

THE VESTIGES OF *BROWN*: AN ANALYSIS OF THE PLACEMENTS OF
AFRICAN AMERICAN PRINCIPALS IN FLORIDA PUBLIC SCHOOLS (2010-2011)

by

Leo Nesmith, Jr.

A Dissertation Proposal Submitted to the Faculty of
The College of Education
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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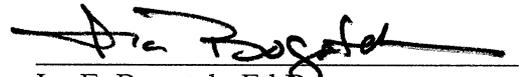
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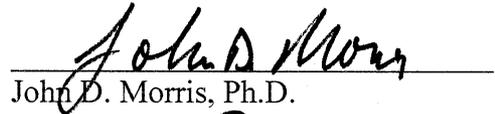
Leo Nesmith, Jr.

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the candidate's dissertation advisor, Dr. Ira E. Bogotch, Department of Educational Leadership and Research Methodology, and has been approved by the members of his supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of the College of Education and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

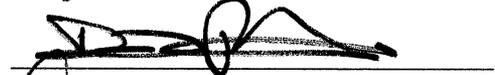
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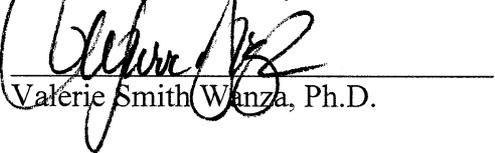
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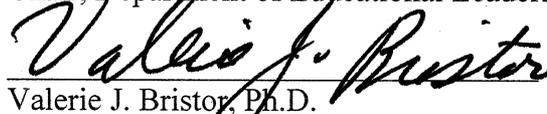
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To DG: Words alone cannot express the depths of my gratitude for all that you have contributed to my life. As my earth angel, you helped me rediscover life. From heaven, you continue to inspire me to believe anything is possible. I miss you so much!

To GOD: Thank you for saving me, blessing me, favoring me, and keeping me. I know that all of my accomplishments come directly from your love, grace, and mercy. Through YOU all things are truly possible!

ABSTRACT

Author: Leo Nesmith, Jr.
Title: The Vestiges of *Brown*: An Analysis of the Placements of African American Principals in Florida Public Schools (2010-2011)
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The purpose of this study was to examine and describe the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools during the academic year 2010-2011. This study also sought to determine if this relationship was moderated by each school's level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status (FRL), gender of principal, as well as gender and race of the presiding district superintendent. Lastly, the relationship between each moderator variable and the placement of African American principals was examined. The ultimate objective was to determine if limited opportunities still widely exist in the placement of African American principals throughout Florida.

Data were collected and analyzed using quantitative methods for 2,705 schools that served as the units of analysis. Using correlational analysis, the study found that a

significantly positive and moderately strong relationship existed between a school's percentage enrollment of African American students and the placement of an African American principal. Moreover, only socioeconomic status significantly moderated this relationship. Lastly, principal race significantly related to each of the moderator variables except for African American district superintendents.

The study's conceptual framework consisted of legal, organizational, and human level theories that underlie the placement of public school principals in our post-civil rights era. From a legal perspective, although *Brown* and its progeny of civil rights laws valiantly set out to eliminate race and racism from schools and in the workplace, the findings revealed that race continues to be a factor in determining inequity in principal placements. At the organizational level, the race of a principal seemed to carry the greatest value in determining inequities at high school level placements, and in schools based on levels student achievement and student poverty. Through the lenses of the ASA and RMT frameworks that make up the human resource theory, this study found White superintendents were less apt to place African American principals in majority African American schools than African American, and especially Hispanic, superintendents.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is specially dedicated to my loving wife and stepsons. Amy, this significant achievement would not have been accomplished without your constant understanding, patience, and emotional support. I am truly blessed to have you as my wife and best friend. Thank you for being my biggest cheerleader. I love you very much and always! Colin and Hayden, I sincerely appreciate your understanding of the many school activities, extracurricular practices and events, and just quality time that were missed because of this journey. Thank you so much for your unconditional love and support of my dreams. I love you both and will always be there to help you realize your many dreams!

“Above all, challenge yourself. You may well surprise yourself with what strengths you have and what you can accomplish.”

Cecil M. Springer

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AFRICAN AMERICAN PRINCIPALS IN FLORIDA PUBLIC SCHOOLS (2010-2011)

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the recent 50th anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954, 1955) rulings, racial inequities in education still continue to raise serious concerns (Bell, 1987, 1992; Brown, 2004a; Green, 2004; Horsford, 2010, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Lyons & Chesley, 2004; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b). The seminal *Brown* decision “established a fundamental and unambiguous constitutional principle: separate public K-12 educational facilities are inherently unequal and violate the equal protection provision of the 14th Amendment” (Smith, 2005, p. 115). *Brown* is prominently known for its reversal of the Supreme Court’s *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) “separate but equal” doctrine that legalized segregation and denied Blacks equal opportunities and access in education, most pertinent to the pro-slavery states of the South (Brown, 2004b; Tate, 1997).

Since the *Brown* rulings, a preponderance of research continues to highlight pervasive inequities in education that persist for Black children (Kozol, 1991). However, very limited attention has been given to the same systemic injustices faced by the African American principal who is a historically victimized and underrepresented figure (Brown, 2005). Yet, African American principals have played, and continue to play, a vital role in American public education (Abney, 1974, 1980; Brown, 2005; Coffin, 1972; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Dillard, 1995; Egerton, 1967; Ethridge, 1979; Foster, 2004; Fultz, 2004; Gooden, 2005; James, 1970; McCray, Wright, & Beachum, 2007; Rodgers, 1967; Siddle

Walker, 2000; Smith & Lemasters, 2010; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b).

Brown ostensibly changed some of the gross inequalities suffered by Black students. However, it seems to have resulted in “(un)intended consequences and an extraordinary social injustice” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 285) to the tradition of the African American principal who was also a significant part of the “separate but equal” system. Instead of chartering equity, expanded opportunities and access in education, *Brown* further weakened, limited, and nearly extinguished the very existence of African American principals (Karpinski, 2006; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b). This past tragedy garners serious concerns about the present status of African American principals. It also potentially poses grave implications with respect to meeting the vast and varied needs of all students in our current and future schools (Brown, 2005).

The *Brown* case represents an ideal and significant marker to explicate the leadership and placement opportunities of African American principals in K-12 public school settings both before and after the historic decision was rendered (Tillman, 2004a). During the pre-*Brown* era, scholars explain that African American principals were widely marginalized throughout the various contexts of White society, especially across, but not limited to the legally segregated southern and border-states (James, 1970; Tillman, 2004a, 2004a). The subjugation of Blacks into slavery during the Antebellum Period affirms their denial of an education and leadership roles of any kind (Murtadha & Watts, 2005). Blacks assumed principal positions once formal education became available for all (Siddle Walker, 2000). However, the context of legalized segregation undergirded their forbiddance into White schools and confined their placements as principals in vastly unequal all-Black schools (Tillman, 2004a, 2004b). As the most prominent and respected

figures of their segregated schools, pre-*Brown* era African American principals uplifted their students, parents, and communities amidst widespread racial, legal, socio-political, and educational injustices (Dantley, 2005; Siddle Walker, 2000; Tillman, 2008). Their efforts to achieve equity for African American children are viewed to have heavily contributed toward the triumphant ruling of *Brown* and the subsequent series of civil rights litigation enacted to curtail racial inequities in education throughout the country (Karpinski, 2006; Loder, 2005).

Immediately following the *Brown* ruling, it is known that African American principals faced near extinction during the desegregation of schools (Fultz, 2004; Karpinski, 2006). Many Whites viewed Black principals to be unfit to lead White students and teachers as schools slowly integrated (Coffin, 1972). Hence, thousands of African American principals, mostly in Southern and border states, were systematically displaced from their positions during a twenty year (1954-1975) post-*Brown* span (Abney, 1974, 1980; Coffin, 1972; Egerton, 1967; Ethridge, 1979; Fultz, 2004; James 1970; Karpinski, 2006; McCray et al., 2007; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b). Those that survived the capricious displacements were seldom, if at all, assigned to serve as principals in schools that were either still completely or still somewhat White segregated (Egerton, 1967). Yet, the representation of White principals during this time and since has flourished in schools of varied racial student demographics (Wegenke & Shen, 2005).

Abney (1974, 1980) reports that the conditions for African American principals in Florida during the post-*Brown* era were equally abysmal. As a Deep South state, Florida fully participated in legalized segregation during pre- and immediate post-*Brown* eras. A long history of racial hegemony did and may possibly continue to exist throughout

Florida's schools (Borman et al., 2004). Abney (1974) explains that during the 1964-1965 school year, Black principals comprised almost a third of the total principals assigned, as most districts still had not fully desegregated their schools. Yet by 1974-1975, nearly half of the school districts throughout the state no longer employed Black principals. Most had even severely decreased Black principals' employment (Abney, 1980). "Invariably, the black principal ha[d] been desegregation's primary prey" (Hooker, 1970, p. 3). The number of White principals skyrocketed to a level of near exclusivity in the position as the number of African American principals drastically declined (Coffin, 1972).

A revival in the placements of African American principals began in the mid-1970s (Fultz, 2004). Still, data results taken from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) over the last 30 years reveal that African American principals are still vastly underrepresented throughout our nation's schools. African Americans presently account for 11% of our nation's public school principals while Whites account for 80% (NCES, 2009). Meanwhile, our nation's student population is roughly 42% minority and 58% White (NCES, 2007). Indeed, *Brown* adversely impacted the lives and rich tradition of a whole generation of African American principals (Karpinski, 2006; Tillman, 2004a).

Statement of the Problem

Much like their pre-*Brown* era predecessors that were prohibited from placements into White schools, it is widely believed a vast majority of today's African American principals are still overwhelmingly assigned to schools that have a predominate Black student population. Many of these schools are also vastly unequal in terms of resources

and fraught with immense challenges (McCray et al., 2007). These placements typically result in African American principals still having minimal to no in-school contact with White students (Sanchez, Thornton, & Usinger, 2008).

Although some progress in the placements of African American principals in schools with majority White student enrollment has recently occurred (Lyman, 2000), current research on the prevalence of such placements is still vastly underdeveloped (Brown, 2005; McCray et al., 2007; Tooms, Lugg, & Bogotch, 2010) and “remain among the largest elephants in the schoolhouse about which few practitioners or school scholars will speak” (Brooks & Jean-Marie, 2007, p. 756). There also exists many undefined, unspoken, and unpublished practices that make the selection and placements of today’s principals based on fair and impartial criteria a perplexing dilemma (Hooker, 2000). Altogether, these issues justifiably warrant an investigation into the question – Are African American principals still primarily relegated to being a leader in present *de facto* segregated schools, as was the case during *de jure* pre-*Brown*, in a state previously known for its racial hegemony and inequities in education?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine and describe the relationship between a school’s percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida’s K-12 traditional public schools during the 2010-2011 academic year. This study also seeks to determine if this relationship is moderated by each school’s level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status (percentage of students eligible for the free and reduced-priced breakfast and lunch (FRL) program), gender of principal, as well as gender and race of the presiding district superintendent.

Lastly, a relationship between each moderator variable and the placements of African American principals is examined. The ultimate objective is to determine if limited opportunities still widely exist in the placements of African American principals throughout Florida. There continues to be many assumptions, stereotypes, and misunderstandings regarding the placement of school principals and, in particular, the placement of minority race principals. This study provides statewide baseline data on African American principals in Florida.

Conceptual Framework

This study employs a framework consisting of a compilation of legal, organizational, and human level theories that underlie the placements of public school principals. Each theoretical construct is uniquely important and stands alone. As documented by Bogotch, Keaster, Baldwin, and Wonycott (1995), each theory contains contextual storylines with plots and characters in each school district in the U.S. However, collectively these ideas create tensions that call for serious sociopolitical and sociocultural dialogue on issues involving race, equity, and workplace diversity relative to schools and the principals assigned to lead them (Schlueter & Walker, 2008). Such dialogues have yet to happen in many school districts in the U.S. where hiring practices are not transparent (Bogotch, Nesmith, Smith, & Gaines, in press).

Legal theories. The Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, along with Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, comprise the major legal theories that frame, proscribe, and interpret provisions vis-à-vis workplace diversity, equal employment opportunities, affirmative action, and social science data via racial disparate impact contexts in this study (Alexander & Alexander, 2009; Ryan, 2003). These three

prominent laws aim to redress this country's long and tumultuous history of racial discrimination and inequities. Historically, they have and still continue to significantly influence Supreme Court and federal/state decisions in cases involving race and racial equity in the workplace and schools (Spann, 2010).

Organizational level theories. At the organizational level, there are the contexts of personal (e.g., race, ethnicity, sex, and marital status) and professional (e.g., instructional leadership, human relations, and community engagement) qualities of principal candidates. These contexts dominate the decision making of fit between principal candidates, district leadership, schools, and their communities (Schlueter & Walker, 2008; Toons et al., 2010). Yet at the same time, they also cloud decision-making in the selection and placement processes of principals because of tacit guidelines (Anderson, 1991). The complexities in understanding how and why principals are placed in schools are exacerbated by the paucity of literature that exists on which particular professional and/or personal attributes are considered most important in the decision-making processes of hiring and selection committees (Hooker, 2000).

Human level theories. Attraction-Selection-Attrition (ASA) and Role Model Theory (RMT) are two particular human level theories relevant to this study. Schneider's (1987) ASA framework gives birth and influences the behaviors, strategies, structures, and culture of the organization. Specifically, the ASA model undergirds the hiring processes in how organizations attracts, selects, and retains its people. RMT is often promulgated and used as a hiring and placement practice to remedy structural inequities vis-à-vis race, gender, educational, and employment opportunities (Delgado, 1995). Some scholars (Lomotey, 1987, 1989; Stewart, Meier, & England, 1989) advocate for

minority educational leaders to serve as same race role models, while other scholars (Loehr, 1988; Witty, 1982) advocate for cross-cultural role models for all students regardless of color. Some simply argue for minorities to be mentors instead of role models (Delgado, 1995; Irvine 1989).

All of the above concepts, policies, and theories converge into the social, political, legal, and cultural norms of a school and school district. They represent the way a district does business in an everyday fashion. For this reason, it is important to bring a critical perspective to the rationalized district-adopted processes and procedures to ensure that the norms established do not disproportionately favor one class of people over another. Figure 1 illustrates all of the relationships that form the conceptual framework for this study (See Figure 1).

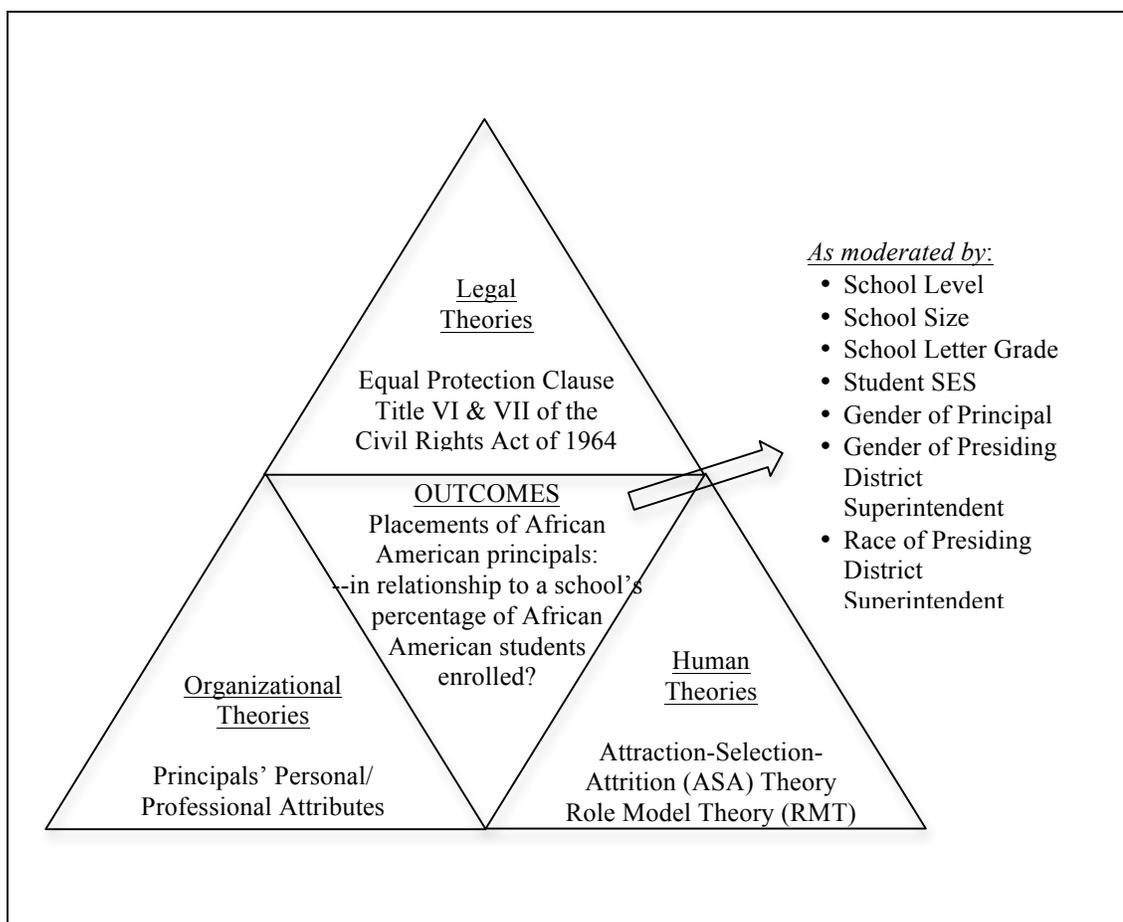


Figure 1. Conceptual framework incorporating employment theories and moderating factors.

Research Questions

To address the placements of African American principals throughout Florida, the overarching research question posed is: Are African American principals proportionately placed throughout various school settings regardless of the majority race of the student enrollment? The research questions below are subsets of the overarching question designed to guide the study:

1. Is there a relationship between a school's percentage of African American student

enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools?

2. Is the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal moderated by a school's: level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status of students, gender of principal, and gender and race of presiding district superintendent?
3. Is there a relationship between each of the moderator variables and principal race?

Overview of Research Design

This study utilized correlation analysis to determine if there was any relationship between a school's percentage of African American student enrollment and the placement of an African American principal. Moderator analyses were used to assess any influence the moderator variables may have on the relationship of a school's African American student enrollment and the placements of African American principals. Chi-square tests were used to determine the association between principal race and each of the moderator variables identified as school level, school letter grade, principal gender, and gender and race of presiding district superintendent. Correlation analyses were also conducted to assess the relationship between race of the assigned principal race and each of the moderator variables defined as school size and socioeconomic. All K-12 traditional public schools in the state during the 2010-2011 academic year served as the units of analysis for this study. Each school was reviewed for selective data collection and statistical analyses.

Assumption. It is assumed that Florida's Department of Education (FLDOE) archival databases and personnel from their internal department offices provided all of

the necessary data needed for statistical analyses for the 2010-2011 academic year and that all of the retrieved data recorded by the state were accurate and reliable.

Limitations

The primary aim of *Brown* was not to create opportunities for African American principals (Thompson, 1951, 1953). Still, *Brown's* constitutional promises for equity and the integration of schools ultimately influenced society's views and many subsequent jurisprudential decisions on equal employment opportunities for all absent of race as a determinant (Smith, 2005). This study focused on the (un)intended consequences and vestiges of *Brown* on the placement opportunities of African American principals.

Another limitation is the absence of community voice in principal placement decisions, which may be influenced by issues of civil rights and related struggles that were also not in the design of this study. As such, district superintendents' principal placement decisions that were politically influenced by community voice were also not considered.

Moreover, this study was limited by the available data generated by the FLDOE archival database for the percentages of African American students, race of the principals assigned for all of the state's K-12 traditional public schools, and the moderating variables. The data collected were also limited to one academic year (2010-2011), as mobility, retirement, and promotions may have caused a change in the principal of the school and presiding superintendent for each district. Thus, the results may not reflect changes in the placement opportunities for African American principals since the time the data were collected and analyzed. Additionally, the statistical data referencing the placement of African American principals did not take into account any personal, political, or philosophical choices made by each principal to be placed in the school they

were assigned during the study. Also, superintendents that were newly hired in a district at the start or during this study inherited principal placements and therefore did not literally place those principals in their schools. Lastly, as a practicing African American principal in Florida throughout the entire research process, the researcher was careful to limit and monitor his own biases and subjectivities that could have influenced the study.

Delimitations

First, this study was limited to the State of Florida. Therefore, the findings cannot be generalized to other states. This study also did not evaluate the pool of qualified educators that could have influenced the number of available African American principal candidates, and thus the selection and placement of African American principals.

Because this was a statewide study, geographical differences such as rural, suburban, and urban and population differences across and within the individual school districts were not examined. This might have impacted the placements of African American principals and should therefore be taken into consideration.

This study was a replication of Abney's original (1974) and comparative studies (1980) that focused on the status of African American principals throughout the State of Florida. It also built upon the study McCray et al. (2007) conducted to examine the placement of African American principals in majority White schools throughout a particular southeastern state. Therefore, other races (Hispanics, Multiracial, Asians, and Native Americans) were not considered in the focus of this study. The study also did not consider data from charter, private, parochial, or adult education public schools. Lastly, the African American racial classification as defined by the Florida Department of Education (FLDOE)'s Technical Assistance Paper on collecting and reporting race and

ethnicity data for PK-12 students and staff (Florida Department of Education [FLDOE], 2009) was inclusive of all cultural groups and regions of people with dark skin but do not belong or consider themselves as part of traditional Black American culture (i.e., Jamaicans, Haitians, Caribbean Islanders, individuals from Africa, etc.).

Definitions

African American or Black: “A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa” (FLDOE, 2009, p. 7). The terms are used interchangeably in this study, along with the term Negro.

Color Blindness: The belief or act that all persons are treated equally regardless of color or race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Desegregation: The legal decree to dismantle segregated schools, thus ceasing all policies and practices in the assignment of students and staff to schools on the basis of race and ethnic background for the purposes of keeping different racial/ethnic groups apart (Frankenberg, 2009).

Discrimination: “The denial of institutional access on the basis of ethnic or racial identity” (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998, p. 169).

Displacement: The removal of an individual from a hired position for which s/he holds all of the required credentials and experiences (Lutterbie, 1973).

Diversity: Policy that fosters the belief that individuals of different races and ethnicities can coexist and contribute within a given setting (Lomotey, 1989).

Equity: Fair distribution of educational access, opportunities, and resources (West, 1994).

Highly Segregated Minority Schools: Schools in which 90-100% of the student enrollment are students of color. Highly White segregated schools consist of

schools in which 90-100% of students are White (Frankenberg, 2009).

Hispanic: “A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or South or Central American origin or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race” (FLDOE, 2009, p. 7).

Integration: A school system that establishes the placements of students and staff based on a proportional representation of the racial and ethnic background of the districts (Frankenberg, 2009).

Principal: “Chief executive office in an educational institution” (Osbrink, 1993, p. 21).

Principals will be used interchangeably with the terms school leaders and administrators.

Race: Viewed as a social and cultural construction based primarily on the phenotypical characteristics of how individuals look versus being something biological in nature (West, 1994).

Racial Group Isolation: Any particular race that comprises 50% or more of a school’s racial composition (U.S. Department of Education, 2008).

Racism: A system of advantages based on race that can lead to the institutionalization of racist policies and practices (West, 1994).

Racial composition: The aggregate makeup of students from diverse races (Wells, 2009).

Segregation: Isolation or separation of individuals based on specific perceptions, traits, or characteristics such as race (Wells, 2009).

White: “A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North America” (FLDOE, 2009, p. 7).

Significance of the Study

This study has considerable significance. First, it examined the influence, extent, and impact student race has on the placements of African American principals throughout Florida during an ostensibly color-blind, race neutral, and equal opportunity fixated post-*Brown* era. Thus, this study exposed inequitable practices that may further the discourse surrounding race and its impact on the placement of African American principals in Florida, and possibly throughout the nation. To that end, this study informs and can influence school executive leaders, school boards, and policy makers to review, reevaluate, and perhaps even revise their employment policies and practices to ensure that equitable decisions are made in evenhanded manners that promote and ensure fair opportunities for all school leaders, regardless of race. Lastly, this study adds to the dearth of literature that exists on the current placement status of African American principals.

Significance to the Researcher

As a practicing African American principal in a large urban school district in Southeast Florida, I became curious about the placement of today's African American principals statewide. In particular, I questioned if current placements were still a problematic and disparate issue as witnessed by the limited placement opportunities and challenges faced by pre- and immediate post-*Brown* era African American public school principals. As the researcher, my initial approach in the conceptualization phase of this study was to remain as neutral and as apolitical as possible. However, as Lemesianou and Grinberg (2006) pointed out, "neutrality works in favor of the status quo...educational research is always political because questions are not neutral since

someone is asking the question within a particular milieu and within a system of ideas and interpretations (p. 224-225). Considering this, I endeavored to investigate, interrogate, and analyze the empirical data to quantify possible inequities, if any existed, in the placement of Florida's African American principals (Brown, 2005; McCray et al., 2007).

Chapter Summary and Organization of the Study

Brown (1954) seemingly catalyzed racial equity by eliminating dual educational systems and providing educational opportunities and access for Blacks (and other children of color). Still, it ultimately resulted in the near extinction of African American principals primarily throughout southern and border-states, and specifically for this study, the state of Florida. Florida's student populace and schools continue to become more diverse over time. Nonetheless, the disturbing resurgence of segregated schools throughout the state warrants the need to interrogate, examine, and analyze the vestiges of *Brown* specifically concerning the relationship between a school's percentage of African American student enrollment and the placement of an African American principal. To this end, the conceptual frames comprising legal, organizational, and human theories reinforce the relevance and dire need for this study.

Chapter 2 presents a review of relevant literature related to the historical and legal contexts that dictated and impacted the placements of African American principals during the pre- and post-*Brown* eras across the nation and in Florida. It also provides a comprehensive overview on the compilation of legal, organizational, and human level theories that create tensions involving race, equity, and workplace diversity relative to schools and the principals assigned to lead them.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the study's research methodology. An explanation of the research design, methods of data collection and analyses, and statistical methods are also detailed. Chapter 4 will present the findings of the statistical analyses relative to the research questions and hypotheses of the study. Chapter 5 will offer an interpretation of the study's findings along with implications and recommendations for further consideration and research.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter Overview

This chapter provides a review of the literature relevant to this study. The review is organized thematically and chronologically for each major topic. The first part of the literature review provides a historical and legal overview of the events that dictated the placement and leadership of African American principals during the pre-*Brown* era. The second section examines the (un)anticipated and widespread displacements, as well as the continued segregated placements of the vast majority of African American principals during the post-*Brown* desegregation era. An overview of the representation and placement of African American principals in the post-civil rights period is then provided. This is followed by a review of the status of African American principals throughout Florida during desegregation. The literature review concludes with an extensive synopsis of the legal, organizational, and human level theories that guide and influence employment decisions involving race, equity, and workplace diversity relative to schools and the principals assigned to lead them.

Historical Overview of the Placement of African American Principals

A historical and legal analysis of the placements of African American principals in relation to student race over the last few centuries is needed to effectively contextualize the placement opportunities of contemporary African American principals. This first section chronicles the circumstances that influenced the placements and

leadership of African American principals during the pre-*Brown* era from the Antebellum Period of slavery through the *Plessy* and Jim Crow Period that established the “separate but equal” doctrine of dual educational systems. The second major section of this historical overview highlights the mass displacements of African American principals during the post-*Brown* era and how such events ultimately impacted the representation of today’s African American principals. This section concludes with an overview of the placement status of African American principals in Florida.

The pre-*Brown* era.

The Antebellum Period (1600s-1865). During the Antebellum Period of slavery, African Americans faced the harsh realities that attainment of any kind of leadership, especially school leadership, was simply a fervent hope (Murtadha & Watts, 2005). The endemic racial discrimination, exploitation, and detestation of Blacks undergirded their subordination and denial of leadership and educational opportunities, primarily in Southern and border-states (Woodson, 1968). White slave owners believed that educated Blacks, especially ones who could be held in high-esteem leadership positions, posed a serious threat to their quest for racial dominance and economic prosperity (Anderson, 1988). Hence, Whites forbade slaves from attaining an education, severely punished those that were caught trying, and usurped all forms of Black leadership (Fairclough, 2001). These conditions led Blacks to inextricably link education with leadership as the remedy toward gaining freedom (Anderson, 1988).

By the early to mid 1800s, Blacks began to quietly transform hope into a movement for academic attainment and educational leadership (Bennett, 1988; Murtadha & Watts, 2005). In their study, *Linking the Struggle for Education and Social Justice:*

Historical Perspectives of African American Leadership in School, Murtadha and Watts (2005) explain that despite White restrictions, “organizers of the Black societies and churches, as part of their religious ministry and the establishment of an independent Black church movement, founded Black schools and also engaged the social capital of the community” (p. 594). Many of these minister educators informally assumed the position and functions of school principals. They secretly operated unsanctioned schools in their churches to educate their enslaved brethren (Franklin, 1990). “As principals or headmasters, these individuals held a strong belief that while Blacks could be stripped of their money, civil rights and property, the knowledge they acquired through education could not be taken away” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 175). Indeed, the hope of gaining freedom through education ignited the impetus for African American principals during the waning phases of the Antebellum Period; a hope that came to some realization during the Reconstruction Period that followed.

The Reconstruction Period (1865-1877). The mission to ensure continued emancipation via an educated race spurred the emergence and importance of formal placements of African American principals during the Reconstruction Period (Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Tillman, 2004a). Following the defeat of the South in the Civil War in 1865, Congress emancipated nearly four million Black slaves and legally provided them with new civil liberties and protections (Du Bois, 1910). The societal status for Blacks improved for a brief period. Still, Blacks emerged from slavery as an illiterate race (Anderson, 1988). As a result, Blacks fervently placed educating the entire race as their top priority (Du Bois, 1903). Many freedmen formally assumed positions as school principals to provide Blacks an education. This development marked the beginning of “a

tradition of excellence in Black school leadership and an agenda for the education of Blacks” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 173).

African American principals played an instrumental role in the critical and passionate pursuit to create schools for Blacks amidst pervasive and overt inequities (Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Tillman, 2004a). Although Whites enjoyed the entitlement of an education when schools were “transformed into a highly formal and critical social institution” (Anderson, 1988, p. 2), Southern state and local governments failed to provide Blacks with sufficient funds to create schools (Tyack & Lowe, 1986). As a result, African Americans principals collaborated with others to create their own schools under the concept of *agency*, which Savage (2001) defines as “self-reliance, proactive actions, and self-determining philosophies that result from a centeredness within one’s community” (p. 172). With the protection and support from the Freedmen Bureau, Black principals lobbied to secure funding and other necessary resources to build and operate hundreds of common and Sabbath (church-sponsored) schools (Anderson, 1988). “From elementary to collegiate levels, Black school leadership drove the process of institution building” (Murtadha & Watts, 2005, p. 595). This “mass movement in [Black] educational leadership” (p. 596) during the Reconstruction Period paved the way for Blacks of all ages throughout the South to finally receive a formal education despite the ubiquitous and oppressive conditions of racial discrimination and exclusion (Bennett, 1988).

In 1868 Congress ratified the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment that states, “No State shall...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws” (Primus, 2003). Yet, state-sanctioned discrimination kept Blacks

subordinate to and segregated from Whites (Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2011). Schools nationwide were extensively segregated by means of “de facto (by customs and social practice) and de jure (by law or government action)” (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 45) policies and practices in an effort to keep Blacks in an inferior status. Former Confederate states clearly defied Congress’ edict at the start of the Reconstruction Period to establish “public schools which shall be open to all without distinction of race” (Tyack & Lowe, 1986, p. 237). “Rather than gaining integrated institutions” (Murtadha & Watts, 2005, p. 595), Black principals were instead forced to focus their efforts on the “creation, staffing, and maintenance of schools exclusively for African American students” (p. 596) during this period, and well into the twentieth century.

The Plessy and Jim Crow Period (1880s-1954). The perpetuation of segregation legalized by the Supreme Court’s decision in *Plessy* and enforced by Jim Crow laws solidified the formal placements of Black principals into separate and vastly unequal schools (Siddle Walker, 2000; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b). At the close of the 1870s, Southern states regained political dominance and enacted Jim Crow laws that “ruthlessly disfranchised” (Anderson, 1988, p. 2) Blacks and immersed them into legal and social customs that “rested heavily on coercive control and allocation of labor” (Anderson, 1988, p. 2). The *Plessy* decision in 1896 that dealt primarily with racial segregation on public railroad facilities also egregiously diminished Blacks’ civil liberties. Essentially, *Plessy* constitutionally promulgated six decades of the separate but equal doctrine that limited racial mixing in nearly all facets of society, including public schools (Zamudio et al., 2011).

The Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy* that the Equal Protection Clause afforded Whites the constitutional rights to have separate facilities from Blacks as long as equal treatment existed for both (Zimmerman, 1997). States' ratification of Jim Crow laws systematically effectuated flagrant segregation policies and practices (Mickelson, 2003). These laws combined "gave impetus to Blacks being given the least skilled, most hardworking and menial jobs while maintaining educational systems that were separate and vastly unequal" (Murtadha & Watts, 2005, p. 596). They also served "to assert White property rights—rights to use and enjoy and the absolute right to exclude" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 16).

Essentially, *Plessy* and Jim Crow laws reinforced African American principals' confinement to all-Black schools. Both laws also nullified any possible considerations for Blacks' placements into segregated White schools (Tillman, 2004a, 2004b). Although segregation already existed, all Southern and some border states passed laws that universally separated Blacks and Whites into dual educational systems (Siddle Walker, 2000). Even in Northern and Western parts of the country where segregated minority schools contained nearly 90-100% of non-White students, Black administrators "were almost invariably assigned to [elementary] schools predominantly attended by Negroes...in theoretically unsegregated [urban] schools" (Thompson, 1951, p. 136-137). Thompson noted that most Blacks willfully accepted the harsh conditions of *de jure* segregation just to obtain the few available teaching and administrative vacancies in all-Black schools. He further noted:

[I]t was the almost universal practice to assign Negro personnel to schools predominantly attended by Negroes. Even as late as 1949, the Interracial

Committee of Detroit in its study of the employment of Negro personnel...discovered that no Negroes were employed in administrative or supervisory positions; only one or two were teaching in high school; and the overwhelming majority were assigned to elementary schools predominantly attended by Negroes. (p. 136-137)

Undeniably, “separate school systems were the order of the day in the pre-*Brown* era” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 174). Thus, African American principals focused all of their leadership efforts to: (a) resist deficit ideologies; (b) prioritize academic and social development; (c) impart cultural perspectives; and (d) provide leadership based on interpersonal care (Tillman, 2004a, p. 173) for Black students, parents, and their segregated communities as they confronted reprisals in the fight for equality and integration.

Resistance of deficit ideologies. “Black principal leaders play[ed] key roles in efforts to resist ideologies and individuals opposed to the education of Black children” (Tillman, 2008, p. 596). They creatively worked to ensure Black children received an exemplary education because “Whites refused to allocate appropriate funding for African American children” (Siddle Walker, 2000, p. 259). For example, a 1916 governmental report showed that “in counties where 75 percent or more of the students were Black, the Whites received \$22.22 per capita compared to \$1.78 for blacks” (Tyack & Lowe, 1986, p. 251). During the 1920s the state of Georgia spent an approximate annual difference of \$31.70 more per White student than it did for Black students (Lowe, 2004).

In response to the egregious funding inequities, Black principals encouraged Black parents and others to raise and donate needed funds for schools (Siddle Walker,

2000). Many also used their own funds to purchase school materials and supplies (Savage, 2001). Murtadha and Watts (2005) further noted that:

Because the state would give a fraction of the financial resources needed, these [principal] leaders would speak in churches and camp meetings pleading for support, they would take their students to sing and perform for audiences, and often started fledgling businesses such as laundries, baking pies, or brick making to supplement their schools. (p. 598)

“[I]n both passive and overt ways, they challenged a White power structure that would deprive Blacks...Racial pride, self-esteem, and self-respect were instilled as a form of passive resistance to theories of inferiority” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 180). Indeed, Black principals earnestly worked to resist and refute deficit philosophies that hindered the opportunities for growth and the successes for Black children while they worked to prioritize Black students’ academic and social development.

Prioritization of academic and social development. Pre-Brown era Black principals served as the chief instructional leader. They worked tirelessly to “secure funding, resources, and qualified and committed teachers in an effort to provide Black students opportunities to experience success” (Tillman, 2008, p. 597). Many African American principals taught classes. Some even challenged each other concerning the types of academic curriculum believed to be most beneficial for the prosperity of Blacks (Du Bois, 1903). For example, Booker T. Washington, described as “the most widely recognized social and educational leader of the era” (Murtadha & Watts, 2005, p. 597), created manual labor programs to ensure that Blacks had employable trade skills. Still, Washington received much criticism over his alliances with and capitulation to Whites’

political agendas that aimed to keep Blacks in subservient positions. Many viewed his acceptance of Whites' funding support for the programs he created as "his willingness to compromise the rights and the future of Blacks" (Tillman, 2004a, p. 175).

Educational leaders, Anna Julia Cooper and W. E. B. Du Bois, strongly opposed Washington's manual skills programs (Murtadha & Watts, 2005). Cooper pushed for a curriculum that "required training of the mind and empowering the spirit...fostering in students the ability to think, analyze, and act" (p. 600) that would ultimately result in professional positions in parity with Whites (Tillman, 2004a). Du Bois advocated for the inclusion of a liberal arts curriculum to encourage leadership skills for Blacks (Du Bois, 1903). Unlike Washington, Cooper and Du Bois, along with others who followed their philosophies, promoted an education that refuted the subservient expectations Whites had of Blacks (Tillman, 2004a). Despite their differences, each leader still espoused essential cultural perspectives that served to uplift Blacks through adversity (Tillman, 2008).

Cultural perspectives. African American principals were widely considered the most prominent figures of their segregated schools and communities (Siddle Walker, 2000). As the single central figure, "their cultural standpoint generally reflected the collective ethos of Black communities" (Tillman, 2004a, p. 174). They conveyed salient cultural perspectives that explained "how the segregated Black schools were able to fight the demon of racism by helping Black children believe in what they were capable of achieving" (Siddle Walker, 2003, p. 59). On the whole, the perspectives they instilled heavily influenced the racial and cultural norms in the uplifting and caring of the entire race (Tillman, 2008).

Fostering of interpersonal care. According to Tillman (2004a) “leadership based on interpersonal caring includes a principal’s direct and purposeful attention to meeting the psychological, sociological, and academic needs of students” (p. 194). Black principals portrayed interpersonal care as being “in- and out-of-school role models” (Lyons & Chesley, 2004, p. 310). They often counseled school staff and community members on issues of finance, marriage, and career opportunities (Siddle Walker, 1993). Many even fulfilled capacities as politicians and religious leaders. Almost all served as the liaison between their segregated school and community with Whites to care for the needs of Blacks (Rodgers, 1967).

African American women such as Fannie Jackson Coppin, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Mary McLeod Bethune, just to name a few, also significantly extended interpersonal care throughout the pre-*Brown* era via *other-mothering* (Loder, 2005; Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Pollard, 1997). Case (1997) defined *other-mothering* as “African American principals who display a sense of commitment to, a compassion for, and an understanding of African American children and the communities in which they live” (p. 36). For example, Mary McLeod Bethune diligently navigated community barriers to provide Blacks much needed medical, community, and educational services. In 1904 she founded Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls on approximately \$1.50 that, only 20 years later became Bethune-Cookman College, to provide higher education opportunities for Blacks (Bethune-Cookman University, 2013). Many African American students today continue to receive post-secondary education at Bethune-Cookman University, which was recently renamed (Murtadha & Watts, 2005). Undeniably, African American educational leaders’ contributions to provide

interpersonal care, resist deficit ideologies, prioritize academic and social development, and foster cultural perspectives, demonstrated their commitment to sacrifice to meeting the holistic needs of Blacks as the struggle to overturn *Plessy's* separate but equal doctrine began to take shape (Tillman, 2004a, 2008).

The fight for equality and integration. The secured segregated placements many African American principals maintained during the pre-*Brown* era became quite tenuous in their fight to defeat the pernicious principles of segregation (Thompson, 1951). According to Karpinski (2006), African American principals “knew that job loss, retaliation, intimidation, and violence were part of the struggle for educational equity” (p. 240), and many “chose that course” (p. 241). African American principals began to focus their attention on achieving parity of their salaries with those of Whites. They joined alliances with African American teachers and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to wage salary equalization campaigns all across the South during the mid-1930s through the late 1940s (Emmons, 2003; Tushnet, 1987). African American principals fervently fought to effect change to improve the citizenship rights of all Blacks. However, they experienced firsthand that any activism that challenged the status quo “invariably led to dismissal” (Karpinski, 2006, p. 241).

For example, Lutrelle Fleming Palmer and J. Rupert Picott, African American principals in Virginia, were dismissed in 1943 for their participation in salary campaigns (Karpinski, 2006). Similarly, two African American principals in Florida, Noah Griffin and Edward Davis, were also fired and replaced by White principals (Emmons, 2003). On the whole, White-controlled school boards and superintendents used intimidation, bad evaluations, and even dismissals against scores of African American principals and

teachers that either joined membership or otherwise became affiliated with the NAACP. As a result, many African American principals and educators refrained from participating in activities associated with the NAACP and other tactical undertakings in the push for equality out of fear of the power that Whites wielded (Fultz, 2004; Karpinski, 2006).

In the end, the salary equalization campaigns proved successful and galvanized the NAACP's strategic attack to achieve the integration of schools (Emmons, 2003). Senior officials of the NAACP were even willing to sacrifice African American principals and educators to achieve equality with Whites (Karpinski, 2006). Although *Plessy's* "separate but equal" doctrine reigned for nearly six decades, the courageous and instrumental roles that African American principals played in the fight for full equality and the integration of schools eventually set the stage for a litany of legislative challenges leading toward the *Brown* ruling (Karpinski, 2006; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b).

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court announced in the historic *Brown* ruling that *Plessy's* "separate but equal" doctrine had no place in American education. Led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Court unanimously held that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal and violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment (Smith, 2005). This far-reaching decision marked the end of state-sanctioned racial segregation in public schools (Bell, 1980; Horsford, 2010, 2011; Patterson, 2001).

The post-*Brown* era.

The Brown decision and desegregation (1954). In many ways, "*Brown I* was initially heralded as a great victory" (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 45). Its mandate for districts across the nation to desegregate their schools seemingly ushered in a new era of improved racial relations that "ended apartheid in American education" (Brown, 2004b,

p. 172). However, not everyone readily accepted *Brown* (Karpinski, 2006). Nor could anyone have precisely predicted its “(un)intended and (un)anticipated consequences” (Tillman, 2004b, p. 285).

In what became known as *Brown II*, the Supreme Court reconvened a second hearing in 1955 to delegate the responsibilities and authority to lower district courts to integrate schools quickly. Unfortunately, the ambiguity of this order provided many Southern states and school districts over a decade to employ various overt and covert tactics to maintain their exclusionary practices (Ladson-Billings, 2004). For example, by the close of the 1963-1964 school year only 1% of all African American students in 11 Deep South states attended integrated schools with Whites (Fultz, 2004). It was not until the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which authorized withholding of federal funding assistance from non-compliant school districts, that the desegregation movement accelerated in scope (Brown, 2004b). While school districts across the nation wrestled to comply with desegregation decrees for students, a growing concern arose involving the (dis)placements of African American educators, particularly African American principals (Cox, 1951; Fultz, 2004; Karpinski, 2006; Thompson, 1953).

Desegregation mandates did not necessarily involve the integration of Black staff (Cox, 1951). This concern had been discussed even before the *Brown* ruling (Thompson, 1951, 1953). Thompson (1951) speculated that many African American educators might lose their jobs if the integration of schools was actually achieved. He initially estimated minimal losses to Black teachers as there were simply not enough White teachers to replace them. Yet he contended that, “the situation relative to the future status of Negro principals and supervisors is not so clear nor so certain as the case with Negro teachers”

(Thompson, 1953, p. 100). Unfortunately, the concerns regarding the adverse impact of desegregation on the systemic displacements of African American principals understatedly became a harsh reality and an even more disturbing tragedy (Karpinski, 2006; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b).

Disintegration, displacements, and near decimation (1954-1970s). The transition from dual educational systems to integrated schools had far reaching and devastating effects on African Americans at all levels (James, 1970). African American students who attended all-Black schools were newly assigned to attend previously all-White schools. Conversely, when it was deemed more prudent to bus White students, previously all-Black schools were renamed to reflect a newly integrated existence (Green, 2004). Integration ultimately resulted in the mass closings of hundreds of segregated Black schools and busing of millions of Black students nationwide (Karpinski, 2006). A myriad of African American school staff were also adversely impacted. According to Fultz (2004):

For a period of approximately two decades, from the mid 1950s through the mid 1970s, African American school staff at all levels – teachers, principals, coaches, counselors, band directors, even cafeteria workers – were fired, demoted, harassed, bullied as White communities throughout the South reacted first to the prospect and then to the reality of court-ordered desegregation. No one was exempt. “Displacement” became the phase which subsumed the many policies and practices of southern school boards, school superintendents, and politicians which sought to undermine the employment and authority of African American school staff: dismissals, demotions, forced resignations, “nonhiring,” token

promotions, reduced salaries, diminished responsibility, coercion to teach subjects or grade levels other than those for which individuals were certified and had experience. (p. 13-14)

James (1970) contended that, “The black principal [was] a prime victim of this disaster” (p. 18). He argued that Black principals were inexorably and unconscionably eliminated as desegregation persisted. Similarly, Orr (1972) noted the following from a December 1969 article in *School and Society*:

The black principal may be a vanishing breed in the South...Desegregation frequently means closing down formerly Negro schools, and school closings are just the excuse many districts need to fire their Negro personnel rather than move them to “White” (now integrated) schools. Thousands have lost their jobs since desegregation began. (p. 2)

During the 1949-1950 school year prior to the *Brown* ruling there were roughly 12,295 White and 2,822 African American elementary and high school principals throughout the 17 segregated-education states and the District of Columbia (Thompson, 1951). However, African American principals were systemically displaced as desegregation progressed (Fultz, 2004). Several authors (Coffin, 1972; Ethridge, 1979; Fultz, 2004; Karpinski, 2006) explain that because displacement did not necessarily mean being fired, mass numbers of African American principals were reassigned to central offices in positions that essentially equated to the responsibilities of a secretary. Some were even given a supervisory title but relegated to custodial duties. Most commonly, Black principals were demoted to the position of assistant principals under the authority of a White principal in integrated White schools. In some cases, this assignment occurred

in the same school in which he once served as the principal (James, 1970). As illustrated in Table 1, Karpinski (2006) reported Black principal losses in 13 Southern states.

Table 1

Elimination Figures of Black Principals In 13 Southern States During Desegregation

| State | Before Elimination | After Elimination | Time Span |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Alabama | 250 | 50 | 1967-1970 |
| Arkansas ^a | 134 | 14 | 1963-1971 |
| Florida ^a | 102 | 13 ^b | 1965-1970 |
| Georgia | 50 | 24 ^c | 1963-1970 |
| Kentucky | 350 | 36 ^d | 1954-1970 |
| Louisiana | 340 | 270 | 1968-1970 |
| Maryland | 44 | 31 ^e | 1954-1968 |
| Mississippi ^a | 178 | Fewer than 30 | 1969-1971 |
| North Carolina ^a | 227 | 8 | 1965-1970 |
| South Carolina | 144 | 33 | 1967-1970 |
| Tennessee ^a | 73 | 17 | 1967-1970 |
| Texas | 1049 ^f | 391 | 1964-1970 |
| Virginia ^a | 107 | 16 | 1964-1971 |

Source: Karpinski (2006) compiled from *Hearings before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the U.S. Senate, 92nd Congress* (1971).

a. Secondary and/or high school principals.

b. Approximate – representing 49 districts.

c. Approximately North Georgia.

d. All but two who remained as principals were in Louisville.

e. The number of Black principals did not keep pace with the number of White principals, which increased by 113 (167%) (Coffin, 1972). Therefore, the decline in Black principals was more than 50%.

f. Total number of Black schools headed by Black principals. The second number indicates the number of Black schools remaining open.

Approximately 38,000 administrators and teachers in 17 states (mostly Southern)

lost their positions between 1954-1964 (Epps, 2002). Many of the displacements resulted in the non-renewal of contracts for the following school year as tenure laws generally failed to provide African Americans adequate protection against the malicious hegemony of White school boards and superintendents (Fultz, 2004). Consequently, the statistics of White principal placements soared during desegregation while the systemic decimation of African American principals nearly rendered them extinct from American public schools (Coffin, 1972). The actual number of transfers, demotions, and terminations will never be fully realized as states and school districts failed to earnestly keep accurate statistical records (Karpinski, 2006).

Undeniably, African American principals and educators “bore the brunt of integration through continued losses of employment” (Fultz, 2004, p. 22). Most Southern Whites viewed African American principals as incompetent for having failed to effectively educate Black children. African American principals were also seen as inferior to White principals. In general, many Whites simply could not accept the possibility of an African American principal leading White children and teachers (Coffin, 1972; Karpinski, 2006). Such sentiments led Fultz (2004) to surmise that, “schools might ostensibly have to be ‘mixed,’ at least to a degree, but with firm resolve they would still remain symbolically ‘White,’ supervised and staffed by Whites” (p. 23).

African American principals that survived the malicious and capricious displacements were rarely hired to lead predominantly White or biracial schools (Egerton, 1967; Ethridge, 1979). In his article, “When Desegregation Comes, The Negro Principals Go,” Egerton (1967) reported the deplorable placement figures of African American principals in predominantly White or biracial schools throughout the 17

southern and border-states as described in Table 2.

Table 2

Placement Frequencies of African American Principals Presiding Over Biracial Schools in the 17 Southern and Border States During Desegregation

| State | Status of Negro Principals' Placement in Biracial Schools |
|---------------|--|
| West Virginia | Six Negro principals presided over biracial schools. One presided over a Junior High school with a predominate White student enrollment (p. 9). |
| Delaware | Desegregation has resulted in drop of Negro principals from 58 to 12. All 12 lead biracial schools. Four of the 12 lead schools with majority White students (p. 9). |
| Kentucky | Desegregation has resulted in the drop of nearly 350 to only 8 all-Negro schools. Only 25 Negro principals lead biracial schools, which are all predominantly Negro, and only 1 has as much as a 10% White enrollment (p. 9). |
| Maryland | Had more Negro principals in biracial schools than any other state. In Baltimore, all but two of the 38 biracial schools have Negro principals were majority Negro, and all but seven had a minority enrollment of 10% or less. Other school districts report 48 Negro principals in desegregated schools and at least three others are in all-White schools (p. 9). |
| Missouri | St. Louis had 27 Negro principals in biracial schools, one of which is two-thirds White. Kansas City has 10 biracial schools headed by Negro principals, but all 10 are 98% or more Negro (p. 9). |
| Oklahoma | Although Negro principals headed 20 biracial schools throughout the state, most of the schools have a majority Negro student population with only token White student enrollment. However, one of the schools in Stillwater had 479 White students and 2 Negro students (p. 9). |
| Texas | Based on unofficial reports, nearly 100 Negro principals throughout the state headed biracial schools. However, the percentages of White students in each school were not on record. Moreover, as desegregation ensued, the number of Negro principals continued to drastically decline (p. 10). |
| Tennessee | Statistical records of Negro principals heading biracial schools were difficult to obtain from the state. What is known is that 10 Negro principals in Nashville headed biracial schools with a majority Negro student population and only a handful of White (p. 10). |

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Virginia | It is believed that 5 Negro principals headed biracial schools in Fairfax County. Each of the schools had a majority Negro student population. State statistical records were difficult to obtain (p. 10). |
| District of Columbia | Had a predominantly Negro population. A report showed that 184 of the city's 265 principals & assistant principals were Negro. No statistical data was available to show how many led biracial schools (p. 10). |
| Arkansas | No reports of Negro principals leading biracial schools (p. 11). |
| Mississippi | No reports of Negro principals leading biracial schools (p. 11). |
| Alabama | Only two Negro principals in the state led schools that had a one or two White students attending (p. 11). |
| Louisiana | A total of 47 White students across five different school systems are attending predominantly Negro schools that have Negro principals (p. 11). |
| North Carolina | Approximately five or six Negro principals headed schools that had just one White student attending. However, a Negro principal located near Raleigh was assigned to a single grade (ninth) school which had about 800 students, almost 90 percent of whom were White (p. 11). |
| South Carolina | Only two Negro principals reportedly had one White student each among their majority attending Negro students (p. 11). |
| Georgia | The only desegregated school in Georgia reported to have a Negro principal is a junior high school in Savannah (p. 11). |
| Florida | All attempts to learn the number of Negro principals in desegregated schools in the state were unavailable. One report showed there were at least two in Dade County (Miami). There were others believed to be in the state, but state officials professed to have no such statistics (p. 11). |

Source: Egerton (1967).

Although few African Americans in the South retained their jobs as principals, it had been a widespread practice to assign them to positions in schools where African American students comprised the predominant population (Coffin, 1972). Even in New York City, which had at least twice the number of schools as the next largest district in the nation, only seven African American principals were employed to lead large

concentrations of Black students. Killens (as cited in Orr, 1972) stated:

In “integrated” schools, too many of the symbols of authority are white...If integration is to have any meaning for black children, integration must be achieved at the level of the student body. I mean black and white kids must experience some black authority. (p. 6)

As James (1970) sharply reflected, “The point here is that it is alright for a Negro to administer or supervise a school which is all or overwhelmingly black, but the moment it becomes substantially desegregated the principal must be white” (p. 20). Undeniably, “the displacement, dismissal, and demotions of thousands of African American...principals in the South represent a root cause in the lack of racial diversity in today’s [school administrative] force” (Karpinski, 2006, p. 238).

Post-civil rights status (1970s-present). Data taken from the 1987-1988, 1990-1991, 1993-1994 (NCES, 1997), 2003-2004 (NCES, 2006), and 2007-2008 (NCES, 2009) school years revealed that African American principals were and still are drastically underrepresented throughout the nation’s public schools as compared to their White counterparts. During 1987-1988, there were approximately 86.6% White principals as compared to only 8.5% African American principals. Although the disparity between White and African American principals incrementally improved from 1990-1991 (85.9% to 8.6%), 1993-1994 (84.2% to 10.1%), 2003-2004 (82.4% to 10.6%) (NCES, 2006) and 2007-2008 (80.9% to 10.6%) (NCES, 2009), these figures reveal only gradual and minimal gains made in the placement of African American principals nationwide. As Hooker (1970) argued, “Nonhiring is a form of displacement as serious as dismissal and demotion” (p. 2). Figure 2 illustrates the SASS data reflecting the trend

in the representation of White and African American principals for the identified school years.

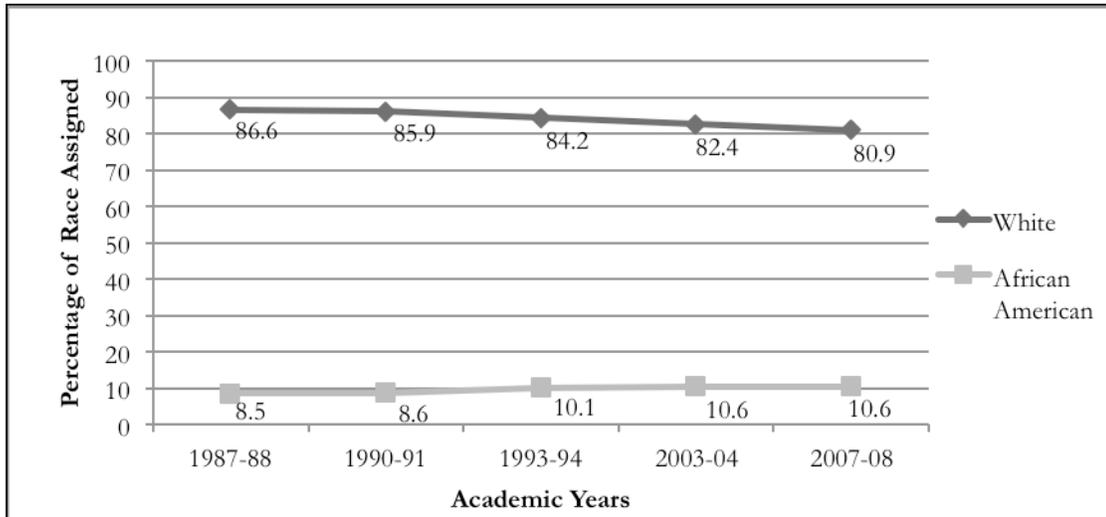


Figure 2. Comparison of the percentage of White and African American public school principals during school years: 1987-1988, 1990-1991, 1993-1994, 2003-2004, and 2007-2008. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Schools and Staffing Survey: 1987-88, 1990-91, 1993-94, 2003-04, & 2007-08.

Another post-*Brown* era trend that clearly emerges from the National Center for Education Statistics data is where African American and White principals were, and still are, placed by school. It appears that African American principals are still more likely than White principals to be placed in public elementary schools that tend to be located in urban areas, have high student poverty rates, and high minority student populations (Wegenke & Shen 2005). From the 1987 through 1994, over 90% of White principals and less than 5% of African American principals were placed in schools that had less than 20% of enrolled students receiving free or reduced meals (NCES, 1997). “These food programs, which provide free or reduced-priced meals to low-income children, disproportionately enroll minority children” (Kumanyika & Grier, 2006, p. 196).

However, in schools that had at least 50% or more students on free or reduced meals, the percentage of African American principals increased by nearly five times, whereas the percentage for White principals consistently declined nearly 30% each year (Wegenke & Shen, 2005).

Wegenke and Shen (2005) also note that during the 1999-2000 school year nearly 91% of White principals versus 8% of African American principals were assigned to suburban schools where the population of students was predominantly White. Moreover, 99.4% Whites principals versus a paltry .03% of African American principals were assigned to schools where the minority student population was less than 4%. Not surprisingly, therefore, African American principals were assigned significantly more often in urban, segregated minority school settings, especially where the predominant population of students was African American.

McCray et al. (2007) conducted a study that examined the prevalence of African American principals leading majority White schools in a Southeastern state and found that only 6% (n = 6) of the 102 respondents that led majority White schools were African American. "In contrast, it was found that White principals were in charge of 46% of all majority African American schools and of course 94% of all majority White schools" (p. 249). The authors concluded that African American principals are seldom given opportunities to lead majority White schools. Instead, they tend to be "in charge of schools that reflect the principal's ethnic and racial heritage" (p. 253). Moreover, "the placement of African American principals implicitly indicates that African Americans can only lead and be effective in schools that are predominately Black, and White administrators are able to lead in schools that are more diverse" (p. 248).

Brown (2005) also noted the historical underrepresentation of African American principals. He contended that, “the majority of African American leaders are employed in large, urban school districts that are underfunded, have scarce resources, significant numbers of uncertified teachers, and student underachievement” (p. 587). Many of their assigned schools are also fraught with higher discipline, crime, poverty, and dropout rates (Eaton & Rivkin, 2010). Moreover, African American principals are expected to quickly cleanup and turn-around these schools in spite of the challenging conditions (Pollard, 1997). Undeniably, such circumstances have great potential to adversely “affect the letter and tenure of African American [principal] leaders” (Brown, 2005, p. 587).

The State of Florida. The conditions for African American principals in the State of Florida during the post-*Brown* era reflected the above realities. A long history of racial hegemony existed throughout Florida as the state fully participated in segregation during pre- and immediate post-*Brown* eras (Abney 1974, 1980; Borman et al., 2004). For nearly two decades after the *Brown* ruling, school districts throughout the state attempted in various ways to avoid integration until district and appellate courts reinforced the Civil Rights Act of 1964 desegregation decree (Orr, 1972). However, as in other southern states, African American principals paid a heavy price when their segregated schools began to close throughout the state (Egerton, 1967).

In the first of two studies on the status of Florida’s Black school principals, Abney (1974) explained that during the 1964-1965 school year, 1,425 of the approximately 1,844 school principals employed in Florida were White. A total of 419 were African American. All of the 67 school districts within the state hired at least one Black principal. Still, the plight of African American principals in Florida inexorably

worsened as school districts rushed to meet court mandates to effectuate desegregated schools.

Abney (1980) later revealed that in 1975-1976, 27 districts throughout Florida had no African American principals assigned to schools. This amounted to 40% of school districts that no longer employed African American principals. Further, 85% (57 out of 67) of the school districts showed a drastic decline in the number of African American principals. While the state added 165 schools, an additional 166 Black school principals were displaced. Even as the African American student population increased, the amount of African American principals still drastically declined.

Abney (1974, 1980) attributed the dismissals and the lack of and inequitable hiring of African American principals to reasons of institutional racism. He noted that these conditions posed profound and damaging effects on the self-esteem of African American principals. He argued:

There are certain implications these consolatory decisions have for reinforcing the narrow-minded attitudes of children and adults, both black and white, that “black inferiority” and “white superiority” are indeed actual facts. This experience could be responsible for creating insurmountable educational, psychological, and sociological problems for American society. (Abney, 1974, p. 8)

Abney (1980) further noted the following statement taken from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) on employment practices of a system:

If a statistical survey shows that minorities...are not participating in your work force at all levels in a reasonable relation to their presence in the population and the labor force, then burden of proof is on you to show that this is not the result of

discrimination, however, inadvertent. There is a strong possibility that some part of your system is discriminating. (p. 401)

In the following sections, the review looks at some of the underlying reasons that contributed to the (dis)placements of African American principals in the post-Brown era. According to Delgado and Stefancic (1991), “racial hierarchies determine who gets tangible benefits, including the best jobs” (p. 17). Hence, federal legislation and the courts have had to intercede to ameliorate past employment discrimination based on race and preclude against future occurrences by legislating fair and equitable opportunities for all (Alexander & Alexander, 2009; Primus, 2003; Ryan, 2003; Spann, 2010). Nonetheless, the constant pendulum swing in legislative and courts’ decisions based on the salience of race and racism in the workforce reifies West’s (1994) strong contention that race matters.

Conceptual framework. This section details the legal, organizational, and human level theories that make up the theoretical framework guiding this research. Each theory plays a critical role in the placement of public school principals. Collectively, they represent the way a district does business in an everyday fashion. A comprehensive overview of the legal theory is provided first as it outlines the jurisprudential guidelines for hiring relative to race and racial diversity in the workplace and schools. The issues surrounding personal/professional qualities of principals are then explained in the organizational level theory section followed by the human level theories that influence how organizations attract, select, and retain principals. The role model theory utilized to promote same-race and cross-cultural affiliations and the juxtaposition of the role of mentors instead of role models are also explained. Lastly, a conclusion outlining several

pros and cons of the placement of African American principals in schools with majority African American students is provided based on analyses of the pre- and post-*Brown* eras and the compilation of theories comprising the conceptual framework.

Legal theories. According to Jackson (2006) “a study that examines hiring practices has at its core notions of equal employment opportunities without discrimination” (p. 318). As such, the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Employment Act of 1972, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, and the Florida Civil Rights Act of 1992 are laws pertinent to this study. This section moves from constitutional to statutory protections at the federal and state levels. A brief overview of each law is provided. A comparative analysis of the three most prominent of these laws pertinent to this study follows. The laws’ enforcement components are explained followed by a synopsis of the jurisprudential evolution relative to employment discrimination over the last half-century.

Constitutional protections. The Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment was initially created in 1865 as a means to provide broad-based protection for Blacks. It came in response to the Black Codes implemented by defeated Southern states to maintain supremacy over freed slaves post-Civil War (Smith, 2005). Congress utilized the Equal Protection Clause to justify the promulgation of the separate but equal doctrine from its *Plessy* ruling. Six decades later, the Court reversed its interpretation and use of the law to overturn *Plessy* in the historic ruling of *Brown* (Ryan, 2003).

Fundamentally, the Equal Protection Clause was not intended to bring all races to a level of equality or equal outcomes but to ensure protection against discriminatory acts by state governments (Primus, 2003). The Equal Protection Clause also does not apply to

actions conducted by the federal government as the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment provides that coverage (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). Recent courts have begun to interpret and apply concepts of both clauses with some overlap. Thus, both state and federal governments are essentially prohibited from denying equal protection of individual rights to its citizens. Since public educators are state employees and states receive federal funding for public education, there rests a logical assumption that state discrimination in education based on race might also constitute a federal violation (Ryan, 2003). Nowak et al. stated that, “The equal protection guarantee has become the single most important concept in the Constitution for the protection of individual rights” (as cited in Alexander & Alexander, 2009, p. 922).

Statutory protections. There are a number of statutory protections for consideration in this study beginning with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Public Law 88-352, was enacted under Section 5 of the 14th Amendment on July 2, 1964. This federal statute prohibits discriminatory acts based on race by programs that receive federal funding. This “includes both public and private elementary and secondary schools” (Ryan, 2003, p. 1,091). Specifically, Section 601 of Title VI states:

No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. (42 U.S.C. 2000d)

Additionally, Section 706(d)(1)(b) declares:

An educational agency ineligible for assistance if, after the date of the Act, it had

in effect any practice ‘which results in the disproportionate demotion or dismissal of instructional or other personnel from minority groups’ or ‘otherwise engage[s] in discrimination...in the hiring, promotion, and assignment of employees.’ (444 U.S. 130)

Federal agencies are given authority to withhold federal funding assistance from private and public institutions as a remedy for violating Title VI (Ryan, 2003). Title VI initially fell under the auspices of The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), which later became the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS) (Ryan, 2003). However, concerns arose over HEW’s weak enforcement of the law (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). As a result, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) in the Department of Education (ED) currently oversees compliance to Title VI for all public and private educational institutions (U.S. Department of Education, 2005). Private individuals are no longer afforded rights to file disparate impact suits under Title VI. The ED has full authority to enforce adverse impact claims filed for violation of Title VI. Title VI covers racial discrimination in education and extends employment protection proffered by Title VII (Ryan, 2003).

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 also offers statutory protections. Congress exercised powers granted by the Commerce Clause of the U.S. Constitution and passed Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). This law was passed amidst tumultuous race relations stemming from the Civil Rights Movement and other prominent events involving racial discrimination. Title VII is considered to be the most prominent of all the civil rights federal statutes created (Primus, 2003). It acts in combination with other important federal statutory laws to

provide a wide range of employment protection (Spann, 2010). Alexander and Alexander (2009) noted that “the very purpose of Title VII is to promote hiring on the basis of job qualifications, rather than on the basis of race or color” (p. 940). “[Thus] Title VII is violated when an employer makes an employment decision based on an employee’s race” (Alexander & Alexander, 2009, p. 938). Further, “[It] has been used most often to challenge discrimination in teacher and administrator employment (Alexander & Alexander, 2009, p. 924). Title VII also prohibits employment agencies and employers from discriminating against anyone associated with others based on race, color, sex, or national origin, such as those in interracial marriages (Spann, 2010).

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and certain state fair employment agencies (FEPA) mediate, investigate, enforce, and file suit for Title VII claims (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). Individuals must file a claim for EEOC action within 180 days of an alleged discrimination. Private individuals may also file claims alleging violation of Title VII (Spann, 2010). A distinguishing feature of Title VII is that it provides coverage against discriminatory practices and policies that cause both disparate treatments and disparate impacts based on race (Alexander & Alexander, 2009).

The Equal Employment Act of 1972 enacted by Congress in 1972, expanded the authority of the EEOC under Title VII. The act added to Section 717 of Title VII, which specifically “required each executive branch agency to develop a national and regional equal employment opportunity plan...in order to maintain an affirmative action program of equal employment opportunity” (Colamery, 1998, p. 68).

In 1991, Congress approved the Civil Rights Act of 1991, Public Law 102-166, to remedy ongoing intentional racial discrimination in the workplace. This was done in

response to the Supreme Court's rulings in *Washington v. Davis* (1976) and *Ward's Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio* (1989). Both decisions placed a greater burden on the plaintiff to prove Title VII disparate impact claims. Congress felt its original intent to provide equal employment opportunities for minorities had been severely weakened (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). The Civil Rights Act, therefore, intently bolstered statutory guidelines for disparate impact claims, definitions for business necessity and job-related qualifications, and set compensation terms for intentional discrimination (Brown, 2004b). This act ignited national controversy over the issue of quotas found in affirmative action policies (Colamery, 1998; Thomas, 1991).

Pertinent to this study, statutory protections at the state level include the Florida Civil Rights Act of 1992. In 1992, the Florida State Legislature enacted the Florida Civil Rights Act (FCRA), Title XLIV, Chapter 760, Sections 760.01-760.11 and 509.092, to cover discrimination in the treatment of persons and minority representation. The FCRA is largely based on the federal statutory protections of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Much like Title VII, the FCRA protects against employment discrimination on the basis of race, sex, color, national origin, and religion from any employers with 15 or more employees. Employers are prohibited from segregating or classifying employees in any manner that would adversely affect their job status. Employers must prove that the employment decisions for any of the protected areas were reasonably necessary for the job requirements. Grievances must be filed to the Florida Commission on Human Relations (FCHR) within 365 days from the date of an alleged violation. Discriminatory treatment, disparate impact, equal pay, pregnancy discrimination, disability and marital status discrimination, sexual harassment, hiring discrimination, wrongful termination,

wrongful denial of promotion, and retaliation are all types of discrimination covered under the laws of FCRA.

Legislative comparative analysis. There are several similarities and differences between the Equal Protection Clause, and Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, considered to be the three most prominent legal decisions on employment discrimination pertinent to this study. Although all three share broad levels of protection, the Equal Protection Clause is a constitutional law that provides less specific protection than the more explicit statutory protections provided under Title VI and Title VII (Alexander & Alexander, 2009; Spann, 2010). The major distinguishable difference between the three protective laws is the doctrine of intent versus effects condition. Although, all three allow for claims of disparate treatment, only Title VI and Title VII allow for claims based on disparate impact or effects (Spann, 2010). Therefore, the burden of proof by the plaintiff is less difficult in Title VI and Title VII claims of disparate impact than found in disparate treatment complaints filed under all three laws (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). In addition, all three apply the strict scrutiny test when race discrimination is involved, however, only Title VI and VII cover both private and public employees (Primus, 2003). Table 3 illustrates a comparison of the protections under the Equal Protection Clause Title VI, and Title VII.

Table 3

Comparison of the Protections Under Equal Protection Clause, Title VI, and Title VII

| | | Equal Protection Clause | Title VI | Title VII |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Year Enacted | 1868 | 1964 | 1964 |
| 2. | Law Derived | 14th Amendment | Civil Rights Act | Civil Rights Act |
| 3. | Type of Law | Constitutional | Federal Statute | Federal Statute |
| 4. | Power of Congress | Congress | Section 5 of 14th Amendment | Commerce Clause |
| 5. | Prohibitive Coverage | State government | Federally assisted programs | Federal |
| 6. | Monitored by | --- | OCR- federal agencies | EEOC |
| 7. | Protection type | Antidiscrimination | Antidiscrimination | Antidiscrimination |
| 8. | Level of protection | Broader and less specific | Race, color, or national origin | Race, color, religion, sex, or national origin |
| 9. | Prohibits employment discrimination? | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 10. | Type(s) of claim(s) allowed | Discriminatory intent or motive | Disparate treatment (intent) Disparate impact (statistical data) | Disparate treatment (intent) Disparate impact (statistical data) |
| 11. | Defendant's burden | Compelling state interest | Business necessity or job relatedness | Business necessity or job relatedness |
| 12. | Individuals covered | Public | Private and public | Private and public |
| 13. | Test applied involving race | Strict Scrutiny | Strict Scrutiny | Strict Scrutiny |

Legal Enforcement Components. Legal enforcements include the following arguments discussed in this section: disparate treatment, disparate impact, and strict scrutiny. “Disparate treatment is the most easily understood type of discrimination...cases generally involve a single plaintiff who challenges a particular practice that is detrimental to him or her personally” (Alexander & Alexander, 2009, p. 924). Disparate treatment cases are frequently litigated. However, claiming racial discrimination on grounds of intent or motive makes proving disparate treatment quite challenging (Alexander & Alexander, 2009; Ryan, 2003). In disparate impact cases the act forbids overt discrimination and practices that are fair in design, but discriminatory in operation. The touchstone is business necessity. In other words, the plaintiff must provide compelling statistical data to demonstrate that a seemingly neutral employment practice or policy had a discriminatory effect (Spann, 2010). “Evidence in disparate impact cases usually has to do with statistical disparities, rather than specific incidents” (Alexander & Alexander, 2009, p. 925). The Court held in *Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Corp.* (1977) that disproportionate effects might be used as evidence of discriminatory purpose. As noted by Spann (2010):

Whites want to retain the resources to which they feel entitled by prior cultural practice, while racial minorities want to escape the disadvantages to which they have been consigned through past discrimination. Recognizing this, Congress included a disparate impact provision in its Title VII prohibition on discriminatory employment practice, which it thought would balance the competing employment interests of whites and racial minorities. (p. 1,149)

Similarly, Primus (2003) contended:

As an empirical matter, there is still a significant degree of racial segregation in American employment. That segregation has historical roots in de jure discrimination, and the old regime continues to have effects. After legal discrimination ended, whites on average still enjoyed better educational and occupational opportunities than blacks, with the result that employers who selected employees based on educational and occupational qualifications tended to hire whites over blacks even if they were not motivated by an intent to discriminate. That pattern can reproduce itself from generation to generation...applying neutral criteria to haves and have-nots alike could help keep blacks an underclass in the workforce even if employers held no bias in favor of maintaining that state of affairs. (p. 523-524)

Disparate impact claims were not part of the original Title VII language until *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (1971). The *Griggs* case primarily related to the unfair use of test scores to deny employment opportunities for Blacks. Disparate impact was later reinforced when Congress amended Title VII in 1991. Plaintiffs are granted opportunities to be compensated for damages suffered under Title VII (Spann, 2010).

Significant to the concept of disparate impact is the method of calculation to determine impact, which varies (Jackson, 2006). One example noted by Shoben (1979) is the EEOC's Uniform Guidelines on Employment Selection Criteria 80% criterion. This method of calculation holds that an adverse impact is identified whenever a selection rate of members of a protected class (racial/ethnic or gender groups) is found to be less than 4/5ths, or 80%, of another group.

The U.S. Supreme Court deemed race to be a suspect classification due to the

nation's horrid history of racial discrimination (Spann, 2010). Therefore, the courts apply the most stringent of a three-tiered level of judicial scrutiny in cases where the state has been alleged to have discriminated against an individual or group based on race or national origin. This is known as the strict scrutiny standard (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). As Justin O'Conner stated in the *City of Richmond v. J. A. Cronson, Co.* (1989) case, "The purpose of strict scrutiny is to 'smoke out' legitimate uses of race by assuring that the legislative body is pursuing a goal important enough to warrant use of a highly suspect tool" (Alexander & Alexander, 2009, p. 1,057). Under strict scrutiny, the courts ask the following two questions: "First, does the racial classification serve a compelling government interest? Second, is it narrowly tailored to achieve that goal" (Alexander & Alexander, 2009, p. 922)?

Affirmative action. Since its introduction in the early 1960s, affirmative action programs and policies have incited controversial debates surrounding its intended purposes and perceived outcomes (Jones, 2009). Moreover, it has divided people across all racial lines into those who strongly advocate for affirmative action programs and policies versus those who vehemently oppose them (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Zamudio et al., 2011). The following sections share the literature on the definitions of affirmative action, arguments for its legitimacy and need, and counterarguments that call for its abolishment.

According to Zamudio et al. (2011) affirmative action is a macro-level policy that "provide[s] meaningful opportunities and a full measure of equality to those American citizens who had historically been discriminated against" (p. 82). It is "to assure[s] a true level playing field for all...to try to deliver on the promise of equality" (Zamudio et al.,

2011, p. 83). They further described affirmative action as a strategy created to overcome the long history of racial preference and privilege given to White males and to ensure that schools and businesses comply with the civil rights laws pertaining to education and employment. Similarly, Colamery (1998) states that the purpose of affirmative action is “to overcome the history of America’s past of slavery, peonage, racism, and, finally, legally sanctioned segregation, that barred Blacks (and other minorities and women of all races) from full participation in the work force and in America’s educational institutions” (p. 9). Gutierrez-Jones (1995) notes that, “affirmative action was instituted to insure that applicants for positions would be judged without any consideration of their race, religion, or national origin” (p. 1).

West (1994) defines affirmative action from a class and economic perspective as a redistributive measure imposed during the 1960s to promote racial equity. He further explains that affirmative action’s purpose is to redress the racial caste of America’s past that substantively denied opportunities for Blacks and other people of color to fairly attain wealth and power. West (1994) lauded affirmative action for its distributive potential to eliminate Black poverty and enhance the middle class standing of African Americans.

Proponents of affirmative action contend that the long history of the racial caste system, White privilege, and White hegemony created structural inequities that, at the very least, necessitated legal remedies to effectuate racial equality, fair access, and full opportunities for minorities [and women] in all realms of society (Bell, 1987; Fromkin, 1998; Obach, 2000; Thomas, 1991; West, 1994). In 1961 President Kennedy created the committee for Equal Employment Opportunity and gave birth to the concept of

affirmative action as a measure to address ongoing racial discrimination and disparities of opportunities against African Americans and other minorities (Executive Order No. 10,925, 1961). Four years later, President Johnson legalized the concept of affirmative action in federal contracting to attack conditions associated with forms of institutional, blatant, and hidden discrimination and segregation (Colamery, 1998).

Bell (1987, 1992) argued that the permanence of racism in America exacerbates the susceptibility of Blacks and other people of color to combat institutional racism embedded in covert racist hiring policies that continue to benefit and keep Whites in advantaged positions. Bell is widely noted for his leadership in legal scholarship; to teaching and promoting racial equity for Blacks. He tenaciously protested Harvard University's Affirmative Action Plan for its failure to equitably promote faculty diversity. Bell argued that Harvard employed a self-perpetuating hiring practice that resulted in annually low percentages of hired Black faculty members in comparison to Whites.

Brooks (1990) offered three poignant reasons to support affirmation action. First, "affirmative action works because it promotes racial inclusion [and] counteracts the inertia of discriminatory traditions in American institutions" (Brooks, 1990, p. xvi). Second, it reinforces the most qualified candidates' stance of minority applicants who have achieved employment or education qualifications equivalent to their White counterparts despite confronting "severe social and psychological obstacles" (Brooks, 1990, p. xvi). Third, affirmative action is "a moral imperative because it makes our society more open than it otherwise would be" (Brooks, 1990, p. xvi). Overall, Brooks' advocacy for affirmative action justified his push for quotas in order to provide African Americans, other people of color, and women a fair chance to succeed.

In reinforcing Brooks (1990), Thomas (1991) noted that, “quotas make it possible for blacks to have an equal chance to improve or to protect their chances for worldly success and personal happiness” (p. 126). He raised the issue of residual racism, whether conscious or unconscious, as a serious and ongoing barrier toward achieving racial equality. “Residual racism can easily make the difference in whether or not a black is deemed qualified for a job” (Thomas, 1991, p. 124).

McCarthy and Zent (1982) conducted a study in 1980 and found that minorities and women in public school administration in 46 school districts across six states significantly benefited from affirmative action plans. They reported over a five-year period (1975–1980) that minority administrators were hired at more than twice the national rate due to affirmative action policies among the schools analyzed in the study. They explained that despite the employment gains, however, White males still dominated the hiring figures for all top-level administrative positions. Similarly, Fenwick (2000) noted that nearly 60% of all school principals are White males despite many of them having equal or less teaching experiences, certification, and degree credentials than their African American principals counterparts.

Opponents of affirmative action policies and programs challenge their existence on the grounds of fairness. “Critics charge that preferential policies unfairly deny opportunities to individual white males who are not guilty of discrimination” (Colamery, 1998, p. 76). Other opponents view it as “a preference or privilege given in a particular situation to an individual because of that person’s group membership” (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 79). According to Fromkin (1998) “angry white men blame affirmative action for robbing them of promotions and other opportunities” (p. 1). Glazer (1988) contends

that opponents believe affirmative action promotes reverse discrimination as privileges are afforded to groups of people based on color. Such privileges undermine individual rights primarily at the cost of Whites males.

The principles of meritocracy, colorblindness, and neutrality reinforce opponents' beliefs that affirmative action is reverse discrimination (Zamudio et al., 2011). Critics contend that a person's merits should determine accessibility to certain resources, such as a quality education or particular employment (Spann, 2010). "Affirmative action undermines the principle of merit selection" (Colamery, 1988, p. 76) when race is used as the determining factor. Opponents also argue that despite a long history of insidious racial discrimination and oppression against people of color, vast improvements in racial harmony and equity have resulted in America presently being a colorblind nation (Colamery, 1988). Therefore, "equating ameliorative and remedial programs with discrimination allows opponents arguing from a color-blind perspective to assert that all considerations of race are per se suspect and that affirmative action in particular should be outlawed" (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 80).

Opponents have already begun to push for antidiscrimination laws in an effort to ban affirmative action policies (Zamudio et al., 2011). In his article, "Affirmative Action As A Majoritarian Device: Or, Do You Really Want To Be A Role Model?" Delgado (1995) strongly argues against affirmative action in support of minorities. He contends that Whites designed and promoted affirmative action to manipulate minorities into behaving in manners that ultimately promote the benefits and security of Whites. Ward Connelly, a controversial political activist who founded the American Civil Rights Institute, spearheaded the movement in California to eliminate affirmative action policies

and practices (Metzler, 2008). He argues that affirmative action promotes reverse discrimination in that it unfairly benefits minorities and wrongly discriminates against Whites. While serving as University of California Regent, Connelly helped to initiate the proposal of Proposition 209 on California's State Ballot in 1995. The law passed a year later. This seminal state ruling had far-reaching effects serving as the catalyst for several other states to subsequently place a ban on affirmative action policies and practices (Zamudio et al., 2011).

Evolution of case law regarding race-based protections. Although *Brown* eventually became widely viewed as the most influential legal decision to effectuate the equal protection rights of Black citizens throughout the country (Jones, 2009), many have since questioned the actual victors of the *Brown* ruling (Bell, 1980; Horsford, 2010, 2011). According to Bell (1980) the interests of Whites in promoting American democracy across the globe, and annulling international criticism over its racist domestic policies against Blacks, coincidentally converged with Blacks' movement for equal rights. The *Brown* ruling ultimately resulted in the closing of thousands of all-Black schools. It also ignited the tragic displacements of Black administrators, teachers, and students (Fultz, 2004; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b). At present, the alarming resurgence of *de facto* segregated schools throughout the nation has seemingly nullified the intent and groundbreaking prominence of the *Brown* ruling (Frankenberg, 2009; Horsford, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Orfield, Frankenberg, & Lee, 2003; Orfield & Lee, 2004).

As previously noted, the Supreme Court unanimously reaffirmed the equal protection and employment rights of Blacks in the *Griggs* case. The ruling established the definition and use of statistical data to launch claims of disparate impact against

Blacks in the workplace. In this case, prior courts asserted the employer did not intentionally discriminate. However, the Supreme Court ruled on behalf of the Black plaintiffs and upheld the Congressional intent of Title VII that “barred both intentional discrimination and employment practices that had an unintended racially disparate impact” (Spann, 2010, p. 1145). Thus, *Griggs* became the seminal ruling for disparate impact claims on discriminatory practices that hindered opportunities for Blacks in large numbers.

Since the *Griggs* decision, the changing tide in litigating disparate impact claims became evident in the Supreme Court’s rulings in *Washington v. Davis* (1976), *Ward’s Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio* (1989), and *Ricci v. DeStefano* (2009). The *Washington* and *Ricci* decisions further challenged the validity of testing and use of data in hiring decisions. The *Ward’s* decision found that disparities existed in the percentages of races hired among different job classes.

In *Washington*, the Supreme Court acknowledged the disparate impact on Blacks based on test results but denied the applicability and validity of disparate impact claims under Equal Protection and Due Process clauses. The Supreme Court’s decision directly challenged the decisive precedent applied in *Griggs*. Justice Brennan, who dissented with Justice Marshall in the *Washington v. Davis* case stated, “I suggest that today’s decision has the potential of significantly weakening statutory safeguards against discrimination in employment” (1976, p. 259).

In *Ricci* the Court ruled in a 5-4 majority decision that the hiring municipality’s decision to discard test results out of fear of creating an unintentional disparate impact against minorities was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court determined that the case

resulted in reverse discrimination against 17 White plaintiffs and one Hispanic firefighter who met promotion criteria (Spann, 2010). Essentially, the Supreme Court concluded that it was unlawful for an employer to purposely discriminate against Whites to protect a minority class. Also, an employer must have a strong basis in evidence of disparate impact liability to justify a race-conscious discriminatory act (129 S. Ct. 2658).

Collectively, these three cases illustrated the Supreme Court's challenge of legitimate race-conscious disparate impact claims (Alexander & Alexander, 2009; Spann, 2010).

The Supreme Court's rulings in *Adams v. Richardson* (1973), *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), *Hopwood v. University of Texas Law School* (1996), and *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) also depicted the changing tide in Supreme Court rulings in race-conscious affirmative action programs. In the *Adams* case, the Supreme Court ordered the elimination of segregation in higher education institutions and decreed ongoing recruitment of students and staff to opposite-race schools (Colamery, 1998). In *Bakke*, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of a White applicant who claimed that his rights were being violated on the basis of discriminatory practices of affirmative action and predetermined reserved admissions seats at the Medical School of the University of California at Davis. This portion of the ruling introduced the concept of the "innocent [White] victim," (Suthammanont, 2005, p. 1,176) which raises concerns about equal protection. Nonetheless, the Supreme Court also ruled that universities were allowed to use race as a factor for admission.

In the *Hopwood* case, however, the Fifth Circuit Court disallowed the use of race and affirmative action policies as a determining factor in the admission of students at the University of Texas-Austin Law School (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). This decision

became the first successful legal challenge of affirmative action policies and the use of quotas. In this case, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled in favor of four White students who were denied acceptance because of the use of a separate admissions criteria for students of color (Tate, 1997). Lastly, “the *Grutter* decision assured colleges and universities of their abilities to pursue affirmative action” (Orfield & Lee, 2004, p. 10). It also reinforced a system that positively promoted diversity and the need for a multiracial society.

Organizational level theories: Personal/professional qualities. The contexts of personal and professional qualities of principals continue to greatly influence principal placement decisions at the organizational level (Baltzell & Dentler, 1983; Schlueter & Walker, 2008; Wendel & Breed, 1988). Some examples of principals’ personal attributes include race or ethnic group, sex, religion, marital status, oral and written skills, strong interpersonal skills, and intelligence. Instructional and operational leadership, certification/licensure, strong teaching history, and community engagement are just a few examples of professional attributes (Anderson, 1991).

Ideally, superintendents and school boards make proper placement decisions based on clearly defined and equitable criteria that measure the merits of both personal and professional qualities of principal candidates (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992; Schlueter & Walker, 2008). Yet, very limited published literature exists on which professional and/or personal attributes are considered most important in the hiring and placement processes. This paucity consequently complicates the understanding of how and why principals are selected for particular school placements (Hooker, 2000).

Schlueter and Walker (2008) cited some of the limited works from several

unpublished dissertations that studied the qualities superintendents found most important when hiring and placing principals in their school district. Work conducted by Van de Water (1987) revealed that 576 superintendents in New York deemed principals' professional qualities of instructional leadership and commitment to academic goals had the greatest influence on being selected and placed in a school. Personal qualities such as marital status, race, sex, and educational level were deemed not as important. Dillon (1995) noted that 191 superintendents in Indiana preferred principals' human relation and instructional skills. Likewise, Karol's (1988) study showed that superintendents in Arizona based their decisions on principals' professional qualities of instructional leadership, professional experience, and organizational abilities. Even with these limited findings, selection and placement decisions are still obscured by undefined, unspoken, unpublished, and political processes and practices (Hooker, 2000).

According to Anderson (1991) many of the most qualified principal candidates are often overlooked because of haphazard and tacit placement guidelines. Jackson (2006) used the term 'black box mush' to describe "a decision-making process in which the employer subjectively combines several employment practices, thus making the identification of a particular employment practice impossible" (p. 318). He used this phrase to explain the subjective hiring practices that have resulted in the disproportionate exclusion of African American males in leadership positions at American colleges and universities. In most cases, this subjectivity undergirds the practices of fit to determine the selection and placement of principals (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992).

"Rather than using criteria, districts rely on a feel of 'fit' in determining which candidates to choose for positions" (Schlueter & Walker, 2008, p. 14). Hence, the

selection of principals is largely predicated on the notion of fit, or “the extent to which a leader is perceived to be appropriately matched to a given context” (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992, p. 26). Ideally, principals’ vision and philosophies would synergistically fit within and across certain school and community environments. Yet:

In some cases fit even goes beyond meeting the real job expectations and includes personal characteristics, such as the principal’s style or socioeconomic, educational, or cultural background. Problems of this nature are characterized by comments such as, “He gets the job done, but he’s just not one of us. He just doesn’t fit in.” (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992, p. 32)

Considering this, Duke and Iwanicki (1992) profoundly cautioned against:

[T]he use of fit to mask personnel decisions based solely on administrators’ gender, race, or ethnicity. To claim that a black principal does not fit the context of a predominantly white school is to ignore our society’s commitment to merit and equal opportunity. Great care must be taken to ensure that fit is not used as a convenient justification for personnel decisions that are discriminatory and illegal...It would be interesting to study districts that periodically rotate administrators to determine whether certain administrators are never assigned to particular schools. (p. 34-35)

Despite this caution, Myung, Loeb, and Horng (2011) found in a study conducted in Miami-Dade County Public Schools (M-DCPS) during the 2007-2008 school year that the personal qualities of race and gender were significant predictors in the informal recruitment and selection processes of tapping teachers into principal positions. In this study, the tapping phenomenon increased nearly 30% when the race of teachers matched

the race of the principal. White principals tended to “tap” teachers more often than Black or Hispanic principals. Black and Hispanic teachers were more likely than White teachers to be tapped by principals of all races, including White principals. Hispanic principals were also less likely to tap Black teachers. With respect to gender, males were more likely to be tapped than females although the dyad relationship of females to females was greater. These results clearly revealed that principals were reproducing themselves by tapping teachers via homophilic practices that have potential to further exacerbate inequities involving race and gender.

Findings from a McCray, Beachum, and Richardson (2008) qualitative study showed that aestheticism, the physical attributes of how someone looks, might heavily influence the selection and placement of school administrators, particularly African Americans. Essentially, the scholars noted that overt and covert discrimination often occurs relative to the physical qualities of many African American administrators. This finding seemingly extends the dilemma of principal placements beyond just race. Most of the applicants highlighted in their study were African American. Yet, the differences in their physical attributes, or aestheticism, became the basis for selection and placement as evidenced in the following excerpt:

I just don't think he has the physical presence to deal with these kids...Mrs. Harper, Ms. Sikes, and Mr. Price were convinced that Mr. Simms was not the person for the job because of his physical presence. They felt that the larger and darker Chris Thomas was indeed the best person who could keep the students in line, especially the young Black males. (p. 52-53)

The vast array of personal and professional qualities, and the contexts surrounding

them, influence the ways in which hiring managers select individuals at the human level of an organization as elaborated in the Attraction-Selection-Attrition and Role Model Theories.

Human level theories.

Attraction, Selection, Attrition (ASA) model. Schneider (1987) seminally proposed the Attraction-Selection-Attrition (ASA) framework as a people-oriented theory to elucidate the determinants of organizational behavior that derive from human attributes. In developing of the ASA model, Schneider exclaimed that, “Organizations are the people in them: that the people make the place” (p. 450). The heart of the ASA framework is that the goals of the organization, which are articulated in some fashion by the founder, give birth and influence the behaviors, strategies, structures, and culture of the organization. More importantly, these interactions determine how the organization attracts, selects, and retains its people (Schneider, 1987; Schneider, Goldstein, & Smith, 1995; Schneider, Smith, Taylor, & Fleenor, 1998).

While the ASA components are interrelated, the composite model “proposes that people are differentially attracted to organizations on the basis of some sort of fit between ‘personal and organizational’ goals...those who do not fit the organization they join will leave” (Schneider et al., 1995, p. 748). Hence, “different kinds of organizations attract, select, and retain different kinds of people, and it is the outcome of the ASA cycle that determines why organizations look and feel different from each other” (Schneider, 1987, p. 440). Figure 3 illustrates Schneider’s ASA theoretical framework.

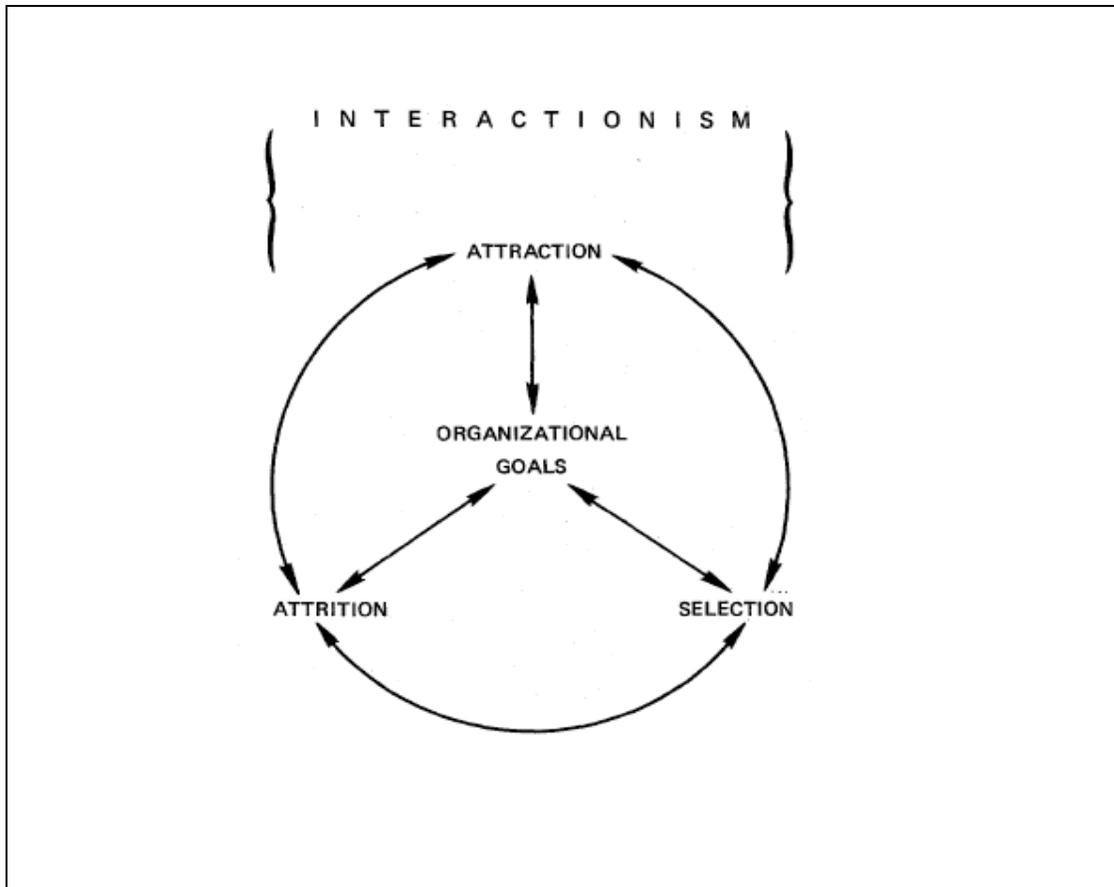


Figure 3. The Attraction-Selection-Attrition Framework from Schneider. (1987). The people make the place. *Personnel Psychology*, 40, p. 445.

Founders and their goals. Identified by Schneider (1987) as the central figure of the organization, founders are attracted to and hire individuals that mirror their particular personality attributes and organizational goals. They often select lieutenants (top managers) who share their personality attributes and will carry out their organizational goals (Schein, 1993). According to Schein (1993):

Founders not only choose the basic mission and the environment context in which the new group will operate, but they choose the group members and bias the original responses that the group makes...They will therefore be quite comfortable imposing those views on their partners and employees. (p. 211-213)

In short, founders play an essential role in establishing the hiring and placement policies and practices for their organizations. They utilize a purposeful hiring process in their attraction, selection, and attrition of people (Schneider, 1987). Indeed, “few organizations happen accidentally or spontaneously” (Schein, 1993, p. 219).

Attraction process. Schneider (1987) elucidated the attraction process based on Holland’s research and beliefs that people with similar career interests are more likely to be grouped in similar career environments. According to Holland (1985) individuals are attracted to particular career tracks that complement their interests and personality. Moreover, they are also attracted to and tend to prefer an organization that best suits their personality (Schneider, 1987; Schneider et al., 1995).

Schneider (1987) also emphasized the significant contributions proffered by scholars Tom (1971) and Vroom (1966), both of whom also studied the attraction of individuals to organizations. Tom (1971) explained that, “people’s most preferred environments are environments that have the same ‘personality’ profile they do” (p. 441). Vroom (1966), who developed the Expectation Theory, also postulated that people are attracted to and seek out organizations that will offer the best opportunities to meet their particular career valued outcomes. Further, the attraction people have for certain organizations are based on their perception of best fit between the organization’s and their personalities (Cable & Judge, 1996). Schneider et al. (1995) depicted the attraction paradigm as the “similar to me phenomenon” (Kanter, 1997, p. 757). Together, the authors elucidated the significant relationship between the goals of the organization and the person’s determination of attraction and fit with those goals.

Selection process. The organizational goals also have formal and informal influences on the selection process of the ASA model (Schneider, 1987). Schneider et al. (1995) defined selection as “procedures used by organizations in the recruitment and hiring of people with the attributes the organization desires” (p. 749). It is through the selection process that organizations restrict certain types of individuals (Schneider, 1987). The selection process undergirds the placement of principals based on a notion of fit, which “is a complex process” (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992, p. 34). It involves “the continuing interaction that takes place between a leader, followers, and the culture in which they exist” (p. 27). Like Schneider’s (1987) ASA process, notions of fit are predicated on the perceptions that selected individuals possess specific skills to fulfill certain job expectations. Hence, principals are selected to “fit” in certain environments.

In his article entitled, *Black Principals A Factor In Schools*, published in *The Washington Times* on September 29, 2011, Wolfgang (2011) explained he surveyed more than 37,000 teachers and principals from more than 7,200 school districts nationwide. He found that teachers of color prefer to be employed at schools where they share the same race as the principal. This same race attraction greatly impacts the selection processes and dyadic relationships of principals and teachers in many school settings. He noted, “the takeaway is...people are more comfortable with people who look like themselves” (Wolfgang, 2011, para. 4). Hence, race seemingly plays a significant role in the selection processes in organizations, particularly in schools.

Myung et al. (2011) also highlighted the inequities in the selection processes that are exacerbated by race and gender in their study on the tapping phenomenon of teachers into administrative positions in M-DCPS. Contrary to the egalitarian selection

approaches of contest mobility where “every candidate has an equal chance to attain a position through fair and open procedures and each candidate’s success depends on his or her merits” (p. 698), the authors noted that race and gender generate homosocial reproduction. This “tendency for people [principals] to establish sponsorship ties with people [teachers] whom they share demographic characteristics” (p. 698) typically restricts some from consideration while forcing out others through attrition.

Attrition process. While the attraction and selection processes describe the fit between the person and organization, the attrition process depicts the methods in which people leave the organization (Schneider et al., 1998). Fundamentally, “people are not randomly assigned to settings, they actively choose themselves into them” (Schneider et al., 1998, p. 464). Yet, some people eventually come to realize their expectations and values do not ideally fit the goals of the organization. Those who do not fit the personality of the organization eventually leave or are forced out (Schneider, 1987). Certain fits may be unsuccessful. Consequently, this may compel leaders (founders) to dismiss principals from the organization (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992). Over time, the attrition process exacerbates the organizational homogeneity created by the combination of the attraction and selection processes (Schneider et al., 1998). “Unless organizations consciously fight restriction in the range of the kinds of people they contain, when the environment changes they will (1) not be aware that it has changed and (2) probably not be capable of changing” (Schneider, 1987, p. 446).

Role Model Theory. The Role Model Theory (RMT) has been extensively promulgated and used as a hiring practice to place minorities in various organizations to remedy structural inequities vis-à-vis intersections of race, class, gender, educational and employment opportunities (Lomotey, 1987; Stewart et al., 1989). According to Irvine (1989), “Minority and female role models are needed in organizations to motivate and inspire others...their gender and minority experiences diversify and expand the culture of the workplace” (p. 55). Even though RMT lacks a seminal origin (Delgado, 1995), its roots as applied specifically to African American administrators and educators stem well over a century (Tillman, 2004b). Nonetheless, the current practices of this “ill-defined and imprecise” (Irvine, 1989, p. 52) theory throughout educational institutions have created a dichotomy of views on the prominence of its continued need (Lomotey, 1987, 1989) versus the perceptions of its true purposes (Delgado, 1995; Green, 2004). It’s extensive usage, however, makes it an appropriate fit for this study per the researcher.

Same race/cultural arguments. Black principals have long served as positive role models for Black students during both pre- and post-*Brown* eras (Irvine, 1989, 1990; Siddle Walker, 2000; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b, 2008). As role models during the pre-*Brown* era of legalized segregation, Black principals portrayed a “valuable image” (James, 1970, p. 18) for Black children. They also “led on the basis of their same-race/cultural affiliation and their desire to positively affect the lives of Black students” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 134) despite the myriad and egregious social injustices of segregation (Siddle Walker, 2000). African American principals continued to play a heroic function as role models even after the historic *Brown* ruling (Tillman, 2004b). However, the demotions, reassignments, and systematic decimation of Black educators during

integration resulted in a dearth of role models for Black children (Karpinski, 2006). Consequently, many have since argued the need for an increase of African American administrators and teachers to serve as role models based on same race/cultural connections (Irvine, 1989; Lomotey, 1987, 1989; Stewart et al., 1989; Tillman, 2004b).

Stewart et al. (1989) examined a 20-year span (1968-1986) of Black teacher representation in urban school districts after their decimation during integration. They found that a significant shortage existed in the employment of Black teachers in proportion to the population of Black students. As a result, they strongly argued for an increase of Black teachers to serve as positive role models for Black students. The authors contended that similar cultural connections of Black teachers are essential toward the academic improvement of Black students. They stated:

A Black teacher serves as a role model for Black students, thereby exposing Black students to other Black individuals who have been successful. The impact of Black teachers as role models has been even recognized by the courts as important to the education of Black students...Since a Black teacher shares racial experiences with the Black student, including experience as a Black student, a Black teacher is more likely to be supportive of a Black student who has trouble in class. (p. 143)

Findings from their study also suggested the presence of Black administrators within a district had the greatest influence on the recruitment and increased representation of Black teachers. Black administrators also serve as positive role models for Black teachers. Therefore, school districts that augment the representation of Black administrators would also ostensibly facilitate the increased presence of Black teachers.

Lomotey (1987, 1989) underscored the increased need for and positive effects of African American principals as role models for minority students. In *Black Principals for Black Students*, Lomotey (1987) utilized the term “homophily” to describe the nexus a Black principal has with a Black student due to shared cultural backgrounds. He stated, “When two blacks interact or communicate, their shared beliefs and values suggest that homophily occurs, bring about greater information usage, attitude formation, attitude change, and behavior change” (p. 175). Lomotey argued that Black principals identify with the needs of Black children better than principals of other races. Basically, “he or she would also consider the situation, understanding it in a way that a nonblack might not be able, given the different cultural basis of looking at the world” (p. 174).

In a later article entitled, *Cultural Diversity in the School: Implications for Principals*, Lomotey (1989) posited:

Minority students need role models. More minorities are needed among the ranks of administrators and within the classrooms of America, not fewer. Caucasian teachers cannot initiate the efforts for African American students to see themselves in the curriculum; they must learn from African Americans. (p. 86)

Lomotey based his strong argument on the assumptions that vast racial, gender, and educational inequities still exist throughout schools and society. In addition, cultural diversity does not preclude students from embellishing their own culture while engaging new experiences.

According to Tillman (2008) the paucity of Black educators have left Black students to be instructed by an assemblage of educators that lack the racial and cultural connections to effectively serve as their role models. Irvine (1990) referred to this

cultural disconnect as a lack of “cultural synchronization” (p. 21). Much like Lomotey’s (1989) explanation of homophily, the absence of cultural synchronization by White teachers often creates disharmony in the academic, behavioral, and emotional successes of Black students (Irvine, 1990). Black teachers fulfill that pedagogical void and serve as cultural advocates in the education of Black children (Irvine, 1989). As such, Black educators are better able to bridge a myriad of cultural chasms often experienced and ill addressed by most White educators. Her assertions reinforced Lomotey’s (1987) beliefs about the advantages Blacks have as role models for Black students via cultural connectivity. Hence, “Black teachers are more likely than their white counterparts to be prepared to assume their role of cultural translator” (Irvine, 1989, p. 57).

In order to assess the distinct subcultures of Black and White leadership at a predominantly Black urban high school, Brooks and Jean-Marie (2007) used an anthropological approach known as the Moiety Cultural Analysis Framework. Results from their qualitative study revealed that the Black school leaders served as positive role models and advocates for the students and community. The Black leaders felt compelled to continuously portray positive images of Blacks to dispel societal stereotypes that tend to depict Blacks in a negative manner. Yet, the White leaders did not display the same urge to be role models for the African American students. The authors attributed this to differences in sub-cultural influences. As with Stewart et al. (1989) and Lomotey (1987, 1989b), Brooks and Jean-Marie noted that Black principals also serve as positive role models for the recruitment and mentorship of Black teachers.

Pollard (1997) also shared the desires of one African American male principal of a predominantly Black, low socioeconomic school to also model images antithetical to

discriminatory images of African American men. She stated:

It is important that [the students] see me as a person who is like them in terms of color, and this is something they can aspire to...and being a male, often you don't see African American males portrayed as having [a] kind of love and respect for their families, for their children, and their wives, for females in their relationships. And I think kids see me as a very positive kind of person that way. (p. 362)

Likewise, Foster (2004) addressed the need for more African American role models due to the lack and disparity of their presence in schools. He stated:

This disparity deprives African American students of important role models who exemplify professional achievement, leadership, and success, who understand the dynamics of cultural and family practices and behaviors and the relationships of these factors to student growth and achievement, and who can serve as advocates for them in making educational institutions responsive to their educational, social, and cultural needs. (p. 221)

Collectively, the authors explained that the presence of African American administrators seems to have a positive impact on the recruitment and mentorship of Black teachers. Also, the present dearth of African American administrators and educators in our nation's schools pose serious concerns for the continued advocacy for African American students' comprehensive educational and socio-cultural needs.

Cross-cultural arguments. Instead of same race/cultural role models, some scholars have argued the need for minority administrators and teachers to serve as cross-cultural role models to promote diversity, as well as to foster racial awareness, understanding, and exposure of people of color to White students (Brooks, 1987;

Delgado, 1995; Dilworth, 1992; Hatton, 1989). According to Dilworth (1992) minority administrators and teachers play as equally important a role as cross-cultural role models for White students as they do in their functions as same-race role models for Black students. However, the perpetual dearth of African American administrators and teachers result in all students having limited cross-cultural school experiences (Loehr, 1988, Witty, 1982). This may lead minority students to continue to believe that a career in education is unappealing and unattainable (Hatton, 1989). Moreover, White students will also have limited opportunities to see people of color in various positions of school leadership and authority (Brooks, 1987).

Even though Frankenberg (2009), McCray et al. (2007), and Sanchez et al. (2008) acknowledged the positive contributions and impact African American school leaders and educators have on Black children, they also discussed various concerns regarding the perpetual placement of minority educational leaders and teachers as same race/cultural role models. According to McCray et al. (2007) the continued placement of African Americans and other minority principals under same race/cultural RMT practices might promulgate “an underlying supposition within the field of education that minority principals should only be placed and can only lead schools with a heavy concentration of minority students” (p. 253). Such placement perpetuations would strongly suggest African American principals are incapable of leading schools that are predominately White, while White principals are capable and effective leaders in all types of schools regardless of the racial composition of students.

Sanchez et al. (2008) argued that, “old patterns of segregation could be reestablished” (p. 5) if the placement of African American principals under same-race

practices of RMT continues. This would propagate contemporary de facto “exclusion” of African American principal in predominantly White schools, as was the case for Black principal placements during *de jure* segregation of re- and immediate post-*Brown* eras. Such placements would preclude cross-cultural opportunities for students and staff learning and interacting with individuals from other races. Fundamentally, “all students must realize that leadership positions can be fulfilled by people of all races” (p. 5).

Frankenberg (2009) reinforced these assertions by stating, “A diverse teaching staff is one of the few remaining ways to provide students with daily interactions and experiences across racial lines” (p. 256). Additionally, administrators from different racial backgrounds could assuage the prejudicial perceptions of students and staff and promote equality of status amongst all races. White students and staff can greatly benefit from different racial perspectives by having an African American principal leading their school. Such placements would allow White students to recognize the leadership realities and skill capacities of African Americans (and other minorities), as opposed to only primarily experiencing Whites in the principal and other school leadership position.

Pollard (1997) emphasized this need from the viewpoint of an African American female principal assigned to a majority White school. She stated:

Sometimes when I am over here on this side of town...people come into the office, walk right past me and ask, “Where is the principal?” They need to see someone like me as the principal here. It is not always what they want to see, but they need to see it anyway (p. 361).

In *How Do They Know You Care? The Principal's Challenge*, Lyman (2000) highlighted the caring leadership of all students by Kenneth Hinton. Mr. Hinton is an

African American male principal at a racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse early childhood center in the Midwest. Members of the school staff and community extolled Mr. Hinton for his compassionate leadership, role model qualities, and uncanny ability to foster racial harmony. They noted, “his caring for children is clearly not limited to children of color” (p. 31). Contrary to Lomotey’s (1987, 1989) advocacy for principals’ same-race/cultural affiliations with students, Mr. Hinton’s caring leadership focused on students of all colors (Lyman, 2000). His success reinforces the racial and cultural benefits for all students and drives the imperative that all principals should practice “leadership that will meet the needs of students, teachers, and parents from all racial and ethnic groups presented” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 187).

Several other scholars proffered strong arguments supporting the importance for cross-cultural role models to address the needs of all students regardless of race. Table 4 lists additional arguments from various scholars addressing the benefits to all students, especially Whites, in having diverse administrators and teachers as cross-cultural role models in America’s schools.

Table 4

Various Scholars' Advocacy for Cross-Cultural Role Models

| Scholars | Advocacy for Cross-Cultural Role Models |
|--|---|
| Brooks (1987) | The minority teacher shortage results in more than just a lack of role models for ethnic students. It also creates a severe limitation of cross-cultural exposure for majority students...It is unconscionable to deny any student as many cross-cultural experiences as possible, in preparation in living and working in our multi-ethnic world...The world they are preparing to enter is not going to be dominated by middle-class Anglo Saxon, American businessmen. Two-thirds of the world population are people of color who are beginning to have an increasing influence on world politics and America's future (p. 239). |
| Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy (1986) | The race and background of their teachers tells them [<i>White students</i>] something about minority and power in contemporary America. These messages influence children's attitudes towards school; their academic accomplishments and their views of their own and others' intrinsic worth. The views they form in school about justice and fairness also influence their future citizenship (p. 79). |
| Education Commission of the States (1990) | Because schooling provides the earliest near-daily exposure of children to life outside their homes, a diverse force allows all students to understand people who come from backgrounds different from their own and to see persons of different cultures in leadership positions (p. 7). |
| Green (2004) | Teachers of color are needed because of the many roles, perspectives, and practices they continue to provide to the educational experiences of all students and not just students and communities of color that remain socially and culturally isolated (p. 280). |
| Hawley (1989) | The only opportunity many young people will have to experience the lessons that can best be taught in racially integrated learning environments is to be taught by a teaching corps that is racially integrated (p. 34). |
| Kennedy (1992) | Diversity among teachers may increase both the students' and teachers' knowledge and understanding of different cultural groups, thereby enhancing the abilities of all involved to interact with different cultural groups (p. 84). |
| Loehr (1988) | Without sufficient exposure to minority teachers throughout their education, both minority and majority students come to characterize the teaching profession...and the academic enterprise in general...as better suited to whites (p. 32). |
| West (1994) | Today, in a global society, it is imperative that all children are exposed to educators of all races and nationalities...In a multiethnic society, multicultural education is not a frill (p. 5). |
| Witty (1982) | The absence of representative number of minority teachers and administrators in a pluralistic society is damaging because it distorts social reality for children. Schools are intended to help children develop their fullest potential, including the potential to relate to all other human beings. True diversity within the teaching and administrative ranks gives all children a sense of the cross-section of talent in the real world (p. 2). |

Mentors - not role models. Instead of categorizing role models in terms of same race/cultural or cross-cultural, Irvine (1989) classified role models as either being familial or celebrity. She explained that Black familial role models typically share a kinship and intimate bond with Black students. On the other hand, celebrity role models are individuals of great societal notoriety and prestige.

After analyzing the results from interviews of 50 Black high school seniors of varying ability levels, Irvine (1989) posited that Black students do not consider their teachers to be either a family or celebrity role model despite holding them in high esteem. The moniker of educator role models is not aptly suited in the eyes of Black students. The formal structures of schools often inhibit opportunities that foster familial relationships between teachers and students. Also, educators' low-paid salaries fall far short from the idolatry stardom status students often associate with public celebrities. Because of this, Irvine argued that not just Blacks but all administrators and educators should be mentors as opposed to role models. She noted:

Mentors are always role models, but role models are not always mentors, as in the case of celebrity role models. Mentors are advocate teachers who help Black students manipulate the school's culture... They serve as the voice for Black students when communicating with fellow teachers and administrators; when providing information about opportunities for advancement and enrichment; and when serving as counselors, advisors, and parent figures. (p. 53)

In his explanation of the underlying purposes of RMT, Delgado (1995) bolstered Irvine's (1989) urge for minorities to be mentors instead of role models. He defined RMT as an aspect of affirmative action created by the majority group to remediate

structural inequities that would ultimately help society move forward. Fundamentally, Whites ardently support RMT because they are the primary benefactors, not the actual minority [African American] role model or mentees, per se. He further argued:

The program was designed by others to promote their purposes, not ours...It makes us a means to another's end...The role model theory is a remarkable intervention. It requires that some of us lie and that others of us to be exploited and overworked. The theory is...highly functional for its inventors. It encourages us to cultivate non-threatening behavior in our own people. (p. 357-359)

The majority group has always maintained the power to establish the standards of quality and merit that characterize RMT. Minorities are ultimately expected to live up to these standards. Considering this, there exists the common practice whereby White-institutions hire minorities just to push their own goals more than because minorities meet or exceed the qualifications for the job (Irvine, 1989). Thus, questions have been raised concerning the possible motives behind the urgent call for increased hiring of more African American administrators and educators in schools primarily because they are needed as role models to address the unique needs of African American children just so Whites don't have to (Green, 2004; Irvine, 1989). To this end, Delgado (1995) reified RMT as:

You're hired (if you speak politely, have a neat haircut, and above all, can be trusted) not because of your accomplishments, but because of what other think you will do for them. If they hire you now and you are a good role model, things will be better in the next generation. (p. 357)

To further reinforce his argument against RMT, Delgado (1995) provided five specific reasons to address why minorities should assume the role of mentor instead of being a role model (see Table 5).

Table 5

Delgado's (1995) Five Reasons Against The Role Model Theory and Support of Mentors

| Reasons | Explanations |
|---------|--|
| 1 | Expected to uplift entire race (p. 357). |
| 2 | Job treats you as a means to an end (p. 357). |
| 3 | Role model's job description is monumentally unclear (p. 357). |
| 4 | You must be an assimilationist (p. 358). |
| 5 | Job of role model requires that you lie (p. 358). |

In his first reason, Delgado (1995) explained role models have a significant burden placed upon them to be, in many ways, a symbol of hope, strength, and the savior for their race. This undertaking requires far too much work and may be an unfair assignment for minority role models. His second reason underscored the contention that the work of minority role models ultimately serves the majority's means and purposes. Delgado (1995) postulated that minorities are projected to become the majority. Therefore, Whites need assimilated minority role models to help mold the younger minority generations into acceptable behaviors and work ethics to ensure the future labor market will not jeopardize their social security support. Specifically, "They [minorities] must be taught to ask few questions, pay their taxes, and accept social obligations, even if imposed by persons who look different from them and who committed documented

injustices on their ancestors” (p. 359). Consequently, people of color are placed in a very precarious position with members of their own race as favors and expectations to fulfill certain tasks are essentially for the benefit of Whites. Third, role models are usually assigned ambiguous job descriptions. He noted:

If you are a role model, are you expected to do the same things your white counterpart does, in addition to counseling and helping out the community of color whenever something comes up. Just the latter? Half and half? Both? On their own time, or on company time? (p. 357)

Fourth, minorities must fit all of the images and behaviors that align with the majority’s expectations. He expressed:

Our white friends always want us to model behavior that will encourage our students and protégés to adopt majoritarian social mores; you never hear of them hiring one of their number because he or she is bilingual, wears dashikis, or is in other ways culturally distinctive. (p. 358)

For his fifth and most important reason, Delgado assert that role models are forced to tell lies to minority students about opportunities that may not exist. In other words, minority role models are placed as symbols of prosperity and hope for minority students. However, they would be considered a poor role model for being truthful to minority students about real societal obstacles to achieve “the dream” being modeled for them by the purposeful placement of the minority role model. For these five reasons, Delgado reinforced Irvine’s (1989) contention that minorities should refuse the title tag of role model and assume the role of a mentor.

Chapter Summary

As comprehensively presented in this literature review, a myriad of historical and legal events throughout pre- and post-*Brown* eras heavily influenced the (dis)placements of African American principals, especially in Florida. Many remnants of this horrid past have been compounded by a compilation of legal, organizational, and human level theories that confound the placements of contemporary principals. Critical analyses of these collective issues come together to impart strong arguments for and against same race/cultural placements that have been germane to African American and White principals. The following five generalizing contentions can be surmised from the literature for their continued placements in schools with majority African American student populations:

1. Stemming from the constitutional provisions that allowed slavery, *Plessy* and Jim Crow laws that stripped Blacks of their citizenry and promulgated the “separate but equal” doctrine, to the seemingly failed efforts of *Brown*, many African Americans still distrust Whites and America’s legal system relative to African Americans’ educational best interests.
2. African American principals throughout the South were the only school leadership figures African American students had known for over a century. They established a “historically and culturally significant” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 173) relationship as they communally battled against pernicious principles of segregation and racial discrimination. Throughout history, African American principals provided unique leadership and services for African American students, parents, and communities that many in the African American community still

desire and expect can only come from an African American principal.

3. African American principals “provided a valuable image for Black kids” (James, 1970, p. 18). However, the massive displacements of African American principals during the desegregation stripped African American students of positive Black role models. Many contend educated and professional African American principals provide a positive image for African American students to emulate. There exists a contention from many African Americans and Whites that African American principals’ impact as a role model is much greater in schools with a majority African American students enrollment.
4. Efforts made by many Whites to remain segregated from Blacks in schools after the *Brown* ruling left a resounding impression that many Whites are not only unfamiliar with the unique racial and cultural norms of African Americans (e.g., discipline of Black students), but are just simply more comfortable remaining with their own race. Many African Americans share these sentiments.
5. Based on the many fragile and political topics surrounding race in schools, it seems to be much easier and less controversial to assign same race/cultural principal placements behind the premises of “fit” than to confront potential political, socio-cultural, and school community backlashes and controversies surrounding issues of race.

The following five arguments refute same race/cultural principal placements and support the call for cross race/cultural placements of African American principals:

1. America’s history is replete with racial discrimination and inequities. Continued same race/cultural principal placements perpetuate the “separate and unequal”

conditions of the pre-*Brown* era and further undermine *Brown's* intent for equity and integration. Such placements negate inclusion and reinforce the exclusion of African American and White principals from being placed in schools composed of students comprising the opposite majority race.

2. Although our laws prohibit the use of race in hiring decisions, continued same race principal placements for both African American and White principals arguably exacerbate the continued use of race as a determining factor in our schools. It negates the principles of meritocracy, color-blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity. Most important, it invalidates the strengths and intents of our country's most prominent laws that were created to eliminate the use of race and racial discrimination in the workplace and schools.
3. As educators, we do not and will never fully control the color of students that enter our school doors. Principals of all colors should unquestionably serve as positive mentors/role models for all students, regardless of color. The argument of same race/cultural role models severely undermines this necessity. At the end of the day, students regardless of color just want to know that you genuinely love, care, and desire the best for them – not the color of your skin.
4. As our schools become more diverse with majority-minority student populations, the need for culturally competent principals from all races is paramount. Same race/cultural principal placements hinder principals of all races from embracing and promoting diversity due to lack of experiences in working with students/staff from other races.
5. Same race principal placements perpetuate suppositions of “Black inferiority” and

“White superiority.” White students will struggle to recognize the leadership realities/capabilities of African American principals if they never experience having one in their schools. Conversely, African American students and communities will struggle to fully believe that White principals are capable of caring, loving, and creating an educational agenda that will maximize their opportunities for success.

Although this study will not resolve the question of principal placements, it will certainly allow for historical, legal, and theoretical debates over the actual selection and placements of principals throughout Florida. The next chapter will explain the proposed methodology for the study and include the following components: research design, sample, data collection, and data analyses.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the methodology utilized in this study. It begins by presenting the purpose of the study. The research questions, null hypotheses, and description of the sample are then provided. Next, an explanation of the research design, as well as the data collection procedures and analyses conducted, are outlined. The chapter concludes with a brief summary.

The purpose of this correlational study was to determine the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools during the 2010-2011 academic year. The placements covered both first time and continued assignments of principals at their respective schools. The study considered seven moderator variables defined as a school's level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status of students, gender of principal, and gender and race of presiding district superintendent. The relationship between principal race and each moderator variable was also examined. This study ultimately sought to determine if limited opportunities still widely exist in the placements of African American principals throughout Florida.

Research Questions

This study analyzed data collected from FLDOE's Education Information and Accountability Services Archival Database for all the state's 67 public school districts.

The percentages of African American students enrolled, placements of principals, and data pertaining to the seven moderator variables were analyzed only for the 2010-2011 academic year, which was thought to be a typical school year, therefore it has some generalizability to other school years. The study sought to answer three questions:

1. Is there a relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools?
2. Is the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal moderated by a school's level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status of students, gender of principal, and gender and race of presiding district superintendent?
3. Is there a relationship between each of the moderator variables and principal race?

Null Hypotheses

H₀1. There is no relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal.

H₀2. The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated by level of school.

H₀3. The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated by school size.

H₀4. The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated

by school letter grade.

H₀5. The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated by socioeconomic status of students.

H₀6. The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated by gender of principal.

H₀7. The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated by gender of presiding district superintendent.

H₀8. The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated by race of presiding district superintendent.

H₀9. There is no relationship between school level and principal race.

H₀10. There is no relationship between school size and principal race.

H₀11. There is no relationship between school letter grade and principal race.

H₀12. There is no relationship between socioeconomic status of students and principal race.

H₀13. There is no relationship between principal gender and principal race.

H₀14. There is no relationship between gender of the presiding district superintendent and principal race.

H₀15. There is no relationship between race of the presiding district superintendent and principal race.

Sample

The state registered a total of 3,885 K-12 public schools that served approximately 2.6 million students during the 2010-2011 academic year. The sample for this study included all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools within the 67 school districts. Therefore, a thorough review of the state's registry was conducted to identify and extract all charter and virtual schools from the sample. Consequently, approximately 480 charter schools and 83 virtual franchises/schools were excluded. Roughly 645 other public schools (i.e., traditional, alternative placement schools/ programs, pre-K programs, exceptional student education [ESE] centers, specialized English for Speakers of Other Languages [ESOL] programs, specialized treatment facilities, community learning programs, childcare development centers, juvenile detention centers, innovative academies, etc.) were also excluded. These public schools either did not have a principal assigned and/or did not receive a school letter grade. Both variables were important components established in the design of this study. Thus, the remaining 2,705 traditional public schools comprised the sample for this study.

Research Design

This quantitative study utilized a correlational research design to answer the three research questions and to test 15 null hypotheses. To address the first research question, correlation analysis was conducted to determine if a relationship existed between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal. For the second research question, a series of moderator analyses were conducted to assess any influence each of the seven moderator variables may have on the relationship between African American student enrollment and African

American principal placements. The third research question required the use of chi-square and correlation analyses. Specifically, chi-square tests were conducted to determine the degree of relationship between principal race and each of the moderator variables identified as school level, school letter grade, principal gender, and gender and race of presiding district superintendent. Correlation analyses were also conducted to assess the relationship between race of the assigned principals and each of the moderator variables defined as school size and socioeconomic status.

Data collection and analysis. The FLDOE collects a variety of information from each school in every school district at scheduled times throughout the year. The state maintains the data in a comprehensive longitudinal database that provides annual student and staff demographic reports that are easily accessible to the public. Most of data collected for this study became available in December 2010 after all schools in the state finalized their 2010-2011 Florida Education Finance Program (FEFP) October Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) Survey 2 Information report. Survey 2 reports codify comprehensive data pertaining to student membership, attendance, courses assigned, program(s) eligibility, cost reporting, and other student and staff demographic data to the state for the first 90 days of the 180-day school year (Florida Department of Education [FLDOE], 2011). Relevant data for this study were obtained from FLDOE's Education and Information and Accountability Services Department website. The FLDOE Education Elementary-Secondary 2010-2011 Staff Survey 2 Report, which provided information pertaining to race and gender of each district superintendents, principal race and gender, school level, and school size were received via email requests (T. Sancho, personal communication, July, 14, 2011). All collected data were imported into Microsoft Excel

software prior to being exported into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) analysis program. Each variable was coded as needed.

Data collection procedures. Data were collected for each tested variables using the following procedures:

Percentages of African American students enrolled. The FLDOE provided comprehensive student membership by grade/race/gender for each registered public school from its Master School Identification (MSID) file following the finalization of Survey 2 (FLDOE, 2010b). The percentage of African American students enrolled for each traditional public school was used for simple calculation to determine its relationship with the placements of African American principals.

Placements of African American principals. The placements of African American principals served as the criterion variable for this study. The variable represented principals assigned for the first time as well as those that remained at the same school from the previous school year. The data confirming placements and non-placements of African American principals at the traditional public schools examined in the study were retrieved from the FLDOE Elementary-Secondary 2010-2011 Staff Survey 2 Report. This report became available in April 2011. This dichotomous variable was coded 1 if an African American principal was assigned and 0 if not assigned.

School level. The state designated the school type for each public school on the Annual School Accountability Report, as well as the Membership by Grade/Race/Gender by School Annual Report. All schools included in this study fell into one of four levels. The levels were categorized as: elementary (serving any combination of schools providing instruction at one or more levels from PK-5, but may also include grade 6),

middle/junior high (any combination of schools 6-8, 7-9, or single grade in the 6-8 range), high (serving grades 9-12), and combination (serving any variation of grades K-12) (FLDOE, 2010b). The four school levels were originally assigned categorical values by level as 0 = elementary, 1 = middle, 2 = high, and 3 = combination, for all public schools included in this study. The school levels were then dummy coded (1 if yes and 0 if no) into three dichotomous variables for correlational analysis.

Size of school. Each school's size was determined by the total enrollment of all students registered at the time Survey 2 results were finalized by the state. The data were obtained from the FLDOE Elementary-Secondary 2010-2011 Staff Survey 2 Report.

School letter grade. All schools determined by the state to receive an accountability letter grade were designated as A, B, C, D, or F. The letter grade for each school was assigned the following ordinal codes: 0 = F, 1 = D, 2 = C, 3 = B, and 4 = A. The elementary, middle, and some center school letter grades were made public in June 2011. The high school grades were released Fall 2011 due to their different grading criteria. All school grades were retrieved online from the FLDOE's School Accountability Reports for 2010-2011.

Socioeconomic status. As an estimation of socioeconomic status, the state measures each individual school's overall poverty level based on the percentage of students eligible for the free and reduced-priced breakfast and lunch (FRL) program. Schools with highest percentages of students eligible for the FRL programs are considered to have greater overall needs for additional instructional and programmatic support. Thus, the greater overall needs of a school is generally indexed as low SES. Whereas, schools with lower percentages of students eligible for FRL programs are

indexed as high SES. These schools are not considered to have the same level and degree of support needs. For example, a school with 91% FRL would be considered low SES and presumably have greater needs than a school a FRL rate of 55%. Likewise, a school with 55% FRL rate would presumably have more needs than a school with a FRL rate of 26%. Data for this continuous variable for all schools were retrieved online from the FLDOE's School Accountability Reports for 2010-2011.

Gender of assigned principal. The gender of all assigned principals at each traditional public school was obtained from the FLDOE Education Elementary-Secondary 2010-2011 Staff Survey 2 Report. This dichotomous variable was coded 0 if the assigned principal was a male and 1 for the placement of a female.

Gender of the presiding superintendent. The gender of the presiding superintendent for each school district was also obtained from the FLDOE Elementary-Secondary 2010-2011 Staff Survey 2 Report. This dichotomous variable was also coded 0 if the assigned presiding district superintendent was a male and 1 for the placement of a female.

Race of the presiding superintendent. The categorical representation for the race of the superintendents that presided over their respective school districts during this study consisted of African American, Hispanic, and White (non- Hispanic). There were no Native American, Asian, Pacific Islander, or Multiracial presiding superintendents documented during the academic year selected for this study. Dummy variables were created for African American and Hispanic presiding district superintendents. Dummy codes that represented 1 if the presiding district superintendent was African American and 0 if no were accordingly assigned for each school examined in the study. The same

method was followed for presiding Hispanic district superintendents. The race of the presiding superintendent for each school district was obtained from the Florida Department of Education Elementary-Secondary 2010-2011 Staff Survey 2 Report.

Data analysis. As shown in Table 6, student enrollment was correlated with principal placements to address H₀1. For H₀2 to H₀8, moderator analyses were used, with dummy coding of the variables *Level* and *Race of Presiding District Superintendent*. Centering occurred for *student enrollment*, *size*, and *SES*. Chi-square analyses were utilized to test H₀9, H₀11, and H₀13 to H₀15. Correlational analyses were also conducted to test H₀10 and H₀12. The alpha level was set at .05 for all hypothesis tests (see Table 6).

Table 6

Summary of Research Design and Methodology

| Variable | Variable Type(s) | Coding Scheme | Types of Analyses | Hypotheses Tested |
|---|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Placements of African American principals | Criterion Dichotomous | 0 = Not placed 1 = Placed | Correlation & Moderator | H ₀ 1 to H ₀ 15 |
| Percentages of African American students enrolled | Predictor Continuous | Centered for statistical analysis | Correlation, Moderator, & Chi-square | H ₀ 1 to H ₀ 8 |
| Level | Moderator Categorical | Dummy Coded: (1 = yes, 0 = no) Elementary (1, 0) Middle (1, 0) High (1, 0) Combination (uncoded) | Moderator & Chi-square | H ₀ 2 & H ₀ 9 |
| Size | Moderator Continuous | Centered for statistical analysis | Correlation & Moderator | H ₀ 3 & H ₀ 10 |
| Grade | Moderator Ordinal | 0 = F 1 = D 2 = C 3 = B 4 = A | Moderator & Chi-square | H ₀ 4 & H ₀ 11 |
| SES | Moderator Continuous | Centered for statistical analysis | Correlation & Moderator | H ₀ 5 & H ₀ 12 |
| Principal Gender | Moderator Dichotomous | 0 = Male 1 = Female | Moderator & Chi-square | H ₀ 6 & H ₀ 13 |
| Gender of Presiding District Superintendent | Moderator Dichotomous | 0 = Male 1 = Female | Moderator & Chi-square | H ₀ 7 & H ₀ 14 |
| Race of Presiding District Superintendent | Moderator Categorical | Dummy Coded: (1 = yes, 0 = no) African American (1,0) Hispanics (1,0) Whites (uncoded) | Moderator & Chi-square | H ₀ 8 & H ₀ 15 |

Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 outlined and discussed the procedures that were utilized to collect and analyze the data included in this correlational study. The chapter presented the study's purpose, research questions, and corresponding hypotheses. An overview of the study sample, research design, data collection procedures, and data analyses were also presented. Chapter 4 will reveal the results of the statistical analyses.

CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Racial inequities and opportunities in education have been a historic and perpetual concern for African Americans [and other people of color] (Bell, 1987, 1992; Siddle Walker, 2000). Hence, “collecting and analyzing data is essential for understanding and tracking racial inequities and for charting on a range of social outcomes” (O’Connor, Lewis, & Mueller, 2007, p. 543). Moreover, the use of numerical data to quantify the extent “of educational inequities is paramount for a critical analysis of educational opportunities that help interrogate the system and organization of schooling and...in favor of whom” (Lemesianou & Grinberg, 2006, p. 220). This chapter presents the descriptive and inferential statistical results for the study’s three research questions and 15 corresponding null hypotheses.

This quantitative study examined the relationship between the percentages of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals for all of Florida’s K-12 traditional public schools for the 2010-2011 academic year. This study also determined if this relationship was moderated by seven predictor variables defined throughout this study as a school’s level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status (FRL), gender of principal, and gender and race of the presiding district superintendent. The relationships between each moderator variable and race of the assigned principals were also tested. Table 7 outlines all of the variables, along with their abbreviations and definitions used in this chapter.

Table 7

Variable Abbreviations and Definitions

| Abbreviation | Definition |
|--------------|--|
| AASR | Percentage of African American students enrolled in a school. |
| AAP | African American principal placements. Non-African American principals were individuals categorized as: White (non-Hispanic), Hispanic, Native American, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Multiracial |
| LEVEL | Academic grades served at the school (elementary, middle, high, or combination). |
| SIZE | School size that is defined as the total number of students enrolled at the school. |
| GRADE | School letter grade (A, B, C, D, F). |
| SES | Percentage of students eligible for school approved free or reduced priced meals. Schools with low SES have greater percentages of students eligible for free and reduced meal programs. Inversely, schools with high SES have less students eligible for free and reduced meal programs.. |
| PrG | Gender of principal. |
| PSG | Gender of presiding district superintendent. |
| AAS | Designation for schools that were led by African American district superintendent. Schools that were not presided by a African American superintendent were either presided by either a Hispanic or White district superintendent. |
| HS | Designation for schools that were led by Hispanic district superintendent. Schools that were not presided by a Hispanic superintendent were either presided by a White or African American district superintendent. |
| WS | Designation for schools that were led by White district superintendent. Schools that were not presided by a White superintendent were either presided by a Hispanic or African American district superintendent. |

Research Questions

The overarching research question for this study asked: Are African American principals placed throughout various school settings regardless of the majority race of the student enrollment? The three research questions were:

1. Is there a relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools?
2. Is the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal moderated by a school's: level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status of students, gender of principal, and gender and race of presiding district superintendent?
3. Is there a relationship between each of the moderator variables and principal race?

Descriptive Statistics

The school was selected as the unit of analysis for the study. A total of 2,705 public schools were identified for data collection and statistical analyses. Table 8 outlines the descriptive data for the continuous variables that represent the percentages of African American students (AASR), school size (SIZE), and school socioeconomic status (SES). The data presented is reflective of the entire state, and their respective statistical values provide critical insight into the placements of principals statewide (see Table 8).

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics for Continuous Variables

| | Minimum | Maximum | Mode | Median | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|------|---------|---------|------|--------|--------|----------------|
| AASR | 0 | 98 | 4 | 16 | 25.21 | 25.09 |
| SIZE | 8 | 4292 | 643 | 740 | 887.49 | 523.27 |
| SES | 5 | 100 | 94 | 66 | 63.18 | 23.46 |

The mean value for African American students enrolled was 25.21. When using the U.S. Department of Education's (2008) definition of racial group isolation as any particular race that comprises 50% or more of the racial composition of a school, African American students constituted a race in the minority group for 2,262 schools examined in the study. The SES mean value of 63.18 suggested that the majority of schools examined in the study had a moderately high overall poverty level indicative of the percentage of students eligible for the free and reduced-priced breakfast and lunch (FRL) program. Lastly, the school with the smallest enrollment was eight and the largest was 4,292.

Table 9 outlines frequency data for the dichotomous variables defined as: principal placements, school level, principal gender, gender of the presiding district superintendent, and race of the presiding district superintendent. The ordinal variable representing school grade is also included. As reflected, there were a total of 2,230 (82.40%) non-African American and 475 (17.60%) African American principals examined in the study. In terms of school level, elementary schools comprised three-fifths of the entire sample. Whereas middle schools had the second highest number and percentage of schools, combination schools were the least. With respect to school grade,

a total of 1,445 (53.40%) schools in the state received an A school letter grade during the year of the study. A total of 20 (0.70%) schools earned an F letter-grade. Whereas nearly two-thirds of all principals assigned in the state were females, three-quarters of all district presiding superintendents were males. Lastly, White, Hispanic, and African Americans respectively comprised 73.6%, 15.7%, and 10.6% of the presiding district superintendents in the state during the 2010-2011 academic year (see Table 9).

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics for Categorical Variables

| Variables | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Principal Placements | | |
| Non-African Americans | 2230 | 82.4 |
| African Americans | 475 | 17.6 |
| School Level | | |
| Elementary | 1654 | 61.1 |
| Middle | 511 | 18.9 |
| High | 402 | 14.9 |
| Combination | 138 | 5.1 |
| School Grade | | |
| A | 1445 | 53.4 |
| B | 632 | 23.4 |
| C | 479 | 17.7 |
| D | 129 | 4.8 |
| F | 20 | 0.7 |
| Principal Gender | | |
| Male | 961 | 35.5 |
| Female | 1744 | 64.5 |
| Gender of Presiding District Superintendent | | |
| Male | 2050 | 75.8 |
| Female | 655 | 24.2 |
| Race of Presiding District Superintendent | | |
| African American | 288 | 10.6 |
| Hispanic | 426 | 15.7 |
| White (non-Hispanic) | 1991 | 73.6 |

N = number of schools; N = 2,705

Hypotheses Testing

Through the use of SPSS computer software, correlation analysis, moderator analyses, and chi-square statistical methods were employed to answer the three research questions and test 15 corresponding null hypotheses. Correlation analysis was used to determine the relationship between a school's percentages of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal. A series of moderator analyses addressed the second research question that sought to determine if the relationship was moderated by each of the seven moderator variables. Lastly, several chi-square analyses were used to determine the relationship between principal placements and several moderator variables. Correlation analyses were also used to determine the relationship between principal placements and two continuous moderator variables. The alpha level was set at .05 to determine significance for all hypothesis tests. Altogether, these tests provided critical analyses of the placements of African American principals throughout Florida.

Descriptive and Inferential Statistics (Research Question #1)

Research Question 1: Is there a relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools?

The percentage of African American students and African American principals was significant, $r^2 = .21$, $df = 2705$, $p < .01$ (two-tailed). The positive Pearson Correlation value ($r = .462$) indicated that a moderately strong relationship existed between the percentage enrollment of African American students and the placements of African American principals examined in this study. Thus, as the percentage enrollment

of African American students increased in schools, there existed a strong likelihood that the placements of African American principals occurred. The proportion of African American students enrolled accounted for approximately 21% of the variance in the placements of African American principals. Therefore, there was evidence to reject the null hypothesis that no relationship existed between the percentages of African American student enrollment and the placements of African American principals for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools.

This finding is strongly supported by the descriptive statistics shown in Table 10. Nearly 84% of all principals examined in the study were placed in schools with an African American student enrollment of less than 50%. Non-African American principals accounted for nearly 75% of this amount as compared to roughly 9% of African American principals. Moreover, 2,023 (90.7%) of the total 2,230 non-African Americans were placed in schools where the percentage enrollment of African American students was less than 50%. A total of 239 (50.3%) of the 475 African American principals were placed in the same cohort of schools. Accordingly, the remaining 236 (49.7%) African American principals were placed in schools that had 50% or greater African American student enrollment. Only 207 (9.3%) of all non-African American principals were placed in schools where African American students comprised at least 50% of the total student enrollment. To summarize, nearly all of the non-African American principals were placed in schools where African American students comprised a minority racial group. On the other hand, half of all African American principals were placed in schools in which African American students comprised the majority race (see Table 10).

Table 10

Total Number, Percentage, and Proportion of Principals Assigned By Race Based on Percentage of African American Student Enrollment

| | Percentage of African American (AA) Student Enrollment | | | | | |
|--------|--|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| | 0% - 49% | | | 50% - 100% | | |
| | # of Principals | % of all Principals | Proportion Within Race | # of Principals | % of all Principals | Proportion Within Race |
| Non-AA | 2023 | 74.79 | 90.72 | 207 | 7.65 | 9.28 |
| AA | 239 | 8.84 | 50.30 | 236 | 8.72 | 49.70 |
| Total | 2262 | 83.63 | 70.50 | 443 | 16.37 | 29.50 |

As shown in Table 11, a comparative analysis was also done to illustrate principal placements into highly segregated African American and non-African American student enrolled schools. Highly segregated schools are schools in which 90-100% of the student enrollment is of a particular race or combination of races, such as students of color (Frankenberg, 2009). African Americans accounted for slightly more than two-thirds of the 97 total principal placements in highly segregated African American student enrolled schools throughout the state. Only 31 (1.4%) of all non-African American principals were placed in highly segregated African American enrolled schools. Yet, 95.2% of all principal placements in the 948 total schools with 10% or less African American student enrollment were non-African American principals. Only 46 (4.8%) African American principals were placed in this cohort of schools. Overall, 41.2% of all non-African American principals were placed in school with an African American enrollment of 10%

or less. This is compared to roughly 10% of African American principal placements in high segregated non-African American student enrolled schools (see Table 11).

Table 11

Comparative Analysis of Principal Placements into Highly Segregated African American and Non-African American Student Enrolled Schools

| | Percentage of African American (AA) Student Enrollment | | | | | |
|--------|--|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | 10% and Less | | | 90% and Greater | | |
| | # of Principals | % of Principals | Proportion Within Race | # of Principals | % of Principals | Proportion Within Race |
| Non-AA | 918 | 95.20 | 41.17 | 31 | 31.96 | 1.39 |
| AA | 46 | 4.80 | 9.68 | 66 | 68.04 | 13.89 |
| Total | 964 | 100 | | 97 | 100 | |

Clearly, the overwhelming majority of non-African American principals were placed in schools where African American students comprised a minority racial group. Yet, half of the African American principal placements occurred in schools that had a greater percentage of African American student enrollments. Also, African American principals' statewide mean value of 17.56 indicated that they were underrepresented in comparison to African American student enrollment mean value of 25.21.

Descriptive and Inferential Statistics (Research Question #2)

Research Question 2: Is the relationship between the a school's percentages of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principals moderated by a school's: level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status of students, gender of principal, gender of presiding district superintendent, and race of presiding district superintendent?

Multiple moderator regression analyses were performed to determine how much of the variability in the placements of African American principals was predictable by the interaction between each of the moderating variables and the percentages of African American students enrolled. The continuous predictor variables identified as percentages of African American student enrollment, school size, and school socioeconomic status were centered (subtracting the mean of the predictor) to lessen the effects of collinearity. All VIFs met the criterion of less than 10. Thus, there were no difficulties with collinearity. Table 12 provides a summary of a series of the moderator analyses that tested the hypothesized effects.

Table 12

Summary of Moderating Effects of the Seven Variables on the Relationship Between the Percentages of African American Students Enrolled and the Placements of African American Principals

| Moderator | Coefficients | | | |
|-----------|--------------|--------|-------|-------|
| | β | T | p | VIF |
| LEVEL | | | .601 | |
| SIZE | -.029 | -1.555 | .120 | 1.162 |
| GRADE | -.007 | -.144 | .885 | 7.553 |
| SES | .111 | 4.376 | .000* | 2.237 |
| PrG | -.027 | -.873 | .383 | 3.376 |
| PSG | .015 | .775 | .439 | 1.310 |
| AAS | .018 | .965 | .335 | 1.132 |
| HS | -.009 | -.431 | .667 | 1.350 |

Note. Dependent variable = Placements of African American Principals. * $p < .05$. $N = 2,705$.

For all moderation tests, except LEVEL, a simple test of the Beta (β) was sufficient. A test of the contribution of the set of product terms between dummy codes and AASR was employed for LEVEL. With a probability of a contribution score (.012) and a corresponding p value (.601), the variable subset of product terms measuring the interaction between the percentage of African American students enrolled and elementary, middle, and high school levels was found not to be significant in the prediction of African American principal placements as $p > .05$. Thus, there was

insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis that states the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated by school level.

The Beta (β) values and corresponding p values for the product terms representing the moderation between the percentage of African American students enrolled and SIZE, GRADE, and PrG also resulted in the moderators not being significant as $p > .05$ for all. Thus, the null hypotheses that state the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated each by school level, school grade, and gender of principal were not rejected.

Similarly, the Beta (β) and p values for the product terms representing the moderation of the percentage of African American students enrolled and PSG, AAS, and HS were not significant as $p > .05$ for all. Therefore, the null hypotheses that state the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal is not moderated each by the gender and race of the presiding district superintendent were not rejected.

Of the seven moderator variables, only the Beta (β) and p values for the product term representing the moderation of percentages of African American students enrolled and SES was found to be significant toward predicting the placements of African American principals as $p < .05$. As previously defined, as SES increases, the percentage of students eligible for free and reduced meal programs decreases. On the other hand, schools with progressively lower SES indexes have greater percentages of students eligible for free and reduced meal programs. These schools are considered to have the

greatest academic and programmatic needs. Thus, the relationship between the percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals increases as the SES index for schools decreases. Therefore, the null hypothesis that states no relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of an African American principal was rejected.

Descriptive and Inferential Statistics (Research Question #3)

Research Question #3: Is there a relationship between each of the moderator variables and the placements of African American principals throughout the state of Florida?

Several chi-square tests were conducted to determine the relationship between principal placements and each of the moderator variables defined as school level, school letter grade, principal gender, and gender and race of the presiding district superintendent. Correlation analyses were also used to determine if a separate relationship existed between principal placements and two moderator variables identified as school size and socioeconomic status. Table 13 provides a summary of the chi-square inferential results.

Table 13

Summary of Chi-Square Inferential Results

| Moderator | χ^2 | Df | P | CC |
|-----------|----------|----|-------|------|
| LEVEL | 15.129 | 3 | .002* | .075 |
| GRADE | 161.016 | 4 | .000* | .237 |
| PrG | 11.960 | 1 | .001* | .066 |
| PSG | 16.104 | 1 | .000* | .077 |
| AAS | 1.109 | 1 | .292 | .020 |
| HS | 18.728 | 1 | .000* | .083 |
| WS | 18.604 | 1 | .000* | .083 |

* $p < .05$. N = 2,705.

School Level. Principal's race was significantly related to the school's level to which he/she was assigned. Thus, there was evidence to reject the null hypothesis of no association between school level and race of the assigned principals. Moreover, the effect size between a principal's race and placement at a particular school level was significant but small.

To look further at the type of association that is present, we can see that the main contributions to the chi-square test statistic are coming from the placements of principals by race at the middle and high school levels. As displayed in Table 14, more African American middle school principals and non-African American high school principals were observed than expected given a true null hypothesis. Fewer African American high school principals and non-African American middle school principals were observed than would be expected if there were no association between principal race and school level. The observed counts for elementary and combination levels for each respective principal

race were as expected (see Table 14).

Table 14

Analysis of School Level Placements by Principal Race

| | Principal Race | | | | Totals # |
|-------------|----------------|----------|-------|----------|-------------|
| | Non-AA | | AA | | |
| | Count | Expected | Count | Expected | |
| Elementary | 1363 | 1363.6 | 291 | 290.4 | 1654 |
| Middle | 398 | 421.3 | 113 | 89.7 | 511 |
| High | 352 | 331.4 | 50 | 70.6 | 402 |
| Combination | 117 | 113.8 | 21 | 24.2 | 138 |
| Totals | 2230 | | 475 | | 2705 |

School letter grade. The principal’s race was significantly related to the letter grade to which his/her school was assigned. Thus, there was evidence to reject the null hypothesis of no association between school letter grade and race of the assigned principals. Also, there was a significant and moderate effect size between a principal’s race and school letter grade.

As can be seen in Table 15, there were large degrees of discrepancies between the observed and expected frequencies for African American and inversely for non-African American principals. Herein, we can see that the observed counts for African American principals that led schools with F, D, C, and A school letter grades significantly conflicted with the expected frequencies given a true null hypothesis. African American principals led 11 (55%) of the 20 schools assigned F grades statewide despite their

expected score of 3.5. Non-African American principals led 9 F-graded schools despite having a higher expected score of 16.5. African American principals differentially led more D and C schools than their expected scores of 33.7 and 55.9, respectively. Non-African Americans were inversely less assigned in D and C schools by the same expected counts. Approximately 44% of all African American principals had a letter grade of C or lower as compared to 18% of all non-African American principals. Moreover, non-African American principals equivalently led more A-graded schools than expected. Substantively, African Americans led 167 A-graded schools as opposed to their expected score of 253.7. Overall, approximately 87% non-African Americans to 13% African American principals were placed in the 2,078 total schools with a letter grade of B or A (see Table 15).

Table 15

Analysis of School Letter Grade By Principal Race

| | Principal Race | | | | Totals # |
|--------|----------------|----------|-------|----------|-------------|
| | Non-AA | | AA | | |
| | Count | Expected | Count | Expected | |
| A | 1278 | 1191.3 | 167 | 253.7 | 1445 |
| B | 531 | 521 | 101 | 111 | 632 |
| C | 339 | 394.9 | 140 | 84.1 | 479 |
| D | 73 | 106.3 | 56 | 22.7 | 129 |
| F | 9 | 16.5 | 11 | 3.5 | 20 |
| Totals | 2230 | | 475 | | 2705 |

Gender of assigned principal. Principal gender was significantly related to race of the principal. Thus, there was evidence to reject the null hypothesis of no association between principal gender and race of the assigned principals. The effect size was significant but small.

We see that more non-African American males and African American females and fewer non-African American females and African American males were placed than would be expected given a true null hypothesis. Whereas slightly over half of all principals placed were non-African American females, only 5% of all principals placed statewide were African American males. Table 16 provides chi-square data for principal gender by race.

Table 16

Analysis of Principal Gender and Principal Race

| | Principal Race | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|----------|------------|------------------|----------|------------|
| | Non-African American | | | African American | | |
| | Count | Expected | % of Total | Count | Expected | % of Total |
| Males | 825 | 792.2 | 30.5% | 136 | 168.8 | 5.0% |
| Females | 1405 | 1437.8 | 51.9% | 339 | 306.2 | 12.5% |

Gender of presiding superintendent. The gender of the presiding superintendent was significantly related to principal race. Thus, there was evidence to reject the null hypothesis of no association between gender of presiding district superintendent and principal race. The effect size was significant but small.

As shown in Table 17, male presiding superintendents placed more African

American and fewer non-African American principals than expected given a true null hypothesis. Female presiding superintendents placed more non-African American and fewer African American principals than we would expect if no association between gender of superintendents and principal race existed (see Table 17).

Table 17

Gender of Presiding Superintendents by Principal Race Analysis

| | Principal Race | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|----------|------------|------------------|----------|------------|
| | Non-African American | | | African American | | |
| | Count | Expected | % of Total | Count | Expected | % of Total |
| Males | 1656 | 1690 | 61.2% | 394 | 360 | 14.6% |
| Females | 574 | 540 | 21.2% | 81 | 115 | 3.0% |

Race of presiding superintendent. District superintendents possess the authority to hire and assign principals in schools. They are also responsible for promoting and ensuring workplace diversity (Schlueter & Walker, 2008). African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites (non-Hispanic) represented the race of the superintendents that presided over their respective school districts during this study. A separate chi-square analysis was conducted for each superintendent race to determine their respective relationship to principal race.

The separate chi-square results for each of the three identified races of district superintendents revealed that Hispanic and White presiding district superintendents were significantly related to principal race. Thus, there was evidence to reject the null hypothesis that no relationship exists between principal race and race of the district

superintendents for Hispanic and White superintendents. The effect size was significant but small. However, there was no evidence to reject the null hypothesis of no relationship between principal race and race of the district superintendents for African American superintendents.

As shown in Table 18, African American district superintendents presided over 288 schools. The observed counts for presiding over non-African Americans and African American principals were relatively within the expected frequencies given a true null hypothesis. While Hispanic district superintendents presided over 426 schools, the observed counts for African American principals (106) were more than expected (74.8), whereas non-African American principals (320) were less than expected (351.2). Lastly, White superintendents presided over 1,991 schools and comprised 73.6% of all district superintendents in the state. We can see that White superintendents presided over 37.6 more non-African American principals, as compared to fewer African American principals by the same count than expected, given a true hypothesis of no association between superintendent race and principal race (see Table 18).

Table 18

Race of Presiding District Superintendent and Principal Race Analysis

| | Principal Race | | | | Totals |
|------------------|----------------------|----------|------------------|----------|--------|
| | Non-African American | | African American | | |
| | Count | Expected | Count | Expected | |
| African American | 231 | 237.4 | 57 | 50.6 | 288 |
| Hispanic | 320 | 351.2 | 106 | 74.8 | 426 |
| White | 1679 | 1641.4 | 312 | 349.6 | 1991 |

Thus, it appears that the relationship between African American superintendents is as expected for the placement of both non-African American and African American principals. We can also say Hispanic superintendents are more closely related to presiding over African American principals than expected, while White superintendents are more associated to non-African American principals. In fact, 24.8% of all the principals Hispanic district superintendents presided over were African American. This is compared to 19.7% and 15.6% of all principals presided over by African American and White superintendents, respectively.

Interestingly, as shown in Table 19, White superintendents placed less than half of all African American principals (45.5%) they presided over in majority African American student enrolled schools. African American superintendents placed half of the African American principals they supervised in schools with a predominant African American student enrollment. Hispanic superintendents placed 61.3% all of African American principals in predominantly African American student enrolled schools (see Table 19).

Table 19

Placement of African American Principals in Predominantly Enrolled African American Student Enrolled Schools by Superintendent Race

| | Total Presided Over | # Placed in Predominantly African American Student Enrolled Schools | % Placed in Predominantly African American Student Enrolled Schools |
|------------------|---------------------|---|---|
| African American | 57 | 29 | 50.9 |
| Hispanic | 106 | 65 | 61.3 |
| White | 312 | 142 | 45.5 |
| Totals | 475 | 236 | 49.7 |

Correlational analyses were conducted to determine the relationship between principal race and each of the moderator variables defined as school size and school SES. Table 20 reflects the results of these statistical analyses.

Table 20

Correlation of Moderator Variables and Principal Race

| Moderator Variables | (<i>r</i>) | <i>r</i> ² | <i>p</i> |
|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------|
| SIZE | -.107 | .01 | .000** |
| SES | .269 | .07 | .000** |

***p* < .01. N = 2,705.

Size of school. There was a significant and negative correlation between school size and principal race. Thus, the larger the school the less likely it was to have an African American principal. The proportion of school size accounted for only 1% of the

variance in the race of the principal. Therefore, there was evidence to reject the null hypothesis that no relationship existed between school size and principal race.

As shown in Table 21, non-African American principals had relatively close minimums and significantly higher maximum school sizes than African American principals for all school levels. The only exception occurred with the minimum school size for African American principals at the elementary level. Non-African American principals were placed in the largest schools at all levels. The maximum elementary school size of 1,704 for non-African American principals was nearly the size of the maximum middle school for African American principals at 1,748. Overall, the differences in maximum school sizes progressively increased for non-African American principals at all levels. Non-African American principals had an overall school size mean differential of 146.56 more than African American principals (see Table 21).

Table 21

Comparative Analysis of School Size by Principal Race

| | Principal Race | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| | Non African-American | | | African American | | |
| | Minimum Size | Minimum Size | Mean School Size | Minimum Size | Minimum Size | Mean School Size |
| Elementary | 8 | 1704 | 672.84 | 145 | 1477 | 592.81 |
| Middle | 220 | 2468 | 984.30 | 201 | 1748 | 870.76 |
| High | 221 | 4292 | 1769.05 | 139 | 3077 | 1487.00 |
| Combination | 134 | 2210 | 897.00 | 129 | 1741 | 900.57 |
| Totals | 8 | 1704 | 913.22 | 145 | 1477 | 766.66 |

Socioeconomic status. As shown in Table 20, there was a significant and positive correlation between a school's socioeconomic status and principal race. Thus, as the percentage of students eligible for the free and reduced meal program in a school increased, the likelihood of the presence of an African American principal of the school also increased. Therefore, there was evidence to reject the null hypothesis that no relationship existed between school SES and principal race.

The positive Pearson Correlation between SES and principal race is strongly supported when considering the relationship between SES and principal race based on a median split. The significantly weak relationship for high SES ($r = .185$, $r^2 = .03$, $p = .000$) transforms to a moderately significant relationship for low SES ($r = .484$, $r^2 = .23$, $p = .000$). Thus, principal race is strongly related to degree of SES index.

As shown in Table 22, African American principals represented 4.5% of all principals examined in the study that were placed in high SES schools at the median split. Non-African American principals represented 46% of all principals placed in high SES schools. A total of 354 (74.5%) of all African American principals were placed in schools with low SES indexes of 66-100% of students eligible for free and reduced school meal programs. Only 44% of all non-African American principals were placed in low SES schools. A total of 252 (11.3%) of all non-African American principals were placed in schools with extremely low SES indexes of 90-100% of students eligible for free and reduced meal programs. Approximately 179 (37.7%) of the 475 African American principals were placed in the same cohort of schools. On the whole, a much greater proportion of African American principals were placed in schools that had higher student poverty levels than non-African American principals. This was evidenced by the overall

mean value for non-African American principals at 60.27 versus 76.86 for African American principals (see Table 22).

Table 22

Comparative Analysis of Principal Race by SES at Median Split

| | Principal Race | | | | | | Totals |
|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------|
| | Non-African American | | | African American | | | |
| | # of Principals | % of all Principals | Proportion Within Race | # of Principals | % of all Principals | Proportion Within Race | |
| High SES (≤66%) | 1246 | 46.0% | 55.9% | 121 | 4.5% | 25.5% | 1367 |
| Low SES (>66%) | 984 | 36.4% | 44.1% | 354 | 13.1% | 74.5% | 1338 |
| Totals | 2230 | | | 475 | | | |

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the statistical results from the research. It included basic descriptive analyses and outlined the three research questions with 15 corresponding null hypotheses. Table 23 provides a summary of the hypotheses analyses. Chapter 5 will include a comprehensive discussion of the findings and conclude with implications for future research and recommendations for policymakers.

Table 23

Summary of Hypotheses Testing

| H ₀ | Description | Statistical Analysis | Rejected/ Not Rejected |
|------------------|---|-----------------------|------------------------|
| H ₀ 1 | There is no relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals. | Bivariate Correlation | Rejected |
| H ₀ 2 | The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals is not moderated by level of school. | Moderator Regression | Not Rejected |
| H ₀ 3 | The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals is not moderated by school size. | Moderator Regression | Not Rejected |
| H ₀ 4 | The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals is not moderated by school letter grade. | Moderator Regression | Not Rejected |
| H ₀ 5 | The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals is not moderated by school socioeconomic status. | Moderator Regression | Rejected |
| H ₀ 6 | The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals is not moderated by gender of principal. | Moderator Regression | Not Rejected |
| H ₀ 7 | The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals is not moderated by gender of presiding district superintendent. | Moderator Regression | Not Rejected |
| H ₀ 8 | The relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placements of African American principals is not | Moderator Regression | Not Rejected |

moderated by race of presiding district superintendent.

| | | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------|---|
| H _o 9 | There is no relationship between school level and race of the assigned principals. | Chi-square | Rejected |
| H _o 10 | There is no relationship between school size and race of the assigned principals. | Correlation | Rejected |
| H _o 11 | There is no relationship between school letter grade and race of the assigned principals. | Chi-square | Rejected |
| H _o 12 | There is no relationship between school socioeconomic status and race of the assigned principals. | Correlation | Rejected |
| H _o 13 | There is no relationship between principal gender and race of the assigned principals. | Chi-square | Rejected |
| H _o 14 | There is no relationship between gender of the presiding district superintendent and race of the assigned principals. | Chi-square | Rejected |
| H _o 15 | There is no relationship between race of a presiding district superintendent and race of the assigned principals. | Chi-square | Rejected for Hispanics and Whites Not rejected for African Americans |

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter provides critical insights into the vestiges of *Brown* relative to the placement opportunities of African American principals in Florida. *Brown's* promises for racial integration and educational equity nearly sixty years ago provided African Americans (and other people of color) a sense of optimism for significant change in our nation's public schools (McNeal, 2009). However, educators and scholars (Horsford, 2010, 2011; Patterson, 2001) have since debated if African Americans have truly been provided equal opportunities and access in education; and in particular, for this study, African American principals. Tragically, *Brown's* complex legacy included a 20-year span of "(un)anticipated and (un)intended consequences" (Tillman, 2004, p. 285) that left the doors of integrated schools closed to most African American principals and rendered them nearly extinct from American public schools (Coffin, 1972).

The purpose of this study was to examine and describe the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools during the 2010-2011 academic year. This study also sought to determine if this relationship was moderated by each school's level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status (FRL), gender of principal, as well as gender and race of the presiding district superintendent. Lastly, a relationship between each moderator variable and the placements of African American principals was examined. The ultimate objective was to determine if limited opportunities

still widely exist in the placements of African American principals throughout Florida. There continues to be many assumptions, stereotypes, and misunderstanding regarding the placement of school principals and, in particular, the place of minority race principals. This study provided statewide baseline data on African American principals in Florida.

To address the placements of African American principals throughout Florida, the overarching research question posed was: Are African American principals proportionately placed throughout various school settings regardless of the majority race of the student enrollment? The research questions below were subsets of the overarching question designed to guide the study:

1. Is there a relationship between a school's percentage of African American student enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools?
2. Is the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal moderated by a school's: level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status of students, gender of principal, and gender and race of presiding district superintendent?
3. Is there a relationship between each of the moderator variables and principal race?

The study's conceptual framework consisted of legal, organizational, and human level theories that underlie the placement of public school principals in our post-civil rights era. The Equal Protection Clause, along with Title VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 comprised the major legal theories that frame provisions for equal employment opportunities, workplace diversity, and litigation measures for unfair employment practices (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). At the organizational level were

contexts of personal and professional theories that dominate the decision making of fit between principal candidates, district leadership, schools, and their communities (Schlueter & Walker, 2008; Tooms et al., 2010). Lastly, the Attraction-Selection-Attrition (ASA) and Role Model (RMT) were two particular human level theories relevant to this study. While the ASA model undergirds the hiring process in how organizations attracts, selects, and retains its people (Schneider, 1987), RMT is often used to remedy structural inequities involving race and gender (Delgado, 1995; Lomotey, 1987, 1989).

Each theoretical construct is substantive in and of itself. They converge into social, political, legal, and cultural norms of a school and school district. As documented by Bogotch et al. (1995), these theories contain contextual storylines with plots and characters in each school district in the U.S. Most importantly, these theoretical constructs collectively create tensions that call for serious sociopolitical and sociocultural dialogue surrounding issues involving race, equity, and workplace diversity relative to schools and the principals assigned to lead them (Schlueter & Walker, 2008). Such dialogues have yet to happen in many school districts in the U.S. where hiring practices are not transparent (Bogotch et al., in press).

This quantitative study utilized a correlational research design to analyze the placement of African American principals in Florida. Although the state registered 3,885 schools during the 2010-2011 academic year, the study focused only on traditional public schools. Traditional public schools that did not have a principal assigned and/or did not receive a school letter grade during the year this study was conducted were also excluded from the sample. Thus, 2,705 schools served as the units of analysis for data collection

and statistical analyses.

The placement of African American principals and principal race served as criterion variables as follows: principal race was coded on either an African American or non-African American principal placement; the percentage of African American students enrolled was the predictor variable; a school's level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status, principal gender, and gender and race of the presiding district superintendent were the moderator variables; school levels were categorized as elementary, middle, high, and combination; school letter grades were categorized as A, B, C, D, and F; and, the race of the district superintendent was categorized as African American, Hispanic, or White (non-Hispanic). The continuous variables defined as African American student enrollment, school size, and school socioeconomic status, were centered to reduce collinearity. All archival data for the nine variables tested in the study were gathered from the FLDOE's online comprehensive longitudinal database and stored in SPSS for statistical analyses.

Correlational, moderator, and chi-square test methods were then employed to answer three research questions and to test 15 null hypotheses. Correlation analysis was conducted to determine the relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal. Further analyses were employed to determine if placement of African American principals was predictable by the interaction between each of the moderating variables and the percentages of African American students enrolled. Chi-square tests were then conducted to determine the degree of relationship between principal race and each of the moderator variables identified as school level, school letter grade, principal gender, and

gender and race of the presiding district superintendent. Lastly, correlation analysis was again conducted to separately assess the relationship between principal race and school size and socioeconomic status. The following sections present a summary and discussion of the findings from the aforementioned statistical analyses.

Summary of the Findings

This study found that a significantly positive and moderately strong relationship existed between a school's percentage enrollment of African American students and the placement of an African American principal. Moreover, only socioeconomic status significantly moderated this relationship. Lastly, principal race significantly related to each of the moderator variables except for African American district superintendents. The major findings that emerged from the study were that race is still a dominant factor and that also implies that poverty as measured by students' SES matters relative to principal placements. The study's three research questions and general findings are shown in Table 24.

Table 24

Summary of Findings

| Research Questions | Findings |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Is there a relationship between a school's percentage of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principal for all of Florida's K-12 traditional public schools?</p> | <p>The percentage of African American students enrolled was significantly and positively related to the placement of an African American principal at a school.</p> |
| <p>2. Is the relationship between the a school's percentages of African American students enrolled and the placement of an African American principals moderated by a school's: level, size, letter grade, socioeconomic status, gender of principal, and gender and race of presiding district superintendent?</p> | <p>Only socioeconomic status had a statistically significant moderating effect on the relationship between the percentage of African American students enrolled and placement of African American principals.</p> |
| <p>3. Is there a relationship between each of the moderator variables and principal race?</p> | <p>As compared to non-African American principals, African American principals were disproportionately:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • placed in less high school settings • placed in more academically underachieving and higher student poverty schools • under-represented as males- only 5% of all principals in the state • under-placed by female and White district superintendents • placed in more majority same race schools by Hispanic and African American superintendents but more diverse school placements by White superintendents |

Discussion and Implications

This study's findings raise serious concerns and criticisms regarding African American principals' continued inequitable placements in our post-civil rights era. Essentially, by understanding the placement opportunities and challenges facing African American principals in traditional public schools today, educational leaders and policy researchers might be able to suggest alternative ideas to the ongoing practice of placing African American principals in schools primarily where African American students comprise the majority of the student enrollment.

Dominance of race. This study confirmed that a school's percentage enrollment of African American students was significantly and positively associated with the placement of African American principals. Thus, the greater the percentage of African American students enrolled at a school, the more likely the placement of an African American principal occurred. Conversely, the presence of an African American principal drastically decreased as the African American student enrollment decreased.

This finding unquestionably places race front and center as a dominant factor in the placement of African American principals. The very fact that *Brown* promulgated a groundbreaking constitutional promise for equal opportunities and access in American public schools problematizes this finding in our post-civil right era (Lyons & Chesley, 2004). Thus, one may easily surmise that although we live in a supposedly colorblind and race-neutral society, African American principals' placement opportunities seem to be still limited and based on student race. In other words, placement opportunities for African American principals appear to be highly contingent upon and primarily relegated to schools that have a predominant population of African American students.

The study's findings strongly align with previous research that also reported empirical data that race was a prevailing factor in principal placements. Again, this study builds upon the work conducted by McCray et al. (2007) who also found that the majority race of enrolled students directly correlated with the race of the assigned principals in secondary schools in an undisclosed southeastern state. They also concluded that, "minority principals and administrators tend to be in charge of schools that reflect the principal's ethnic and racial heritage" (p. 253). Other researchers, such as Brown (2005), Foster (2004) and Tillman (2004a, 2004b) also found that African American principals tend to be placed in majority African American student enrolled schools.

This study also found that the representation of African American principals (17.6%) fell significantly short of the percentage of African American students (25.2%) statewide. Thus, African American principals were not even represented throughout the state at a level commensurate to the African American student population. Brown (2005) noted that, "Historically, African Americans have been underrepresented in school administration" (p. 586). He further stated, "A critical aspect of the diversification of American schooling is the preparation and placement of African American leaders" (Brown, 2005, p. 585). Therefore, unless greater efforts are made to increase the representation of African American principals, not just African American students but also students from all races will continue to be deprived of African American principals' "scholarship and knowledge" (Brown, 2005, p. 585). This is not something outside of what the State and districts can do. As found in Smith's (2013) study, there is a pool of qualified African American teacher leaders and administrators from which to draw upon who can easily fulfill this policy need to ensure equitable principal representation. They

are already there; they just need to be promoted.

It is important to note that some scholars (Irvine, 1989; Lomotey, 1987, 1989; Stewart et al., 1989) posit that Black children benefit altogether more so from Black principals because of shared racial and cultural experiences via the role model theory. The conceptual frame of this study tested the efficacy of legal theories, organizational behavior theories and human resources theories, in each instance noting the pros and cons of role model theory in the placement of African American principals.

Discussion of Legal Theories

The Supreme Court and federal government established several prominent laws throughout history to banish discrimination in society, the workplace, and in schools (Alexander & Alexander, 2009; Ryan, 2003; Spann, 2010). *Brown*, along with the Equal Protection Clause and Title VI and VII were the major laws relevant to this study. Each law was enacted at their respective times in history primarily to redress racial discrimination against African Americans. Individually and collectively, they frame provisions for equal employment opportunities, workplace diversity, and litigation measures for unfair employment practices (Alexander & Alexander, 2009).

From a legal perspective, this study's findings pose confounding implications relative to the placement opportunities of African American principals in Florida. One aspect of the findings revealed the realization of *Brown's* promises for integration, equal opportunities, and access. The study found that 239 (50.3%) of the 475 African American principals examined in this study were placed in schools where African American students comprised less than 50% of the student enrollment. This finding suggests that a significant proportion of African American principals have gained access

into majority non-African American schools.

This is significant considering the literature that chronicled over a century of African American principals' segregated placements and an additional two decades of systemic displacements and near extinction as a means to prevent African American principals from leading White students and staff (Coffin, 1972; Egerton, 1967; Foster, 2004; Karpinski, 2006). From this, one may imply that African American principals may have benefited from affirmative action. Colamery (1998) found affirmative action to be essential because it helps "to overcome the history of America's past of slavery, peonage, racism, and, finally, legally sanctioned segregation, that barred Blacks (and other minorities and women of all races) from full participation in the work force and in America's educational institutions" (p. 9). McCarthy and Zent (1982) found that minority public school administrators significantly benefited from affirmative action through gainful employment that also promoted diversity amongst different races.

This finding might also confirm efforts to promote equal opportunities, access, and diversity in education as intended by *Brown* and bolstered by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although this decision may change as the present Supreme Court (*Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin, et al.*, 2011) and United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (*Schuetz v. Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action et al.*, 2012) are currently in deliberation regarding the constitutionality of affirmative action plans in public-university admissions decisions as established by the past Supreme Court ruling in the famous *Bakke* case:

Where there is a need to overcome the effects of past racially discriminatory or exclusionary practices engaged in by a federally funded institution, race-

conscious action is not only permitted but required to overcome the remedial objectives of Title VI. (*Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 1978, p. 344)

Thus, the placement of African American principals in schools with diverse student populations sends “an action with a message, which states we value and nurture diversity” (Wegenke & Shen, 2005, p. 18). These diverse placements interrupt the stereotypical perceptions about African American principals’ leadership capabilities (Brown, 2005; Frankenberg, 2009). Such placements also effectuate a critical positive step toward fulfilling the moralistic goal of achieving diverse school leadership placements. Most importantly, these actions disrupt the “underlying supposition within the field of education that minority principals should only be placed and can only lead in schools with a heavy concentration of minority students” (McCray et al., 2007, p. 253). Indeed, this particular finding is significant in revealing progress and hope for more diverse placement opportunities for African American principals.

However, the study also revealed African American principals accounted for over two-thirds of all principals placed in highly segregated schools in which African American students comprised 90-100% of the enrollment. Yet, they represented less than 5% of all principals assigned to schools with less than 10% African American student enrollment. Less than a tenth of all non-African American principals examined in the study were placed in schools with an African American student enrollment of 50% or greater. Yet, they still led 47% of this cohort of schools. Thus, these findings would strongly suggest that there is an invisible ceiling as to which diversity is effectuated. Moreover, African American placement opportunities still seem to be limited in

comparison to non-African American principals. Essentially, these findings would seem to represent promises of *Brown* still unfulfilled.

Consistent with the results of this study, McCray et al. (2007) also “found that 46% of the White principals in their study led majority African American schools and of course 94% of majority White schools” (p. 249). James (1970) argued that, “[it] is alright for a Negro to administer or supervise a school which is all or overwhelmingly black, but the moment it becomes substantially desegregated the principal must be white” (p. 20). Brown (2005), Tillman (2004a, 2004b), and Wegenke and Shen (2005) similarly noted that while African American principals are mostly placed in schools with a predominant African American student enrollment, they are seldom placed in highly segregated White schools. “To claim that a black principal does not fit the context of a predominantly white school is to ignore our society’s commitment to merit and equal opportunity” (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992, p. 35).

Discussion of Organizational Behaviors and Theories

The contexts of principals’ personal and professional qualities continue to greatly influence principal placement decisions at the organizational level (Baltzell & Dentler, 1983; Wendel & Breed, 1988). Ideally, placement decisions are made based on clearly defined and equitable criteria that measure the merits of both personal and professional qualities of principal candidates (Schlueter & Walker, 2008). However, decisions are typically predicated on the notion of fit between principal candidates’ personal and professional attributes and the schools and communities they are expected to serve (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992; Smith, 2013).

This study found that less African American principals and more non-African

American principals were placed at the high school level than statistically expected. This might imply that while African American principals are trusted to lead elementary, middle, and combination schools, they are considered less capable of leading at the high school level. This finding is consistent with Dillard (1995), Siddle Walker (2003), and Thompson (1951) who noted that African American principals have historically experienced far less high school placements than other school levels. According to Ortiz (1982), “the principalship positions differ from each other in terms of hierarchical placement, the character of their internal organizational space, and the degree to which they contain opportunity and power” (p. 11). McCray et al. (2007) similarly posited that the secondary principal position “has the capacity to lead to other more influential jobs within the school district,” (p. 3) but found in their study that only 6% of African American principals were placed in secondary settings.

Considering this, it appears African American principals face a glass ceiling at the high school level. They also confront limited opportunities to attain leadership positions of power to make and influence decisions at a macro level beyond the principalship, such as central office and superintendent positions. These issues are especially concerning considering African American principals’ ability to effectively address federal and the state’s mandates at the high school level for improvement in the areas of student achievement, college readiness, industry certification, and graduation rates for all students, especially African American students.

Findings also revealed that African American principals were disproportionately placed in schools that had low student achievement. More African American principals and significantly fewer non-African American principals led F-graded schools than

statistically expected. Moreover, African American principals comprised only 13% to 87% of non-African American principals-that were placed in the 2,078 total schools with a letter grade of A or B. Results also showed that principal race was significantly related to the degree of SES index. Thus, as the percentage of students eligible for the free and reduced meal program in a school increased, the likelihood that an African American served as the principal also increased. Notably, African Americans represented only 4.5% of all principals placed in affluent schools. Yet, nearly 75% of all African American principals to roughly 44% of all non-African American principals were placed in schools where at least 66% or greater of the student enrollment qualified for the free and reduced school meal program.

There is an abundance of literature pertaining to the strong correlation between low student achievement and high poverty levels (Kumanyika & Grier, 2006), and the vast challenges facing the principals assigned to these schools. Brown (2005) and McCray et al. (2007) explained that most African American principals are routinely placed in urban, single-race, and low SES schools that struggle to overcome student underachievement, and a myriad of other challenges such as higher discipline, crime, poverty, and dropout rates (Eaton & Rivkin, 2010). Moreover, Pollard (1997) found that most African American principals are given unreasonable expectations to quickly “clean up” and turn around these struggling schools despite the overwhelming challenges. Yet, “in an era of increased accountability, these issues can directly affect the performance and tenure of African American leaders” (Brown, 2005, p. 587). Hence, African American principals will continue to face unique challenges that might shorten their principal tenure unless greater efforts are made to balance the racial representation of

principals in underperforming, high poverty schools.

Even though Schlueter and Walker (2008) found that superintendents from several states based their placement decisions primarily from principals' professional attributes, this study's findings strongly suggest that the personal attributes of principals' race dictated placement decisions. In using Duke and Iwanicki's (1992) definition of fit, or "the extent to which a leader is perceived to be appropriately matched to a given context" (p. 26), one might easily conclude from the straightforward data that most African American principals lack the necessary personal and professional attributes to effectively lead, or synergistically fit, at the high school level and at high performing and affluent schools. In other words, the findings in relation to the literature would strongly imply that most non-African American principals possess personal and professional skills that best fit schools that ostensibly have more resources and provide greater opportunities for promotion and job security. On the other hand, one might assume that most African American principals possess unique skills that best fit schools that may lack equitable resources, limit their opportunities for advancement, as well as jeopardize their employment. Given this, it can certainly be argued that institutional and structural racism might be in play in the placement of African American principals throughout the state.

In the literature, McCray et al. (2008) noted that African American school administrators often contend with both overt and covert discrimination relative to the personal attributes of their physical appearance. Thomas (1991) also noted that, "Residual racism can easily make the difference in whether or not a black is deemed qualified for a job" (p. 124). This kind of discrimination is found in educational institutions at all levels. Jackson (2006) found that African American males are

disproportionately excluded from higher education leadership positions as a result of the “black box mush,” (p. 318) which he describes as “a decision-making process in which the employer subjectively combines several employment practices, thus making the identification of a particular employment practice impossible” (p. 318). Duke and Iwanicki (1992) warned:

Great care must be taken to ensure that fit is not used as a convenient justification for personnel decisions that are discriminatory and illegal...It would be interesting to study districts that periodically rotate administrators to determine whether certain administrators are never assigned to particular schools. (p. 34-35)

From the study’s findings that African American principals are repeatedly placed in underachieving and high poverty schools, and the literature that notes the consequent increased scrutiny and threat to their employment due to intense accountability mandates, an arguable case can be easily made that most African American principals are set up for failure. From an organizational standpoint, this assumption poses serious implications about the negative perceptions about African American principals’ capabilities to effectively lead and be successful at various school settings (Ortiz, 1982). Such pervasive placement practices also pigeonhole African American principals into specific and limited tracks of leadership. This might explain the apprehension many African Americans have about entering the principal ranks thus contributing to their systemic underrepresentation (Brown, 2005; Hatton, 1989).

As the study found, the salience of race attributable to principals’ personal qualities cannot be ignored. Until criteria pertaining to specific attributes required for placement are clearly outlined and made transparent, African American principals will

continue to face gross inequities based on undefined, unspoken, unpublished, and political notions of fit (Bogotch et al., in press; Duke & Iwanicki, 1992; Hooker, 2000). Clearly, the study's findings and corresponding implications strongly appear racially discriminatory in nature and carry legal ramifications for disparate impact claims, especially if such placement inequities persist to more severe levels. Unless legal recourses via a disparate impact claim and/or policy changes are made to ensure equity, race as a determinant factor in principal placement decisions will continue to be used in the dark and strategically cloaked from public and legal ramifications.

Discussion of Human Level Theories

The Attraction-Selection-Attrition (ASA) framework and Role Model Theory (RMT) incorporate the vast array of personal and professional qualities, and the contexts surrounding them, when determining how individuals are selected at the human level of an organization. The ASA model undergirds the hiring process in how founders of an organization attracts, selects, and retains its people (Schneider, 1987). Essentially, these interrelated components of the composite model “propose that people are differentially attracted to organizations on the basis of some sort of fit between ‘personal and organizational’ goals...those who do not fit the organization they join will leave” (Schneider et al., 1995, p. 748).

The premise behind RMT is that “minority and female role models are needed in organizations to motivate and inspire others...their gender and minority experiences diversify and expand the culture of the workplace” (Irvine, 1989, p. 55). However, there are many divergent views about RMT. Many scholars (Lomotey, 1987, 1989; Stewart et al., 1989) advocate for minority educational leaders to serve as same race role models,

while other scholars (Loehr, 1988; Witty, 1982) advocate for cross-cultural role models for all students regardless of color. Some simply argue for minorities to be mentors instead of role models (Delgado, 1995; Irvine 1989).

For this study, the role of district superintendents was a critical aspect of both the ASA and RMT models. District superintendents exercise their authority rights to make principal placement decisions based on their organizational goals. In doing so, they create the behaviors, strategies, structures, and culture (Schneider, 1987) of the hiring processes and placement schematics of principals within their district.

This study found that principal race did not statistically relate to African American superintendents as their observed counts for presiding over non-African American and African American principals fell within the expected frequencies. However, a weak but significant relationship existed between principal race and Hispanic and White superintendents. Hispanic-led district superintendents placed more African American principals than statistically expected; whereas White-led district superintendents who make up a majority of all school districts placed African American principals in the state at a percentage less than statistically expected. Nonetheless, White superintendents still did a much better job at providing African American principals placement in racially diverse school settings than did Hispanic and African American superintendents. White, African American, and Hispanic superintendents respectively placed 45.5% (142 out of 312), 50.9% (29 out of 57), and 61.3% (65 out of 106) of the African American principals they supervised into schools that had a majority African American student enrollment. This particular finding is a significant contribution to the field as the researcher did not discover prior literature that documented comparative data

on the placement of contemporary African American principals into majority African American schools by different races of superintendents.

It can be concluded from the study's findings that superintendents of color, especially Hispanic, possess strong organizational goals on the practice of placing African American principals in schools that have a predominant African American student enrollment. The findings might also indicate that African American and Hispanic superintendents, as people of color that have been historically oppressed and subordinated in a White dominated political and legal society, may still mistrust Whites to serve in the best interests of minority students (Bell, 1987, 1992; Lomotey, 1987, 1989; Patterson, 2001; West, 1994). White superintendents appear to possess the same organizational goals but to a much lesser extent than Hispanic superintendents. A possible explanation for this could be that White superintendents might earnestly exercise greater discernment in their placement of contemporary African American principals possibly as a result of their past disparaging practices of racial segregation and massive displacements just to keep African American principals from leading White students and teachers. Although the researcher failed to find literature to support this assumption, there is abundant literature on White superintendents' longstanding mistreatment of African American principals (Abney, 1974, 1980; Coffin, 1972; Fultz, 2004; Karpinski, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b). So from historical contexts, this is a noteworthy finding.

In discerning the findings through the ASA framework, Schneider (1987) explains that founders are attracted to and hire individuals that mirror their particular personality attributes and organizational goals. Fundamentally, "people are not randomly assigned to

settings, they actively choose themselves into them” (Schneider et al., 1998, p. 464). Based on this premise, the study’s findings would indicate that superintendents do not unilaterally select African American principals to lead majority African American schools, in as much as African American principals are attracted to and select themselves into these school settings. This would imply that 236 (49.7%) of the total 475 African American principals prefer and are satisfied with their placement in majority African American schools. Still, the ASA model also purports that because superintendents are “quite comfortable imposing those views on their partners and employees,” (Schein, 1993, p. 211) principals that deviate from superintendents’ goals potentially face dismissal (Duke & Iwanicki, 1992). Thus, African American principals may feel compelled to accept unfavorable placements and/or work conditions just to maintain employment (Thompson, 1951). These findings may have implications for African American principals that desire placements in racially diverse school settings or seek other placement opportunities that do not align with superintendents’ agendas.

Through the lenses of advocates of RMT that support same race placements, the study’s findings would suggest that superintendents ardently view African American principals as positive role models for African American students. With half of all African American principals examined in the study placed in majority African American schools, and nearly two-thirds of all highly segregated African American schools have an African American principal, one may surmise that superintendents seem to value African American principals as same race role models because they portray a “valuable image for Black children” (James, 1970, p. 18), “positively affect the lives of Black children” (Tillman, 2004a, p. 134), and “identify with the needs of Black children better than

principals of other races” (Lomotey, 1987, p. 174). Horsford (2010) also found in her studies that a Black superintendent strongly valued the “polished, sophisticated” (p. 300) images Black educators portrayed for Black children.

Thus, superintendents that hold true to these sentiments might propel African American principals into majority African American schools whether they desire that placement or not. Based on White superintendents’ benchmark, it is clear that African American principals have at minimum a 45.5% chance to be placed in a majority African American school. Obviously, the probabilities incrementally increase in districts led by African American and Hispanic superintendents, respectively. Of important note, these probability figures are purported from a statewide standpoint and do not take into consideration comparative differences at the district level in the placement of African American principals by superintendents of the same race.

Clearly, the literature substantiates African American superintendents’ placement of African American principals in majority African American schools. However, this finding is inconsistent with the results from Myung et al. (2011) who found that although Hispanic principals tend to tap other Hispanics teachers for potential school leadership positions, they tapped African Americans teachers the least. Thus, it could still be implied that Hispanic superintendents recognize the value of RMT within the African American race. Although White superintendents conducted less same race placements of African American principals, Delgado (1995) and Green (2004) vehemently contend that Whites ardently support RMT because they are the primary benefactors because African American principals take care of African American kids so they do not have to.

From the lenses of cross-cultural RMT, the study’s correlational findings that

50.3% of African American principals are placed in non-majority African American schools would certainly demonstrate progress toward exposure of African American principals to students of other races. This finding deconstructs the “underlying supposition within the field of education that minority principals should only be placed and can only lead schools with a heavy concentration of minority students” (McCray et al., 2007, p. 253). Moreover, it promotes the principle that “all students must realize that leadership positions can be fulfilled by people of all races” (Sanchez et al., 2008, p. 5).

Another finding revealed that only 136 (5%) of the total 2,705 principals examined in the study were African American males. According to Schneider (1987) founders utilize a purposeful hiring process and that it is through the selection process that organizations restrict certain types of people. Thus, it is easy to conclude that superintendents place the least value on African American male principals, even though Smith (2013) found in his study that African Americans comprised twice as many candidates in the leadership pool than any other racial group. So from a historical context, this finding would indicate that African American principals have tragically transcended from their status as once the central figure in segregated Black schools and communities (Siddle Walker, 2000) to now a near vanishing figure (Abney, 1974, 1980; James, 1970) in Florida’s schools. This finding is seriously concerning considering the large outcry for African American male principals to serve as role models for all students, especially African American male students. Considering Smith’s (2013) findings, a need for a study with districts as the unit of analysis is needed.

Conclusion

Many believe that the historic *Brown* decision reified the egalitarian constitutional proclamation that “all men are created equal” (Patterson, 2001). However, its complex legacy has left many questions about its impact and parity on education today (Horsford, 2010, 2011), particularly regarding the placement of African American principals (Abney, 1974, 1980; McCray et al., 2007). The researcher intended for the findings of this study to bring to light any inequities that may exist in the placement of contemporary African American principals in Florida.

This study’s findings revealed that a significant and strong relationship existed between the percentage enrollment of African American students and the placement of an African American principal. This resulted in an even split in the placement of African American principals in both majority African American and non-African American enrolled schools throughout the state. On the surface, it is only fair to conclude that African American principals’ placement opportunities have certainly improved when compared to the era of legalized segregation. In a post-civil rights era, such progress should be expected. However, a deeper analysis of the findings using the legal, organizational behaviors, and human resource theories of the study’s conceptual framework revealed African American principals were disproportionately placed in less high schools, in more underachieving and high poverty schools, significantly underrepresented as males, under-placed by White superintendents, and mostly assigned in majority African American schools by African American and Hispanic district superintendents. Such inequities clearly place race as a dominant factor even though the proportion of African American students enrolled accounted for only one-fifth of the

variance in the placement of African American principals.

From a legal standpoint, although *Brown* and its progeny of civil rights laws valiantly set out to eliminate race and racism from schools and in the workplace, the findings revealed that race continues to be a factor in determining inequity in principal placements. Aside from the disparity in the representation of African American principals as compared to the enrollment of African American students, the findings also revealed that as schools reached levels of segregation on polarizing ends of student race, African American principals were well represented with African American students but faintly with non-African American students. Thus, in as much as we think we have emerged into a colorblind, race-accepting nation, these findings would indicate otherwise. In fact, the findings suggest that acceptance of an African American principal is only tolerable in the presence of majority enrollment of African American students or when there is a racially diverse student body. So, in the face of affirmative action initiatives, provisions for disparate impact claims based on racial discrimination, and a litany of civil rights laws to effectuate equity, can we really say that parity exists in the placements of African American principals based on this study's findings? And if so, to what legal extent can this truly be explained?

At the organizational level, we learned from this study that the race of a principal seemed to be the most influential factor in determining inequities at high school level placements, and in schools based on levels of student achievement and student poverty. Notably, the findings revealed that a vast majority of African American principals are placed in school settings that are overwhelmingly challenging based on notions of fit. Consequently, most African American principals must deal with very tough working

conditions and contend with negative perceptions about their effectiveness. The literature further noted they also face potential employment issues if they fail to meet specific measures of accountability or district leadership's expectations. The take away from this study is that although each individual person, regardless of race, brings to the table a set of unique skills and talents, which should rightfully be measured accordingly, it is arguably hard to justify the extreme inequities found in this study without identifying race as the primary determinant.

Clearly, this study makes the case for all superintendents, school boards, and other human resource governing bodies in charge of hiring to immediately evaluate and make transparent their criteria for principal placements. Again, that is assuming, as law would require, that hiring decisions were made absent of race as a factor. Giving the benefit of the doubt, could any district superintendent confidently rationalize the organizational inequities found in this study? Is it logical to believe that African Americans best fit the most challenging school settings? Again, if so, how can such decisions of fit be justified (Tooms et al., 2010)?

Through the lenses of the ASA and RMT frameworks that make up the human resource theory, this study found in the ASA model that superintendents hold plenary powers to select whom they feel best fit their organizational goals, as well as let go employees that deviate from those goals. The employees enter and leave the organization based on how they sync with the superintendent's goals. Interestingly, this study found that White superintendents were less apt to place African American principals in majority African American schools. Although this finding was surprising to the researcher, explanations for the higher placement percentages from African American and Hispanic

superintendents, respectively, possibly stemmed from beliefs that African American principals best serve as positive role models for African American students.

Nonetheless, this study found that despite the outcry for more African American principal role models (Lomotey, 1987, 1989) and superintendents' presumable values of RMT, African American male principals comprised only 5% of all principals in the state. Thus, even though role model is widely pushed to justify the placement of African American principals in majority African American schools, efforts are not made nearly to the levels needed to hire and place African American principals. So while Florida's superintendents, especially superintendents of color, push placements under the guise of RMT, their organizational goals and practices relative to the placement of African American principals seem to remain what they have always been and alarmingly continue to be – racially inequitable!

Essentially, we also learned from this study that no one theory can fully explain or provide a prescription to the inequities found in the placement of African American principals. Ultimately, it is an imperative that superintendents and school boards establish policies and practices that consistently and fairly promote equal placement opportunities for all principals throughout all segments of the organizations and with the intent to meet the needs of all students regardless of race. With the conclusion of this study being one year removed from the sixtieth anniversary of the historic *Brown* ruling, more work clearly must be done to effectuate parity in the placement of African American principals!

Recommendations

Recommendations for policy.

1. Conduct annual race and gender equity audits to assess the placement patterns of all school administrators and to ensure that fair and equitable opportunities are provided that promote true diversity and enhance school leaders' professional growth.
2. Establish statewide and district peer-mentoring networks for leadership development.
3. Monitor districts' diversity plans at the state level to increase the pool of African American and other minorities in leadership training programs and school placements as a means to provide diverse and cross-cultural experiences for all students, especially students in highly segregated schools.

Recommendations for practice.

1. Provide and require ongoing training for all superintendents, school board members, principals, and community members on EEOC criteria and to ensure that hiring criteria are made transparent and operational.
2. Provide diverse leadership internships for all assistant principals seeking principal positions.
3. Ensure opportunities are provided to rotate all principals, if desired, in different schools settings.
4. Make public annual reports that outline principal placement patterns by race relative to assigned schools' student race, school levels, letter grades, and socioeconomic status.

Recommendations for future research. Findings from this study raise several important questions that merit further exploration:

1. Replicate this study in others states, especially Southern and border states, to determine if inequities in the placements of African American principals exist.
2. Replicate this study for charter and private schools throughout the state.
3. Conduct a smaller-scaled comparative study on the placement of African American principals across the Big-8 urban school district throughout Florida.
4. Conduct a study utilizing critical race theory (CRT) as an analytical framework to “examine and challenge the effects of race and racism in the policies, practices, and discourses (Yosso, Parker, Solórzano, & Lynn, 2004) in educational leadership relative to the placement of African American principals.
5. Conduct a qualitative study to ascertain the narrative voices of African American principals to better understanding their experiences and feelings pertaining to their placement opportunities.
6. Conduct a qualitative study to ascertain the narrative voices of superintendents to examine their philosophical values relative to the placement of African American principals.
7. Replicate this study to assess the placement opportunities for Hispanic principals throughout Florida relative to school’s percentage of Hispanic student enrollment.

According to the FLDOE’s *Education Information & Accountability Services Data Report referencing Growth of Minority Student Populations in Florida Public Schools, 2009-10*, Hispanic students represented the greatest numerical gains totaling 588,556 over a 20-year span from 1979-2009 (FLDOE, 2010a).

8. Include findings from placement studies from universities' and colleges' principal preparation programs especially in areas of urban school leadership, urban school improvement, history of African American school leadership, and race and racism in school administration.
9. Investigate the number of African American principals statewide that have been placed in low-performing schools and subsequently lost their job or were forced to be relocated to a different school due to accountability mandates.

Limitations

The primary aim of *Brown* was not to create opportunities for African American principals (Thompson, 1951, 1953). Still, *Brown's* constitutional promises for equity and the integration of schools ultimately influenced society's views and many subsequent jurisprudential decisions on equal employment opportunities for all absent of race as a determinant (Smith, 2005). This study focused on the (un)intended consequences and vestiges of *Brown* on the placement opportunities of African American principals.

Another limitation is the absence of community voice in principal placement decisions, which may be influenced by issues of civil rights and related struggles that were also not in the design of this study. As such, district superintendents' principal placement decisions that were politically influenced by community voice were also not considered.

Moreover, this study was limited by the available data generated by the FLDOE archival database for the percentages of African American students, race of the principals assigned for all of the state's K-12 traditional public schools, and the moderating variables. The data collected were also limited to one academic year (2010-2011), as mobility, retirement, and promotions may have caused a change in the principal of the

school and presiding superintendent for each district. Thus, the results may not reflect changes in the placement opportunities for African American principals since the time the data were collected and analyzed. Additionally, the statistical data referencing the placement of African American principals did not take into account any personal, political, or philosophical choices made by each principal to be placed in the school they were assigned during the study. Also, superintendents that were newly hired in a district at the start or during this study inherited principal placements and therefore did not literally place those principals in their schools. Lastly, as a practicing African American principal in Florida throughout the entire research process, the researcher was careful to limit and monitor his own biases and subjectivities that could have influenced the study.

Delimitations

First, this study was limited to the State of Florida. Therefore, the findings cannot be generalized to other states. This study also did not evaluate the pool of qualified educators that could influence the number of available African American principal candidates, and thus the selection and placement of African American principals. Because this was a statewide study, geographical differences such as rural, suburban, and urban and population differences across and within the individual school districts were not examined. This might have impacted the placements of African American principals and should therefore be taken into consideration.

This study was a replication of Abney's original (1974) and comparative studies (1980) that focused on the status of African American principals throughout the State of Florida. It also built upon the study McCray et al. (2007) conducted to examine the placement of African American principals in majority White schools throughout a

particular southeastern state. Therefore, other races (Hispanics, Multiracial, Asians, and Native Americans) were not considered in the focus of this study. The study did also not consider data from charter, private, parochial, or adult education public schools. Lastly, the African American racial classification as defined by the FLDOE's Technical Assistance Paper on collecting and reporting race and ethnicity data for PK-12 students and staff (FLDOE, 2009) was inclusive of all cultural groups and regions of people with dark skin but who do not belong or consider themselves as part of traditional Black American culture (e.g., Jamaicans, Haitians, Caribbean Islanders, individuals from Africa, etc.).

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