subject High School GPA</u>		<u>% Black Students in Each Grade Subject HS</u>
	<u>District Wide</u>		<u>Black Students</u>	<u>White Students</u>	
9	2.44		1.76	2.40	64.40%
10	2.38		2.12	2.60	63.37%
11	2.61		2.28	2.71	61.97%
12	2.70		2.35	2.99	59.06%
All Grades	2.52		2.13	2.68	62.59%

GPA = Grade Point Average; HS = High School; A = 4.0

#### SAMPLE TEACHER PROFILES

The subject school has 81 teachers who were certificated to teach. All teaching staff were invited to participate in this study and to allow the researcher to interview them. White teachers represent 87.7 percent (71) of this teaching staff. White female teachers represented 50.8 percent of all White teachers at the school. Although White male teachers expressed that they would participate in the study, they did not when it came time to commit. Of the 12 certificated teaching staff who voluntarily agreed to be interviewed, eight were White and four were Black. Because this study is designed to examine the impact of the White teachers on Black students' achievement and to explore some of the factors White educators need to teach Black students effectively, data from the Black teachers was not used. The impact of Black teachers on Black students' achievement is not the focus of this study. The eight White

teachers were selected because they voluntarily agreed to participate and they represented teachers who had been teaching at the school between two and thirty-two years.

The purposeful sample for this study consists of seven White female teachers and one White male teacher. The following are their profiles.

**Teacher A** is a female teacher who has taught in public schools at the middle, high school and junior college levels. She received her undergraduate degree in 1965. She began teaching when she received her initial teaching license in 1964. Teacher A has taught school for more than 32 years. She has taught at the high school for 26 years. She identifies her ethnicity as "White female."

**Teacher B** is a female teacher who has taught in public school at the high school level. She received her undergraduate degree in 1976 and has a master's degree. Teacher B was initially licensed as a teacher in 1976 and has taught school for 20 years. She has taught at the high school for 20 years. She identifies her ethnicity as "European American."

**Teacher C** is a female teacher who has taught in public school at the high school level. She received her undergraduate degree in 1987 and then completed a fifth-year teacher education program. Teacher C began her teaching in high school in 1992 when she received her teaching license. She has taught at the high school for three and a half years. She identifies her ethnicity as "Caucasian."

**Teacher D** is a female teacher who has taught in public and private schools at the preschool through high school levels. She received her undergraduate degree in 1963, and she has a master's degree. Teacher D began teaching when she was licensed as a teacher in 1963. She has taught school for 33 years. Her current teaching specialties is family and consumer studies. She has taught at the high school for 13 years. She identifies her ethnicity as "Caucasian or White."

**Teacher E** is a female teacher who has taught in public school at the junior high and high school levels. She received her undergraduate degree in 1967, and she has a master's degree. Teacher E began teaching in 1967 when she was licensed in another state and in this state in 1992. She has taught school for 10 years. She has taught at the high school for four years. She identifies her ethnicity as "Euro-American."

**Teacher F** is a female teacher who has taught in public school at the K-13 levels. She received her undergraduate degree in 1985, and she has a master's degree. Teacher F was licensed as a teacher in 1988, and she began teaching in 1989. She has taught school for seven years. She has taught at the high school for five years. She identifies her ethnicity as "European-American."

**Teacher G** is a male teacher who has taught in public school at the pre-school, elementary and high school levels. He received his undergraduate degree in 1968, and he has a master's degree. Teacher G began teaching when he was licensed as a teacher in 1975. He has taught at the high school for two years. He identifies his ethnicity as "Caucasian," Scotch-Irish.

**Teacher H** is a female teacher who has taught in public and private schools at the pre-school and high school levels. She received her undergraduate degree in 1975, and she has a master's degree. Teacher H was initially licensed as a teacher in 1975, and she was licensed again in 1987. She has taught school on and off since 1987. She has taught at the high school for four years. She identifies her ethnicity as "European-American."

Four of these teachers describe their ethnicity as European American, three indicated that they are Caucasian, and one noted her ethnicity as a "White female." Five of the eight teachers received their undergraduate teacher training in the same state in which the school is located. The other three teachers received their undergraduate teacher training outside of the state. The undergraduate teacher training of these teachers was received between 1964 and 1988. The teachers were initially licensed between 1964 and 1992. All teachers, except one, began their teaching in the state of the subject high school. These teachers have been teaching at the subject school between two years and 26 years. The current teaching specialties of these teachers include English, science, reading, business education, family-consumer studies, art, special education, and mathematics.

## THE RESEARCHER

I have taught courses in curriculum and instructions, trends and issues in education, cross cultural communications, multicultural education, diverse students, Black history, chemistry, mathematics, communications, supervision, leadership, and management. My teaching has been at the university levels and in the work settings, and I have consulted with middle and high schools on teacher development and school improvement. I am an education consultant on schoolwide management plan, curriculum development, teacher-student interactions, and multicultural education. I have served on a high school site council and consulted with a middle school site council. In 1994, I published my concept of a student in a poster entitled, An educator's perspective: The student is a customer! Also I co-authored, in 1994, a paper entitled "A Study of Mid-level educators and Assessment of learning gains: Issues of Oregon Reform" and made a presentation on it at the New American Middle School Institute at Eastern Washington State University, Cheney, Washington. Also I was a parent who had a male child to attend and graduate from public schools. I have written affirmative action plans and consulted with businesses on their affirmative action operations. Also as a military officer, I inspected and evaluated units to determine if these units met USAF standards and operating procedures. I have a Bachelor of Science degree from Wiley College and a Masters of Science degree from Oregon State University.

Since 1976, I have written over 50 editorial columns for the Salem Statesman-Journal, The Skanner News, and Portland Observer. These editorials have dealt with issues of empowerment, education, race, racism and civil rights. Since 1975, I have sponsored and conducted over 22 conferences, conventions, symposiums and workshops which dealt with empowerment of Black Americans politically, educationally, economically, and socially.

All my life, I have dealt with issues surrounding race and racism in the United States. In schools, communities, military, colleges and universities, governments, and work, I have experienced and witnessed the impact and effects of racism in our society. This has led me to believe that racism is the number one problem facing this country, and that education must be the tool to help the American people understand this phenomenon.

Born and reared in Texarkana, Texas, this researcher is an indigenous citizen of the United States of America. I am a Black American.

In Texarkana, I attended public school at Macedonia Elementary School and Macedonia High School. Macedonia Elementary School was a grade 1-8 school. Macedonia High School was a grade 9-12 high school. These were segregated schools for Black students. The schools were controlled and operated by a superintendent and school district board members who were Black. Also these schools were founded by Blacks, and they become victims of integration when Black and White students started to attend public school together.

The teachers of my elementary and high schools were Black, and they lived and participated in the life of my community. Note that the schools were segregated. These teachers attended my church and knew my parents. Much of what I am today was shaped by my years growing up and attending public schools in Texarkana, Texas. My teachers worked with me and guided me as I involved myself in many extracurricular activities, their expectations of their students. My teachers had high expectation for me and for all students who attended the schools. The student council government at my high school was organized by me to help the students learn about operating a government. Also I was very active in 4-H Club throughout Texas and served as its northern district president. Even though 4-H Clubs involved all youths in schools, these

clubs were separated by race in Texas at this time. There were 4-H clubs for Black youths and 4-H Clubs for White youths. I was an active member of New Farmers of America (NFA) and I was my school NFA president. The New Farmers of America (NFA) for Black Students was the counterpart for the Future Farmers of America (FFA) for White students. I was very active in the affairs of the school, church and community in which I lived, and I was the valedictorian of my high school graduation class.

After high school, I attended from September 1959 to May 1962, Wiley College. In 1962, with a double major in mathematics and chemistry, I graduated with cum laude honors in 33 months. Most of my professors were Black. Wiley College is a church related college, and it is one of historical Black colleges and universities in the United States. While I was at Wiley College, I was quite involved in student government and activities.

Upon graduation from Wiley College, I went into the United States Air Force (USAF), attended Officer Training School at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas, and received a commission as a Second Lieutenant in the United States Air Force in 1962. My tour of duty in the United States Air Force took me to many states in the United States and many countries throughout the world. I attended and graduated from the Air University's Squadron Officer School (SOS) and Air Command and Staff College (ACSC), which were two of the three top schools for USAF military officers, and whose major areas were command, management and leadership.

After my tour of active military duty, I served, as a captain, with the Oregon Air National Guard, and I returned to the university to complete a master's degree. In 1975, I received a Masters of Science degree in Mathematics and Chemistry from Oregon State University.

In 1970, I organized the Corvallis Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Also I organized the Salem Branch NAACP in 1971 and the Eugene Branch in 1973. I served on the Benton-Linn Economic Opportunities Council (BLEOC) between 1972 and 1973. BLEOC was a community action agency organized under federal law to address the economic needs of low income individuals in Benton and Linn Counties in Oregon. As BLEOC Chair in 1972, I planned programs and approved grants for family planning, dental clinic, Head Start, Area Agency on Aging, legal services, housing, manpower, child care and senior citizens. The primary beneficiaries of these programs and grants were White citizens.

During the 1970s, my work with local citizens and groups in Corvallis helped to change the structure of Corvallis City Council from a five to a nine member council. As the Corvallis Branch NAACP President between 1971 and 1974, I fought racial discrimination in Corvallis and at Oregon State University as well as throughout the State of Oregon. Through my work and my pamphlet entitled, "Independent Analysis of Oregon State University Office of Minorities and Special Services Program" published in 1971, I am responsible for Oregon State University having an Office of Affirmative Action. Also my work caused Oregon State University to develop its Affirmative Action Plan which became the first plan West of the Mississippi that was approved by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

In 1975, the Calmax Symposium was organized and sponsored by me in Corvallis. This was the first meeting of its kind in Oregon to assess in writing the status of Blacks in Oregon. At the symposium, I presented a paper that I published later as a pamphlet entitled, "The Need For Political Maturity and Activism Among Blacks in Oregon." This paper served as a blueprint for the development of the Oregon Assembly for Black Affairs which I founded in 1977

with fifty other Blacks during a meeting at Willamette University in Salem, Oregon. The Assembly is a statewide, nonprofit and nonpartisan, political organization committed to improving the status of Blacks in Oregon. The organization also believes that the conditions for all Oregonians will improve if those for Black Oregonians do. Since its establishment, I have served as its President and have worked well with the leadership of all political parties in the state.

In 1975, conceived and co-authored the bill that gave statutory force to affirmative action in Oregon, I worked closely with the NAACP and Oregon State Employees Association (now Oregon Public Employees Union) for the passage of this bill by the 1975 Oregon Legislative Assembly. This law made Oregon's Governor responsible for affirmative action and established the position of Director of Affirmative Action directly under the Governor. I helped to organize the Oregon Balance of State Private Industry Council (BOSPIC) in 1980 and The Oregon Private Industry Council (TOPIC) in 1982 as a private citizen. Through these private industry councils, private businesses and governments came together to handle training, retraining and employment needs of 27 counties. As a board member of the Corvallis Industrial Economic Council of the Corvallis Area Chamber of Commerce, I worked to bring Hewlett-Packard to Benton County. As an investor and a charter member, I assisted in the establishment of the Benton County Bank.

As a private citizen, I caused the Oregon Commission on Black Affairs, a state agency, to be established by Governor Vic Atiyeh by executive order in 1980, and the Oregon Legislative Assembly to give it statutory authority in 1981. When Governor Atiyeh set up the Black Commission by executive order, I support the establishment of the Commission on Hispanic Affairs. In 1995, I

supported and endorsed the bill that established the Commission on Asian Affairs.

Seeing myself as a change agent in society, I believe that it is imperative that I understand myself if I am to be effective as an instrument of political and educational change. I believe one must be a long distance runner, not just only a sprinter, in the quest for change in society. I believe that Black people are a changing force in the United States. Black people must take responsibility for their own political development as well as their identity and protect their interests. Whether Black people are known as Negroes, Blacks, Africans, Black Americans or African Americans is not as important as what they do with their lives to further the quality existence of the group or society. It is my belief that Blacks must work with educational institutions, political parties and other groups to ensure that the needs and aspirations of the Black Community are achieved. Also I believe Black people must provide leadership not only for Black Americans but for all Americans to deal with the effects of racism. I served as an elected member of the Corvallis Rural Fire Protection District Board from 1990 to 1995.

Being an organizer, an innovator, a writer, and an elected official, this researcher transcends the politics of race and recognizes that all citizens of society must contribute and be held responsible for the successes or failures of all within the society. I believe that everything is politics and politics is everything. Politics is just a way of influencing the things around us. It is my view that without communication, coordination and cooperation, very little can be achieved effectively. I hold myself responsive, accountable and productive to and for my involvement to benefit society and I ask no less of others.

## CHAPTER 3

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### INTRODUCTION

According to Brookover (1985), there is ample evidence that in most American school districts a pattern of increasing ineffectiveness for teaching Black students is present. This is a qualitative study designed to explore some of the factors White educators need to teach Black students effectively. Also it will examine what role the race of the teachers may play in facilitating Black student success or contributing to their academic failure. Interview questions were used to illuminate the major themes of this study. Three themes initially emerged during this study. They were: (1) the quality of preparation and training for teaching Black students, (2) the quality of White teacher-Black student interaction, and (3) White teachers' efficacy in teaching Black students. A fourth overriding theme was apparent during these analyses: the presence of race and racism in public schools.

#### THE QUALITY OF PREPARATION AND TRAINING FOR TEACHING BLACK STUDENTS

According to Carter (1992), prospective teachers need the skills, methods, and scholarship as well as philosophical principles necessary to teach all children. These teachers must think strategically about learners, about their cultural differences and their differing needs, about the community context, and about ways to engage students with substantive ideas (Carter, 1992). Also White teachers must not be afraid to exercise common sense in approaching Black students through their environment in order to deal with conditions as they are rather than as the teachers would like to see them or imagine they are

(Woodson, 1933). This means that Black students tend to react to events on the basis of their experiences in their communities and home situations. These environments are critical in getting to know Black students and getting involved in learning activities. Black students have skills and knowledge which allow them to survive in their environment and the skills that Black students need to function at grade levels may be under-developed. White teachers should not be. One of the themes that emerged from this study was the need for teaching equity during the preparation and training of White teachers for teaching Black students. This can be seen in the differences in the subjects' teaching philosophies, the school's teaching philosophy, and whether they view Black students as customers.

### Preparation

A large number of White teachers enter schools to teach Black students without proper training and conditioning for teaching Black students (Hill, 1989). The subjects of this study reflect this deficiency. Six of the eight said that they had not learned anything about teaching Black students during either their pre-service or in-service training. Two subjects, Teachers C and G, seemed uncomfortable talking about what their teacher education programs had failed to provide them.

Teacher C stated that her teacher education program tried to teach her, but she learned a lot of what she knows about communication with people of different cultures through her own personal experience. This subject noted that it was in her ethnically diverse high school where she learned to work with people different than herself. Teacher G stated that he learned a little about teaching Black students from his teacher preparation program, but he could not give a percentage or an indication of what he learned.

The other six teachers stated that they had not been prepared to teach Black students. Teacher H stated: "I wasn't taught anything in my teacher training about working with minorities."

Teacher A stated that she received no training for teaching Black students in her pre-service or in-service training. This subject stated during the interview, "I had a very White experience as a student and as a student teacher." She went on to say, "I grew up with prejudice about Mexican American and Native Americans...There weren't any Blacks in my community so I didn't inherit those prejudices." She noted that she did not have any preconceived notions about Black students when she came to the school because she did not know anything about the school. Teacher A said that she did "lots and lots of reading about intercity schools and teachers who worked in intercity schools" and this is where she got many of her ideas about teaching Black students. Teacher A has taught at the school for 26 years.

Teacher B stated that her pre-service and in-service teacher training provided her absolutely nothing in preparation for teaching Black students. When she came to this school over 20 years ago, this subject stated that two Black women from the Black community really helped her to understand what she was doing right and wrong in teaching Black students.

Teachers D, E and F supported the fact that their pre-service and in-service teacher training had not prepared them to teach Black students. Teachers D and F stated that they got no training, and Teacher E said that the training was "probably zero."

Because of their own experiences, these teachers had some suggestions for teacher education programs. Seven of the eight teachers expressed the view that teacher education should change in the way it prepares White

teachers to teach Black students, but one stated that she did not know how she would change teacher education.

As responses to their own education and training, the subjects of this study recommended having new teachers:

- spend time observing Black students and teachers of Black students,
- understand the culture and community of Black students, and
- understand teachers to be role models and teaching as more than a job when working with Black students.

With respect to the first suggestion, teacher education programs should provide training sites for student teachers to gain experience with Black students and their teachers. Teacher A stated that student teachers simply have to spend more time with Black students before they get licensed and that teacher education programs should assign student teachers to work with teachers who have experience in teaching Black students. Teacher D responded, "The more teacher trainees can observe and then discuss, the better." Recognizing the difficulty with this proposal, Teacher D, further, stated:

I don't think it's the kind of thing that you can read about in a book, and I don't think you can be preached to by a teacher. The difficulty with doing something like that is that then you fall into these stereotypes, or it's watered down generalities. I think teachers need to observe....

The second suggestion involved knowing and understanding the Black students' culture and community in which teachers will work. The teacher education programs should provide the student teachers with some knowledge base about the culture of Black students and must provide them with methods of acquiring such knowledge base if they find themselves teaching Black students. In addressing this point, Teacher B stated:

I think that one of the things that has to happen is before a teacher comes in to teach they have to know something about the community. They need to go walk the streets. They need to go to

the businesses. They need to talk with people in the community. They need to go to churches and listen to sermons and talk with parents there. I think that often times the kind of problems that we see is because teachers are attributing wrongly a student's actions to the student being bad or the student not caring, instead of not understanding cultural differences, or understanding what they said -- how the student might have heard that. So, I think that people need more training in the communities that they're going to work in.

In addition, Teacher B remarked that using community agents and tutors to help teachers understand what they are doing right and wrong would aid in the teachers' preparation, and she stated: "I think that that's one of the things that we need." In addition, Teacher C expressed that more Black professors should be used to help training White teachers about teaching Black students. Also Teacher D recognized the importance of this proposal when she stated, "I think they need to be able to read materials written by and for various cultures, races, or ethnicities."

The third suggestion involves understanding that White teachers can be role models for Black students, too, and that teaching is more than a just job. Teacher education programs should help student teachers to examine thoroughly their commitment to teach all children.

From my observation of White teachers at the subject school, many of them seemed not to believe that they could be role models for the Black students whom they taught. For example, one White female teacher who taught mathematics said to me that the school needed more Black teachers to teach and serve as role models to the Black students. This teacher had described herself as a good mathematics teacher. This teacher added to her comments by stating that the Black students would learn more from the Black teachers. Then I raised the question, "Do you believe that a Black teacher can come into your classroom and teach mathematics to the Black students whom you are teaching better than you are teaching them." This teacher immediately said

"Yes." After her answer, I posed the question, "What you are saying is that you are not a good teacher?" This teacher wanted to take exceptions to my question, but she came to understand that if she was a good teacher, she should be able to teach Black students effectively, too, and could serve as a role model to them. This teacher changed her view after I shared with her my view of a good teacher. Based on my research, a good teacher is a teacher who knows whom he or she is, who has a philosophy of teaching in which he or she believes that all students can learn, who believes he or she can teach his or her content specialty to all students regardless of their race or condition, who knows how to reach and connect with the students, who is not afraid of the students, and who could be role model to any student regardless of race or condition.

Teacher H indicated that one of the biggest things that is missing from teacher education is the understanding that teaching is not just a job in the sense that you can separate yourself personally from it. In further highlighting this point, Teacher H stated:

Teaching, you know, has directly to do with life, and you are, first of all, regardless of what subject information you're teaching, you are a role model to your students. They will not accept your subject matter until you have proven yourself in that arena first. And I think that teachers need to go through self-examination and examination of interpersonal interactions in their teacher training with both the purposes of understanding themselves as well and how they interact with other people, but also in terms of the impact that their interactions and their personalities on their students. And I think if we went through that, and in that we discussed ethnic differences, racial differences, whatever -- openly -- I think the teachers would be a lot better prepared. And on top of that, I think teachers really need a lot more exposure. They need to be out in the world and they need to know where the kids are coming from.

By their own admission, the subjects of this study knew that they were unprepared to teach Black students by their education and training. Traditional teacher-centered classrooms do not encourage the active involvement of

students in the learning process (Kaufman, 1996). Student-centered classrooms are those in which the students are actively involved in planning and deciding what is to be learned (Kaufman, 1996; Woolfolk, 1995; Kroll & LaBoskey, 1996; Teets & Starnes, 1996). These suggestions that emerged from the subjects' comments support the need for pre-service education and in-service education to be constructivist-based, and these findings would support constructivist approaches to emerge in schools where Black students are being taught by White teachers. The constructivist approach would encourage White teachers and Black students to actively construct knowledge based upon what they already know and the new information that is encountered.

Increasing student teachers' exposure to Black students, developing a greater cultural awareness of the Black family and Black community, providing instructions on the psychology of Black children and Black cultures, requiring readings of African American articles and books, bringing in successful teachers of Black students to share their experiences with future teachers, and bringing Black parents to share their visions for their students are some additional ways, according to these subjects, that teacher education should change in the future. Also these additions and suggestions, that the subjects made, seem to support the need for pre-service education and in-service education to be constructivist-based in order that future White teachers of Black students will know how to construct knowledge based upon what they already know and the new information that they encounter within the school and community they work.

#### White Teachers' Philosophy Of Teaching

According to Hessong and Weeks (1987), philosophy is the belief system that a person develops concerning existence, reality in the world, truth and

knowledge, logic or thought processes, and aesthetic and ethical values. It is the teacher's fundamental belief systems, on which he or she bases the answers to questions about life in general and education specifically (Hessong & Weeks, 1987). It is critical for teachers to have a philosophy of teaching to guide them in how they teach students and their content area. Teaching without developing one's own philosophy of teaching could be disastrous (Hessong & Weeks, 1987). The best time, based on my research, for teachers to begin forming the foundation of their philosophy of teaching would be during their preparation and training to become teachers. Payne (1994) pointed out that the teacher's belief system does influence the teacher sense of efficacy in teaching Black students.

Teachers are required to make many decisions about what should be taught, when it is taught, how it should be taught, and what techniques should be used to assess the learning (Hessong & Weeks, 1987). Regardless of whether the school is a majority Black school or a majority non-Black school, White teachers should possess a philosophy of teaching that would guide their teaching. According to Hessong and Weeks (1987), every decision that a teacher makes, from how the classroom should be arranged to how the learning should be evaluated, involves the teacher's philosophy of life and his or her philosophy of education. Discipline and classroom control practices are especially dependent on the teacher's belief system and philosophy of education (Hessong & Weeks, 1987). Teachers' values, beliefs, attitudes, and prejudices do affect their teaching (Cross, 1993).

The subjects' philosophies of teaching ranged from poorly thought-out to well-articulated. In this study, the philosophies of teaching will be identified as either perfunctory (P) or well articulated (WA). The perfunctory philosophies are those which were poorly thought-out, did not have strong personal belief

systems about teaching and learning, had no expressed commitment to student's achievement, and were culturally insensitive (CI) and racial insensitive (RI). The well-articulated philosophies are those which were well-developed, did have strong personal belief systems about teaching and learning, had expressed commitments to student's achievement, and were culturally sensitive (CS) and racial sensitive (RS). Table 8 reflects the subjects' descriptions of their philosophies of teaching and how these philosophies rate culturally and racially.

The descriptions of the teaching philosophies of Teachers C, D, E, F, and G contained no real belief systems (Hessong & Weeks, 1987) that could be of use to the subjects in guiding their teaching of Black students. These descriptions seemed not to reflect that the subjects would be culturally and racially sensitive to the Black students they taught. Also no commitment to student achievement is expressed in these descriptions. Thus, these teaching philosophies would be inadequate to sustain these subjects in the many decisions that would make.

On the other hand, Teacher H's description of her philosophy of teaching seemed to indicate that she was aware of her responsibility to provide an environment for learning, but it did not contain any strong belief statement. The statement of her philosophy of teaching did not reflect that Teacher H would be culturally and racially sensitive to the Black students she taught.

Teachers A and B had well thought out and articulated teaching philosophies. These two subjects expressed strong belief systems. Their philosophies of teaching exhibited a commitment to all students including the Black students they taught. These descriptions did reflect that the subjects would be culturally and racially sensitive to the Black students they taught.

**Table 8. Description Of Philosophy Of Teaching**

<b>Subject</b>	<b><u>Philosophy of Teaching Description</u></b>	<b><u>P or WA</u></b>	<b><u>CS or CI</u></b>	<b><u>RS or RI</u></b>
Teacher A	Basically I really believe that all kids can learn, and that it's primarily my responsibility to create a climate within which they can learn and to use under the best of circumstances a 'smorgasbord approach' to accommodate different learning styles.	WA	CS	RS
Teacher B	Well, I'm an anti-racist educator. I've followed the philosophy of Freire and Shor, and I basically believe that teaching is political and that everything about it, from the arrangement, to the desks, to the clock on the wall and the flag in the corner and what's in the textbooks and not in the textbooks are all political. And that part of the education of students is to let them see that, and to make them aware of it, and so to take it from there. The other part of the philosophy of education of mine is I've used James Bank's model of anti-racist education -- the four stages of anti-racist education.	WA	CS	RS
Teacher C	Philosophy is that in order for kids to learn they have to trust the person who's trying to teach them.	P	CI	RI
Teacher D	The most important thing that we can do is help children to help themselves.	P	CI	RI
Teacher E	Probably my philosophy is based on building self-esteem first, and then subject matter comes after that.	P	CS	RI
Teacher F	I'm here to serve them. To me, teachings are about relationships between people and My number one goal is to assist a person in learning more about themselves.	P	CI	RI
Teacher G	I try to listen . I can elaborate from there, but I think that's the basic principle. I think to be a good teacher you have to be a good student, so I'm constantly studying the kids and trying to learn from them."	P	CI	RI
Teacher H	"My basic philosophy of teaching is that I am there to facilitate the student's self-learning, and it is my responsibility to provide an environment that not only is conducive to that learning but also exposes the student to a lot of information. And I believe in a philosophy that I've heard lately described as 'not the sage on the stage but the guide on the side'	P	CI	RI

Teacher A, in her statement, noted that she must have a repertoire of methods and strategies for teaching Black students to accommodate the different learning styles. On the other hand, Teacher B highlighted that she must give students a clear understanding of how what they learn in her class affects their daily lives. Teacher B made this clear when she described further her philosophy of teaching and stated:

That that's the beginning -- teaching is political. And that it's political in the way that I correct students -- if we say that standard English is standard English and we don't acknowledge that people come from different countries or have different dialects based on the parts of the country that they came from or their racial background -- and if we don't say up front that that's political and we just correct students, then they think that they're wrong or their family is wrong. That's just an example of how what we take for granted every day is political in teaching. And so, I don't just correct students, I teach them the politics of a language -- why do we correct? Who made the rules? ....Who made the rules that govern this? So that once students understand the rules they understand who's playing, and that the playing field isn't level, so who made the rules and how do they have to make a decision that either they're going to learn what they need to play with these rules in order to change them or to go along with them.

In conjunction with describing their philosophy of teaching, the subjects were asked to indicate what they believe had worked for them with the Black students in their classes. Trust, personal relationships or connections, high expectations and respect were important strategies for the subjects when they were working with Black students.

Teacher B stated that when she told her Black students that she was an antiracist educator, it engaged the Black students and set the tone for her class. In establishing personal relationships, Teacher B noted that it is important to understand why Black students are doing the things they are doing. She added:

I think establishing a personal relationship with the students, understanding why they're doing the things that they're doing. If they are disrupting, why are they disrupting? Is it because they

don't know how to read and write, and so putting them on the spot makes them feel uncomfortable? Then we need to get behind that and teach them how to read and write, so that they don't feel uncomfortable. I think using the strengths that students already have, so no matter what they can or can't do, we use what they can, so that they can shine somehow and feel comfortable in the classroom -- that works.

Teacher A noted that having the personality to relate well to students got them to trust her. Also Teacher A stated that talking to students as people, getting to know them, and dealing with course content that relates to their lives proved successful for her. Teacher D added that being consistent and having a positive rather than a negative approach to teaching worked for her too.

It is my opinion that White teachers of Black students need a well-developed philosophy of teaching and it should be student-centered and include the beliefs that all children can learn, that it is their responsibility to create an environment in which Black students can learn, and that they are anti-racist educators. The initial philosophy of teaching should be developed while teachers are going through their pre-service training.

### School's Philosophy

According to Brookover (1985), an effective school should hold its professional staff accountable for beliefs and attitudes that form the school's ideology. Some of these beliefs and attitudes according to Brookover (1985) are: (a) all students can learn the school's objectives, (b) all students are expected to reach high standards of achievement, (c) teachers can successfully instruct all students in the school's objective, and (d) the staff is committed to the job of helping all students achieve standards, no matter what it takes.

Not all subjects of this study were tuned-in to whether their school has a philosophy of teaching. Four subjects indicated that the high school did not have a common philosophy of teaching. Four subjects indicated that the high

school had a mission statement but they were not sure of its wording. This was also a sign that the subjects did not follow the mission of the school.

Teacher A stated that the school did not have an enunciated philosophy of teaching, while Teacher B stated that there is a mission statement that is created on paper. Also Teacher B remarked, "I don't know that we all adhere to the same kind of philosophy." Teacher E stated that she could not put the school's philosophy of teaching in to words. On the other hand, Teacher F responded in the following manner:

I believe they do, and I believe it's very Eurocentric. I think it's very traditional, I think it almost leans towards what I would consider a parochial school, and I don't think our students' backgrounds, trust level, or any of those issues are really accountable.

These responses were typical of the subjects. From their responses, it seemed that they did not know what the mission statement said. In addition, Teacher F was highlighting in her response that the school was Eurocentric and traditional and that students' backgrounds were not be taken into account in how the teachers are teaching the students. More than 60 percent of the students of the school were Black students while more than 87 percent of the teachers are White (Table 6). The comments of Teacher F reflect that the environment of the school was culturally insensitive. Since her comments seemed to suggest that the issues of the students do not really count, the environment of the school would also be teacher-centered rather than student-centered.

I found the environment of the school to be teacher-centered rather than student-centered. From my observations in the meetings of the teachers and site council, the teachers seemed more concerned about strict enforcement of their contract than about the student academic achievement. The comments Teacher F supports this finding. Also, Teacher D stated, "I think we need to

have a stronger administration who backs teachers 100 percent and just makes the assumption that the teacher is right until proven wrong, instead of the kid is right until proven wrong." Additional statements of Teacher D supported the teacher-centered environment when she stated:

I think the kids don't need to have equal rights; they're not ready for it. I really believe that. I think the best thing that we can do for kids is to give them guidelines, and to give them parameters that they have to stay in. And I think that gives them security, and when they have security then they can learn.

A school environment is teacher-centered when the teachers alone are making plans and all the decisions about what is being taught. In the school's staff handbook, the learning community is described as one which focuses upon on student achievement, regular attendance and appropriate behavior. There was no encouragement for students to play an active role in deciding what was to be learned nor was there the focus to ensure that the learning community was culturally sensitive.

The school's mission statement was contained in the handbooks for the staff and the student. The mission statement of the subject school is: "We, the members of the (school's) learning community, are committed to education as a life-long process through which we learn to: value ourselves and others, contribute to our communities, and adapt and succeed in a changing world." The mission statement does not include the word "student."

Any school where White teachers are teaching Black students needs a culturally sensitive philosophy of teaching that has been explicitly shared with all teachers (Brookover, 1985). This culturally sensitive philosophy of teaching should be worked out together with the principal and teachers, and it should be taught to all teachers. Teachers should know their students and should know what type of student this school is expecting to develop and send out into the communities and the changing world (Brookover, 1985). In my opinion, the

school's philosophy of teaching should be racially sensitive as well as culturally sensitive.

The whole school should work as a team to meet the educational needs of the Black students. Teachers may find it difficult to be prepared to teach if there is no common philosophy of teaching or school's ideology which all teachers are expected to know and utilize (Brookover, 1985). In my opinion, this common philosophy or ideology could serve as the bridge to build the team work. Such a philosophy should be culturally and racially sensitive. Also teachers need to know what is expected of them by the school in which they teach. It is my opinion that teachers could be better prepared to teach Black students if they can adapt their culturally sensitive philosophy of teaching to the overall school's philosophy or ideology that is culturally sensitive.

#### Black Students As Customers

Traditionally, a student is defined as one who attends a school or who makes a study of something. In the context of this study, Black students are those who attend the school and the White teachers are the ones who provide the curriculum that the Black students are studying. There have been many words used in the past to define the word student and it is not my intent to examine that word, but rather to see how a different word might be viewed by teachers to bring about a new commitment to the education of Black students, in particular. This word is "customer."

How a teacher may view this word "customer" in relationship to students may be dependent upon how well the teacher is prepared to teach, the teacher's personal philosophy of teaching and the school's philosophy or ideology are articulated. The term "customer" relates to one who buys goods and services especially on a regular basis (The American Heritage Dictionary,

1985). The goods and services that teachers provide to students are their knowledge developed in their curricula and methods of teaching, as noted by Teacher E.

For their goods and services, teachers are paid by the school district with funds that are raised by taxes (Newman, 1994). This money comes from taxes that are paid by parents of students including Black parents of Black students. Black students and their parents are customers of the education systems and the teachers, including White teachers, who work in these systems. Public education is designed to prepare the students for a productive life in society (Clickman, Lundford & Szuminski, 1995), and students are the reason for education systems to exist. In my opinion, Black students are the customers of the White teachers who are preparing them for their future.

When the subjects were asked about whether they view students as customers of their specialties, three teachers said "No" and five said "Yes." The subjects were asked this question without them being given a definition of the word "customer."

When considering the question about whether students were customers of her specialty, Teacher A had doubts and responded:

A customer, I think, implies that they've had some choice. And at least for two of my classes they really didn't have any choice, they were assigned to me. So in that respect they really aren't customers. My afternoon class is an elective and if it works the way it's designed then, yes, they are customers, because they had a choice in choosing me, in choosing the class. But a lot of them failed English and their counselor put them in there. So, I don't know if customer's a good word, or maybe client. I think I'm here to serve them. But I'm not sure how much choice they've had.

Teacher A wanted to draw a distinction between the students who could choose electives and the students who were required to take courses before she could bring herself to see students as customers.

On the other hand, Teacher B was emphatic in explaining her "No" response, because she did not want to underestimate the value of what students brought into the classroom. Teacher B stated:

I don't like the terminology of our students as clients or our students as our customers. I don't see teaching as a business. Students have a lot to give -- obviously -- I've been teaching 20 years. I've published work. I know how to write. I know how to teach writing, but, if I come in and I only think that I have something to give and that they (students) don't have something to give back, they don't want to hear me. I think of teaching as a dialogue between the teacher, the student, and all of the students in the community.

Teacher B viewed the word, "customer" as it related to a business, and she seemed to be saying that it was not a good way to view teaching.

Without hesitation, Teacher H responded "Yes." She added, "I think that the system has missed that point completely." It is her view that "school systems function as if they did not have a bottom line." In explaining her view of students as customers from her experience in business, Teacher H stated:

Now, you have to understand, I've come from 13 years of running my own business, and so, you know, I think in terms of, 'Okay, what am I offering,' and 'What does my customer want?' and 'how do those two things match up?' And I think the students and their parents are our customers, and I don't think we pay attention to that.

Teacher C agreed that students are customers of her specialty, and Teacher D stated, "In a sense, I suppose." On the other hand, Teachers F and G said "No" that students are not customers.

Teacher E viewed the question of whether students are customers of her specialty from the perspective of her 15 to 20 years in marketing and public relations and sales to reach her conclusion that students are customers. Adding to her response, Teacher E stated:

I think I do. And I look at the product that we're "selling" is knowledge and power, and giving people power over their own

lives. And so I think that's our product and the students are our customers.

Teachers A, B, E, and H recognized in their responses that they had products that they sell to their students. These products are imbedded in their curricula and methods of teaching. The term "customer" implies that the teachers of the products have to become more accountable and responsible for what their products do for the students. There are educational choices which reflect upon the viability of the products, and two of these educational choices are to dropout or to refuse to learn from the teachers. Teachers C, E, and H readily saw the relationship of the students being customers because of their business background. Five of the eight subjects indicated that students are customers of their specialties.

In summary, the subjects in this study recognized that they had not been properly prepared to teach Black students by their pre-service education program and that their district and school had not provided them essential in-service training to prepare them to teach the Black students they encountered. Much of what they know about teaching Black students, they learned on their own. According to these subjects, new White teachers of Black students need to have increased exposure to Black students, cultural awareness of the Black family and Black community, instruction on Black child's psychology and Black community, and understanding of Black parents' vision for their children.

White teachers need to be antiracist educators. In addition, three suggestions were made for reforming teacher education programs, and they are (1) having student teachers spend more time observing Black students and teachers of Black students, (2) having student teachers to know and understand the culture and community of Black students, and (3) having student teachers see White teachers as being role models for Black students and teaching as

more than a job working with Black students. The schools where White teachers are teaching Black students need to have a well-developed and thoroughly understood philosophy of teaching as well as a vision of the kind of students, customers, the school wants to produce. White teachers need a well-developed philosophy of teaching and need to understand how their teaching philosophy matches with the school's philosophy in meeting the needs of their Black students, their customers. Black students are customers of the White teachers who teach them. Also White teachers must understand how they can serve the needs of their customers for an education that will benefit them and society in the 21st Century.

#### THE QUALITY OF WHITE TEACHER-BLACK STUDENT INTERACTIONS

The examination of the preparation and training of White teachers through the perspectives of the subjects of this study leads to questions about the quality of the interactions between unprepared White teachers and Black students in the classroom, which is another theme that emerged during this study. The White teachers-Black students' interactions can be viewed from the perspective of how White teachers view the characteristics of Black students, their fears of Black students, their abilities to teach Black students, their approach to discipline with Black students, and their understanding of the differences in the educational experience of Black students versus the experience of White students.

According to Hawkins (1970), the quality of the relationship between teachers and the Black students can be measured by its depth. Teachers must think strategically about Black learners, about their cultural differences and their differing needs, about the community context, and about ways to engage Black students with substantive ideas (Carter, 1992). Teachers must communicate

concerns for and belief in Black students in such a way that the students see themselves as being able to face and solve their problems, whether these problems be in the school, in the home, or in the general community (Hawkins, 1970; Woolfolk, 1995). The most significant ingredients in teaching Black children are teacher behaviors and expectations (Hawkins, 1970). If teachers do not have an understanding of the cognitive abilities of the Black students when they come to the classroom, then they will not have high expectations of them.

### Characteristics

The teachers should know the characteristics of the students for whom instruction is to be designed (Kemp, Morrison & Ross, 1994). The subjects were asked to describe some characteristics of the Black students enrolled in the classes taught by this study's subjects. Their responses were grouped into characteristics such as openness, honesty, enthusiasm, energy and emotions, a tendency to favor oral language, and a sense of family. Table 9 on Page 47 reflects the subjects' phrases grouped into these groupings of characteristics.

In addition to their phrases which could be grouped into common characteristics, the subjects made some additional comments.

Teacher D remarked that she loved working with Black students "even though sometimes what they have to say is hurtful." This subject added, "I hate it when they get into this Black/White thing, and judging all Whites or all Blacks as doing things."

Teacher B was cautious in her response because she did not want to stereotype the Black students; however, she stated, "In general there's a much greater liveliness in language in African-American students--that they play with language much more" and that these students are much more verbal and better

**Table 9. Subjects' View Of The Common Characteristics Of Black Students They Taught**

<u>Subjects' Phrase responses</u>	<u>Characteristics</u>
--very willing to share	openness
--uninhibited with their opinions	honesty
--honesty (ability to) cut to the quick	
--A lot of enthusiasm	enthusiasm
--more alive	energy and emotions
--exciting and energetic	
--energy, chutzpah! Life! They're lively	
--energy and emotions	
--emotions are right at the surface	
-- talk more	oral language
--wonderfully fluent orally	
--a love of language	
--abbreviate language	
--language	
--great oratory style,	
--being much more verbal	
--being much better in role plays and debates	
--much greater liveliness in language	
--sense of extended family	family

in role plays and debates. This subject indicated that she likes to build on the Black students' strengths. However, characterizations needed to develop the curriculum that will meet the needs of Black students should not be confused with negative stereotyping.

On the other hand, Teacher F stated that the Black students were very opinionated, and Teacher A noted that the Black students tend to be uninhibited with their opinions. These two subjects could point out a similar characteristic of honesty even though Teacher A's philosophy was strong while Teacher F's

philosophy was weak. Teacher H stated that she found the African-American culture much more open and that the Black students communicate more freely.

Teacher G indicated that the Black students do not use standard English. Teacher G attempted to use the comments of his Black students to describe his characteristics of them without committing himself. This subject was uncomfortable in talking about race as related to his Black students. In his response, Teacher G states:

Now the kids have told me this before, and I'm not sure whether or not to believe it. They say they're noisier than White students. That's in their culture. And, to a certain extent, maybe that's true. They talk more. I think, but I'm not sure. I don't know if they're conning me or not., Often times their language -- getting back to language -- they don't have standard English, they're talking in a different vocabulary. Often times, I'm saying. Now I'm working with a maybe limited population, too, because I tend to work with the lower third of that population, who have academic and often times language problems. But, some of the words they use, and I'm not simply talking about cuss words, the way they communicate -- the language they communicate is different than standard English than White English.

One subject, Teacher E , could not find any common characteristics of the Black students she taught, and described her response in the following manner:

I can't as a group because, I'm not sure, I can distinguish anything that my Black students do that's that different or separate, better, worse, or anything, from my other students.

Many of the phrases used by the subjects to describe characteristics of the Black students they taught appear to note affective characteristics such as emotions. Affective characteristics or abilities deal with emotional and personal growth (Woolfolk, 1995). Little or nothing was said about the Black students that is usually associated with cognitive abilities. For example, when Teacher H was asked directly what characteristics Black students brought into her classroom, she said, "communicate more freely." In another part of the interview, she was willing to talk about the high level skills that Black students

brought into her classroom. Teacher H stated that writing and reciting "rap" involved high level and critical thinking. She noted that she shared with the students how difficult and complex it was in to write and recite "rap", and it involved high level and critical thinking skills. Teacher H could not describe this as a characteristics.

Two of the subjects expressed a lack of understanding how their knowledge of the characteristics Black students bring to the classroom could be of benefit to them in teaching these students. In my opinion, these subjects knew that many of the Black students whom they taught came to their classrooms educationally under-prepared but they were not willing to describe this as one of the characteristics. Being educationally under-prepared means having skills that have not been developed for functioning at the grade level. Perhaps it was difficult for them to discuss what they perceived as cognitive inadequacies of the Black students they taught with a Black researcher. Also in my opinion, if they had acknowledged this cognitive characteristic, it may have revealed how little the subjects did to help raise the Black students' ability to function at grade levels or to help other teachers know that they were not preparing the Black students whom they were sending to the next grades. In response to another question during the interview, Teacher H stated, "A lot of students' skills are so low that by the time they get to high school, they are very embarrassed..." On the other hand, Teacher C stated, "

I don't think that they are well prepared from a much younger stage. I think that our kids -- or the kids I see on a daily basis are intelligent and capable and they just haven't been pushed, to excel at a certain level. They've been allowed -- it's been allowed for them to take minimum instead of maximum, as far as, you know, the pushing of himself, or herself. I just think that they're not given a lot of the same opportunities.

According to Hawkins (1970), the quality of the relationship between teachers and the Black students must be one of depth. Teachers must

communicate concerns for and belief in Black students in such a way that the students see themselves as being able to face and solve their problems, whether these problems be in the school, in the home, or in the general community (Hawkins, 1970). The most significant ingredients in teaching Black children are teacher behavior and expectations (Hawkins, 1970). If teachers do not have an understanding of the cognitive abilities of the Black students when they come to the classroom, then they will not have high expectations of them. Teachers need to have the skills to interact with Black students where they are cognitively. Teachers must think strategically about Black learners, about their cultural differences and their differing needs, about the community context, and about ways to engage Black students with substantive ideas (Carter, 1992).

### Fear of Black Students

White teachers' fear of Black students is an issue that has not received much discussion in the past. There is little or no research on the issue. This condition, in my opinion, is often disguised in discussions on safe school environments.

From my observations at the school, White teachers seemed to display fear when they were interacting with Black students. For example, during the first year of this study, a school-wide pep rally was held in the school's gymnasium. Teachers were asked to bring their classes to the rally. It was requested of them to sit with their classes and to monitor their students' behaviors. During the rally, two Black students created an incident in the upper level of the bleachers. These students began to talk loud and started to wrestle and struggle with each other in the bleachers. The school's principal, a Black female, went to the microphone and asked the Black students to calm down. After making that announcement over the microphone, the principal went up

where the two Black students were sitting and sat down between them, and the students calmed down. As I observed this incident, I noticed that there were two White male teachers and two White female teachers within close proximity to the two Black students who had created the incident. Not one of these White teachers tried to calm the Black students down or to stop the incident. After the rally and during lunch, I talked with several of the White teachers, including one of the subjects of this study, about the rally incident. I asked them why the White teachers did not get involved and break-up the incident. Each one of these teachers said that the teachers were afraid of the students and they did not want to get hurt. Also these teachers felt that discipline was the responsibility of the administrators of the school.

Another example was the school's failure to have student assemblies in the auditorium. I was told that the reason for no student assemblies was that teachers were afraid they could not control the students' behaviors. As a third example, I observed White teachers seeing Black students eating their lunch in the hallway or on the stairways and leaving their trash at the spots they were eating. These White teachers said nothing to the Black students. Woolfolk (1995) pointed out that students who are different racially, culturally, and with a different background, are intimidating to White teachers.

When the subjects of the study were asked directly about their fear of Black students, six subjects (Table 10) stated that they were not afraid of the Black students they taught.

The subjects with well articulated philosophies of teaching did not express any fear of the Black students they taught. In observing the classrooms of subjects with well-articulated philosophies of teaching, I found that the subjects to not be fearful of the Black students they were teaching and the interactions between the subjects and students were positive and engaging.

On the other hands, subjects with weak philosophies of teaching tended to make some comments which indicated they were afraid of the Black students they taught.

**Table 10. Comparison Of Philosophy Of Teaching With Being Afraid Of Black Students**

Subject	Philosophy of Teaching Type	Afraid of Black Students	Ability to teach Black Students if Afraid
Teacher A	WA-CS-RS	No	No
Teacher B	WA-CS-RS	No	No
Teacher C	P-CI-RI	No	No
Teacher D	P-CI-RI	No	No
Teacher E	P-CI-RI	No	probably not
Teacher F	P-CI-RI	No	No.
Teacher G	P-CI-RI	Sometimes	No.
Teacher H	P-CI-RI	I am not afraid for my physical safety.	Yes

When responding to the question about being afraid of Black students, Teacher A stated, "Heavens No!" This subject added that during the first day of school if she sees a really solemn looking kid, fear probably goes through her head but it is a fleeting thing and it does not last. In her response, Teacher B said, "No, I'm not." Teacher C and D stated that they were not afraid of the Black students they taught; however, Teacher G replied that he was afraid "sometimes" of the Black students he taught.

Teacher E responded, "I don't think so," to the question, and added the following comments:

I had a couple of young ladies, my first year, who were so angry about everything, that made some threatening remarks. I took it to the dean, he just sort of reassured me that that was just her particular way of talking. I had a student who threatened me. I don't think he meant it as a threat. He just thought he was, you know, having a lot of bravado, or something, and he threatened

me sort of twice. It wasn't like, 'I'm going to kill you,' it was, 'if you don't leave me alone I'm going to have to hit you.' You know, that kind of stuff. I took that to the dean, and you know, with two threats he was removed from my class. But, I'm not sure it had anything to do with his race, you know, it could have been a White kid.

When this subject was asked to clarify her comments, Teacher E stated, "I was a little fearful, because he was a big kid, and he had an awful lot of anger, and I don't know if he saw me as vulnerable or not, but, no -- I wouldn't say I'm afraid." Teacher E raised a larger factor about issue of fear when she stated, "Sometimes I don't understand some of my Black students, in terms of, you know, what they think is important, but that just could be because they're teenagers, also."

On the other hand, Teacher F said, in her response concerning fear of Black students:

Oh, absolutely not! And I've had my life threatened, I've been told, 'I'll kill you, bitch,' and I'll say, 'Can you do it between eight and three, so that my daughter can go to college for the rest of her life?' I mean, you know. If anything, I do everything I can to blow off their emotion, if it's a negative one.

Teacher H did not answer "Yes" or "No" to whether she was afraid of the Black students she taught, but she gave the following response:

I am not afraid for my physical safety. That has never been an issue. I just don't let things get to that point. Even if it were possible, I can't say that there's never been a student in any of my classes that wouldn't have tried to hurt me, physically, if they wanted to. I can't say that. I don't believe that there has been, but I can't say that there hasn't been. But I just don't let situations develop where they would have any reason to want to. I am very sensitive about people being angry with me, and I have some fear of a student going off and yelling and just breaking down all communication, but that's just more of a discomfort fear, it's not fear for my safety or my sanity, or, you know. I don't put my ego on my students, so if the student doesn't like me, or if a student yells at me it has nothing to do with my self worth. It may have to do with job I am doing, but it doesn't have anything to do with my self-worth, so I'm not threatened in that way.

The responses of these subjects varied greatly from the school's Staff Safe Schools Survey conducted November 7, 1995 by two of the teachers of the school who were not subjects of this study. In that survey, 93 percent of the participants were European American and seven percent were African-American. This survey revealed that 52 percent of the staff indicated that they had been harassed or intimidated more than once at school during the school year. Also this survey reported that 65 percent indicated that it was true that they avoid incidents in the hall or classroom at the school because they are worried about being physically hurt.

All of the subjects in this study except for Teacher H stated that you could not successfully teach Black students if you are afraid of them. See Table 10.

Teacher H stated that she was raised in a suburban community in which there were still laws in the books that did not allow Black people to live there and that there were no African-Americans in her community until she was in high school. This subject indicated that she had a "natural" fear because she had not been exposed to African-American people. In her response, Teacher H stated:

So naturally, I had fear, and when I started teaching at (the school) I was living in (its community), and I guess I could say, I mean, I definitely had fear. I was afraid of my students because I didn't know how much I knew about them. I hadn't had that much exposure to them. I was afraid of them because they were very loud, compared to what I was used to, verbally loud, and, they did a lot of overt, what I considered verbal abuse of each other, calling each other names, doing the dozens, and all that kind of stuff, and I had automatic reactions to that, based on my background. But, I understood, by asking questions and just observing, that, you know, the things that I was reacting to were not being interpreted in the same way by the students who were speaking that way. So sure, I had fear reactions, but I was in a learning situation, and to me, I teach more because I want to learn than because I want to teach, and it was an opportunity for me to learn about a whole thing and a society.

Noting that she had been raised in a community in which Black students were not members initially, and answering "Yes" to being afraid of her Black students, Teacher H stated, "If you are honest about being afraid of them, and if you are open to learning, that fear will decrease." The teaching philosophy of Teacher H did not include a strong belief system that could aid her in working with Black students. The statement of her teaching philosophy is not as weak as the teaching philosophical statements of Teachers C, D, E, F and G. Her philosophy seemed to be still evolving toward the well-articulated philosophies of Teachers A and B.

With her response "No, absolutely not," Teacher A added that Black students "are the first ones to know who's afraid of them, and they'll tell you who their teachers are that are afraid of them." Teacher A stated that Black students know when a teacher's room is under control and when somebody means business.

In making her response about teaching Black students if you are afraid of them, Teacher B stated, "No, I don't think you can." This subject talked about how her Black students responded to substitute White teachers who were afraid of them. She stated:

In fact, I've had substitutes where I'll say, 'Why did you guys act so bad?' And they said, 'That teacher was afraid of us.'

One subject seemed to be aware of how fear of Black students might inhibit a White teacher's ability to teach and increase anxiety of that teacher. Teacher D recognized this when she stated, "Oh, I don't think so...I don't think you can teach anybody except fear." In her response to the question of being afraid of Black students, Teacher E said, "probably not" and she did not elaborate. Teachers C, F and G agreed by commenting "No."

Oftentimes, White teachers, who are teaching Black students for the first time and who may be somewhat fearful of them, do not think about what they need to be successful with Black students. Knowing this may prove beneficial to the White teachers as they develop the curriculum. For example, during the period of this study, I observed a White biology teacher who was teaching a unit on environmental biology to her class. The lesson dealt with aerial wolf killing in Alaska. Black students made up 65 percent of the students in the class of this science teacher, and these students had not seen wolves in the wild. The students questioned the teacher as to why they should learn anything about aerial wolf killing in Alaska and they expressed their displeasure with the lesson in the way that the lesson was being taught. The students began walking around the room and started to talking loud. The teacher lost control of the class and was fearful of the students in the classroom. The lesson could have been tailored to the experiences of the students. The teacher did not have a syllabus for the biology class that she was teaching, and the students did not know what to expect on a regular basis. Two students expressed that the teacher "treated them like kids" and they were not respected. This teacher had not thought about what she needed to teach this lesson to Black students in her class.

Teacher D stated that she needed to have an open mind in order to be successful with Black students. Teacher G indicated that he needed more self-confidence. Teachers A and C expressed that they needed administrative support that would allow them to have fewer students in a class and that would provide time and resources needed to be successful. Teacher E stated:

Sometimes I feel, my students tell me this, and I don't know, sometimes I think it's true and sometimes it's not--that I don't understand them because I'm not Black. And that if I were Black I'd understand things better. And I'm not always sure what they mean by that. And I suspect they mean that some of them feel that they

have gotten like a 'short end' of things in society, and, I mean, I don't know, and they can't always articulate it. And so, sometimes I guess I do feel a little excluded, but like I was saying before with the language, they often use really offensive language just as sort of a little badge that says, 'We're different,' and 'You're not with us,' and that. But, again, that could just be a teenage kind of thing. You know, they dress certain ways to sort of segregate themselves from adults, or the rest of society. And, it's not really a racial issue as much as it is, you know, an age thing, and a rebellion thing, and all those things wrapped together

When I visited the classroom of the subjects of this study, three subjects were prepared to provide me with a syllabus of the courses they were teaching. Five of the subjects did not have syllabi for their courses. The two subjects with well articulated philosophies of teaching and one of the subjects with perfunctory philosophies of teaching provided me with their syllabi. As I observed the classrooms, I found that Black students made up 48 percent to 75 percent of the students in these classrooms. In the classrooms of subjects whose philosophies of teaching seemed perfunctory, the environment was traditionally teacher-centered, and the subjects seemed worried about keeping control of the classroom rather than concerned about what was being taught and learned. These subjects seemed to have a difficult time controlling the classroom, and they exhibited fear of the Black students when these students got excited. I observed students who were not engaged with the lessons, talking and laughing loudly, walking around the room, flying paper airplanes, butting the tables, and playing their walk-man radios. After several Black students noticed that I was observing the activities of the classroom, they came over to me and expressed voluntarily their displeasure with the class. These students indicated that some of the subjects of this study did not respect them and were not teaching them anything. When I observed the classroom of the study's subjects with well-articulated philosophies of teaching, the students were engaged and were discussing the activities with each other. They

respected each other and their teachers. The subjects had syllabi for the courses they were teaching. They exhibited personable relations with their students. Several students expressed to me that these were good teachers and they cared about them as individuals.

Although the subjects stated that they are not afraid of the Black students they teach, the observations I conducted in their classrooms, with students in the hallways and in school activities reflected that a majority of these subjects were afraid of the Black students they taught. Also Teacher G stated that he saw many White teachers who were fearful of Black students. In describing her anxieties, Teacher D stated, "I am not going to stop inappropriate behavior if I have to take physical, mental, social abuse and I'm not going to be backed up" and "I'll make a comment to a kid if I hear them walking down the halls and using swear words, or screaming, or touching each other, I will try to make a comment about it, but in terms of actually becoming the stern disciplinarian, I won't, because if I try to do that nobody backs me up." Much of this fear is unfounded. Teacher H stated, "I definitely had fear" and "I was afraid of my students because I didn't know how much I knew about them." Explaining further her fear reactions, Teacher H stated:

I hadn't had that much exposure to them. I was afraid of them because they were very loud, compared to what I was used to, verbally loud, and they give a lot of overt -- what I considered verbal abuse of each other -- calling each other names, doing the dozens, and all that kind of stuff, and I had automatic reactions to that, based on my background.

Teacher H remarked that after she had come to know her students, she was no longer afraid of them and that her apprehensions were unfounded. These subjects noted that one of the characteristics Black students bring to their classrooms is their energy and emotions. Their energy and emotions should

not be a reason to fear them. White teachers need to understand the Black students they teach and know much more about their culture or communities.

When Teacher A described the "whole bunch of reasons" why Black students' schooling experience at this school differed from those experiences of middle class White students, she stated, "Maybe teachers don't expect enough of them, or think they can't do it -- think they're ignorant" and "They're loud so therefore they can't read." Also Teacher H stated that it is "teacher denial" for a teacher to say that "This student can't learn because their home life is messed up." In driving home this point of teacher denial, Teacher H remarked:

Because I believe that if the student does have a highly distracted home life, et cetera, and they are able to attend, then you have the opportunity of providing them with some stability during a significant portion of their day, and you have the opportunity of providing them with some growth and some self-esteem through their academics -- and hope! And, in a sense, I think that you have more opportunity that when the school day becomes the stability part of their life. But I thoroughly believe in working with the parents. Because they are the customer, and it's our job to work with the parents.

White teachers' fears and denial get in the way of their teaching Black students. It is my opinion that White teachers can not teach Black students effectively, if they are afraid of them. They need skills in how to deal with their fear and denial.

### Disciplining Of Black Students

According to the staff handbook of the school, the school-wide discipline policy is designed to promote a safe, respectful environment that fosters personal growth, healthy relationships and academic success with logical, consistent, and sequential consequences to build a sense of responsibility and effect positive change. Staff and students are expected to uphold this policy for the benefit of the learning community. From my observations at the school,

White teachers were complaining that they were not being supported by the administrators in their disciplining of the students. White teachers represented 87.7 percent of the teaching staff of the school while Black teachers represented only 8.6 percent of the teaching staff of the school. Black students represented 60.9 percent while White students represented 24.3 percent of the student population. Eighty percent of the administrators are Black. Many of the White teachers were expressing the notion that it was the administrators who were primarily responsible for the discipline at the school and in some instances in their classrooms. This leads to the issue of disciplining Black students. Discipline is a primary aspect of the interactions that occur between White teachers and Black students, and how White teachers handle these interactions may affect the academic achievement of Black students.

All but one of the eight subjects indicated that the classroom teacher is the person who should handle the discipline of Black students in the classroom. See Table 11 on Page 61. White Teachers should handle the discipline of Black students in their classrooms and assist in the discipline of these students throughout the school.

Teacher G stated that the discipline of Black students should be "shared." He indicated that it should be shared by "the teacher, the parents, the deans, and other teachers who also have that kid." Also he expressed that the discipline should include "the kids themselves, too."

On the other hand, Teacher A noted that discipline has to start where the problem is. This subject stated, "So if the problem is in the hall, then I suppose the person in charge of the hall should be the person that initiates it." She agreed that in the classroom, it is the classroom teacher's responsibility, initially. Teacher B said, "As a classroom teacher I'm the first place where discipline should happen, because I'm in the classroom -- I witness whatever it was that

happened." In expressing her agreement, Teacher D stated that in the classroom, it is the teacher who should handle the discipline.

**Table 11. Comparison Of Philosophy Of Teaching With Discipline Of Black Students**

<b>Subject</b>	<b><u>Philosophy of Teaching Type</u></b>	<b><u>Who should handle Discipline of Black Students</u></b>	<b><u>Number of Referrals</u></b>
Teacher A	WA-CS-RS	classroom teacher	none all year.
Teacher B	WA-CS-RS	classroom teacher	not often
Teacher C	P-CI-RI	classroom teacher	none in 2 years.
Teacher D	P-CI-RI	classroom teacher.	2 referrals a term.
Teacher E	P-CI-RI	teacher in the classroom	2 kids a week
Teacher F	P-CI-RI	the teacher, to an extent.	twice a year.
Teacher G	P-CI-RI	shared	once a week.
Teacher H	P-CI-RI	the teacher	Very rarely.

CI = culturally insensitive  
 CS = culturally sensitive  
 P = perfunctory philosophy

RI = racial insensitive  
 RS = racial sensitive  
 WA = well articulated philosophy

Teacher C stated that a majority of the discipline can be handled in the classroom by the classroom teacher. She expressed doubts about the classroom teacher's ability to handle the discipline not in the classroom. This subject added that "the teacher has to be supported by administrators" if he or she is to be successful in disciplining Black students.

Expressing some doubts about who should be disciplining Black students, Teacher E stated, "Probably the teacher in the classroom, you know, for the initial." She added, "I'm not sure it should be along racial lines, it should be along, you know, whatever the event -- however it unfolds." On the other hand, Teacher F stated, "Their parents should discipline them, bottom line." Also this subject added, "Oh, in the classroom, the teacher, to an extent." Teacher F further stated,

But, I see discipline differently. Now, I believe in communicating, and talking it out, and finding out what the root of the cause is, and then we move on.

Teacher H agreed that the discipline should be handled by the teacher, and she stated that the discipline is between the teacher and the student, and that she expects the students to be responsible for themselves. Teacher H's statement on her philosophy of teaching seemed to reflect an evolving philosophy. She knows her responsibility in this area of discipline and how critical it is to learning. In a further response, Teacher H said:

I mean, if you're saying, should you send a student out of the classroom because they're Black and you can't deal with the discipline, by all means, 'no.' You've just destroyed your whole relationship and connection with the student -- that wouldn't make any sense at all. There are times, like I mentioned before, many times I will ask a student, 'do you need to talk to somebody else?' I mean, if the conflict is with me -- and very often, as the teacher, you are the authority figure, therefore the conflict is with you -- regardless of what you did. Then the student may need someone else to talk to about it, but I don't believe in sending a student off to the dean's office and that's it -- the dean's supposed to take care of him, and fix him, and send him back when they're ready. I believe in sending a student off to the dean's office to cool off, process and have a third party intervention to facilitate the communication. But I want the dean to set that up -- arrange the time, so that I can come in and talk with that student, and be there if necessary, or if desired.

From my observations of and discussions at the school's site council meetings, discipline referrals were a problem at this school. The ways the subjects responded to this issue seemed to highlight the problem of how White teachers may be handling the discipline of Black students at the school. The teachers at the school did not appear to exhaust their strategies for managing their classrooms or the school's procedures for referrals to the dean's office. The school's staff handbook contains guidelines for discipline levels and consequences and for referrals. The teachers have been reluctant to fill out the

referrals prior to sending students out of their classroom. See Table 11 for the number of referrals that the subject indicated they made.

Teacher A stated that she had not sent any student out all year while Teacher B stated "not often." Teacher C noted that she had not done it at all in two years. Teacher D said that she writes two referrals a term, and Teacher D indicated that she is not sending Black students out as often as she could. This comment seemed to reflect how Teacher D classifies her classes as being normal as well as how she fears her students. She stated:

Given a normal -- whatever is normal -- class, okay? The year that I have the teen-age class from hell, that was different. That class was made up of really difficult kids that really reacted against each other in the classroom, and that one was just a pure nightmare. But everybody agreed -- the deans and everybody -- that, you know, I couldn't have handled it any differently, that it was just... but in a normal classroom, if I send two referrals during a nine-week grading period, that's a lot.

Teacher E said that she sends out two kids a week for failure to follow rules or something aggressive like starting a fight, or damaging somebody's stuff or repeated offenses. Teacher F indicated that she sends students out once or twice a year, while Teacher G stated that he sends out a student once a week. Teacher G indicated that she very rarely sends out a student for disciplinary reasons

Every classroom teacher should have a philosophical concept of how they handle discipline in their classroom. The teacher's concept of discipline should match the school-wide policy and that of the school's district. Each subject of this study was asked to give a statement on how discipline is handled in her or his classroom. Table 12 on Page 64 reflects the subjects' statements on their discipline in their classrooms.

The subjects had their own separate plans for disciplining Black students (Table 12). These statements seem to suggest that the subjects were not aware

of the school-wide discipline policy or the school's district policy. The subjects, as reflected in their statements, had not used any common philosophical concept to develop their method of handling discipline of Black students in their

**Table 12. Philosophies Of Teaching With Statements Of Discipline**

<b>Subject</b>	<b><u>Philosophy of Teaching Type</u></b>	<b><u>Statement on Discipline</u></b>
Teacher A	WA-CS-RS	I don't even know. I don't ever write referrals. I try really hard to deal with the kid, and that's truly with progress reports and grades. I really feel that I need to work with the kid. And that's sort of true with discipline. I don't know that I have a lot of discipline problems.
Teacher B	WA-CS-RS	I don't have big discipline problems, but I handle it on kind of a case-by-case--I'm not sure how to answer that. I think that, when kids are engaged discipline isn't a problem.
Teacher C	P-CI-RI	My discipline depends on trust and respect.
Teacher D	P-CI-RI	I really believe in self-discipline, and I really believe in putting the responsibility on the students.
Teacher E	P-CI-RI	I base my discipline on a series of rights and responsibilities.
Teacher F	P-CI-RI	I do a lot of talking. Then I do mediating. I do use basic communicative skills about "I" messages versus "you" messages. I write one referral a year usually - a year. I try and connect with every parent.
Teacher G	P-CI-RI	Well, it varies. Often times it's day to day. It depends upon the tone of the group. I'm not strict, like some teachers.
Teacher H	P-CI-RI	I try to handle discipline by expecting the students to be responsible for themselves, and conveying that expectation.

CI = culturally insensitive

RI = racial insensitive

CS = culturally sensitive

RS = racial sensitive

P = perfunctory philosophy

WA = well articulated philosophy

classrooms. Also their statements seem to indicate that they had not considered their personal philosophies of teaching as they developed their

philosophy about discipline. These statements did not reflect consistency as the school-wide policy had indicated. When the site council was discussing issues of discipline, it did not consider the discipline philosophy statement in the staff handbook. When the issues of referrals and discipline came up in the faculty meetings, the school's teachers did not consider the guidelines already developed in the staff handbook. It seemed that these guidelines were not important to the White teachers and they were more interested in the school's administration handling the discipline problems. In my opinion, it is important that faculty be taught what is expected of them concerning the discipline of Black students. During my observations of several subjects' classrooms, I found students moving from the classroom of one subject to the classroom of another, expressing confusion about what to expect for discipline. I saw some students who were in one subject's classroom go into the another subject's classroom and act in an entirely different way. These subjects indicated that my discussions with them concerning their discipline plans was the first time someone had discussed this topic with them.

The statements of Teachers D and H have some elements of cognitive discipline rather than behavioral. Since these subjects expressed that the Black students should be responsible for their themselves, cognitive approaches may serve their students well. On the other hand, Teacher E based her discipline on a series of rights and responsibilities which are elements of judicious discipline as described by Forrest Gathercoal (1993).

In my opinion, when White teachers are disciplining Black students, they should know and understand what has been the impact of societal and overtly racists' attitude on the evolution and upbringing of Black students, especially Black males. White teachers should understand their impact on Black children who understand from an early age to be verbally aggressive, and how much

meaning to attach to some of those verbal statements. White teachers should not be afraid to discipline Black students, and they should hold Black students accountable and responsible for their actions. White teachers should teach Black students what is expected of them, and they should model what they expect of the students. Each of the subjects shared what teachers of Black students should know.

Teacher A stated, " I don't think you should ever make any kid, but particularly a Black kid, feel stupid." She noted other concerns by stating:

They have inherited a lifetime a heritage of being made to feel ignorant, and if you ever make 'em feel dumb you've lost them. And I think that's part of the problem of teaching math - they feel stupid. And they give up, and they just don't want to try. Let's see... I think we need to be really sensitive to how profoundly they are affected by stereotypes. To hear my kids talk, they cannot walk through the (shopping) center without being followed by somebody. They can't walk down the street at night without the police stopping them. And I think too many of us just pooh-pooh that, but it's real. And they don't trust the establishment that much. And I don't think they should. And if they see us, the educators, as the establishment, we're going to have problems with them. You have to establish some trust with them.

On the other hand, Teacher B noted that a teacher who is trying to prove her or his authority would be asking for trouble with Black students. She shared this by stating her reasons in the following manner:

Well, I don't know that it's just teachers of Black students, I see it as a problem overall, but I would say that because in our community there has been more--our community, I mean, I conceive of this as my community, too--that in our community there's been an increase of police officers as safekeeping forces, and that because of that our students tend to react more to authority. And so, when you put a student in a situation where it's going to be a one-on-one and you're putting your authority up, you're immediately asking for trouble. You have to find a way to move with them, so that what you're trying to do is bring them along. But, to put them up and try to do that in the middle of class, it's disaster.

Treating Black students as individuals helps to create the connection needed in order for learning to take place. Teacher C stated, "They need to

know their students as individual people." This subject explained further by stating:

Because like I said, if my thing is trust and respect, if they don't have any idea who Johnny is--if I had no idea, Johnny could totally go off the wall. But instead, I know Johnny, and Johnny knows I know Johnny. Johnny knows me, so we treat each other as human beings, instead of as this and this -- where there's so much friction.

"Soft words" is how Teacher D described what a teacher of Black students should know. She stated that she did not know how to explain the "soft words" effect. Responding further, she stated:

When a Black student is upset, you basically have to watch being a tactile person. Touch and anger seems to... you're better off, when a student is upset, to back off and let them cool down, rather than pushing it. That's about all. But it's not necessarily -- you know, it doesn't work for all of them.

Teacher D described a concept that she thought teachers of Black students should know and this concept is called "compliance in progress." She described in the following manner:

'If you direct a student to do something one of three things happens: one is they refuse to comply, and then you have to deal with that; the second is that they comply, but the third thing, which is the most common and the one that the teachers don't always understand is a thing called compliance in progress.' So if you ask a student to return to their seat and they say, "I'm going to my seat -- I'm on the way to my seat," and of course it may take them 10 minutes to get to their seat because they're walking as slow as they possibly can because they don't want to acknowledge that they're doing what you asked them to do. I mean, there's some little quirk in there. And they may take the most round about route back to their seat, but they are complying in progress, I mean, they're working toward complying. But, when I came back to teaching I sort of expected people to comply instantly, you know, because I was the teacher and I said this, and I was right, and they should have said, "yes ma'am, you're right -- I shouldn't be wandering around the room, I'll go right back to my seat right now -- here I go," and that doesn't happen. And, so this is especially true with some of my Black students; it's true with ... I think, you know, if this were one issue that I could separate along racial lines

-- this would be one --that a lot of my White students comply faster. But, a lot of my Black students don't comply right away, they're more involved with the compliance in progress. You know, you just have to know -- okay, they're going back to they're seat, but if I just stand here and watch them, they're going to walk as slow as they possibly can, to get to their seat, so that I don't win. I mean, they don't me to win. It's like, a lot of them have to get the last word in. It's a real important thing for them. And so, sometimes as a teacher I have to understand when to push and when to let the compliance happen at their pace, rather than at my pace.

In describing special things teachers of Black students should know, Teacher F indicated that they need to communicate with the students. She stated, "I don't think you need to be reactionary" and that teachers need "an understanding of what the culture has gone through." Teacher F spoke of "generational pain and suffering of slavery passed down" as something that teachers of Black students should know.

Teacher G indicated that White teachers of Black students should not show any disrespect. He stated:

When I'm contrasting it to teachers of White students I'm trying to think, is there a big difference there? And, of course, it depends, I think too, upon the color of the teacher. For a Caucasian teacher, you've got to be careful -- you don't want to disrespect -- it's real easy to cross over that line. And since it takes a while to acquire that respect, and you've got to go slow, I suppose your discipline policy kind of develops. You don't go in with certain set guidelines -- you wait a while till you develop your relationship with the kid. But that's often the same with other kids, too. I guess because if you're of two different colors there's a certain distance and parameters, because of that, that you might not feel with a student of your own race.

Self-esteem is one of the things that Teacher H pointed out. Teacher H stated, "They need to understand that you're dealing with some self-esteem issues -- some heavy self-esteem issues." She highlighted this further by stating:

And no matter how successful an African-American student has been, no matter how stable their family life is, they still have to live with, every day, that feeling that they're not supposed to be as

good as the rest of the world, I think. And I think it's going to be a long time before that's eliminated. It's still a little harder. And I think that you have to be even more sensitive to not demeaning a student in any way when they're African-American, and to constantly convey that your expectations are as high, or higher, than the students' expectations. Usually higher -- much higher.

### Difference In Schooling Experience Of Black Students

Grade point average (GPA) may be one indicator which may reflect the difference in the schooling experience of Black and White students. During 1995-96, the average GPA of all Black students at this school where the subjects of this study teach is 2.13 which is 25.8 percent lower than the average GPA (2.68) of all White student in the same school. Also the average GPA of all Black students at this school is 23 percent lower than the average GPA (2.62) of all White students throughout school's district. The subjects of this study were asked to describe how the schooling experience of the Black students they taught differs from that of White students.

The culture and history of Black students seemed to be missing from their schooling experience (Ford, 1993). Teacher B stated that the difference in the schooling experience of Black students and White students is that Black students are separated from their history and literature. She added, "They're asked to often learn in styles or learn about things that they don't feel effect their lives" and "it alienates them from the moment they step into school." In responding further, Teacher B said:

If you have books that they're all White people in the books, and the only place you see yourself is in a box on the side -- side note: "Here Frederick Douglas" -- then you feel like you're sidelined, too. And I think that in White middle class schools it tends to be more that they are -- you see yourself in the textbooks, you see yourself in the literature --these are your people who have written this. And so, I think most African-American students see themselves as not being there.

The kinds of expectations that White teachers have for Black students appear to be different from the kind of expectation that these teachers may have of White students. Teacher H stated that the biggest thing is expectations. At the White middle class school, Teacher H said, "The assumption is that the student is going to college or further education" or "that the student is going to be a professional." Teacher H worked with school-to-work issues, and she said, "I think too often when students are having trouble in school then the school thinks that the school is successful if the kid gets a job at a Burger King or something" and "I can't see that same expectation with White students."

On the other hand, Teacher A pointed out that Black students seemed to arrive in high school unprepared with skills necessary to function at the grade level. Teacher A stated that the "notion that if you expect kids to do well they will" is an oversimplification. Teacher A's point was that: "They can't without skills." Teacher A believed that too many Black male students are placed in special education and some of them should not be there. She indicated that these kids were too "squirrelly" or loud when they were little, and somebody figured they had a learning disability. Teacher A stated that the Black students she taught were not having the same educational experience as White middle class kids were having for a "whole bunch of reasons." She noted that Black students arrived in her classes unprepared with the skills to function at the grade level. Teacher A stated, "My own son is certainly in a White middle class -- upper middle class -- track at a school, and the expectations are different."

Teacher A, in her philosophy, expressed the belief that all students can learn. As she described the difference in the schooling experiences of Black and White students, she noted that if the needed skills are not taught, teachers should not expect the students to do well. However with Black students,

Teacher A seemed to note that there is the expectation for them to do well when the skills have not been taught.

In response to the difference in school experiences between Black students and White students, Teacher D stated: "I don't think the kids are given a realistic understanding of consequences of their action, or what they need to do." She expressed, "The difficulty of them going to a school that is predominantly Black is that it gives them -- gives some -- a false security." In clarifying this comment, Teacher D stated:

When everything is centered toward helping any one group -- I don't care what group it is -- and they don't find it elsewhere, then they feel that they're cheated. If they can call the shots in one place and then can't go and call them in another. I think that too many of our kids are given too many chances to start over from zero. I think they should get as many re-starts as they need - or new starts as they need, but I think each one should come with a consequence of the previous action. I think that every one of those kids should be encouraged to think about some extended schooling outside of high school, and that high school shouldn't be the end of schooling by any means -- if it's college, if it's trade school, if it's junior college --whatever it is, they should learn that learning is a continuum, and it doesn't stop at the end of high school.

Also Teacher D added, "I don't think we're realistic with these kids" and "I think we encourage them to go to college and they haven't the faintest idea what the heck it is, or what's going to be necessary." This subject concluded by saying, "I think that's being terribly unfair to them." White teachers seemed to be unfair in their teaching of Black students, if they do not prepare Black students for the next levels of education of life .

Stereotyping Black students may be still going on in the school. Teacher E stated, "My core and I really believe that a lot of our students are very capable, but are lazy." Teacher E was part of a team of four teachers who taught science, mathematics and English to a group of students. The team of teachers and students were called a core. Also this subject stated that many Black students

"may not have been pushed to achieve, and they're very risk adverse" and "they don't like to take risks and show what they know, or don't know." She indicated that she did not know where the Black students learn this and why they do not even try. Teacher H noted, "That's a just frustration for us that so many of them just don't even try." In addition, Teacher H said, "Many of them have given up on themselves and, just sort of, expect things to be done for them."

Teacher C saw the difference as the "gang thing." She stated, "A lot of the violence goes on in this community" and "that comes to school with them."

Teacher F indicated that it was complicated to describe the difference in the schooling experiences of Black and White students. Noting the different perspectives, Teacher F stated, "I see economic issues, I see no matter what the culture when economics are a stress point in the family I think it's very difficult to maintain a level of quality attention." Teacher F stated, "it's a lot more reality here" and that the Black students' emotions are right out front. She added, "These are young people whose experience is very different, realistically, than some of the outlying areas. These are generational oppression, economic hardships and cultural differences." Amidst all these differences, Teacher F stated that the Black culture talks about responsibility.

Racism effects the learning of students. According to Teacher G, racism and economics effect the difference in the schooling of Black students compared with the schooling of White students in a middle class community. Teacher G stated that the SAT scores at this school are considerably lower than the rest of the city. He noted that the Black students "are less likely to get into those middle class college-oriented positions." Teacher G added:

Not because they're any less smart. There's something systemically wrong at this point. It's a heritage, I think, of racism, in some of them. So, it could be rooted in economics. Yeah, oh I'm sure the educational institution reinforces the economic.

In explaining this difference in SAT scores, Teacher G stated, "My suspicion is that we are not teaching as intensively the academic SAT stuff." Teacher G remarked that "many of the parents think their kids aren't going to make it to college anyway, and that it's not as important" and that many teachers think "they won't make it to college, too." Also this subject stated that many teachers "feel they can't teach to it." This subject gave the example of the reading test that is given at the first of the year that contains a vocabulary. Black students, according to Teacher G, "have to work harder in understanding, because they have to read around so many words -- they don't know the meaning of particular words." He indicated that Black students "got their own vocabulary part of the time." Teacher G stated, "I think they have been taught in the grade schools and in the middle schools coming up, how to read the words but not necessarily how to understand them."

All subjects indicated that there was a significant difference in the schooling experience of the Black students and White students they teach. They saw these differences in term of culture and history, expectations, preparations for schooling, economics, and racism.

Teacher B stated that students in Black communities are separated from their history and literature and that they are asked to often learn in styles or learn about things that they don't feel effect their lives. Teacher A stated that too many Black male students are placed incorrectly in special education classes. Also this teacher thought the "notion that if you expect kids to do well they will" is an oversimplification. In other words having "high expectations" for the Black students is not enough if they do not possess the skills necessary to perform at the level. However, Teacher H stated the biggest difference is "expectations." "The assumption is that the (White) student is going to college or further education" or "that the student is going to be a professional." When Black

students are having trouble in school, teachers think it is a measure of success if the student gets a job at a Burger King. Teacher D expressed that the students at this school were not being given a realistic understanding of the consequences of their actions. According to this teacher, too many students at this school are being encouraged to go to college without having any idea of what is required to get there. Teacher E stated that the students here are capable but they are lazy, have not been pushed to achieve, and are very risk adverse. Teacher G stated that the heritage of racism in some of the Black students may cause them to do poorly on the SAT. Teacher G thought the difference is the "gang thing." She stated, "A lot of the violence goes on in this community" and "that comes to school with them."

In summary, the interactions between improperly prepared White teachers and Black students do affect the academic achievement of Black students. The subjects of this study identified openness, honesty, enthusiasm, energy and emotions, oral language, and sense of family as some of the characteristics that Black students brought to their classrooms. Although the subjects recognized that many of the Black students they taught came to their classroom educationally under-prepared to function at the grade level, they should not be afraid to use common sense in identifying the cognitive characteristics of Black students.

Teaching begins where the student is, and White teachers need to understand both the affective and cognitive skills and abilities of Black students. Teachers need to understand the Black students they teach individually as well as collectively from the perspective of their community and culture. Although the subjects stated that they are not afraid of the Black students they teach, the observations that I made of them in their classrooms, in the hallways and in school activities reflected that a majority of these subjects were afraid of the

Black students they taught. White teachers' fear and denial get in the way of their teaching Black students. As reflected in the subjects' interviews, poorly prepared White teachers can not teach Black students effectively if they are afraid of them.

All but one of the teachers indicated that the classroom teacher is the person who should handle the discipline of Black students in the classroom. The discipline statements of the subjects were different, and they did not seem to be congruent with the school-wide discipline policy or the school's district policy. The subjects' statements did not appear to use any common philosophical concept to develop their method of handling discipline of Black students in their classrooms.

Black students need structure and a student-centered learning environment. All subjects indicated that there was a significant difference in the schooling experience of the Black students and White students they teach. These differences in schooling experiences were identified as culture and history, expectations, preparation for schooling, economics and racism. With this knowledge about the difference, White teachers should use it to improve their instruction for their Black students.

#### WHITE TEACHERS' EFFICACY IN TEACHING BLACK STUDENTS

The third theme to emerge from this study was White teachers' efficacy in teaching Black students as assessed through learning gains, the self-rating of White teachers, Black parent's role and White teachers' relationship with Black parents.

According to Ross, Cousins and Gadalla (1995), teacher efficacy is a form of self-efficacy and it is defined as an individual teacher's expectation that he or she will be able to bring about student learning. Also the teacher's

efficacy is a multidimensional construct which includes how confidently teachers view their personal abilities to be effective teachers and their expectations about the effects of teaching on student learning (Pang & Sablan, 1995). Bandura (1977) defined self-efficacy as one's self-perceived ability to perform a task. Also Payne (1994) pointed out that the teacher's belief system does influence the teacher sense of efficacy in teaching Black students.

Teachers are required to make many decisions about what should be taught, when it is taught, how it should be taught, and what techniques should be used to assess the learning (Hessong & Weeks, 1987). The teacher's ability to self-rate personal efficacy for teaching Black students and to establish productive relationships with parents is crucial. Teaching efficacy can be viewed as the teacher's belief that he or she can reach Black students and help them learn (Woolfolk, 1995). According to Hoy and Woolfolk (1993), a teacher's sense of personal efficacy is higher in schools where the other teachers and administrators have high expectations for students and where teachers receive help from their principals in solving instructional and management problems. Effective school teachers are less skeptical about their ability to have an impact on Black children (Edmonds, 1979). Teachers with a sense of high efficacy are more likely to use high risk instructional strategies which require the teacher to share classroom control with students (Ross, Cousins and Gadalla, 1995). Such teachers would prefer student-directed teaching strategies in student-centered learning environments. For example, one strategy might be to allow the students to assist in deciding what is to be learned. Another strategy would allow the students to teach a lesson. Also cooperative learning could be used. According to Newman, Johnson and Casey (1995), low efficacy teachers experienced greater student off-task behavior than high efficacy teachers.

### Black Students Learning Gains

Black students made up 60.95 percent of the student population at the school while White teachers represented 87.65 percent of the teaching staff. Based on GPA for the 1995-96 school year, the academic achievement of Black students at the high school was below the academic achievement of White students at every grade level (Table 8).

**Table 13. Teacher's Philosophy of Teaching Comparison With Responsibility for Learning Gains and Self-Rating of Success in teaching Black Students.**

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Philosophy of Teaching Type</b>	<b>Self Rating</b>	<b>Responsibility for learning gains</b>
Teacher A	WA-CS-RS	very successful	Part of it
Teacher B	WA-CS-RS	very effective	Yes
Teacher C	P-CI-RI	pretty successful	responsibility for assisting
Teacher D	P-CI-RI	pretty successful	sure, part of it, not a hundred percent
Teacher E	P-CI-RI	success depends on the day	I would take responsibility for trying to teach things in a different way.
Teacher F	P-CI-RI	successful	Yes, I 'm teaching, so I have to.
Teacher G	P-CI-RI	effective	I share those gains. It's not total responsibility. No.
Teacher H	P-CI-RI	nowhere near what I'd like it to be	Yes. Not complete responsibility.

CI = culturally insensitive  
 CS = culturally sensitive  
 P = perfunctory philosophy

RI = racial insensitive  
 RS = racial sensitive  
 WA = well articulated philosophy

Subjects were asked to rate themselves on their success in teaching Black students. No rating scale or limit was given, because the subjects were allowed the opportunity to describe their teaching success in their own ways. Two teachers avoided rating themselves. The other six teachers used words like "very successful, pretty successful, successful, very effective, and effective" to rate themselves. Table 13 on Page 76 reflects the ways the teachers described their success in teaching Black students.

Perhaps more important than the words they used to rate their success, is the way some of these teachers used other ways than Black student academic achievement to measure their success.

In her response, Teacher A stated, "I have been very successful." This subject remarked, "I think I've been successful with all kinds of kids, because I would really like to believe that what's good for Black kids is good for White kids, and vice versa." In addition, Teacher A stated:

You know, what's good for kids, it should not matter what color they are. And that, to me, has been some of the funny notions particularly that (school's district) has been in, with integration, The developed these Magma programs -- well the Whites figured out real fast -- I can get free lessons by sending my kid to (this school) - and, a lot of things that they've tried in the early childhood centers are just good educational methodology, for any kid. And it's too bad that all kids don't get it.

On the other hand, Teacher B just said "Yes" and did not hesitate in taking responsibility for the learning gains of her students. Each year, Teacher B and her students publish a book of prose and poems.

Teacher C said, "I think I'm pretty successful." In explaining her answer as in a number rating, Teacher C stated, "If it was one to five, I would say I'm around a four" and "I have room for improvement." Also she gave the basis for her self-rating by stating:

I base that on kids showing me respect in the classroom. I base that on students coming back to talk to me about, 'Will you help me with this?' or 'Will you write me a letter of recommendation?' It feels like they've learned something when they have left here. They've come back the next year, to check with me.

In response to a follow up question on whether the Black students she taught, could successful compete in the subject matter, Teacher C stated, "I'm not sure that they would compete very well, I don't think they're at the skill level that a lot of kids from other schools in this city are at."

Teacher D explained her response by stating:

I think I'm pretty successful, if you judge it by the number of kids who come back and visit me and talk to me, and the number of kids who still are using the skills several years after they've taken the class. Then I think I can 'pat myself on the back' and say that I'm very successful.

In her response, Teacher E explained by stating:

Most of my students are Black students and I reach a lot of students, and then there's some students that I don't reach, and I'm not sure it has anything to do with my race or their race, it has to do with a lot of other issues. Their values, their learning ability, their attention, their health, their interest in school, you know, all those other things, which may be highly influenced by their culture that they live in, but has nothing that I know of to do with their race. And I think it's more of the values that they have picked up, you know, by the time they're here. This year I'm working mostly with Freshman, so most of them are 15 years old, so a lot of it has to do with the values that they have established by the time they're 15, and I would not say that that has to do with their race, it has to do with their family values, but I don't know how that necessarily ties in to their race.

In his explanation of his self-rating, Teacher G stated:

Not every day I think I'm effective. I think they come to trust me. Not totally. I guess maybe when I see that trust -- not so much what I teach -- but if I see a trust developing -- because I see a lot of Black students, especially with White teachers being fearful -- then I think I'm being effective.

On the other hand, Teacher H's response was:

Nowhere near what I'd like it to be. I had to learn on the job, and I have probably taught more Black students. Well, I know I've

taught more Black students than White students, and in fact, I am more comfortable at this point teaching Black students than White students because I've had more experience with them. I think I've learned a lot. I feel really good about that. I think I've learned a lot from my students, and from talking to people in the community and in discussion of different issues. I know there aren't any real clear set answers to any of this, because we're talking about human beings and not just a very homogenous category. But I'd like to know a lot more.

During the interviews, the subjects were asked if they could take responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they taught. See Table 13 for their responses. Only Teacher B answered "Yes" without any reservations. Teacher A and D stated "part of it," but Teacher D added, "not a hundred percent." Also Teacher A remarked, "If a kid is in my room, and they come regularly, I'm more than willing to take responsibility for what they learn." Teacher C stated that she could take responsibility for assisting in the learning gains because it is the student who really takes responsibility for the learning gains. Teacher E responded "Yes" with an analogy from her days in sales by stating:

In my years in sales there was an old adage that said if you sell somebody something and they don't buy it, you haven't really sold them. Okay? And if the salesman comes back and says, 'Well, I sold him but he didn't buy it,' then the manager would say, 'you didn't sell him then, if he didn't buy it.' And so in teaching I think it's kind of a similar thing, you can say, 'I taught them, but they didn't learn it,' so the manager should say, 'well then you didn't really teach them, if they didn't learn it.' And so in that regard, I guess, I would take responsibility for trying to teach things in a different way.

Teacher G indicated that he would share those gains but he would not accept total responsibility for the learning gains of Black students he taught. Teacher H changed the question when giving her "Yes" response. In explaining her "Yes" response, Teacher H stated:

Can I take complete responsibility? Am I the only influence? No. But, it is my job to do the very best I can with what I have, and I think that if the student is not making progress, then it's my job to

figure out another approach, or to just keep trying, and to address whatever needs that I can make myself aware of. I can't change a child's home life, I can't change the skills that they came to me with, but I can certainly do whatever it takes. Whatever I can.

All of these subjects except one were unwilling to take full responsibility for the learning of Black students in the subjects (courses) they teach. Since these teachers are unwilling to take full responsibility for student learning gains, the question becomes "Do these teachers really believe they can teach Black students effectively?" When Teacher B told her Black students that she was an antiracist educator, it set the tone in her classroom for her teaching and student learning to have a chance. When Teacher H stated that she cannot change the skills with which Black students come to her class, she is expressing skepticism about her ability to teach these students effectively. This appears not to be because of her content knowledge but her commitment to and understanding of the Black students she taught. If Black students do not have the skills necessary for the class, the teacher should know that these skills must be taught to the Black students in order that they may function successfully in the class. Teachers decide what is taught, how and when it is taught, and how it is assessed. Teachers should know when students are learning what is being taught. Teachers should be responsible and accountable for student learning gains in the subjects they teach the students. In teaching the subject, teachers are the ones expected to know how the state will assess the students in their areas of expertise.

Also Table 13 reflects a comparison of the subjects' self rating of their teaching of Black students with their willingness to take responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they teach. In my opinion, when some of these subjects indicated that they were not willing to take full responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they taught, they were aware of their

students not doing very well on any assessment that the school was using to measure academic achievement.

In the high school's site council 1994-95 profile, 98 percent of the staff agreed that the subject high school had good teachers, yet 48 percent of the staff indicated that their students would get a better education at other district high schools. Black students made up 60.95 percent of the student population at the school while White teachers represented 87.65 percent of the teaching staff. During 1995, the high school ranked 10th among the school's district ten high schools in the Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT).

### Parents Of Black Students

According to Montgomery (1970), It has been "whispered" that teachers should beware of the Black community. Black parents want to be partners with teachers in the education of their children ( Montgomery, 1970). The accepted belief appears to be that the Black community is without information, ignorant, stupid, harassing, ill-tempered and doesn't understand a thing about educating children (Montgomery, 1970). Public education has successfully shifted the blame for the failure of the schools to meet the needs of Black students onto the shoulders of the clients they purport to serve (Arciniega, 1977). From the Black community's viewpoint, the teacher is the most important person in the school system (Hill, 1989).

In response to the question, "What kind of role do you believe parents play in the success of Black students?," the subjects expressed that the parents' role was significant in the academic success of Black students. They described these roles as being "critical," "very important," "huge," "really paramount," "crucial" and "ultimate." See Table 14.

**Table 14. Teacher's Philosophy of Teaching Comparison With Parent involvement in Academic Success of Black Students.**

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Philosophy of Teaching Type</b>	<b>Parent's Role</b>	<b>Feel Limited by Black Home Environment</b>
Teacher A	WA-CS-RS	critical	No
Teacher B	WA-CS-RS	very important	No
Teacher C	P-CI-RI	huge role	No
Teacher D	P-CI-RI	more than they are aware of	No
Teacher E	P-CI-RI	Really paramount, really important role	No
Teacher F	P-CI-RI	well, like any parent	No
Teacher G	P-CI-RI	crucial	That has so many implications... that I'm not even sure it's worthwhile to answer it.
Teacher H	P-CI-RI	Ultimate	No

CI = culturally insensitive

CS = culturally sensitive

P = perfunctory philosophy

RI = racial insensitive

RS = racial sensitive

WA = well articulated philosophy

Teacher D indicated that parents play a part more than is realized.

Teacher B stated:

Well, I think that all parents are the children's first teachers, and I think that when I have a strong relationship with the parent, or with someone in the home where the student is living, that it helps me work with the student better. I have a student who's a great example of that, who failed my class for three terms, and his mother and I kept talking with each other -- in fact, we'd walk around the...track together and we finally got him on track, and he's now getting A's, and he had never read a book before, and he reads all the time now. And so, I think that it's very important. I think that sometimes, whether the family is Black or White, there can be problems that intervene and make it difficult for the family to work together to support the child. And so I have some students -- White, Black, Cambodian, Vietnamese whose situation at this point makes it more difficult for the parent and teacher to have conversations, and students who kind of move from house to house.

Teacher H, in clarifying her response "Ultimate" stated:

I feel like there are a lot of students whose home lives are terribly disrupted, and it pulls away their energy, their priorities from their teaching. I don't feel, however, that that precludes the student's learning. I think that when a teacher says, 'Well, this student can't learn because their home life is messed up,' that's denial. That's wrong.

Although the subjects expressed that they were aware of the critical role parents play in the academic success of Black students, only Teacher B could say that she had good relationships with parents of the Black students she teaches. Teacher E described her relationships with the parents of Black students she teaches as being good and bad. Teacher E explained this good and bad relationship by stating:

I've had some wonderful parents. I've had some parents who are just wringing their hands because they don't know what to do with the student, either. I've had one parent who is extremely belligerent to me, and angry at something and took it out on me. And it really was very upsetting to me because it was so uncalled for. Called the principal on me because I called her house and said, 'We have a little problem, your daughter is not turning in her work and I'm calling to let you know and maybe we can do something about it,' and she just had a fit, and called the principal and 'da, da, da.' But, I think she had a lot of other problems going on and just took it out on me. But again, it had nothing to do with race, it just was, you know, one of the parents. So, I think my relationship with parents is good, but again, it depends on the parent.

In describing the relationship that she has with parents, Teacher D stated:

Gee, I've had some really nice ones, with people who've just been a joy to work with, especially having to do with Grad Party -- the all night Grad Party...That was my first chance to really meet with a lot of the parents. Unfortunately the majority of parents with whom I speak give me real good 'lip service.' They're very polite to talk with, and there have been very few who have been nasty on the phone -- most of them have been just really nice to talk to. And, about 90 percent of them do nothing other than talk real nicely.

Teacher G stated that he was not sure of the kinds of relationships he has with parents of Black students he teaches. He further explained his response by stating:

They seem to trust me -- not all of them. I get a pretty good response. See, that's where I need help -- you were talking about teacher education -- established teachers also need development, in reaching out to the Black family and community.

All subjects except Teacher G (Table 14) expressed that they were not limited in what they could achieve with Black students because of the influence of their home environment. Teacher G stated: "That has so many implications that I'm not even sure it's worthwhile to answer it, you know?" In explaining her answer, Teacher B stated:

I think I'm not limited, I think I'm enhanced by what--I mean the students bring an incredible cultural richness, liveliness of language. I think that they're not limited at all by it. I mean, the whole room is enhanced by it.

These teachers recognize the critical role that parents play in the academic success of Black students but all these teachers, except Teacher B, appear to have difficulties in establishing partnership relationships with Black parents. The philosophy of Teacher B fits well with her willingness to use parents in achieving the academic success of the Black students she teaches. Seven of the eight subjects did not feel that they were limited by Black home environment. Teacher G acknowledged that he needs help in reaching the parents of the Black students he teaches. Five of the eight subjects seemed to express a feeling of not really caring about the parents' involvement in their children's academic achievement. In my opinion, White teachers need the skills to establish the relationships with parents of the Black students they teach.

### Actions Taken To Facilitate Academic Success Of Black Students

Recognizing and meeting the psychoeducational needs of Black students does not mean lowering academic standards (Haynes & Comer, 1990). According to Montgomery (1970), a genuine sense of community among teachers, students and parents should be developed. Black students desire and need to be loved for themselves and be a vital part of all activity (Montgomery 1970). If the climate of opportunity is provided, every Black student would be a participant (Montgomery 1970). Allsup (1997) pointed out that teaching strategies must be designed not only around the learner's interest, but must also take into account the student's culture and values, along with student's relationship to learning and self-discipline.

According to Allsup (1997), teaching strategies must be student-focused if Black students are to stay involved. On Page 86 is a list (Table 15) of actions identified by the subjects in response to the question, "What kinds of things have you done in the classroom that have facilitated the academic success of Black students?"

In addition to the list described in Table 15, Teacher B, in her response, stated:

Well, I think the things that I've talked about. I think first of all is the fact that I have an anti-racist stance, immediately kids know that. I mean, everything else follows after that. The kinds of things that other people have said they have problems with, I think I don't, because students know I'm on their side. Immediately, I think, when most Black students come into a classroom, their immediate thing is, 'where's this teacher's head? How do they see me? Do they see me as a person, do they see me as being a Black child sitting here?' And so, when I say kind of where I am, immediately that I'm an anti-racist educator, and I prove that with the kinds of things that I do, day after day, that that's the first part of facilitating a relationship and getting kids to learn. I think, secondly, I'm teaching things that kids haven't known and want to know - that for all of the multicultural education in the district, very few kids know about Overture, very few kids know about Frederick Douglas, very few kids know about W.B. DuBois, very few people know about,

you know, I mean, Langston Hughes they know about, but, Countee Cullen, and -- so all of this huge wealth of African-American literature and oratory and history of resistance that I teach buys kids into the curriculum.

**Table 15. List Of Actions Taken By Subjects To Facilitate Academic Success Of Black Students**

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Actions</b>
Teacher A	created an environment where they feel like they can write about what they really want to say.
Teacher A	got them to trust that they had some voices
Teacher A	motivated some kids to read something that they might not have read.
Teacher A	taught content that is relevant to the Black students' lives
Teacher B	Let students know of my anti-racist stance
Teacher B	let the Black students know I'm on their side
Teacher B	taught content that is relevant to the Black students' lives
Teacher B	taught things that kids haven't known and want to know
Teacher C	challenged the students a little bit more.
Teacher C	offered, all the time, those kinds of assignments where students have more choice
Teacher D	trying to find things that kids can relate to.
Teacher E	allowed students to choose the topic of their own interest -their own choice
Teacher E	incorporate career education activities which feature scientists of color as role models.
Teacher E	used college students as mentors to my students.
Teacher F	approached and looked at each student individually, not as a group.
Teacher G	devised my core schedule to follow that low group around all morning, and work again with that group in the afternoon one block.
Teacher H	worked with the skills that the students are exhibiting overtly, because those are the ones that they can see for themselves as well.

Teacher H, in her response, stated:

I try to work with the skills that the students are exhibiting overtly, because those are the ones that they can see for themselves as well. In other words, that they're interactions with the other students are proof that they can do certain things. Now, many times those actions and interactions are not part of the curriculum,

but they do exhibit the students' skills. For example, sense of humor is a very high intellectual ability, and I make a point of listening to the students' jokes and jibes and whatever, and pointing out to them the complexity of their thoughts. And, I try to work in whatever it is that they're doing to avoid doing their schoolwork, into what they're doing. I mean, when you have the opportunity to do that. I mean, I've had a student or two write raps about math, I asked students who in a writing class were disssing each other to teach me about disssing and the rules and how it works and we talked about that as a very sophisticated form of language skill. And I think those are the very most successful courses, to go to where the student is -- who they are -- what they do --and the skills that they are exhibiting and say, 'look, you're doing this!', you know, and 'this is what I see you doing,' 'you tell me more about this,' and then relating it to the other skills. It's sort of like, a very, very simplified example is when a student is trying to learn a math concept and they just can't seem to get it, you put dollar signs in front of it and they'll give you the answers immediately! So, if a student says they can't write, but they are spewing out raps off the top of their head that are so complex and sophisticated that they're beyond my abilities to compose words, then you show them, 'yes, you are doing this, but what I'm talking about is no different than what you're already doing, it's just we're talking about different form with an audience.'

In response to the question, "Would these things benefit other White teachers of Black students," all the subjects felt that the things listed by them (Table 15) would benefit other White teachers of Black students. Teacher A noted her response in the following manner:

Well, I'm sure they would. But this whole notion is just really hard, I think, to figure out. It's like we've had teachers say to us, 'I sure wish we could come and watch you teach.' You know, 'I really wish you could share your stuff,' but I think so much of it is intrinsic. It's like who you are as a person. And if you aren't really comfortable with yourself I don't think you can teach anybody, and especially not kids who are different from you. I think, you know, I've had my kids evaluate me - I do it often. When I've had to spend a whole weekend giving them grades on their report cards, I will have them evaluate me. But not before we've had a whole discussion about what makes a good teacher. And what they say is amazing. They get around to the content and the knowledge, sometimes, but they're mostly talking fairly basic human relation skills. They want somebody to listen to them. They want somebody to be fair. They want somebody to be funny once in a while and to be a real human being and not hide behind a desk. And I don't know how you teach that to somebody who isn't that

way. I really believe you cannot make a master teacher. You can make a mediocre teacher be an average teacher, but I truly believe a master teacher is born, not made.

Teacher F added a new dimension with her response when she stated:

I think so. There's very few in disciplining that think the way I do. I think. I think there's a handful. And I think some of those handful is because they're in an inter-racial relationship. So they get to have a much closer, more intimate understanding that hits the core of their being for them to relate to the students, and see the students as children.

Interracial relations is the new dimension that Teacher F was highlighting. It is her position that White teachers need to relate to Black students as if they were their own children.

None of the actions taken by the subjects to help Black students achieve academic success involved their parents. Teacher B noted that having an anti-racist stance, understanding the Black students, and providing the students with culturally relevant content help the students buy into the curriculum. Teacher H highlighted that these students have skills and strengths but they may not be the ones that the class is using; however, the teacher should have the students use them and associate them with the class objectives. Thus, this may get the student more involved in the learning.

All of these subjects except one were unwilling to take full responsibility for the learning of their Black students. Teacher efficacy (Ross, Cousins & Gadalla, 1995) is the individual teacher's expectation that the teacher is able to bring about student learning. Student learning gains may be measured in terms of their GPA's or SAT scores. When teachers are unwilling to take responsibility for the learning in the courses that teach, it may mean that they have low expectations as to whether they can bring about student learning. These White teachers stated that many of the Black students whom they teach came to their class without the necessary skills to function at the grade level.

These Black students have been poorly prepared for educational success, but they are not without skills. Perhaps their skills are not a match with those required for their classes. These teachers appear to have qualified their responses because they were aware that their teaching was not resulting in Black students' academic achievement. The teachers recognized the critical role that parents play in the academic success of Black students, but all except Teacher B appeared to have difficulties in establishing partnership relationships with Black parents. In my opinion White teachers need the skills to establish the relationships with parents of the Black students they teach. None of the actions taken by the subjects to achieve academic success of the Black students involved their parents.

In summary, White teachers' efficacy in teaching Black students may be viewed in how they assess their abilities to achieve academic success with the Black students they teach.

Six of the eight subjects of this study rated themselves as being effective, very effective, successful, pretty successful or very successful in their teaching of Black students while two of the eight subjects avoided rating themselves. Indicators such as GPA's or SAT scores of the Black students, may reflect whether their efficacy is high or low.

All the subjects indicated that Black parents play a critical role in the academic success of Black students yet only one subject indicated that she had good relationships with parents of Black students she teaches. Seven of the eight subjects indicated that they were not limited by the Black students' home environment while one subject indicated that he was limited somewhat. None of the actions taken by the subjects to achieve academic success of the Black students involved the parents. All subjects except one were unwilling to take full responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they taught.

## THE PRESENCE OF RACE AND RACISM IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

### Introduction

As I reflected on themes involving the subjects' preparation and training, White teacher-Black student interactions and White teachers' efficacy in teaching Black students, the issues of race and racism became an increasingly dominant theme.

The subjects of this study recognized that they had not been properly prepared to teach Black students by their pre-service education program and their district and school had not provided them with essential in-service training to prepare them to teach the Black students they encountered. The school in which the subjects of this study worked did not have a clear vision of its ideology or philosophy of teaching that could aid, guide and benefit White teachers as they prepared their instruction for Black students. Also six of the subjects expressed the belief that not all students can learn and their philosophies of teaching did not seem to provide them with the directions for meeting the educational needs of the Black students they teach. All of the subjects seemed to recognize that their preparation and training for teaching came out of their own cultural background for the traditional students: either White students or students who conform to mainstream Eurocentric standards. The subjects stated that before White teachers begin to teach Black students, they should know and understand the Black students and their culture, community and family. Also they should know and understand the history of Black people's involvement in the United States. Majority of the subjects expressed the belief that Black students are customers of their teaching specialties. Because of their cultural backgrounds and their teaching training, these subjects did not see themselves as being role models for the Black

students they teach. It was difficult for these subjects to identify with the Black students they teach. Teacher B was the only subject who saw the community of the Black students as her community.

As the interactions between the subjects and the Black students they teach were examined, these subjects identified openness, honesty, enthusiasm, energy and emotions, oral language, and sense of family as some of the characteristics that Black students brought to their classrooms, and these characteristics are more often associated with affective abilities. The subjects expressed that the Black students come to their classes unable to function at grade level, yet the subjects were reluctant to describe the cognitive characteristics of the Black students they taught.

The subjects expressed in the interviews that they were not afraid of the Black students they taught, yet they displayed fear of Black students in their interactions with Black students in their classrooms, in hallways and at school activities and during their discussions at faculty meetings, site council meetings and in-service activities. The learning environment of the school where these subjects teach is teacher-centered rather than student-centered. The subjects agreed that if White teachers are afraid of the Black students they teach, they cannot teach them very successfully. Although all but one of the subjects indicated that the classroom teacher is the person who should handle discipline of Black students in the classroom, majority of these subjects want the school administration to handle the discipline of the Black students. Also the subjects acknowledged that the schooling experiences of Black students they taught at this school differ from the school experiences of White students. The subjects noted this difference by reflecting that: the culture and history of Black students seemed to be missing from their schooling experience; the kind of expectations that White teachers have for Black students appears to be different from the kind

of expectations that these teachers may have White students; Black students seemed to arrive in high school unprepared with skills necessary to function at grade level; Black students are given a false sense of security; White Teachers seemed to be unfair in their teaching of Black students; negative stereotyping Black students may be still going on in the school; and, racism is affecting the learning of Black students.

The subjects' levels of efficacy in teaching Black students was examined. Six teachers used words like "very successful, pretty successful, successful, very effective, and effective" to rate themselves on how effective they had been in teaching Black students. Two subjects avoided rating themselves. GPA's and SAT scores are two of the indicators that school's district uses to rate academic achievement. On the basis of average GPA's for the 1995-96 school year, the academic achievement of Black students at the high school was below the academic achievement of White students at every grade level. All of the subjects except one were reluctant to accept full responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they teach. Although subjects feel that parents of the Black students they teach are critical to their academic success, the subjects were reluctant to establish good parent-teacher relationships. It seemed that the subjects of this study did not truly believe that they had the ability to successfully teach Black students, thus, their teacher efficacy was low.

Race and racism play fundamental roles in the academic interactions between White teachers and Black students.

### Race and Racism

Brookover (1985) noted that American education has been relatively successful if the goals of education include maintaining the differences between races. Race is a powerful element in the schooling of African Americans (Pang

& Sablan, 1995). Woolfolk (1995) indicated that race may be defined as a group who shares common biological traits that are seen as self-defining by the people of the group. Race has been defined historically as a biological concept (van der Berghe, 1967; Leone, 1978; Woolfolk, 1995) but in recent years, many educators have defined it from its social context (Myrdal, 1944; Hardert, Parker, Pfuhl, & Anderson, 1974; Nieto, 1992; Omi & Winant, 1993; West, 1994). According to Omi and Winant (1995), race is a sociohistorical concept. Americans spend a great deal of time defining themselves in terms of race (Hacker, 1992). Race divides U.S. citizens, defines U.S. citizens and in a curious way unites the U.S. citizens--if only because U.S. citizens still think it matters (Morganthau, 1995). In this study, race is being defined as a grouping of individuals who display the same phenotypic skin color by which people in the United States identify themselves and are identified by others (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld & York, 1966). I agree with Hardert, Parker, Pfuhl and Anderson (1974) when they note that race and racism are linked together in the sense that assumptions regarding race have arisen from and served as the basis for racism.

Racism is defined by the American Heritage Dictionary (1985) as the notion that one's own ethnic group or race is superior. Also racism is any attitude, action or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of their color (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1970). Meyer Weinburg (see Nieto, 1992) described racism as a system of privilege and penalty based upon one's race.

James M. Jones (1981) identified three levels of racism: individual, institutional, and cultural which I believe maintained by public schools. Nieto (1992) described these levels in working terms. According to Nieto (1992), individual racism is a personal belief that people of one group are inferior to

people of another because of physical traits. Institutional racism is manifested through established laws, customs, and practices that reflect and produce racial inequalities in society (Nieto, 1992). Cultural racism is the beliefs in the inferiority of the culture of a group of people or even the belief that they have no real culture (Nieto, 1992).

In Black Power--The politics of Liberation in American, before Nieto and Jones, Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) defined racism as the predication of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group. Also Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) wrote:

Racism is both overt and covert. It takes two, closely related forms: individual Whites acting against individual Blacks, and acts by the total White community against the Black community. We call these individual racism and institutional racism. The first consists of overt acts by individuals, which cause death, injury or the violent destruction of property. This type can be recorded by television cameras; it can frequently be observed in the process of commission. The second type is less overt, far more subtle, less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing the acts. But it is no less destructive of human life. The second type originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation.

When White terrorists bomb a Black church and kill five Black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of society. But when in that same city--Birmingham, Alabama--five hundred Black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, clothing, shelter and proper medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed or maimed physically, emotionally, and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the Black community, that is a function of institutional racism....

Institutional racism relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-Black attitudes and practices. A sense of superior group position prevails: Whites are 'better' than Blacks; therefore Blacks should be subordinated to Whites. This is a racist attitude and it permeates the society, on both the individual and institutional level, covertly and overtly.

'Respectable' individuals can absolve themselves from individual blame: they would never plant a bomb in a church; they would never stone a Black family. But they continue to support political officials and institutions that would and do perpetuate institutionally racist policies. Thus acts of overt, individual racism may not typify the society, but institutional racism does--with the support of covert, individual attitudes of racism [pp. 4-5] (Appendix E).

Sleeters (1994) pointed out that Whites tend to interpret racism as an individual belief rather than an institutionalized system supported by a collective worldview. It is the covert or pervasive forms of racism that are maintained and perpetuated by education as reflected by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), Nieto (1992) and Sleeters (1994). Thus, as the current perspectives of education in society change, racism can be present but hidden just below the surface to maintain a desired level of control.

Racism involves having the power to carry out systematic discriminatory practices through the major institutions of our society (Della-Dora, 1970; Nieto, 1992). Knowles and Prewitt (1969) noted that institutions have great power to reward and penalize. One such institution is education. Also schools in the United States are institutions that respond to and reflect the White American society (Nieto, 1992). This is what Lisa Delpit (1988) called the culture of power where by the schools, regardless of their composition, will reflect the rules of those in power, and Whites are in power over the schooling in the United States.

### Racism And Education

Historically, knowledge of the past is essential to understanding what is happening to Black students in public education. Pinkney (1993) noted that White Americans continue to react to African Americans with a mass irrationality that precludes the complete entrance of Blacks into larger society. This is still

happening after over three and three-quarters centuries. Not only have the struggles of Black Americans affected them, these struggles have affected White Americans too. Over these centuries, Black Americans have encountered slavery, freedom, reconstruction, segregation, integration and social discrimination, but this study will not address the details of this historical perspectives.

Du Bois (1969) noted that the problem for the 20th Century in the United States was the problem of the color line. In 1993, Franklin stated that the legacy for the 21st Century will be the color line. Omi and Winant (1995) noted that the Black/White color line in the United States had been rigidly defined and enforced. White was seen as a "pure" category and any racial intermixture made one "nonwhite" (Omi and Winant, 1995). It is deep-rooted in terms of Blacks and Whites. Racism has not just arrived on the scene (Hardert, Parker, Pfuhl, & Anderson, 1974). In my opinion, the color line has been maintained by an educational system which has not allowed all citizens to benefit equitably from their citizenship opportunities.

In my opinion, the color line propelled racism to what Meyer Weinburg (see Nieto, 1992) described as a system of privilege and penalty based upon one's race. Sleeter (1994) indicated that White people know a great deal about racism and that White people had been socialized to be racists and to benefit from racism constantly. Also Sleeter (1994) pointed out White people evade discussions of racism because they do not want to give up the lifestyle, privileges, and resources that they control, and that are built on those their White ancestors took from others.

The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteen Amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees Black Americans equal opportunities. Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka extended the 14th Amendment to public school

education (Reutter, 1985; & Blaustein and Ferguson, 1957). Public Education is supposed to be based upon the values of democracy, freedom, and equal access (Nieto, 1992). Woodson (1933) and Johnson (1936) noted that the education of Black students has meant one thing while the education of White students has meant a different thing. All the subjects of this study readily admitted that the schooling of the Black students they teach is significantly different from the schooling of White students. According to Teachers A and H, the schooling expectations for Black students are different from the schooling expectations for White students. Teacher B noted that Black students are separated from their history and literature, and they are often asked to learn in styles or learn about things that the Black students do not feel affect their lives. All of the subjects indicated that the Black students come to their classroom unprepared to function at the grade levels. According to Teachers A, B, and H, the skills that Black students need to function in high school are often underdeveloped by the time they reach high school. Teacher D indicated that schooling of Black students is unfair in the way that Black students are not given realistic understanding of the consequences of their actions and what they need. Teachers F and G pointed out that racism makes the schooling of Black students different.

Cross (1993) insisted that educators must focus on the problem of race if another generation of Black students is not to be condemned to being taught by teachers who do not understand them. Racism has affected and it still is affecting how we prepare future teachers. The subjects of this study acknowledged that they were not properly prepared to teach Black students and that they had received Black students in their classes who did not possess the necessary skills. Racism impacts how these teachers respond to Black students in the classroom. Teacher D pointed out that the kids do not need to have equal

rights and they are not ready for it. In making this statement, Teacher D stated, "I really believe that" and "I think the best thing that we can do for kids is to give them guidelines, and to give them parameters that they have to stay in." She noted that this "gives them security, and when they have security then they can learn." Six of the subjects gave statements about their philosophies of teaching that were culturally and racially insensitive. Such philosophies would not allow these White teachers to see how their own beliefs affect their ability to teach Black students effectively.

The race of the teachers seems to affect how teachers view Black students and what their commitment may be to the education of these Black students (Beady & Hansell, 1981; Kohl, 1991; Lomotey, 1989). As the United States of America deals with the restructuring of its public schools for the 21st Century, it must deal with the effect of race and racism upon the educators who are responsible for the implementation of the restructured education system.

Many Black students feel that they must use a raceless persona (Fordham, 1988) in order to achieve academic success in a school that contradicts an identification and solidarity with Black culture. Racelessness is the notion that Black students consciously and unconsciously sense that they have to give up aspects of their identities and of their indigenous cultural system in order to achieve success as defined in dominant-group terms (Fordham, 1988). Teacher D expressed, "The difficulty of them (Black students) going to a school that is predominantly Black is that it gives them -- gives some -- a false security." In other words, if Black students do not recognize that they must take on the characteristics of the major culture, they will not succeed. Also Asante (1991) pointed out that African American students are educated away from their own culture.

Montgomery (1970) noted that the Black child is compelled to learn only those things which are related to the dominant culture in this nation. Many Black students feel alienated, unaccepted, and unconnected to students and teachers whose culture, values, and beliefs are antithetical to those held by Blacks (Ford, 1993). Teacher B stated, "They're asked to often learn in styles or learn about things that they don't feel affect their lives" and "it alienates them from the moment they step into school."

Racism affects how well these students achieve in school. The valuing and devaluing of individuals in the United States' culture are well known in the ways the textbooks are written and the history of the country is told. Teacher B stated that if Black students have books, there are typically only White people in the books, and the only place you see Black people is in a box on the side as a sidenote: "Here's Frederick Douglas," then the Black students feel like they are "sidelined, too." Teacher F stated that the school is "very Eurocentric" and "very traditional," and that the "students' backgrounds" and "trust level" are not really accountable in the school operation.

Public schools should be a civilizing influence (Pine & Hilliard, 1990) in our society, and teachers should have a sound knowledge base about the history and culture of the Black students they teach in order to integrate ethnic content into the school curriculum (Banks, 1994). Educators must focus on the problem of race if another generation of Black children is not condemned to being taught by teachers who do not understand them (Cross 1993). Racism demands the attention of all educators (Pine & Hilliard, 1990). White teachers know little about the specific values and characteristics of African Americans (Avery & Walker, 1993).

### The Presence of Racism at the School

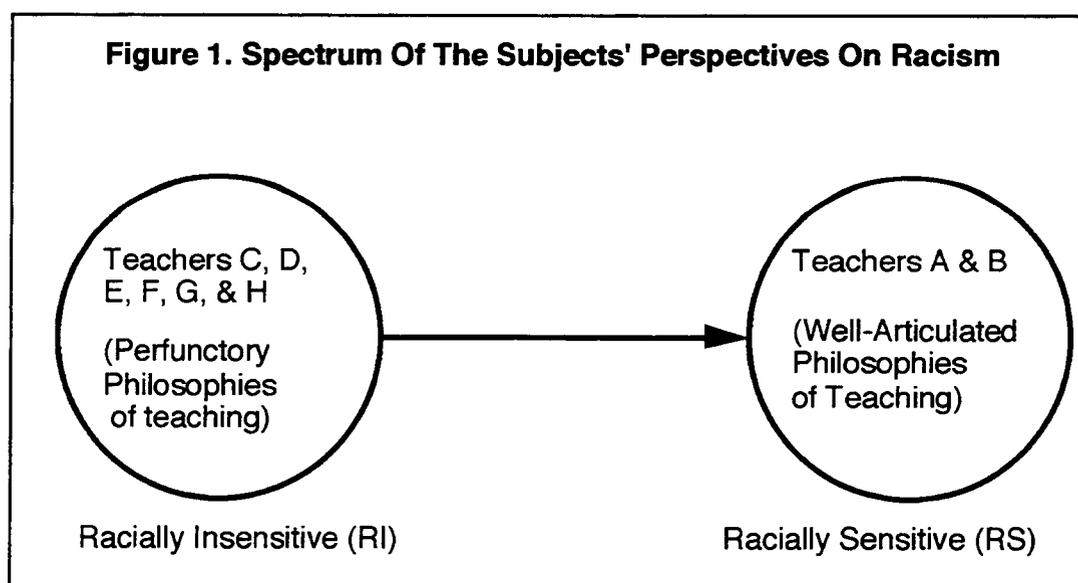
In the school's site council profile prepared during 1994-1995, 52 percent of the students and 53 percent of the parents indicated that racial tension existed at the school. Also in this profile a substantially lower but still significantly thirty-seven percent of the staff identified the existence of racial tension.

During 1995-1996, Black students represented 61 percent of the school's student population and White teachers represented 88 percent of the school's teaching staff. Teacher A stated, "I have been here long enough to see it change from a school of 30 or 35 percent minority to what it is now, and from being a school that you would really want to classify as a contemporary neighborhood high school in the late '60s to what feels kind of like the bastard child of the school district." The GPA of Black students at this school is lower than the GPA of White students at every grade level at this school and at other schools in the school's district.

Race was an uncomfortable topic during the interviews associated with this study. Several of the subjects tried to change the questions to reflect all students or they wanted to respond from the Eurocentric view. In a follow-up question, "How do you view yourself as a teacher of Black student?", Teacher E stated, "I avoid thinking about them by their race because it seems fraught with problems." Teacher E added, "I have a student who is a Pacific Islander, well, she says she's a Pacific Islander. I don't know, she doesn't look any different from any of my other students, so I'm not sure that I can separate out a student who is Black as getting anything different." This subject felt very uneasy talking about Black and White. Also Teacher E stated that she was "pretty color-blind." In another follow-up question, "When you suggest, in your dealing with

students, that you see no color, how do you think the students react to that?," Teacher E stated, "I don't know."

The statements of the subjects' philosophies of teaching were identified as perfunctory (P) or well-articulated (WA). These philosophies of teaching could be viewed as being culturally sensitive (CS), culturally insensitive (CI), racially sensitive (RS) or racially insensitive (RI). The perfunctory philosophies are those which were poorly thought-out, did not have strong personal belief systems about teaching and learning, had no expressed commitment to student's achievement, and were culturally insensitive (CI) and racial insensitive (RI). The well-articulated philosophies are those which were well-developed, did have strong personal belief systems about teaching and learning, had expressed commitments to student's achievement, and were culturally sensitive (CS) and racial sensitive (RS). On the basis of their philosophies of teaching, the eight subjects represent the spectrum of racism from racially insensitive (RI) to racially sensitive (RS). See Figure 1.



Teacher D is represented of the extremes of the subjects with racially insensitive philosophies of teaching when she stated that the school should have "a stronger administration who backs teachers 100 percent and just makes the assumption that the teacher is right." In my opinion, this kind of statement would not be made if the school's administration was White. Also Teacher D stated "I think the kids don't need to have equal rights" and "They're not ready for it." Teacher D does not believe that Black students' achievement is not "predominantly a racial issue." Teacher D expressed that Black students come to the school with "low skills" and the school's standards are "lower than other places" in the school's district. In addition, Teacher D acknowledged that some of the teachers resented having to teach at this school. These subjects are most likely to be afraid of the Black students they teach. The subjects in this grouping did not express the belief that all students can learn.

On the other hand, Teacher B is representative of the other end of the spectrum. Teacher B stated, "I'm an anti-racist educator." She worked to prove this in the kinds of things she did. She teaches things the students haven't known and need to know, facilitate a relationship with students and get them to learn. Teacher B engaged the students in her class and works with her students to create a product (book) of which they are proud. This subject believes that the community of the students is her community too.

In my opinion, White teachers deny that they see and respond to their students in terms of the students' race. When asked about people saying that they see no color, Teacher B responded:

I think that's a lie! I think that's a lie! And also, if you don't see any color you're denying people's existence and their culture. You know, it's true that on some days I won't look out and say, "Oh, there's six Black kids, and five males and three females," or whatever, but to say that you don't see color is to make everyone White, because that's the norm that we have in the United States. And so when people act out of the norm, I mean, it's like the thing

that kids talk about with their parents saying, "Don't act your color," you know, that to deny people their color is to deny them who they are, and their background. I think that's ridiculous.

Peggy McIntosh (1988) pointed out that Whites are carefully taught not to recognize "White privilege." Teachers are one conduit through which education and societal values are passed (NCES, 1994). The subjects of this study are all White teachers and they have been educated at major White institutions in the United States. They are part of the privileged group by being White. By their own admissions, their teacher education programs did not prepare them to teach Black students. The subjects' comments, perceptions and actions seemed to indicate that they saw little or no societal connections with the Black students they taught. Only one of the subjects lives within the attendance area of the school. According to the high school's site council 1994-95 profile, 98 percent of the staff agreed that the subject high school had good teachers, yet 48 percent of the staff indicated that the subject high school students would get a better education at other district high schools. In my opinion, the subjects seemed to be teaching the Black students from the standpoint of their privilege which makes it easy for them to deny any adverse effects they cause.

White teachers must bridge the gap between themselves and their Black students if they are to be effective in teaching them. Teacher B stated, "People don't understand their White privilege, and until they understand what kind of privileges they have and they can acknowledge those privileges, they're not going to understand Black kids who walk through their door."

Teacher G stated that he had a problem talking about race. When he was asked to elaborate, Teacher G stated, "Well I don't think American society understands it enough" and "I don't know if we're to the point where we can really be honest about it." This is what Avery and Walker (1993) pointed out when they revealed that White teachers know little about the specific values and

characteristics of African Americans. When he was asked "Do you think we ought to get there?," Teacher G responded:

I think we're getting there. It's going to be generations. I think we're farther ahead than we were when I was growing up, but it's going to take, I think, a lot of intermarriage.

Teacher H revealed that teachers at the school would not admit their racism and they would be too defensive. However Teacher H would like to see discussions of this issue of race and racism in the school among the staff, teachers, administrators and with the parents.

Racism in public high school education is more subtle and pervasive today than it was in 1965 when U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found marked disparities in the outcomes of education for Black and White students (USCCR, 1965). How would one know that racism exists in the schooling of Black students who are being taught by White teachers in high school. In my opinion, racism is evident when any one of the following conditions is found. Racism exists when there are marked disparities between the academic outcomes of Black and White students. It is racism for a school district to allow academic disparities due to ineffective teachers to exist between Black and White students.

It is racism for White teachers to not have their own well-developed philosophies of teaching which could be used to assist them in guiding their instructions to Black students. It is racism for White teachers to know and acknowledge that the schooling experiences of Black students of the school where they teach differ from the school experiences of White students and to do nothing to improve the schooling conditions for the Black students. It is racism for White teachers to not understand racism, institutional racism and White racism, and how these forms of racism effect their belief systems and philosophy of teaching. It is racism for White teachers to not know and

understand the history of Black people's involvement in the United States. It is racism for White teachers to not know that Black students have skills which have not been educationally developed for their grade level.

It is racism for White teachers to know that Black students come to their class unable to function at grade level and to not hold the previous teachers accountable for not preparing the Black students for the next level. It is racism for White teachers to know that Black students come to their class unable to function at grade level and refuse to take the necessary actions to bring the students up to grade level. It is racism for White teachers to exhibit a low self-efficacy in their ability to successfully teach Black students. It is racism for White teachers to be reluctant to accept full responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they teach in the subjects they teach. It is racism for White teachers to try to deal with Black students from their "White privilege" perspective.

It is racism for White teachers to be too afraid of Black students to hold them accountable and responsible for their actions in their classrooms. It is racism for White teachers to be reluctant to establish good parent-teacher relationships with the parents of the Black students they teach. It is racism for White teachers to not know and understand the Black students they teach and their culture, community and family. It is racism for White teachers to not know and understand how the different forms of racism have affected the Black students they teach. It is racism for White teachers to not be able to identify with the Black students they teach. It is racism for White teachers to not see themselves as being role models for Black students. Racism exists when it prevents White teachers from gaining the training needed to effectively teach Black students. It exists when White teachers deny that they see the color of their Black students.

In summary, the comments, perceptions and actions of the subjects of this study gave only a glimpse of what may be going on at this school with respect to the impact of White teachers on the academic achievement of Black students. However, it is clear the race of the teacher did seem to affect the academic achievement of Black students. Also racism exists at this school where the subjects of the study teach.

#### SUMMARY/ANTIRACIST EDUCATOR

This study was designed to explore some of the skills and knowledge White educators need to teach Black students effectively and to examine the impact of the teacher's race on Black student academic achievement. It addressed whether White teachers are able and willing to address the educational needs of African American students and whether White educators have been properly prepared by their pre-service institutions or their in-service training to teach Black students. Also it dealt with whether White teachers' views of Black students allow them to address the educational needs of these Black students.

In 1965, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) reported that there were marked disparities in the outcomes of education for Black and White students. In 1994 and 1995, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) of the U. S. Department of Education reported that Black students continue to trail White students with respect to educational access, achievement, and attainment (NCES, 1994; NCES, 1995). This study revealed that there were disparities between the academic achievement of Black students and White students at the school as well as in the school's district which were reflected by GPA's, SAT scores and dropout rates. The reality of today is that teachers of Black students are mostly White. In the high school

where this study was conducted, 87.7 percent of the teachers were White (See Table 6).

On the basis of the analysis of the interview data, observations, documents of school and the school's district, and literature, four themes emerged during this study. These themes were: (1) the quality of preparation and training for teaching Black students, (2) the quality of White teacher-Black student interaction, (3) White teachers' efficacy in teaching Black students, and (4) the presence of race and racism in public schools.

The findings from the examination of the quality of subjects' preparation and training for teaching Black students are summarized below.

- The subjects of this study were not properly prepared to teach Black students by their pre-service education programs and by in-service training.
- A majority of the subjects did not have well-developed philosophies of teaching and a clear understanding of how their teaching philosophies could assist them in meeting the educational needs of the Black students they teach.
- The school in which the subjects of this study worked did not have clear vision of its ideology or philosophy of teaching that could aid, guide and benefit White teachers as they prepare their instructions for and with Black students.
- A majority of the subjects of the study believed that Black students are customers of their teaching specialties.

The findings from the examination of the quality of White teacher-Black student interaction are summarized below.

- A majority of the subject was afraid of the Black students they teach and this fear affected their interactions with Black students.

- The subjects of this study were reluctant to describe any cognitive abilities of Black students they teach which would be useful to them in addressing the educational needs of the Black students.
- The subjects agreed that if White teachers are afraid of the Black students they teach, they can not teach them very successfully.
- The learning environment of the school is teacher-centered rather than student-centered.
- All but one of the teachers indicated that the classroom teacher is the person who should handle discipline of Black students in the classroom.
- All subjects of this study agreed that the schooling experiences of Black students they teach at this school differ from the school experiences of White students.
- A majority of the subjects did not identify with the Black students they teach and they dealt with Black students from their "White privilege" perspective.

The findings from the examination of White teachers' efficacy in teaching Black students are summarized below.

- On the basis of on GPA's, the academic achievement of Black students at the high school was below the academic achievement of White students at every grade level.
- All of the subjects except one were reluctant to accept full responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they teach.
- The subjects of this study rated themselves with qualifications in their ability to be effective in teaching Black students, and a majority of the subjects displayed a low self-efficacy in their ability to successfully teach Black students.

- The subjects of this study expressed that parents of the Black students they teach are critical to their academic success, but the subjects were reluctant to establish good parent-teacher relationships.

The findings from the examination of the presence of race and racism in public schools are summarized below.

- All of the subjects recognized that their preparation and training for teaching came out of their own cultural background for the traditional students: either White students or students who conform to mainstream Eurocentric standards.
- Subjects of this study were uncomfortable in discussing issues of race and racism.
- Racism exists at the school of the subjects of this study.
- Race and racism play fundamental roles in the academic interactions between White teachers and Black students.
- Race and racism play fundamental roles in how the subjects saw themselves as teachers of Black students.
- The race of the teacher did seem to affect the academic achievement of Black students.
- Racism plays a part in how white teachers are educated and trained to teach Black students.

Race and racism was increasingly the dominant theme found throughout this study. Black students have not been provided equal access to public education as the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteen Amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees and the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka sought to remedy in 1954. Part of this access is to teachers who are properly prepared and committed to teach them effectively in public schools. Since White teachers will be the primary teachers of Black students, White

teachers should be antiracist educators. Being antiracist educator means paying attention to all of the areas in which some students may be favored over others like the curriculum, choice of materials, and teachers' interactions and relationships with the students and their communities (Nieto, 1992). They must understand racism, individual racism, institutional racism, cultural racism and White racism, and how these forms of racism affect their belief systems and their philosophies of teaching. Also they should know and understand how these forms of racism have affected the Black students they teach.

Increasing the number of Black educators can only partially address the needs of Black students. The reality is, however, that more and more Black students will be taught by White teachers in the future. White teachers do not have the necessary skills and knowledge to teach Black students effectively. This lack of necessary skills and knowledge as well as their Eurocentric cultural background makes it difficult for White teachers to effectively address the educational needs of Black students. The findings of study have made the case that public education has not provide Black students the educational opportunities that are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. However:

- White teachers' pre-service education and in-service training did not provide them with skills and knowledge they need to teach Black students effectively.
- White teachers do not understand racism, individual racism, institutional racism, cultural racism and White racism, and how these forms of racism affect their belief systems and their philosophies of teaching as well as their teaching of Black students.
- White teachers do not believe they have to be responsive, accountable and productive in teaching Black students.

- White teachers do not see Black students and their parents as customers of their teaching specialties.

## CHAPTER 4

### MOVING TOWARDS ANTIRACIST EDUCATORS

The purpose of this study was to explore some of the factors White educators need to teach Black students effectively. Also it examined what role the race of the teachers may play in facilitating Black student success or contributing to their academic failure. This study therefore addressed whether White teachers are able and willing to meet the educational needs of African American students and whether White educators have been properly prepared by their pre-service institutions or their in-service training to teach Black students. This chapter presents a summary; implications; and recommendations.

#### SUMMARY

This study evaluated the interviews of eight White teachers for their preparation and training to teach Black students, for their views of their interactions with Black students, for teacher efficacy in teaching Black students, and for the impact of race and racism on their teaching of Black students. Its intent was to examine the role of the teacher's race on the academic achievement of Black students.

The framework of this study is based in today's realities. Black students are not achieving as well as White students in the public high schools. The teaching force in the public high school is predominantly White, making it a monocultural teaching force, and it is expected to continue that way into the 21st Century. Thus there will be more White teachers teaching Black students in the future.

This study consisted of multiple-case studies and then cross-case analysis to identify topics or themes. Analysis involved the examination of some of the philosophical concepts of teachers of Black students, White teacher efficacy in teaching Black students, and some White teacher-student interactions from the perspectives of White teachers who are currently teaching Black students. Sources of data were interviews, observations and documents. Individual cases were not reported the characteristics of subjects could reveal their identity. Related literature was used to bring meaning to the findings for both cases and across cases. The scope of this study was limited to examining some of the factors White teachers need to teach Black students more effectively and to determining whether the race of the teacher affected the academic achievement of Black students.

Black students represented over 60 percent of the student population at the school in which this study was conducted. According to the school's district records in 1996, the grade point averages of the Black students at this school at every grade level were the lowest GPAs of any group in the school and in the school's district. Also the SAT scores of students at this school were the lowest in the school's district. There were disparities between the academic achievement of Black students and White students at the school as well as in the school's district which were reflected by GPA, SAT and dropout rates. The question becomes "who are teaching these students." At this school, over 87 percent of the teachers were White, and White teachers were teaching these students (Table 6). The race of the teacher seemed to matter in the academic achievement of these Black students.

The comments, perceptions and actions of the subjects of this study gave only a glimpse of what may be going on at this school with respect to the impact of White teachers on the academic achievement of Black students, and it may

be difficult to generalize any of these findings and conclusions to the general population of the schooling of Black students in the school's state or the United States. Certainly, it will open up the discussion and debate on the impact of the teacher's race on Black students' academic achievement. Also it will broaden the examination on how racism is preventing White teachers from teaching Black students effectively.

Four problems faced the school and its community.

- White teachers' pre-service education and in-service training did not provide them with skills and knowledge they need to teach Black students effectively.
- White teachers do not understand racism, individual racism, institutional racism, cultural racism and White racism, and how these forms of racism affect their belief systems and their philosophies of teaching as well as their teaching of Black students.
- White teachers do not believe they have to be responsive, accountable and productive in teaching Black students.
- White teachers do not see Black students and their parents as customers of their teaching specialties.

## IMPLICATIONS

**White Teachers' Pre-Service Education and In-Service Training Did Not Provide Them With Skills and Knowledge They Need to Teach Black Students Effectively.** By their own admissions, subjects of this study knew that they were unprepared to teach Black students by their education and training. Also They recognized that they had not been properly prepared to teach Black students by their pre-service education programs and that their district and school had not provided them essential in-

service training to prepare them to teach the Black students they encountered. Because of their own experiences, the subjects of this study had some suggestions for teacher education programs. They recommended having new teachers:

- spend time observing Black students and teachers of Black students,
- understand the culture and community of Black students, and
- understand teachers to be role models and teaching as more than a job when working with Black students.

With respect to the first suggestion, teacher education programs should provide training sites for student teachers to gain experience with Black students and their teachers. Teacher A stated that student teachers simply have to spend more time with Black students before they get licensed and that teacher education programs should assign student teachers to work with teachers who have experience in teaching Black students. Teacher D responded, "The more teacher trainees can observe and then discuss, the better."

The second suggestion involved knowing and understanding the Black students' culture and community in which teachers will work. The teacher education programs should provide the student teachers with some knowledge base about the culture of Black students and must provide them with methods of acquiring such knowledge base if they find themselves teaching Black students. Teacher B pointed this out when she stated:

I think that one of the things that has to happen is before a teacher comes in to teach they have to know something about the community. They need to go walk the streets. They need to go to the businesses. They need to talk with people in the community. They need to go to churches and listen to sermons and talk with parents there. I think that often times the kind of problems that we see is because teachers are attributing wrongly a student's actions to the student being bad or the student not caring, instead of not understanding cultural differences, or understanding what they

said -- how the student might have heard that. So, I think that people need more training in the communities that they're going to work in.

In addition, Teacher B remarked that using community agents and tutors to help teachers understand what they are doing right and wrong would aid in the teachers' preparation. Teacher C expressed that more Black professors should be used to help training White teachers about teaching Black students. Also Teacher D recognized the importance of this suggestion when she stated, "I think they need to be able to read materials written by and for various cultures, races, or ethnicities."

The third suggestion involves understanding that White teachers can be role models for Black students, too, and that teaching is more than a just job. Teacher education programs should help student teachers to examine thoroughly their commitment to teach all children. From my observation of White teachers at the subject school, many of them seemed not to believe that they could be role models for the Black students whom they taught. Teacher H indicated that one of the biggest things that is missing from teacher education is the understanding that teaching is not just a job in the sense that you can separate yourself personally from it. In further highlighting this point, Teacher H stated:

Teaching, you know, has directly to do with life, and you are, first of all, regardless of what subject information you're teaching, you are a role model to your students. They will not accept your subject matter until you have proven yourself in that arena first. And I think that teachers need to go through self-examination and examination of interpersonal interactions in their teacher training with both the purposes of understanding themselves as well and how they interact with other people, but also in terms of the impact that their interactions and their personalities on their students. And I think if we went through that, and in that we discussed ethnic differences, racial differences, whatever -- openly -- I think the teachers would be a lot better prepared. And on top of that, I think teachers really need a lot more exposure. They need to be out in the world and they need to know where the kids are coming from.

These suggestions from the subjects of this study support the need for pre-service education and in-service education to be constructivist-based which would support constructivist approaches to emerge in schools where Black students are being taught by White teachers. Also these programs should help teachers developed and maintain student-centered learning environments in schools and classrooms.

Increasing student teachers' exposure to Black students, developing a greater cultural awareness of the Black family and Black community, providing instructions on the psychology of Black children and Black cultures, requiring readings of African American articles and books, bringing in successful teachers of Black students to share their experiences with future teachers, and bringing Black parents to share their visions for their students are some additional ways, according to these subjects, that teacher education should change in the future. Also these additions and suggestions seem to support the need for pre-service education and in-service education to be constructivist-based in order that future White teachers of Black students will know how to construct knowledge based upon what they already know and the new information that they encounter within the school and community they work.

White teachers of Black students need a well-developed philosophy of teaching and it should be student-centered and include the beliefs that all children can learn, that it is their responsibility to create an environment in which Black students can learn, and that they are anti-racist educators. This philosophy should be racially sensitive and culturally sensitive. The initial philosophy of teaching should be developed while teachers are going through their pre-service training. Any school where White teachers are teaching Black students needs a schoolwide philosophy of teaching that is racially and culturally sensitive. This philosophy of teaching should be developed by all

school staff and explicitly shared with all teachers (Brookover, 1985) and it should be taught to all teachers. Teachers should know their students and should know what type of student this school is expecting to develop and send out into the communities and the changing world (Brookover, 1985). White teachers need to understand how their teaching philosophies match with the school's philosophy in meeting the educational needs of Black students.

**White Teachers Do Not Understand Racism, Individual Racism, Institutional Racism, Cultural Racism and White Racism, and How These Forms of Racism Effect Their Belief Systems and Their Philosophies of Teaching As Well As Their Teaching of Black Students.** Subjects of this study were uncomfortable in discussing issues of race and racism. White teachers deny that they see and respond to their students in terms of the students' race. Teacher B disagreed with this saying that they see no color, when she responded:

I think that's a lie! I think that's a lie! And also, if you don't see any color you're denying people's existence and their culture. You know, it's true that on some days I won't look out and say, "Oh, there's six Black kids, and five males and three females," or whatever, but to say that you don't see color is to make everyone White, because that's the norm that we have in the United States. And so when people act out of the norm, I mean, it's like the thing that kids talk about with their parents saying, "Don't act your color," you know, that to deny people their color is to deny them who they are, and their background. I think that's ridiculous.

All of the subjects recognized that their preparation and training for teaching came out of their own cultural background for the traditional students: either White students or students who conform to mainstream Eurocentric standards. By their own admissions, the subjects' teacher education programs did not prepare them to teach Black students. Peggy McIntosh (1988) pointed out that Whites are carefully taught not to recognize "White privilege." A majority of the subjects did not identify with the Black students they teach and they dealt

with Black students from their "White privilege" perspective. Yet, according to Fordham, many Black students feel that they must use a racelessness persona in order to achieve academic success in a school that contradicts an identification and solidarity with Black culture. Teacher D expressed, "The difficulty of them (Black students) going to a school that is predominantly Black is that it gives them -- gives some -- a false security." In other words, if Black students do not recognize that they must take on the characteristics of the major culture, they will not succeed. Also Asante (1991) pointed out that African American students are educated away from their own culture. Montgomery (1970) noted that the Black child is compelled to learn only those things which are related to the dominant culture in this nation. Yet Teacher B pointed out that:

People don't understand their White privilege, and until they understand what kind of privileges they have and they can acknowledge those privileges, they're not going to understand Black kids who walk through their door.

White teachers must bridge the gap between themselves and their Black students if they are to be effective in teaching them. White teachers need to be antiracist educators. Being antiracist educator means paying attention to all of the areas in which some students may be favored over others like the curriculum, choice of materials, and teachers' interactions and relationships with the students and their communities (Nieto, 1992). They must understand racism, individual racism, institutional racism, cultural racism and White racism, and how these forms of racism affect their belief systems and their philosophies of teaching. Also they should know and understand how these forms of racism have affected the Black students they teach.

**White Teachers Do Not Believe They Have to Be Responsive, Accountable and Productive in Teaching Black Students.** In 1965,

the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) reported that there were marked disparities in the outcomes of education for Black and White students. In 1994 and 1995, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) of the U. S. Department of Education reported that Black students continue to trail White students with respect to educational access, achievement, and attainment (NCES, 1994; NCES, 1995). This study revealed that there were disparities between the academic achievement of Black students and White students at the school as well as in the school's district which were reflected by GPA's, SAT scores and dropout rates. The academic achievement of Black students at the high school was below the academic achievement of White students at every grade level. The reality of today is that teachers of Black students are mostly White.

All of the subjects of this study except one were reluctant to accept full responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they teach. According to the high school's site council 1994-95 profile, 98 percent of the staff agreed that the subject high school had good teachers, yet 48 percent of the staff indicated that the subject high school students would get a better education at other district high schools. Black students made up 60.9 percent of the student population at the school while White teachers represented 87.7 percent of the teaching staff (Table 6). In my opinion, teachers are the main part of any high school academic program. When 48 percent of the teachers expressed the belief that the school's students could get a better education at a different school, these teachers are saying that they will not take responsibility or accountability for academic programs that will meet the educational needs of the students whom this school serves.

**White Teachers Do Not See Black Students and Their Parents As Customers of Their Teaching Specialties.** A majority of the subjects

of the study believed that Black students are customers of their teaching specialties. The subjects of this study expressed that parents of the Black students they teach are critical to their academic success, but the subjects were reluctant to establish good parent-teacher relationships. Even though a majority of the subject of this study believed that Black students are their customers and that Black parents are critical to academic success of Black students, they did not seem to want to build positive relationships with students and parents. None of the actions taken by the subjects to help Black students achieve academic success involved their parents.

Reglin (1995) pointed out that the public schools must heed the calling not to do business as usual in the teaching of African-American students. The term "customer" relates to one who buys goods and services especially on a regular basis. The goods and services that teachers provide to students are their knowledge developed in their curricula and methods of teaching. From the perspective of her years in marketing, public relations and sales, Teacher E stated that "knowledge and power" are the products teachers are selling and that students are their customers. Black students are required to attend public school, yet public schooling has not been effective in providing Black students with the skills and knowledge to be productive in society. The word "customer" is being used to bring about a new commitment to the education of Black students, in particular. It denotes responsibility and accountability for what is being taught and how it is being taught. "Customer" denotes that the business of teaching Black students will not be as usual and traditional. Black students and their parents are customers of the education systems and the teachers, including White teachers, who work in these systems. Public education is designed to prepare the students for a productive life in society (Clickman, Lundford & Szuminski, 1995), and students are the reason for education

systems to exist. This concept should help Black parents to develop relationships to assist teachers in the education of their students and to hold teachers accountable and responsible for the learning gains of their students. White teachers need to know that Black parents see their students as their investment in society and should have an understanding of Black students as their customers.

This perspective of Black students as customers might be generalized to the total student population. The student is an individual who belongs to society. The student is society's investment in the future. The student is the purpose of education and education is to prepare the student for a productive life in society. The student is the reason education institutions exist. The student is the customer of education institutions. The student is the reason for the educator. The student is the customer of the educator. The student is the most important person in the business of education. The student is dependent on the educator and the educator is dependent on the student. The student is not an interruption of teaching -- the student is the purpose of it. The student is part of the business of education -- not an outsider. The student is expected to come to the classroom ready to learn -- the educator is expected to create an environment for learning. The student is one of society's investments that is an outcome of the educator's knowledge, skills and attitudes. The student is a customer in whose life and future the educator can make a difference. Also White teachers must understand how they can serve the needs of their customers for an education that will benefit them and society in the 21st Century.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Having antiracist educators available for Black students requires transformation of the school and teacher education.

First, the school and its district, in which this study was conducted, should use these findings to develop in-service training to provide White teachers with the necessary knowledge, skills, methods and strategies to teach Black students effectively. Also the school should be evaluating White teachers for their commitment to be responsive, accountable and productive in the teaching of Black students. Criteria for inservice and teacher education could be as follows:

- Antiracist educator recognizes that racism exists when there are marked disparities between the academic outcomes of Black and White students.
- Antiracist educator recognizes that it is racism for a school district to allow academic disparities due to ineffective teachers to exist between Black and White students.
- Antiracist educators know that they need well-developed philosophies of teaching to assist them in guiding their equitable decision making processes.
- Antiracist educators know that when the schooling experiences of Black students of the school where they teach differ from the school experiences of White students, they must work to improve the schooling conditions for the Black students.
- Antiracist educators know and understand racism, institutional racism and White racism, and how these forms of racism effect their belief systems and philosophy of teaching.

- Antiracist educators know and understand the history of Black people's involvement in the United States.
- Antiracist educators know that Black students have skills which have not been educationally developed for their grade level.
- Antiracist educators recognize that it is racism for White teachers to know that Black students come to their class unable to function at grade level and to be unwilling to hold the previous teachers accountable for not preparing the Black students for the next level.
- Antiracist educators know that when Black students come to their class unable to function at grade level, they must take the necessary actions to bring the students up to grade level.
- Antiracist educators will not be reluctant to accept full responsibility for the learning gains of the Black students they teach in the subjects they teach.
- Antiracist educators recognize that it is racism for White teachers to try to deal with Black students from their "White privilege" perspective.
- Antiracist educators are not afraid to hold Black students accountable and responsible for their actions in their classrooms.
- Antiracist educators establish good parent-teacher relationships with the parents of the Black students they teach.
- Antiracist educators know and understand the Black students they teach and their culture, community and family.
- Antiracist educators know and understand how the different forms of racism may affect the Black students they teach.
- Antiracist educators know that they can identify with the Black students they teach.

- Antiracist educators know that they can be role models for Black students.
- Antiracist educators recognize that racism exists when it prevents White teachers from gaining the training needed to effectively teach Black students.
- Antiracist educators recognize that racism exists when White teachers deny that they see the color of their Black students.

Second, a study of how teacher education is preparing White teacher education students to meet the needs of Black high school students is recommended. Teacher education programs should examine how preservice teachers, particularly White teachers, are being prepared to teach Black students and should go beyond traditional ways in this preparation. Research should also address the pre-service educators with the knowledge, skills, methods and strategies that White teachers need to teach Black students effectively.

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**APPENDICES**

**Appendix A**  
**School Approval to Conduct Research**

July 20, 1994

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Oregon State University  
308B Education Hall  
Corvallis, Oregon 97333

Dear Calvin:

This letter is to document our agreement regarding expectations for your work with the High School learning community.

Your proposed research on the question: "How to empower White educators to effectively teach Black students through a responsive, accountable and productive change model?" certainly targets some of the issues we are struggling with as we develop our school improvement plan.

During our meeting July 15, we agreed that you would meet with and share your model with teachers and interns newly assigned to Jefferson for the 1994-95 school year. We also agreed that you would observe the work of the Site Council and assist with some of the liaison work with the Regional Educational Laboratory, the agency providing training for the Site Council. You will also be provided the opportunity to interview successful and experienced members of the teaching staff. Other options, including observation and discussion with members of the administrative team will be worked out during the school year.

Within the parameters outlined above you should certainly be able to achieve the objective of developing some lessons that would teach your change model and to work with one or more of our teachers to implement the model and assess its impact on students.

Please contact me after August 15 to set up a schedule for your activities at . . . . . During the coming year. I welcome your offer to do part of your work here. It will help us to continue to build a better

~~Sincerely,~~

Principal

CC: Dr. Barbara McEwen

**Appendix B**

**Oregon State University Human Subjects Approval**

OFFICE  
OF  
DEAN OF RESEARCH



OREGON  
STATE  
UNIVERSITY

312 Administrative Services  
Corvallis, Oregon  
97331-2140

503-737-3437  
FAX: 503-737-3093  
INTERNET  
scanlanr@ccmail.orst.edu

June 7, 1995

Principal Investigator:

The following project has been approved for exemption under the guidelines of Oregon State University's Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services:

Principal Investigator: Barbara McEwan

Student's Name (if any): Calvin O. L. Henry

Department: Education

Source of Funding:

Project Title: How to Empower White Educators at \_\_\_\_\_ High School to Effectively Teach Black Students through a Responsive, Accountable and Productive Change Model?

Comments:

A copy of this information will be provided to the Chair of the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects. If questions arise, you may be contacted further.

Sincerely,

Mary E. Nunn  
Sponsored Programs Officer

cc: CPHS Chair

**Appendix C**

**Letter Inviting Participation In Research Project**

Written on OSU School of Education Letterhead

June 7, 1995

I am doing research on how can White educators be empowered to teach Black students through a responsive, accountable and productive change model.

The success of White teachers in teaching Black students depends greatly upon the training that these White teachers received during their preparation to become or while serving as teachers. Preparation of White teachers to teach Black students needs to improve. This project explores factors, strategies and understandings that White educators need to teach Black students effectively and on how White educators can be empowered through a change model to be productive, accountable and responsive in their teaching of Black students. This research deals with the impact of White teachers on the achievement of Black students and the dynamics of White Teacher-Black student interactions. Also it deals with White teacher efficacy in teaching Black students.

This letter is an invitation to you to participate in this research. Will you participate in my study?

If you agree to participate in this research, please read and sign both copies of the enclosed Informed Consent Form. Please return one signed copy of the Informed Consent Form to me in the enclosed, stamped self-addressed envelope. Keep the other signed copy of the Informed Consent Form for your record.

Sincerely,

Calvin O. L. Henry  
OSU Doctoral Candidate

Enclosure

**Appendix D**  
**INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

## INFORMED CONSENT FORM

**Research Project Title:** How can White educators be empowered to teach Black students through a responsive, accountable and productive change model?

The success of White teachers in teaching Black students depends greatly upon the training that these White teachers received during their preparation to become or while serving as teachers. Preparation of White teachers to teach Black students needs to improve. This project explores factors, strategies and understandings that White educators need to teach Black students effectively and on how White educators can be empowered through a change model to be productive, accountable and responsive in their teaching of Black students. This research deals with the impact of White teachers on the achievement of Black students and the dynamics of White Teacher-Black student interactions. Also it deals with White teacher efficacy in teaching Black students.

The impact of White teachers on the achievement of Black students has not had sufficient study, and research in this area might be discomfoting to participants. Discomforts in areas of the research may be foreseeable risks to the participant's professional reputation or relationships and information collected will be highly protected. However, participation in this research may be beneficial to the participants in improving their relationship and effectiveness with Black students. There is no direct compensation for participation in this research project.

I understand that teachers who agree to participate in this research are asked to read and sign two copies of this Informed Consent Form. One copy of the Informed Consent Form is to be retained by the teacher. The other is to be returned to the researcher who will maintain its confidentiality.

I understand that teachers selected for this research will be given a code number that will be used as information is gathered. The link between the code number with the teacher will be kept under lock and key. Any information obtained from me will be kept confidential. The code number will be used to identify any information I provide. No names will be used in any data summaries or publications. Information will be protected up to the point allowable by law.

I understand that I, as a participant of this research, will be asked to complete an interview form, to participate in interviews and to allow researcher observations of my classrooms. Some interviews may be tape recorded. This information gathering should take one week. All information collected including tapes will be destroyed after final publication.

I understand that my participation in this study is completely voluntary and that I may either refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.

I understand that any questions I have about the research study and/or specific procedures should be directed to Calvin O. L. Henry, School of Education, Oregon State University, 308F Education Hall, Corvallis, Oregon 97331, at (503) 737-5953 or (503) 745-5570. Any other questions that I have should be directed to OSU Research Office, (503) 737-3437.

My signature below indicates that I have read and that I understand the procedures described above and give my informed voluntary consent to participate in this research. I understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date Signed

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Present Address

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Phone Number

**Appendix E**

**Dr. Charles V. Hamilton's Email Permission To Reprint**

Date: Sun, 23 Feb 1997 21:08:24 -0500 (EST)  
From: Charles V Hamilton <cvh1@columbia.edu>  
To: Calvin Henry <henryc@ucs.orst.edu>  
Subject: Re: Permission Request

Mr. Calvin Henry. Yes, You have my permission to quote the passage you cited in your communication. Charles V. Hamilton

On Sun, 23 Feb 1997, Calvin Henry wrote:

Professor Hamilton,

I sent you a fax with this request.

I am a Ph.D. Candidate in Education at Oregon State University and I am finalizing the writing of my dissertation that deals with empowering White educators to teacher Black students more effectively. There are three paragraphs in the book, entitled, Black Power--The politics of Liberation in American, that you co-authored with Stokely Carmichael in 1967, which agree with my research, and I would request your permission to quote them in my dissertation. The paragraphs are found on pages 4 and 5 of the book. Below is the text of the paragraphs and the way they will appear in my dissertation.

"Racism is both overt and covert. It takes two, closely related forms: individual Whites acting against individual Blacks, and acts by the total White community against the Black community. We call these individual racism and institutional racism. The first consists of overt acts by individuals, which cause death, injury or the violent destruction of property. This type can be recorded by television cameras; it can frequently be observed in the process of commission. The second type is less overt, far more subtle, less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing the acts. But it is no less destructive of human life. The second type originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation."

"When White terrorists bomb a Black church and kill five Black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of society. But when in that same city--Birmingham, Alabama--five hundred Black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, clothing, shelter and proper medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed or maimed physically, emotionally, and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the Black community, that is a function of institutional racism...."

"Institutional racism relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-Black attitudes and practices. A sense of superior group position prevails: Whites are 'better' than Blacks; therefore Blacks should be subordinated to Whites. This is a racist attitude and it permeates the society, on both the individual and institutional level, covertly and overtly."

"'Respectable' individuals can absolve themselves from individual blame: they would never plant a bomb in a church; they would never stone a Black family. But they continue to support political officials and institutions that would and do perpetuate institutionally racist policies. Thus acts of overt, individual racism may not typify the society, but institutional racism does--with the support of covert, individual attitudes of racism [pp. 4-5]."

Will you grant me permission to print these paragraphs in my dissertation? I would appreciate it if you could respond to me by February 28, 1997.

Sincerely,

Calvin O. L. Henry  
Ph.D. Candidate

[END of message text]