

12-1-2017

The Relationship between African- American Male Education and Employment Opportunities Through the Lenses of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat in the Historical Context of the 1965 Moynihan Report

Robert Paul Walker
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/thesesdissertations>



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [American Studies Commons](#), [Ethnic Studies Commons](#), and the [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#)

Repository Citation

Walker, Robert Paul, "The Relationship between African- American Male Education and Employment Opportunities Through the Lenses of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat in the Historical Context of the 1965 Moynihan Report" (2017). *UNLV Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, and Capstones*. 3182.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.34917/11889771>

This Dissertation is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by Digital Scholarship@UNLV with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Dissertation in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/or on the work itself.

This Dissertation has been accepted for inclusion in UNLV Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, and Capstones by an authorized administrator of Digital Scholarship@UNLV. For more information, please contact digitalscholarship@unlv.edu.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AFRICAN- AMERICAN MALE EDUCATION
AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH THE LENSES OF
CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND STEREOTYPE THREAT
IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF
THE 1965 MOYNIHAN REPORT

By

Robert Paul Walker

Bachelor of Business Administration
University of Cincinnati
1969

Master of Science—Educational Psychology
University of Nevada Las Vegas
2010

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Doctor of Philosophy—Curriculum & Instruction

Department of Teaching and Learning
College of Education
The Graduate College

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
December 2017

Copyright 2018 by Robert Paul Walker

All Rights Reserved

Dissertation Approval

The Graduate College
The University of Nevada, Las Vegas

November 8, 2017

This dissertation prepared by

Robert Paul Walker

entitled

The Relationship between African- American Male Education and Employment
Opportunities Through the Lenses of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat in the
Historical Context of the 1965 Moynihan Report

is approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy—Curriculum & Instruction
Department of Teaching and Learning

Christine Clark, Ed.D.
Examination Committee Chair

Kathryn Hausbeck Korgan, Ph.D.
Graduate College Interim Dean

Howard Gordon, Ed.D.
Examination Committee Member

Steven Bickmore, Ph.D.
Examination Committee Member

Harriet E. Barlow, Ph.D.
Examination Committee Member

Katrina Harris, Ph.D.
Graduate College Faculty Representative

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the connection between education and employment outcomes for African American males through the dual lenses of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Stereotype Threat (ST) in the historical context of the 1965 Moynihan Report. A qualitative case study design allowed for the collection of rich data through in-depth interviews designed to elicit the Black male participants' perspectives and lived experience of education and employment. For more than fifty years, the trajectory of African American male education and employment has been a negative one. This study documented, in their own voice, the African American males' viewpoint of education and job opportunities at various education levels. There are studies that show the persistent education gap between Black males and their non - Black cohorts. In addition, there are studies that show a similarly persistent gap between Black male and White male employment. However, few studies have used a qualitative approach that sought to hear from Black males directly. This study will help fill that gap by interviewing and gathering artifacts from 8 Black males at six levels of education; high school dropout, high school graduate, community college graduate, and college graduates with a Bachelor's degree, a Master's degree, and or a Doctorate degree. The first chapter presented the problem statement, background on the problem, a statement of purpose, introduction to the research questions, some operational definitions, the conceptual frameworks, my connection to the study, a brief review of the topic literature, a brief review of case study method, limitations of the study, and the significance of the study.

Chapter 2 reviewed the relevant literature on the state of the problem, starting with a brief history of Black male education and employment in America since slavery. The chapter then reviewed the relevant literature on the dual conceptual frameworks, and the Moynihan report as

historical context for the study. Next, chapter 2 reviewed relevant studies on Black male education and employment. Chapter 2 summarized the status of Black males in order to set the stage for this research examining the Black male perspective through the lens of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat.

Chapter 3 reiterated the conceptual frameworks of CRT and ST, in the context of Moynihan Report. The rationale for choosing the qualitative research methodology and the multi-case study design was outlined. The paper explained the role of the researcher, elaborated the research questions, and described the participants, relevant ethics, data collections, data analysis, and timeline.

Chapter 4 showed the findings of the participants lived experiences including portraits of the eight participants, method of analysis, the five themes derived from the data; education, family, neighborhood, jobs and racism.

Chapter 5 examined discussions, conclusions, and recommendation from the data. A findings analysis was conducted which answers the research questions, relating the findings to Critical Race Theory, to Stereotype Threat, and historical context of the *Moynihan Report*. The chapter closed with the limitations of the study, implications for future research, and recommendations for policy.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank GOD for my health, my family, and my friends. I want to thank Pamela Jean Walker, my wife, and soul mate for her spirited support and contribution. My children have been a real support during this process, so thanks to Marchelle, Shonn, Robyn, and Robert II. I would like to thank Dr. Christine Clark, my chair, for her unwavering support since 2009. I would also like to thank Dr. Harriet Barlow, who has been a supporter since 2008. I would also like to thank Dr. Howard Gordon for his support. I would like to thank Dr. Steven Bickmore for his support and input. And finally, I would like to thank Dr. Katrina Harris for joining the committee on short notice. And finally, I would like to thank, Paula McMillen, my editor, who helped me make sense of APA.

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my mother, Dear, my brother Roy, and my brother O'Shana.

.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
Dedication	vi
List of Tables	xiv
CHAPTER 1: Introducing the Study	1
Problem Statement.....	2
Background of the Problem	3
Black Male Education Since Slavery	3
Black Male Employment Since Slavery	4
Statement of Purpose	7
Introduction of Research Questions.....	8
Operational Definitions	9
Conceptual Frameworks	10
Critical Race Theory	11
Stereotype Threat	14
Moynihan Report: Historical Context	15
Researcher Connection to the Study	20
Brief Overview of Topic Literature.....	21
Critical Race Theory	21
Stereotype Threat	21
Moynihan Report	22
War on Drugs	22

School-to-Prison-Pipeline	23
Jobs.....	24
Brief Rationale for the Case Study Method.....	24
Assumptions.....	25
Limitations.....	25
Significance of the Study	27
Chapter Summary and Transition	28
CHAPTER 2: Review of Related Literature	29
A Brief History of African American Males.....	30
Slavery	30
Jim Crow Laws	31
Civil Rights Movement.....	32
War on Drugs	38
School-to-Prison Pipeline	41
Connection of Literature to the Study	43
Critical Race Theory	44
Stereotype Threat	45
Update of the Moynihan Report.....	48
A Critique of Liberalism.	63
Black Student Achievement Gap	64
African American Male Identity Crisis.....	65
Black Male Education and Employment: School Security	67
Racial Discrimination and Inequality in Schools.....	71
Burgeoning critical consciousness: Counterclaims to a post-racial Society.....	75

White-Black Wage Gap	76
Chapter Summary and Transition	83
CHAPTER 3: Methodology	84
Brief Restatement of the Problem	84
Brief Restatement of the Purpose	85
Brief Restatement of the Research Questions	85
Approach to the Study	86
Role of the Researcher	86
Study Design	87
Case Study.....	87
Multi-Case Study Design	88
Methodology	90
Setting	90
Data Collection	93
Context for Data Analysis	94
Theoretical Framework	94
Stereotype Threat as Additional Theoretical Lens.....	95
Moynihan Report as Historical Context.....	95
Data Analysis	96
Instrumentation for Recording	97
Document Review	97
Ethics	98
Limitations and Impact	98
Chapter Summary.....	99

CHAPTER 4: The Findings: Lived Experiences of Eight Black Men	100
Brief Review of Research Questions.....	101
Background on Participant Pool	101
Portrait One: Mr. Green	103
Portrait Two: Mr. Black	103
Portrait Three: Mr. Gray	105
Portrait Four: Dr. Blue	106
Portrait Five: Mr. Brown.....	107
Portrait Six: Dr. Red.....	109
Portrait Seven: Mr. Purple	110
Portrait Eight: Mr. Tan.....	111
Findings.....	113
Method of Analysis	113
Theme 1: Education	114
Theme 2: Family	139
Theme 3: Neighborhood	149
Theme 4: Jobs	156
Theme 5: Racism	172
Chapter Summary.....	180
CHAPTER 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations	182
Findings Analysis	182
Research Question 1a: How, if at all, Do the Educational Experiences of African American Males Shape their Employment?	182

Research Question 1b: How, if at all, Do Employment Experiences of African American Males Shape their Educational Experiences?	185
Relating the Findings to Critical Race Theory.....	186
Relating the Findings to Stereotype Threat.....	194
Relating the Findings to the <i>Moynihan Report</i>	196
Discussion of Findings	205
Discussion of Research Question #1a: How, if at all, Do the Educational Experiences of African American Males Shape their Employment?	205
Discussion of Research Question #1b: How, if at all, Do Employment Experiences of African American Males Shape their Educational Experiences?	207
Discussion of Theoretical Framework	207
Limitations of the Study	221
Implications for Future Research.....	222
Recommendations for Policy.....	222
Conclusions	223
Significance of the Study	228
Appendix A: Conceptual Framework Diagram.....	230
Appendix B: Jim Crow Laws.....	231
Appendix C: Participants' Coded Quotations by Location	233
Appendix D: Research Questions Matched to Participants Questions	234
Appendix E: Participants' Outcome Matrix	238
Appendix F: Participants' Transcript Summary.....	239

Appendix G : Selected Examples of Data Codes	240
Appendix H: Author in Student Unrest	241
Appendix I: Author Booking Photo	242
Appendix J: My Mother Passed for White When Necessary.....	243
Appendix K: Demographic Profile of Participants.....	244
Appendix L: White-Black Wage Gap by Percentile	245
Appendix M: Performance-Pay by Job Incidence	246
Appendix N: White-Black by Job Type	247
Appendix O: Wage Gap Performance Jobs	248
Appendix P: Summary Statistics Performance Jobs	249
Appendix Q: Components of Performance-Pay	250
Appendix R: Mr. Purple’s First Interview	251
Appendix S: Mr. Brown’s First Interview	285
Appendix T: Dr. Blue’s First Interview	312
Appendix U: Mr. Green’s First Interview	339
Appendix V: Mr. Gray’s First Interview	357
Appendix W: Dr. Red’s First Interview.....	375
Appendix X: Mr. Black’s First Interview	406
Appendix Y: Mr. Tan’s First Interview	427
References	450

Curriculum Vitae 467

List of Tables

Table 1: Percentage of Black Male Students Below Modal Grade -1971-2013	52
Table 2: Percentage of White Male Students Below Modal Grade- 1971—2013.....	52
Table 3: Demographic Profile of Participants.....	244
Table 4: Selected Examples of Data Codes	240
Table 5: Summary Statistics Performance.....	249
Table 6: Components of Performance Pay	250
Table 7: Participants' Coded Questions by Location.....	233
Table 8: Participants' Outcome Matrix	238
Table 9: Participants' Transcript Summary.....	239

CHAPTER 1: Introducing the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the connection between education and employment outcomes for African American males through the dual lenses of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Stereotype Threat (ST) in the historical context of the 1965 Moynihan Report. A qualitative case study design allowed for the collection of rich data through in-depth interviews designed to elicit the Black male participants' perspectives and lived experience of education and employment. There has been much written about Black male underachievement in school, high dropout rates, high unemployment, low participation in the labor force, and high incarceration rates. However, few studies have actually included the voices of Black males themselves to get their perspective. Many studies of Black males are focused on treating this population as abstract numbers rather than examining their individual life experience. The numbers, used to describe several key educational and employment indicators often reinforce the negative stereotypes of African American males as an "endangered species" that needs constant remedial attention just to survive in American society. In Chapter 2, I provided a brief history of

African Americans from slavery to the present that showed their resilience in slavery, Jim Crow, the Civil Rights Movement, and now the School to Prison Pipeline. This study attempted to look beyond the numbers to see how African American males cope with real life issues, specifically education, and employment. Through in-depth interviews, participants revealed, in their own voice, what they saw as the opportunities for and obstacles to their individual success and/or failure, as viewed through the dual lenses of CRT and ST, and in the historical context of the 1965 Moynihan Report. Success is a relative term and not an absolute known end for every individual. The rich qualitative data generated by listening to individual life stories provided future researchers, educators, and others a better understanding of the dynamics beyond the data.

Problem Statement

There continues to be a serious gap between African American and White male employment statistics (Acs, Braswell, Sorenson, & Turner, 2013). For more than fifty years, the overall African American unemployment has been approximately twice that of their White counterparts (PEW Research, 2013, para. 1). Since 1954, the first-year labor statistics were disaggregated by race, when White unemployment averaged 5.0% and Black unemployment averaged 9.9%, the gap has persisted (PEW Research, 2013, para. 2). During the 1980's the gap grew to average of 2.77 times the White unemployment rate; while... interestingly, the lowest gaps came during the recent "Great Recession" when Black rates were 1.67 times higher (PEW Research Center, 2013, para, 3). Also, this problem persists at different education levels. In October 2011, the unemployment rate for African Americans with a bachelor's degree was 7.1 percent vs. 3.9 percent for Whites. African Americans with community college education had an unemployment rate of 13.1 percent versus a White rate of 7.0 percent. African Americans with a high school diploma had a rate of 15.5 percent versus Whites rate of 8.4 percent. African

Americans with less than a high school diploma had a 24.6 percent unemployment rate versus a White rate of 12.7 percent (U.S. Department of Labor, 2012, p. 5). Clearly, there is a longstanding problem, as evidenced by these large and persistent gaps between Black and White unemployment rates. This study sought to investigate the links between education and employment opportunities by examining the experiences of African American males at different educational levels, with the hope of identifying strategies for solving the problem.

Background of the Problem

In this section, a brief history of the experiences Black men in the United States since the period of enslavement is undertaken relative to two parameters. These parameters are Black male education and employment.

Black Male Education Since Slavery

Myrdal (1944) in *The American Dilemma* estimated that 95% of slaves were illiterate in 1860. There were approximately four million slaves in 1860 (Kolchin, 1993, p. 254). During slavery, the South passed laws to make the education of enslaved Africans illegal (Kolchin, 1993). After slavery ended, Whites used the Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) decision to create a “separate but equal” doctrine, known as Jim Crow laws to continue the subjugation that kept Blacks illiterate in both the North and the South (Allen & Jewell, 1995). Legally, Jim Crow ended in 1954 with the Supreme Court’s Brown v. Board of Education decision that struck down the “separate but equal” doctrine in order to integrate all schools, but de facto Jim Crow persisted. According to the U.S. Census, the literacy rate was 7 percent in 1959, and by 1960, 82 percent of Blacks, 5-20 years old were in school (Allen & Jewell, 1995, pp. 81-82). By 1992, 72.3 percent of Black males were completing high school compared to 81.2 percent of White males (Allen & Jewell, 1995, p. 84). In addition, 34 percent of Black males were in college compared to 42 percent of White males (Allen & Jewell, 1995, p. 84). In 2013, 87.8 percent of Black males completed high school compared to 93.3 percent of White males (NCES, 2013, Table 104.20, p. 2). In addition, 17.4 percent of Black males have Bachelor’s degrees or higher compared to 37.1 percent of White males (NCES, 2013, Table 104.2, p. 2). In this snapshot of Black male education since slavery, there is clearly some progress, but improvements are still needed. In their study for the Justice Policy Institute *Cellblocks or Classrooms? The Funding of Higher Education and its Impact on African American Men*, Schiraldi and Ziedenberg (2002),

they revealed how many states have one general fund to support both corrections and higher education. They also found that from 1985 to 2000 aggregate state spending on higher education had decreased 29 percent while spending on prison had a 175 percent increase in funding (Schiraldi and Ziedenberg, 2002, p. 8). The Schiraldi and Ziedenberg (2002) report states, “We cannot definitively say that the prison system is siphoning off Black men who were destined to go to college” (p. 9). However, what made the news headlines was this sensationalized data point: “In the 1990’s, Washington, D.C. literally had more Black inmates in its prison than students in its university system” (p. 9) resulting in generalized and pejorative stereotype that there are more Black males in prison than on college campuses. Speaking directly to my study, the report also states, “Clearly African American men did make progress in accessing higher education over the two decades, but some *systemic barriers* remain that are limiting their opportunities for equal access to colleges and universities” (p. 9). The study sought to understand what systemic barriers participants had experienced, and what those experiences meant for their personal education and employment outcomes. In so doing, the study also provided insight into why such systemic barriers may have influenced, for example, working class Whites different from Black males. There is no doubt there is a lot of work to be done to improve Black males’ education and job prospects.

Black Male Employment Since Slavery

In American society, employment prospects are generally believed to be largely a function of education. In 1860, approximately four million enslaved Africans in the South had jobs. In a perverse way, this could be viewed as 100 percent Black employment (Kolchin, 1993, p. 254). On January 1, 1863 approximately all four million of these people were effectively rendered unemployed by the Emancipation Proclamation (Kolchin, 1993, p 254). However,

during Reconstruction many states, especially in the South, passed Black Codes forcing Blacks to sign labor contracts that imposed heavy penalties on them for not being employed by Whites. Known as “share cropping and tenant farming,” this Reconstruction-era labor system lasted well into the 20th century, coinciding with a deep agricultural depression that lasted three decades (Kolchin, 1993; New Jersey State Library, 2016). In 1913-1914, the Southern United States was experiencing economic depression because of falling cotton prices, made worse by boll weevil infestation that destroyed cotton crops. This led to Blacks again being rendered effectively unemployed, but many Whites blamed the freed slaves for the depression (Baskerville, 2001). Consequently, some Whites started groups like the Ku Klux Klan, Midnight Riders, and Knights of the Golden Circle to intimidate and punish Blacks. Arthur Raper published a study in 1933 which stated that between 1889 and 1930 there were 3,724 lynchings of mostly Blacks attributed to these groups (Raper, 1933, p. 1). These conditions in the South prompted “*The Great Migration*” in which some five million Blacks moved North and West between 1915 and 1960 seeking better lives (Christensen, 2016, p. 1). This Black migration from the South coincided with the start of World War I, a war that created a need for cheap labor in Northern factories to produce war material (Highway History, 2016). Word of better pay beckoned Blacks to leave the South’s “debt slavery”, and offered hope of selling their labor at a higher rate in the mercantile economy of the North’s “promised land.” Many of those five million internal migrants moved to cities like New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and Cleveland (Christensen, 2016, p. 1). This had the unintended consequence of creating large and densely populated Black ghettos in each city because, even in the so-called promised land, Blacks were forced to live in specific areas (Harlem in New York, Chicago’s Southside, or Detroit’s metropolitan area) segregated from Whites (Baskerville, 2001). In Detroit, the Ford

Motor Company sent agents into the South to recruit Blacks to work in their factories (Detroit African American History Project, 2016), with the result that the Black population in Detroit grew from an estimated 40,838 in 1920 to 482,229 in 1960 (p. 1). Each city that received such a large influx of Blacks seeking a better life had problems integrating large numbers into their existing housing, employment, social life, and culture. Prior to the migration, these cities were White centered with Blacks only at the margins (DAAHP, 2015). Because less educated Blacks from the South, in particular, were viewed as competition for low paying jobs held by poorly educated Whites, Blacks were unwelcomed (Federal Highway Administration, 2015).

During WWI, similar to the situation encountered by White women, Black males were needed to fill the labor shortage created by the exodus of White males into military service. When the war was over, however, and the labor shortage turned into a job shortage, racial tension quickly emerged and ran high; 25 race riots occurred in the last six months of 1919 alone (Federal Highway Administration, 2015, p. 31). The North was beginning to mirror the South; the problems that Blacks had hoped to leave behind (e.g., intimidation, discrimination, bad housing, and exclusion) were re-emerging. Even some Northern labor unions such as the American Federation of Labor (AFL) would not allow Blacks to join. This caused unions like the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to form and include more Blacks (Race in History of Labor Unions, 2016). However, these so-called inclusive unions only accepted Blacks due to the convergence of White *interests* with those of Blacks, i.e. to save and expand unions by allowing Black membership. There are similar *interest convergence* situations in other unionized employment arenas, notably professional sports, Black males especially those in high-profile, high visibility sports (baseball, basketball, and football) were not allowed to join until it was in the interest of White unions, as well as of management.

Most unions became partners to Blacks during the push for civil rights including during the 1960's voting right activism in the south (History of Labor Unions, 2016). Clearly, "ghetto life" created new problems for Black families fleeing the problems associated with "being Black in the South", notably living in densely populated low-income housing, not having access to quality education, needing public assistance, and having trouble finding work. This latter problem was particularly salient for Black men with families to support.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the connection between education and employment outcomes for African American males through the dual lenses of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat in the historical context of the 1965 Moynihan Report. A qualitative case study design allows for the collection of rich data through in-depth interviews designed to elicit the Black male participants' perspectives and lived experiences related to education and employment. I analyzed the data to identify themes that may have helped in understanding the current education and employment conditions of African American males.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Stereotype Threat (ST) was be applied as interpretive frameworks to assess if and how the participants' race had affected their educational and employment outcomes. From the CRT perspective, the study was particularly concerned with whether or not participants ever felt that they were discriminated against because of their race, and, if so, whether they believed this caused someone else (individuals and/or groups) to be at an advantage relative to them. The study examined what, if any, experiences the participants had with the law and the court system. Both subjectively, as well as analytically, this study sought to illuminate how such experiences influenced their education and employment outcomes. More specifically, in this regard, the study sought to discern whether or not-participants, who had been

court involved, believed they were treated unfairly (relative to other individuals and/or groups). Stereotype Threat was applied as a lens through which to assess whether or not participants' performance on any tested measures could have detrimentally altered their educational performance or employment trajectory. Specific details of participants' experiences of Stereotype Threat attributable to their school or work environments were explored. Finally, the study used the 1965 Moynihan Report as an historical baseline for assessing what, if any, changes had occurred in Black males' academic *environments* as well as employment achievements in the last 50 years. Specifically, a comparison of the study participants' achievements (contextualized with current achievement data on male achievements in aggregate) was made to the achievements of Black men, as documented in the Moynihan report. Particular attention was given to each participant's own voice-his own rationale-for how and why he had or had not achieved in education and employment, including exploring how and why he defined achievement as he did.

Introduction of Research Questions

The stated purpose of this study was to examine the connection between education and employment outcomes for African American males through the dual lens of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat in the historical context of the 1965 Moynihan Report. A qualitative case study design allowed for the collection of rich data through in-depth interviews designed to elicit the Black male participant's perspectives and lived experience of education and employment. The following questions guided this study:

- How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American employment opportunities?

- How, if at all, do the key tenets of Critical Race Theory components emerge in the critical analysis of African American male education and employment opportunities?
- How, if at all, does Stereotype Threat impact African American male education and employment opportunities?

Operational Definitions

The following are key terms that were of central importance to the study. Operational definitions of these terms as they were used in this study are as follows.

African American/Black - For the purpose of the study, the term African American and/ or Black was used to describe the participants who were self-identified as being of African descent, but native African American due to birth in the United States, and descent from enslaved Africans versus immigrant Africans who became American and were thus considered African American (McGhie, 2015). The terms Black and African American were used interchangeably, and both were capitalized to show respect for a group of people.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) - First emerged as a counter legal scholarship to the positivist and liberal legal discourse of civil rights. This scholarly tradition argues against the slow pace of racial reform in the United States. CRT begins with the notion that racism is normal in American society. It departs from mainstream legal scholarship by sometimes employing storytelling. It critiques liberalism and argues that Whites have been the primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation. Since schooling in the USA purports to prepare citizens, CRT looks at how citizenship and race might interact. CRT's usefulness in understanding education inequity is in its infancy. It requires a critique of some of the civil rights era's most cherished legal victories and educational reform movements, such as multiculturalism (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Disidentification - Occurs when a stereotype threat situation becomes chronic and one reconceptualizes the self and one's values to remove the domain as an aspect of self-identity, or as a basis for self-evaluation (Steele, 1997).

Qualitative Method - A research stance that is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Creswell, 1998).

Race - Race is a social construct that acts as a human selection of attributes based on physical characteristics like skin color, hair type, and other physical features. These attributes are often stratified and used to discriminate among people (Hasberry, 2013). **Racism** - Prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone or some group of a different race based on the belief that one's own race is superior (Racism, n.d.).

Stereotype Threat (STT) - This is the social-psychological threat that arises when one is in a situation or doing something for which a negative stereotype applies (Steele, 1997). **White** - For the purpose of the study, the term White was used to identify Caucasians, chiefly North American White-skinned of European origin (Caucasian, n.d.). White was capitalized to show respect for a group of people.

Conceptual Frameworks

The following section covers the conceptual frameworks that guided this study. Conceptual Race Theory (CRT) was the primary framework with Stereotype Threat adding an additional conceptual perspective, and the Moynihan Report gave the study historical context.

Critical Race Theory

This study's conceptual frameworks were Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat. I used CRT as the primary lens to investigate how its central tenets related to the lived stories of the participants in the study. Delgado and Stefancic (2001) define Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a movement by a collection of scholars who want to transform the relationship between power and race. The CRT movement grew out of the frustration that a group of lawyers had with the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) Movement. CLS was the original critical theory movement started by lawyers who had been law students during the 1960's and early 1970's. This group focused on how law contributed to illegitimate social hierarchies, producing domination of men over women, as well as non-Whites, and the poor by the wealthy. CLS believed that neutral language and institutions, operated through law, mask relationships of power and control (The Bridge, 2014). Another group of lawyers led by Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman contended that the CLS critique of the law could not offer strategies for social transformation because it did not include race and racism in the analysis (Yosso, 2005). They reasoned that not listening to the lived experiences and histories of those oppressed by institutionalized racism limited the credibility of CLS scholarship (Yosso, 2005). Thus, Critical Race Theory emerged to include race and racism in the critique of law and institutions. CRT has been evolving as a concept over the last 40 years, ever since Bell, Freeman, and Richard Delgado first presented it as a framework for analyzing racism in legal institutions. CRT has also been used as a framework for investigating racism in education. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) first applied the CRT framework to education in their paper *Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education*. This was followed by Ladson-Billings (1998) paper *Just What is Critical Race Theory and What is it Doing in a Nice Field like Education*. In the later paper, Ladson-Billings (1998) quoted Crenshaw and colleagues, (1995)

which said, “There is no canonical set of doctrines or methodologies to which CRT scholars all subscribe” (p. 12). Recently some CRT scholars have begun to subscribe to what have become the five tenets of CRT. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) in their paper ...*Using Critical Race Theory as a Tool of Analysis of Race and Racism in Education* clearly set out the CRT tenets as counter-storytelling, the permanence of racism, Whiteness as property, interest convergence, and a critique of liberalism. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) presented five CRT Tenets that are: Counter storytelling - method of telling a story that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths especially ones held by the majority Matsuda (1995); Critique of liberalism - critique of three basic notions embraced by liberal legal ideology: colorblindness, neutrality of the law, and incremental change (Crenshaw, 1988); Whiteness as property - due to the history of race and racism in the U.S. and the role U.S. jurisprudence has played in rectifying conceptions of race; the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest (Harris, 1993); Interest convergence - significant progress for Blacks is achieved only when the goals of Blacks are consistent with the needs of Whites (Bell 2004); and, Permanence of racism - racism, both conscious and unconscious, is a permanent component of American life (Horsford, 2007, p. 170). I used each of these tenets to investigate and analyze the life stories of the participants. Each participant’s story allowed emergent data to show any connection between the tenets of CRT and those of Stereotype Threat and the participant’s education. The main tenet was the use of counter story; telling by participants, we hear their voice and personal story. The other tenets’ intersection with the data came from the analysis, coding, and themes from the narratives. Those intersections allowed an analysis to determine whether any of the remaining tenets have influenced participants’ education and life outcomes. Yosso (2005), stated “Looking through a CRT lens means critiquing deficit theorizing and data that may be limited by its omission of the

voices of People of Color” (p. 75), in this study’s case, those of Black males. Yosso also stated that she “defines CRT in education as a theoretical framework that challenges the ways race and racism impact educational structure, practices, and discourses” (Yosso, 2005, p. 74). She has critiqued the CRT assumption that students of color come to the classroom with cultural deficiencies because that assumes the cultural norm is White middle class, but she now wants to substitute a new concept she calls “community cultural wealth” (Yosso, 2005). Yosso in collaboration with Solórzano see “community cultural wealth as an array of knowledge, skills, and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression” (p. 77). Students of color do not have access to the same social and cultural capital as White students; however, they still bring “cultural wealth” which offers unique social capital from their ethnic group. By definition, it is different from White Eurocentric capital but can be used to help minority students develop an identity that both reflects their culture and is also successful in the classroom. CRT can challenge the deficient thinking that uses middle class White culture as the standard while deeming all “others” as lacking in some way. Unfortunately, many children of color come from low-income families that do not have the same advantages as White children such as computers in the home. Having a computer in the home is an example of capital wealth advantage that White children have that helps them in school. Children of color may not have such capital wealth, but they have “community cultural wealth” to bring to school that teachers can tap into to encourage students to believe in themselves and to help improve achievement. Example of this “community cultural wealth” might be how children of color navigate peer-to peer relationships or how they handle multiple tasks because they are accustomed to that at home.

CRT has expanded to include other groups because other marginalized groups felt that CRT was Afro-centric and excluded them. Yosso stated, “Over the years, the CRT family tree has expanded to incorporate the racialized experiences of women, Latinas, Native Americans, and Asian Americans” (Yosso, 2005, p. 72).

Stereotype Threat

In 1997, Dr. Claude Steele of Stanford University introduced a concept he called “Stereotype Threat” which he describes as follows.

The theory begins with an assumption: that to sustain success, one must be identified with school in the same sense of it being a part of one’s self-definition, a personal identity to which one is self-evaluative accountability.

For such an identification to form, one must perceive good prospects in the domain, that one has the interests, skills, resources, and an opportunity to prosper there, as well as that one belongs there, in the sense of being accepted and valued in the domain. If this relationship to schooling does not form or is broken, achievement may suffer (p. 614).

Steele (1997) postulated that a social-psychological threat arises when one is in a situation or doing something for which a negative stereotype about one’s group applies. This predicament threatens one with being negatively stereotyped, with being judged or treated stereotypically, or the prospect of conforming to the stereotype. This is called *stereotype threat*; it is situational threat, “a threat in the air” that, in general form, can affect members of any group about whom a negative stereotype exists. Moreover, for those who identify with the domain to which the stereotype is relevant, this predicament can be self-threatening (Steele, 1997, p. 614). According to Steele, stereotype threat has two consequences for the person stereotyped. First, during

classroom test taking an emotional reaction could directly interfere with cognitive performance; and second, if the threat becomes chronic in a situation, it can pressure disidentification. The stereotyped person no longer identifies with the domain, such as education and school (Steele, 1997). Relative to the study, because an individual's education may determine what kind of jobs he can obtain, if the individual is impacted by a stereotype threat that negatively affects his academic performance, his employment opportunities may be reduced. In the case of this study, endemic racism created a cultural stereotype threat that had proved to be deleterious to successful educational and employment outcomes for Black males, the target participants for this study.

Moynihan Report: Historical Context

In 1965, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, in his seminal report *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, identified a “tangle of pathology” (p. 29). Moynihan borrowed this term from Dr. Kenneth Clark who coined the phrase to describe working class Black life “in the ghetto” (Patterson, 2010). According to Moynihan, the tangle of pathology consisted of the matriarchal pattern of Negro families, differences in educational attainment between Negroes and Whites, chronic and high unemployment of Negro male workers, the Negro family's dependence on Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) welfare, the rise in Negro illegitimate births, and a growing subculture of Negroes in poverty. Moynihan's report also mentioned two other disturbing issues that demand attention: the number of males not participating in the labor force and the number of incarcerated Negro males. The issues identified in the Moynihan report are still germane today and, thus, provided context for this study of African American male education and employment status. Accordingly, the study used the Moynihan report for historical context and to establish a historical baseline for comparing data on families, especially males from 1965 to

today. Data comparison focused particularly on education and employment data for African American males then and now. The Moynihan report consists of five chapters: The Negro American Revolution, The Negro American Family, The Roots of the Problem, The Tangle of Pathology, and The Case for National Action. In summary, Moynihan argued, “The fundamental problem ... is that of (Negro) family structure. The evidence -not final, but powerfully persuasive- is that the Negro family in the urban ghettos is crumbling” (Moynihan, 1965, p. 1), and that at the core of this problem was, again, the “tangle of pathology.” At the center of the tangle was the matriarchy that, according to Moynihan, undermined the traditional position of the Black male in the family. This, in turn, may feed into the other tangled elements: Black males’ poor educational outcomes, weak job prospects, life in high-poverty neighborhoods, high illegitimate birth rate, and exposure to/involvement in crime (Acs, et al., 2013). Moynihan predicted that Black males would leave their families when they lost their “traditional” position as family head (due mainly, to the challenges associated with securing employment gainful enough to adequately provide for their families, and that this situation would become self-perpetuating (Acs, et al., 2013). In retrospect, Moynihan’s prediction seems almost clairvoyant given much of what has happened to Black males over the last 50 years. However, at the time of the report, he took a lot of criticism for the information in the report that had come from various sources including the work of esteemed Black social scientists as Kenneth Clark and E. Franklin Frazier. The report also drew from the work of social scientists like Thomas F. Pettigrew, Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, statistics from the Department of Labor, and the New York City Department of Health, among others. The point is that Moynihan assembled the report based on a review of the current research literature and statistical data to support his thesis. The thesis of his paper is that these events (tangle of pathology) in combination, confront the nation with a

new kind of problem ... a national effort is required that will give a unity of purpose to many activities of the Federal government in this area, directed to a new kind of national goal: the establishment of a stable Negro family structure (Moynihan, 1965, p.1). While Moynihan's thesis is commendable and very ahead of its time, he only assembled data that was descriptive. Much of it was based on the lowest socioeconomic group of African Americans, and yet from this data, he drew conclusions that he generalized to all Black culture and "life styles." Further, he did not compare his data on Blacks to Whites of similar socioeconomic status. For example, he used the statistic that 21 percent of Black women in low-income communities were heads of households to conclude that all Negro families – across all income levels – were matriarchal. Males headed 79 percent of Negro families at the time. Unfortunately, Moynihan's report portrayed Negro culture and "life style", as observed in low-income communities, as pathological rather than as an adaptation to structural racism and discrimination. In doing so, the same people who comprised the "Great Migration" from the south were now forced into densely crowded slums, were without access to education and jobs, and were blamed for their challenges as if those were endemic to them as a people, rather than growing out of the oppressive social structure into which some members of that people were systematically funneled. Before Moynihan even published his report, E. Franklin Frazier recognized the erroneous stereotyping in the report and expressed concern that it might become self-perpetuating. He argued that although Moynihan's conclusions accurately described a segment of the Negro population, it could be used to paint the entire Negro culture as pathological, especially when contrasted against White middle-class culture. Some social scientists such as Robert Staples, Lee Rainwater and William Yancey also criticized Moynihan for not highlighting "the lack of economic conditions which are conducive to the maintenance of a stable family life" (Staples, 1971, p. 2).

In fact, Lee Rainwater (1966) produced a monograph entitled *The Negro Lower-class Family* that reported the results of what today is considered the first systematic study of the Negro family. In this monograph, unlike in the Moynihan report, Rainwater did not associate social problems clearly resulting from poverty with Negro culture. Further Rainwater viewed the Negro family's organization as a function of coping with the oppressive racist situation in which it existed (Staples, 1969). As I researched the Moynihan report as historical context for this study, I came to understand the importance of understanding the political and personal environment in which Moynihan was working at the time during intense Civil Rights events of the prior two years (1963-1965), and as a White high-ranking official. These intense events included the murder of rights activist Medgar Evers and the original March on Washington, later, the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church that killed four little Black girls and President Johnson's signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Additionally, other profound events included the unfortunate murder of three voting rights activists, two White (Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman) and one Black (James Cheney) killed in Mississippi, during the original Freedom Summer, the registering of Blacks to vote, and the imminent passing of the Voting Rights Act. Moynihan was also Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research, though he had no operational responsibilities that would allow him to work on potential "cures for poverty" (Patterson, 2010). He saw his report as a report on employment trends that might position the Johnson Administration as seeking to help "the Negro"- and specifically Negro males by designing policies to remediate their poverty by finding ways to put them work. He seems to have underestimated the politics of government and overestimated his ability to present in a comprehensive way, an accurate and respectful report of "the Negro condition." No matter how well-meaning his thesis was, it fueled a stereotype instead of fostering the political will to

solve the problems that gave birth to the stereotype. Further, the report was rushed, completed in just four months, and actually pivoted the administration away from their aggressive civil rights stance after the Watts Riots of 1965, which made helping the Negro unpopular. Still, the report was important simply because it represented the thinking of at least one member of the Johnson Administration, and therefore carried weight in the media and in public opinion. Despite Moynihan's well intentions, ultimately the report hurt the Civil Rights Movement because "blaming the victim" distracted attention from the structural discrimination and racism that created the victim in the first place (Ryan, 1971). Additionally, the report gave conservatives a gift that kept on giving by providing decades of fodder for perpetuating the stereotype of "the dysfunctional Black family"- dysfunctional because it is matriarchal, fueled supposedly by promiscuity and teen pregnancy. As recently as November 12, 2014, FOX News anchor Bill O'Reilly continued "blaming the victim" saying, "Talking Points" had stated again and again that it was the collapse of the African American family that had led mostly to the economic chaos" (O'Reilly, 2014). He went on to cite statistics on Black births outside of marriage and the number of Black households headed by women (O'Reilly, 2014). Although the conservatives co-opting of his liberal initiated report was an "unintended consequence," had Moynihan taken more time in crafting it to include data comparisons to Whites in the same social strata, the nation might be in a different place in its race relations and, thus, educational and employment realities today. The study sought to correct this, using Moynihan's descriptive statistics on Blacks with comparable data on Whites at that time, in concert with current data on both groups to see what, if any, changes had occurred in the 50 years following his report, and how those changes related to the experiences of the study participants.

Researcher Connection to the Study

My own 70 plus years of lived experiences as a Black male has provided the major incentive for me to do this study. I want to explore and document how other Black males have fared over the last 50 years. Moynihan's description of the Black family in 1965 was, in broad strokes, the description of my Black family. My mother raised three boys in the slums of Cincinnati where poverty was the way of life. My mother had a third-grade education and could neither read nor write so her support for our education was nominal, at best. However, what she lacked in education, she more than made up for with what Black culture calls "mother wit", or common sense, and by being streetwise. She stressed some simple principles to her little Black boys: never give up on anything worth fighting for, do not steal from anybody, always save money for a rainy day, treat people the way you want to be treated ("right don't wrong nobody"), always earn your way, and keep your hand in God's Hand. When Moynihan's report came out in 1965, I was 21 years old, married two years in a "shotgun wedding" to my high school sweetheart, and I had a two-year old daughter. I had just barely graduated high school on June 11, 1963. Therefore, my personal story was as described by Moynihan's report at the outset, but a lot has happened in the intervening 50 years of my life that has revealed the shortcomings of the report's thesis both for me, and I believe, more broadly, for other Black males. For that reason, I wanted to choose this time to investigate why some Black boys like me succeeded educationally and professionally, and others did not. As success is a relative term, I used it here simply to mean surviving- socially and economically - as a law-abiding citizen as a Black male in a White-dominated culture. I hoped that the study could help to shed light on whether, and how education and other social dynamics have influenced, or even determined, a Black man's success in America.

Brief Overview of Topic Literature

This study reviewed the relevant literature on African American male education and employment status since 1965. It grounded and contextualized this review by first offering a brief history of Black men in America separated into six socio-historical categories who had circumscribed their collective lives: slavery, Jim Crow, the Civil Rights Movement, the war on drugs, the school- to- prison pipeline, and jobs. Subsequently, the review of the relevant literature explored six topic areas: Critical Race Theory, Stereotype Threat, a published update of the Moynihan report, the war on drugs, school-to-prison pipeline, and jobs.

Critical Race Theory

Legal scholars led by Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman have reasoned that Critical Legal Studies (CLS) failed to produce actionable strategies for social transformation because these critiques have given insufficient attention to race and racism in the analyses (Yosso, 2005). Further, they contend that CLS scholarship has offered only limited consideration of the racialized histories of people of color in the United States, and has not documented the lived experiences of those histories especially regarding their oppression from institutionalized racism (Yosso, 2005). Thus, Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged not just to prioritize attention given to race and racism in the critique of law and institutions, but to also propose solutions to racial oppression and discrimination in both. The literature in this area informed this study.

Stereotype Threat

Claude Steele's seminal paper *A Threat in the Air* (1997) posited that sustained school success required identification with school culture and its sub-cultural domains, and that societal pressures such as discrimination and economic disadvantage could frustrate this identification. However, those who become domain- identified face the barrier of "stereotype threat" (p. 613). Steele (1997) defined this threat as a social-psychological hazard that arises when one is in a

situation or doing something to which a negative stereotype about one's group applies. In the study, stereotype threat was used to shed light on African American students' underachievement relative to White students.

Moynihan Report

As previously discussed, the Moynihan Report was an amalgam of data from various academic and government sources. The Moynihan report popularized the phrase “tangle of pathology”, which asserted that matriarchy undermined the traditional position of the Black male in the family and led to the other problems in Black culture: Black male's poor educational outcomes, weak job prospects, life in high-poverty neighborhoods, high illegitimate birth rate, and exposure to/involvement in crime. In 2010, James T. Patterson published *Freedom is not Enough: The Moynihan Report and America's Struggle over Black Family Life from LBJ to Obama*. Patterson's book was a 50-year update of the Moynihan report, which chronicled events leading up to the original report and provided a comparison then and now for the “tangle of pathology.” Knowing how the report was constructed helps to understand the firestorm that came down on Moynihan from the liberal left when the report was released. Before the report was released, social programs had power, but following President Johnson's “Freedom is not Enough” speech at Howard University and the release of the study to the public, everything changed. Johnson's social agenda was shattered by the leaked public release of the Moynihan report, a report that was never meant to be for public consumption, but some member of the Johnson administration leaked it, and the rest is history (Patterson, 2010).

War on Drugs

Once Richard Nixon became President, he made good on his promise to wage war on criminals, telling Congress on July 17, 1971 that he was declaring a “war on drugs” (Vulliamy,

2011). Though the Nixon administration knew, constitutionally, that crime was a local problem handled by the states, they worked in concert with state level leaders to construct a rationale for federal intervention. “In an effort to sway public opinion against the civil rights movement, southern governors and law enforcement officials characterized protest- tactics as ‘criminal’, a breakdown of ‘law and order’, and called protesters- hoodlums, agitators, street mobs, and lawbreakers” (Beckett & Sasson, 2004, p. 2). This created a pathway for mass incarceration, disproportionately of Black men (Alexander, 2012).

Author Michelle Alexander got the idea for the title of her book *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* from a flyer stapled to a pole announcing, “The Drug War is the New Jim Crow” (p. 3). She described mass incarceration as a well-disguised form of racialized social control and the most damaging manifestation of the systemic political backlash against the Civil Rights Movement (Alexander, 2012). She stated that “the term *mass incarceration* referred not only to the criminal justice system, but also to the larger web of laws, rules, policies, and customs that controlled those labeled criminals both in and out of prison” (Alexander, 2012, p. 13). The literature in this area informed the study.

School-to-Prison-Pipeline

Researchers cited schools’ “zero tolerance” policies as harsh predetermined mandatory consequences that were applied to violations of school rules without regard to the seriousness of the violating behavior, mitigating circumstances, or the situational context (Heitzeg, 2009). Blacks and Latinos were disproportionately suspended, expelled, and arrested and charged (ticketed) in juvenile court. In some jurisdictions, these offenses were charged as Class C misdemeanor for nonviolent misbehavior (Fowler, 2011), thus creating a link to the criminal justice system through school. In Chapter 2, the literature showed that increased use of the

criminal justice system in connection with student behavior also increased the chances that those students, usually Black male students, became part of the school- to- prison- pipeline, and mass incarceration.

Jobs

In July 2016, the Black male unemployment rate was 8.7 percent with a 67.7 percent participation rate for men 20 years and older, while the White male unemployment rate was 4.1 percent for the same group (BLS.gov,2016, pp. 1-2). The employment participation rate for

White males 20 years and older was 72.0 percent versus the employment participation rate of 67.7 percent for the same age cohort of Black males (BLS.gov, 2016, pp. 1-2)). The 4.3 percent difference between the Black and White male employment participation rates, represented the African American males who were not participating in the labor force and provided the impetus for the proposed study's focus on what part, if any, education played in creating this difference. A further question arose regarding the status of these Black males who were not in the workforce.

Brief Rationale for the Case Study Method

The study utilized qualitative rather than quantitative methodology because of its priority for recording the lived experiences of its participants. To get at these experiences Creswell (1998) suggested that a qualitative approach was best. According to Creswell (1998), the research should: ... select a qualitative study because of the nature of the research questions, because the topic needs to be explored, because of the need to present a detailed view of the topic, because of the need to study individuals in their natural setting, because of interest in writing in literary style, because of sufficient time and resources to spend on extensive data collection in the field and detailed data analysis, because audiences are receptive to qualitative

research, and to emphasize the researcher's role as an active learner who can tell the story from the participant's view (pp. 17-18). These criteria aligned well with Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat as analytical lenses for the study as both value the experiential knowledge of the participants and the contextual/historical analysis of lived experiences. Often conceptualized as counter-stories in CRT, these experiences allowed the researcher to investigate if the participants in the study had, for example, experienced interest convergence or other forms of racism in their education or employment trajectories. Professor Adrienne Dixson (2007) in her presentation before The Metropolitan Center for Urban Education at New York University described voice/counter-story as a key CRT construct and stated that the personal narratives were "valid forms of 'evidence'" to document inequality or discrimination and respond to only quantitative data that measures discrepancies" (p. 9).

Assumptions

This study assumed that African American males were entitled to pursue their basic "unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (United States Declaration of Independence, 1776, p. 1). It also assumed that there was some relationship between education attainment and employment prospects. Finally, it assumed that African American males wanted, as much as any other group of people, to be meaningfully educated and employed. The study attempted to discover how the participants' educational and employment experiences, from their perspective on these experiences in relation to their race, had, affected their individual pursuits of their inalienable rights and what implications Black males have had as a whole.

Limitations

The study had four main limitations. First, since I, the researcher, like my participants, an African American male, I could show bias due to personal connections to the study. To guard

against this, I sought to maintain fidelity to the highest standards of research integrity. I solicited reviews of my data collection technique and the soundness of my data analysis from my doctoral peers, my committee chair, and members to insure high standards of objectivity and integrity.

Yin (2009) pointed out that “case studies, like experiments, were generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes” (p. 15). Furthermore, he suggested that doing a case study was looking for “analytic generalization”, not “statistical generalization” (p. 15). A case study allowed the participants to present their life perspectives in their own voice, and in some situations, consumers of the case study could identify with themes that emerged which added to the validity and significance of the study.

Second, given that the interviews were self-reports and depended on the honesty of the participants, if participants were not forthcoming or only told me, the researcher, what they thought I wanted to hear, the data collected would be untrustworthy. To guard against this, I used triangulation of the data, member checking, and used their own transcripts and reviews to insure the quality of the data collected.

Third, it might have been considered a limitation of the study that the participants were compensated for their time and for provision of their academic transcripts, thus only being motivated to participate for the money. Because the amount of the compensation was so low, I do not believe it was enough to incentivize - much less coerce- participation, but I was mindful of the risks if I recruited a participant who I discovered was in significant financial need.

In summary, I worked tirelessly to mitigate all of these limitations through triangulation and confirmation of data and related documentation including through member checking if indicated.

Significance of the Study

The study sought to fill a gap in the existing literature with regard to understanding the general lived experiences of African American males. More specifically, the study sought to capture, in the participant's own voice, what it felt like to be an African American male student and worker in American society. There are very few qualitative studies documenting African American males lived experiences of education and employment. Fewer still are the number of qualitative studies undertaken by African American male researchers documenting Black male education and employment outcomes. This study is also significant because of its use of Critical Race Theory as an analytical lens. While preparing the review of literature section in Chapter 2, I used the University of Nevada, Las Vegas Proquest.com dissertation database to see how many studies have used Critical Race Theory as a theoretical framework. I was surprised that only two studies at UNLV were returned, one was my own 2010 Master's thesis entitled, *Re-entry African American Male High School Dropouts through the Lens of Critical Race Theory with Content Analysis of the Case Studies*.

The other study was a 2007 dissertation by a former UNLV assistant professor in 2007 entitled *Vestiges of desegregation: Black superintendent reflections on the complex legacy of Brown v. Board of Education* (Horsford, 2007). The small returns on this search prompted me to repeat the search for universities in the other cities (Los Angeles, California and Cincinnati, Ohio) from which, for convenience purposes, I hoped to draw my participants. Cincinnati had two doctoral granting universities: University of Cincinnati had five research studies that used CRT as framework, and Xavier University of Ohio had none. Los Angeles had three major doctoral granting universities in its city limits. Loyola Marymount had five studies that used CRT as a framework, University of Southern California had seven, and University of California at Los Angeles had 22 of the first 50 listings returned.

Finally, this study was significant because it reviewed the Moynihan report through the lens of Critical Race Theory. While this report had been amply and critically reviewed in the past and due to 2015 being the 50th anniversary of its publication, more recently as well, none of these reviews employed the CRT point of entry into analysis that this proposed study did.

Chapter Summary and Transition

This chapter introduced the problem of the gap between Black and White males in education and in employment that spanned more than 50 years. This chapter also introduced the Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat analytical lenses, which the study used in examining this problem. I included a graphical presentation of my conceptual framework in Appendix A to enhance reader's understanding of this approach.

Additionally, this chapter reviewed the Moynihan report, and how it was used to provide historical context for the study. Finally, this chapter identified the researcher's connection to the proposed study, as well as the proposed study's assumptions, limitations and significance.

Chapter 2 briefly reviewed the history of African American male education and employment in the United States. Moreover, Chapter 2 reviewed the relevant literature on education and employment outcomes of Black males relative to their White male counterparts since 1965. Chapter 3 described the methodological approach - multiple case study - for the study. It delineated, in detail, the study design, the criteria for participant selection, research questions, the study timeframe, and data collection and analysis tools.

CHAPTER 2: Review of Related Literature

That the Negro American has survived at all is extraordinary-a lesser people might simply have died out, as indeed others have. That the Negro community has not only survived, but in this political generation has entered national affairs as a moderate, humane, and constructive national force is the highest testament to the healing powers of the democratic ideal and the creative vitality of the Negro people (Moynihan, 1965, p. 29).

Chapter 1 discussed the conceptual framework for the study, based on Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat. Chapter 1 described how each shed light on the performance of Black males in the classroom and the workforce. The goal of this study was to examine the current state of Black male education and subsequent job opportunities. That examination was driven by two research questions in an attempt to define the African American male's status. The research questions, again, were:

- 1a: How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American Males employment opportunities?
- 1b: How, if at all, do the educational experiences of African American males shape their employment experiences?

This qualitative case study research approach allowed for the collection of rich data from personal interviews with African American males who had various levels of education.

The literature review starts with what Daniel Patrick Moynihan called “the root of the problem,” slavery, and its antecedents such as restrictive slave education laws and, later, Jim Crow laws in the South.

A Brief History of African American Males

The introduction began by quoting Moynihan saying, “that the Negro American has survived at all is extraordinary...” (Moynihan, 1965, p. 29). To expand on this line of thought, the following section addressed a brief history of Black males in America from slavery to the school- to-prison pipeline.

Slavery

The period of slavery is considered to be between 1619, when it was documented that 20 Blacks landed in Jamestown, to 1862 when Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. To add context to the slavery period, eight of the first twelve Presidents of the United States were slaveholders, including George Washington, the “father of our country” (Kolchin, 1993, p. 3). The northern states made sporadic attempts to educate “free Blacks,” at first through the efforts of the Quakers, but later with the financial aid of private philanthropists. At the same time, in the south, slaveholders could not afford to educate slaves for fear of mass revolts such as the ill-fated Nat Turner revolt. South Carolina in 1740 was the first state to pass legislation outlawing the education of slaves by imposing fines and punishment (Langhorne, 2000, p. 13). Other southern states followed suit to outlaw slave education including Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Alabama. This meant that slaves had to educate themselves secretly or through other clandestine sources. The north and the south were two very different cultures, on a collision course because of slavery and the south’s attempts to completely control the lives of enslaved Blacks. In the north, there were some breakthroughs in the education of Blacks. In 1833, Oberlin College was the first college to regularly admit Blacks. Richard Allen, a Methodist minister, founded the Free African Society; with the help of Quaker philanthropists, this gave rise to the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) and a day school. A year later, in 1854, Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio became the first college

owned and operated by Blacks (Langhorne, 2000, p. 14). The 1860 census estimated that there were about 488,070 free Africans that lived mainly in rural areas of the South, and an estimated 3,651 free Negro children were enrolled in school in slave states compared to 4,354 in 1850 (Woodson, 1919, pp. 122-126). In 1861, the Civil War began and lasted four years until 1865. In 1860, an estimated 59,832 of the 488,070 Free Colored Population were literate meaning that an estimated 90% were illiterate and could not read nor write (Woodson, 1919, p. 125). During Reconstruction (1865-1870), the government created the Freedmen's Bureau, which gave financial support to establish an education system for Blacks. Over 4,000 schools were established and approximately 250,000 Black students attended (Langhorne, 2000, p. 14). It must be noted that before and after the war there were a handful of Black intellectuals advocating for Black education. These advocates included Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute, and W. E. B. Dubois who wanted a well-educated, intellectual "Talented Tenth" to lead his people to a better civilization (Langhorne, 2000, p. 15). In 1890, land-grant colleges for Blacks were established, providing for state-sponsored institutions of higher learning for Blacks. Sixteen colleges were created, referred collectively as Historically Black Institutions and Colleges (HBIC), which still exist today (Langhorne, 2000, p. 14). Unfortunately, this progress was slowed by spate of "Jim Crow" laws that were passed in 1890.

Jim Crow Laws

Jim Crow laws were those designed to separate the races and control the lives of Blacks after Reconstruction. The laws were named after a Black minstrel character played by a White man in black face in a play called *Jump Jim Crow*. Jim Crow was meant to be a derisive term for Black men. Blacks still made some progress toward education and literacy, such that the 1940 census reported that 25% of the U.S. population and 8% of the African American population, age

25 and over, had a high school diploma (University of Michigan, 2007, p. 6). I included a sample of Jim Crow laws from various states that stayed in force until the 1960's in Appendix B. These restrictive Jim Crow laws were challenged early in the courts (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896), but the Supreme Court upheld segregated railroad cars and established the "separate but equal doctrine" to justify Jim Crow segregation. This is the very same doctrine, ("separate but equal") that future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall would push to overturn in the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* decision (University of Michigan, 2007, p. 6). Oliver Brown wanted his 8-year-old daughter to attend a school close to home, but Jim Crow law prevented the White school from accepting his daughter because she was Black (Constitution Rights Foundation, 2014, para.17). In 1954, the Supreme Court unanimously decided to overturn "separate but equal" public schools. The court held "that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal and that they violated the Constitution's 14th amendment and must stop" (Constitution Rights Foundation, 2014, para. 18). This was a watershed decision that gave African Americans a powerful tool to begin dismantling Jim Crow laws and a segregated society. This was a big step in the march of the Civil Rights Movement.

Civil Rights Movement

"This fight for equality of educational opportunity (was) not an isolated struggle. All our struggles must tie in together and support one another . . . We must remain on the alert and push the struggle farther with all our might" (Charles Hamilton Houston, first special counsel to National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) 2005; NAACP History, 2014, para. 1). It could be argued that the start of the Civil Rights Movement began with the forming of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 by W.E.B Dubois and an integrated group of founders. The organizational goals were the

abolition of segregation, discrimination, disenfranchisement, and racial violence, particularly lynching. Another organization, the Committee on Urban Conditions among Negroes, later known as the National Urban League, was founded in 1910 by a coalition of progressive Black and White professionals. The League's principal goal was to promote the improvement of "industrial, economic, social, and spiritual conditions among Negroes' in the cities" (Library of Congress, 2014). In the south, people blamed their financial problems on the newly freed slaves who lived around them. Lynching became a popular way of expressing the anger that some Whites felt toward the free Blacks. From 1882-1968, an estimated 4,743 lynchings had occurred in the United States. Of the people who were lynched, 3,446 were black, 72.7% of the total. Records show 1,297 White people were lynched "for helping the blacks or being anti-lynching" (Berea College, 1999, para. 2). These numbers seem horrifying, and yet, it is known that not all of the lynching was even recorded. The NAACP started a crusade to stop lynching in 1909 pushing anti-lynching legislation, which was passed three times in the House of Representatives, but it was always filibustered and defeated by Southern Senators. However, their efforts along with those of anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells helped to bring wide spread condemnation to the practice and made the NAACP the most influential civil rights organization in the nation (National Humanities Center, 2014). The NAACP also ran a legal campaign against segregated education in U.S. schools. The special legal counsel for the NAACP, Charles Houston, designed a strategy of attacking segregation in law schools forcing states to either create costly parallel law schools or integrate the existing ones (NAACP Legal History, 2014). Houston won several cases including some before the Supreme Court, which resulted in the desegregation of law schools at such institutions as the University of Maryland and the University of Missouri. When Thurgood Marshall succeeded Charles Houston as special counsel, he continued Houston's

strategy with similar successes including ending “Whites’ only primaries” in southern states, which had prevented Blacks from voting. Marshall also overturned state laws that enforced segregation on public transportation, and, with several other lawyers, won *Shelly v. Kramer* (1948), effectively ending the enforcement of racially restrictive covenants that prevented Blacks from buying homes in White neighborhoods. These legal victories set the stage for the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision that “segregation in public education violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment” overturning the “separate but equal” doctrine (NAACP Legal History, 2014).

A year later, in 1955, a woman named Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to give her seat on a bus to a White man because she was too tired to stand (Ahmand, 1978). This event sparked the Montgomery Alabama bus boycott, which led to mass demonstrations and created a cohesiveness never seen before among Blacks. A young PhD educated pastor named Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. took the lead in the boycott, and the Civil Rights Movement shifted gears from the courtroom to the streets employing non-violent demonstrations to demand civil rights. Blacks began to organize into rights groups, and these groups collaborated with one another, for example, by forming the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which wanted to maintain a non-violent approach. Younger Blacks, who said they did not want to wait for freedom, started their own aggressive campaign to end segregation with a lunchroom sit-in at Woolworth’s in Greensboro, North Carolina; this eventually led to desegregated lunch counters all over the South. Black students formed their own collaborating group called Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to coordinate local student activities against segregation. Another group, called Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), started “freedom rides” to test the Supreme Court’s ruling on desegregation of bus terminals in the South. CORE-

integrated buses were bombed and burned, and CORE stopped Freedom Rides, but SNCC took up the Freedom Rides along with voter registration drives in the south (Ahmad, 1978). By 1963, SNCC was the leading student protest group. SNCC's chairperson John Lewis, future Congressman from Georgia, had been working with Dr. King and the SNCC to promote nonviolent protests, including the March on Washington which was the largest demonstration to date with an estimated 250,000 people participating (Ahmad, 1978, p. 5). However, SNCC became less tolerant of the non-violent approach because of the escalating and dangerous responses, including beatings, shootings, and fire bombings of buses and churches (Ahmad, 1978). The Freedom Summer of 1964 was the turning point for young Blacks, students and nonstudents, who wanted their civil rights now. After the killing of student protesters James Earl Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Henry Schwerner, in Philadelphia, Mississippi by the Klu Klux Klan, Blacks began to pay more attention to Black activists like Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael, who had succeeded John Lewis as chairperson of SNCC.

Carmichael took SNCC in a more aggressive and combative direction, which caused a split with Dr. King and the SCLC. Carmichael coined the phrase "Black Power" which ran through the Black community like an electric current. The call for Black Power was picked up on college campuses all over the country. Black students were demanding more Afro-centric classes, Black faculty and administrators, admission of more Black students, and even Black studies programs. Even though Howard University led the way, the demands were not limited to HBIC's. There were also protests at predominately White universities such as Duke and the University of Cincinnati.

This author was involved in the April 1969 demonstration at the University of Cincinnati to get Black faculty, some Afro-centric classes, and student aid to admit more Black students.

Before the takeover of the UC administration building, the university ignored our demands; but after the takeover, the students got an audience with the president of the university who agreed to address the issues raised. In Appendix H is a picture of that takeover of the University of Cincinnati administration building. I am the student leaning against the pillar. I was arrested weeks later in a park on Sunday with my wife surrounded by four police cars and eight police officers with guns drawn. My booking photo was included in Appendix I. I am including my personal experience because I was a participant in that history, not just an observer. Being a part of these events does not make me biased, but it does sensitize me to them as real events and not as an abstraction.

Across the country, Black and White students were energized to improve the lot of Black Americans along many fronts, from segregated water fountains to segregated schools to segregated housing. This was a very intense time in our country's history, and it had a major effect on the education of Black students. Earlier, I stated that the Civil Rights Movement had shifted focus from the courtroom to the streets, and the Movement had shifted gears again this time to a focus on government policy regarding Blacks' civil rights. In 1961, the NAACP urged President John F. Kennedy to issue the Federal Apprentice Act and Executive Order 10925, which included a provision that government contractors "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin" (UCIrvine OEOD, 2010, para., 2). These Executive Orders were later codified in the omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The act covered voting and public accommodations. It authorized the attorney general to:

- (a) bring suit to desegregate any publicly owned facility and to file suits to desegregate schools and colleges; (b) authorized the U.S. Office of Education to survey the

availability of equal education opportunity; (c) provided technical assistance to school districts; (d) affected desegregation and other aids authorizing federal agencies to withhold funds from hospitals, schools, state employment services, colleges, universities, and federal works programs which discriminated; and (e) established the Equal Opportunity Commission to handle complaints of discrimination (Current, 1988, p. 16).

The following year President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law. The last of the legislative successes was the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which was enacted the week after Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. Another civil rights success came in the *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* (1969) case in which the Supreme Court said it was time to desegregate schools immediately. Justice Black stated - "I fear that this long denial of constitutional rights is due in large part to the phrase 'with all deliberate speed' I would do away with that phrase completely" (USSC, 1969, para., 103). These civil rights achievements must be put in the context of American Citizens' Black and White fighting in the streets for equality. In addition, the murder of Malcolm X in 1965 and the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy in 1968 galvanized enormous sentiment both within and outside the Black community. There were riots in big cities all over the country after Dr. King's assassination. In fact, the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago was the scene of major anti-war demonstrations that made the Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey vulnerable to the Republican candidate Richard M. Nixon, who was running a "law and order" campaign co-opted from Senator Barry Goldwater's unsuccessful presidential run in 1964.

War on Drugs

President Nixon emphasized that you have to face the fact that the whole problem is really the Blacks. The key was to devise a system that recognized this while not appearing to (New York Times, 1994). The contemporary “War on Drugs” grew out of the tumultuous 1960’s era of protests for civil rights and against the Vietnam War. In the 1968 election, Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate ran on a “get tough on crime” platform. Candidate Richard Nixon laid out his position on rising crime in his campaign brochures by saying “We need more police-better trained, better paid and better equipped in every community in America. We need new laws, new tools to root out organized crime” (4president.org, 2014, p. 1). Nixon’s “law and order” appeal proved to be a winner in the presidential race, and he defeated a politically crippled Hubert Humphrey and third-party segregationist candidate George Wallace, then governor of Alabama. In this election, Hubert Humphrey and the liberal Democrats lost what was once called the “solid south” to segregationist George Wallace. Wallace won 46 electoral votes by taking Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. The GOP targeted White southerners, voters who had formerly composed the Democrats solid south were now overwhelmingly Republican. A Republican victory and long-term realignment was made possible primarily due to racial issues, which suggested the use of coded anti-Black campaign rhetoric. John Ehrlichmann, Special Counsel to the President, described the Nixon administration’s 1968 campaign strategy this way: “We’ll go after the racist” (defendingjustice.org, 2014, p. 49). Once Nixon became President, he made good on his promise to wage war on criminals, telling Congress on July 17, 1971 he was declaring a “war on drugs” (theguardian.com, 2011, p. 1). This was the beginning of the present-day drug war that Haldeman outlined in the quote introducing this section. The Nixon administration knew that,

constitutionally, crime was a local problem to be handled by the states. “In an effort to sway public opinion against the civil rights movement, southern governors and law enforcement officials characterized protest tactics as criminal, a breakdown of law and order, and called protesters hoodlums, agitators, street mobs, and lawbreakers” (Beckett & Sasson, 2004, p. 2). The game plan was now set to turn protesters into criminals and link them to drug use, which Nixon called “public enemy number one” (The Guardian.com, 2011, p. 2). He used the “war on drugs” to affect both political gain and social control. Congress, in 1970, passed the first law to help in this regard titled, the Comprehensive Drug Abuse and Control Act. This law replaced and updated all previous laws concerning narcotics and other dangerous drugs with an emphasis on law enforcement (Keel, 2014). During Nixon’s presidency, seven federal drug laws were enacted in an effort to cover every angle of abuse. There were four drug laws passed in 1973 alone, including one that created the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). Nixon increased the size of federal drug control agencies and pushed through laws such as mandatory sentencing and no-knock warrants (drugpolicy.org, 2014). By the time President Richard M. Nixon resigned his office, in August 1974, he had set into motion the infrastructure for the “war on drugs” and for social control of African Americans who participated in protests. His successor Vice President Gerald Ford did not pursue Nixon’s drug war, and neither did Ford’s successor, President Jimmy Carter, who was known to support decriminalization of marijuana. However, neither Ford nor Carter tried to cut back on the drug war effort, which meant that it continued to move forward on its own inertia. That all changed when Ronald Reagan took office in 1981. During the 1980 presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan successfully resurrected the “war on drugs and crime in the streets” mantra of previous Republicans candidates. Reagan and the conservatives shifted government away from social programs targeted to help the poor and address poverty toward a

government that concentrated on policing and security. Reagan articulated the central premise of conservative state reconstruction: “Public assistance for the poor is an illegitimate state function; policing and social control constitute its real constitutional obligation” (Beckett & Sasson, 2004, p. 53). He proceeded to cut federal funds for drug treatment and prevention programs, child nutrition, urban development, and school milk programs. He redirected those funds into his anticrime and anti-drugs push. Reagan essentially reconceptualized government’s role from a “welfare state” to a “police state.” He created a federal office of Drug Control Policy, which pushed for tougher drug laws. The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 imposed mandatory minimum sentencing requirements for crack cocaine use, which, not coincidentally, was the drug of choice for low-income Blacks. Sentencing guidelines resulted in terms that were 11% higher for Blacks (crack cocaine) than for Whites (who used powdered cocaine); four years later, even harsher sentences were enacted to increase the difference in sentencing terms to 49% higher for Blacks (Schmoke, 2007, p. 100). The incarceration of Blacks, especially Black males, increased exponentially. The Drug Policy Alliance (2014) reported that in 1980, there were approximately 50,000 people behind bars for nonviolent drug offenses, and by 1997, the number had increased to approximately 400,000 (para. 8). This tremendously increased the prison population due mainly to non-violent drug offenses. However, the racial bias of the drug war was exemplified by the then 100-to-1 disparity in prison sentence lengths for crack versus powder cocaine. In 1994, 90 percent of those convicted of federal crack cocaine offenses were Black, six percent Latino, and less than four percent White (U.S. Sentencing Commission, 1995, pp.55-56 as cited by Small, 2001, p. 899).

In 2000, the rate of incarceration for African American males nationwide was 3457 per 100,000. In comparison, the incarceration rate for White males was 449 per 100,000. This meant

that African American males were 7.7 times more likely to be incarcerated than White males. For young men between the ages of 25-29, African American males were 8.7 times more likely to be incarcerated. For 18-19-year-old, African American males were 8.8 times more likely to be incarcerated than White males (Nunn, 2002, p. 392). Interestingly, subsequent Presidents have not dismantled the War on Drugs effort even though none prosecuted the “War” with the zeal of Reagan. As a result, the program moved on under its own inertia. The former president Barrack Obama and his former attorney general Eric Holder made some policy changes on their own, but nothing substantial happened to slow down the incarceration of Black males. Actually, the incarceration of Black males seemed to solidify with the “pipeline to prison” and schools “zero tolerance” policies.

School-to-Prison Pipeline

The school to prison pipeline occurs when students are tracked out of schools into the court systems for behaviors and offenses that should end at the principal’s office; instead of schools enforcing discipline, students are sent to court - sometimes adult court - and may end up with a record. Researchers cite schools’ “zero tolerance” policies, which generally means harsh predetermined mandatory consequences are applied to a violation of school rules without regard to the seriousness of the behavior, mitigating circumstances, or the situational context (Heitzeg, 2009). Blacks and Latinos are disproportionately suspended, expelled, and arrested and charged (ticketed) in juvenile court when compared to White peers. In some jurisdictions, these offenses could be charged as Class C misdemeanor for nonviolent misbehavior (Fowler, 2011).

Interestingly, the push for “zero tolerance” policies started as a reaction to school shootings at predominately-White schools. An old gun law called the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994 (GFSA) was refurbished through amendments to cover not only guns, but also other weapons,

“threatening behavior” and other infractions on campus (Heitzeg, 2009). Skiba (2001) pointed out that ironically, enhanced security measures were largely inspired by school-shootings in White suburban schools; whereas, they were adopted and enforced in urban schools with low student- to- teacher ratios, high percentages of students of color and lower test scores. In 2000, although African American students were less than 17 percent of the student population in the United States schools, they accounted for 34 percent of all suspensions (Darensbourg, Perez, & Blake, 2010, p. 198). Exclusionary discipline practices such as suspension, expulsion, and disciplinary education programs such as the Disciplinary Alternative Education Programs (DAEP) have been applied to African American males disproportionately (Skiba, 2001). Critics have noted that zero tolerance policies have been used to “push-out low performing students in the era of No Child Left Behind legislation. Since school funding was directly tied to test scores,

NCLB gave schools incentive to get rid of rather than remediate students with low test scores” (NAACP, 2005). The validity of this assertion was backed by recent studies showing how schools in a number of states raised test scores by “losing” large numbers of low-scoring students, mostly African Americans and Latinos. Educators reported that exclusionary policies were used to hold back, suspend, expel or counsel out students in order to boost scores (Hammond, 2007). In 2001, U.S. Department of Education data showed that thirteen states labeled more than 2.75% of Black students as intellectually disabled; whereas, nationally the rate for White students similarly labeled was approximately 0.75% (Togut, 2011, p. 165). The labeling of Black students and, especially Black males, gave context to this section because the school-to-prison-pipeline started with subjective labeling and referrals by teachers and school administrators. In the third grade, the author of this study was labeled “modified general

intelligence” or retarded. In my literature review, I came across testimony by U.S. House Representative Chaka Fattah before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce.

Representative Fattah talked about a person named Billy Hawkins:

[F] or the first fifteen years of his life, Billy Hawkins was labeled by teachers as “educable mentally retarded.” However, he was a good football player and had the support of the coach. He attended regular classes, and the football coach instructed his teachers to give him extra tutoring. Billy Hawkins went on to complete a PhD and became Associate Dean at Michigan’s Ferris State University, later President of Talladega College in Alabama (Togut, 2011, pp. 164-165). The school-to-prison pipeline started with disproportionate labeling and referrals of African American students, especially African American male students by teachers. The goal of this study was to tell more stories of Black males’ education and employment experiences in their own voice.

Connection of Literature to the Study

The review of literature was connected to the study in several ways. First, by summarizing the history of the Black man in America it gave context to the study. The literature told us that Jim Crow laws and lynchings were a reaction to freeing the slaves, while the “war on drugs” was a reaction to the protests of the 1960’s civil rights movement. The literature painted a picture suggesting that social control of the Black man was going deeper and starting earlier with “zero tolerance” policies fueling the “school-to-prison pipeline.” The literature showed that in each case, Black males were the targets of social control, and this was having an effect on their success in American society. The review of history gave context for the Black man’s world that became a backdrop as we moved forward to review some research studies on aspects of African American males’ status in American society.

I initially reviewed the literature on the theoretical frameworks of CRT and ST. That was followed by an update on the Moynihan report, 50 years after it was written, to reveal what progress or lack thereof had transpired in the interim. This also informed the study regarding potential questions to ask participants. Next, I reviewed research on the Black/White education gap, the Black male identity crisis, and finally the studies relating to Black male education and employment.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory was the primary theoretical framework and analytical lens that served to understand the data collected in this study. As stated in Chapter 1, some CRT scholars had recently begun to subscribe to what has become the five tenants of CRT. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) in their paper ...*Using Critical Race Theory as a Tool of Analysis of Race and Racism in Education* clearly set out the CRT tenets as counter-storytelling, the permanence of racism, Whiteness as property, interest convergence, and a critique of liberalism.

DeCuir and Dixson (2004) described these five CRT Tenets as follows:

- (a) counter storytelling - method of telling a story that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths especially ones held by the majority;
- (b) critique of liberalism - critique of three basic notions embraced by liberal legal ideology: colorblindness, neutrality of the law, and incremental change;
- (c) Whiteness as property - due to the history of race and racism in the U.S. and the role U.S. jurisprudence has played in reifying conceptions of race the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest;
- (d) interest convergence - significant progress for Blacks is achieved only when the goals of Blacks are consistent with the needs of Whites; and
- (e)

permanence of racism both conscious and unconscious, is a permanent component of American life Bell (Horsford, 2007, p. 170).

I used each of these tenets to investigate and analyze the life stories of the participants. Each participant's story allowed emergent data to show any connection to the CRT tenets and Stereotype Threat to the participant's education. The main tenet was the use of counter story telling from participants to hear their voice and their personal story. The other tenets intersection with the data came from the analysis, coding, and themes derived from the narratives. Those intersections allowed an analysis to determine whether any of the remaining tenets influenced their education and therefore their life outcomes.

Stereotype Threat

Stereotype Threat (ST) was the other theoretical framework for this study. ST attempted to shed light on African American students' underachievement with relation to white students. Claude Steele in his seminal paper *A Threat in the Air* (1997) posited the theory that sustained school success required identification with school and its subdomains; and that societal pressures such as discrimination and economic disadvantage can frustrate this identification. Those who became domain identified (with school) faced the further barrier of stereotype threat (p. 613). Steele (1997) said this was a social-psychological threat that arose when one was in a situation or doing something to which a negative stereotype about one's group applied. The situation threatened one with being negatively stereotyped, with being judged or treated stereotypically, or with the prospect of conforming to the stereotype (p. 614). ST is a situational pressure that affected African American students who were most domain-identified with school and academics. Steele identified five general features of stereotype threat:

Stereotype Threat is a general threat not tied to the psychology of particular stigmatized groups... that which turns stereotype threat on and off; the controlling “mechanism” so to speak, is a particular concurrence. A negative stereotype about one’s group becomes relevant to interpreting oneself or one’s behavior in an identified with setting, this mechanism also explains the variabilities of stereotype threat: the fact that the type and degree of this threat vary from group to group and, for any group, across settings, to experience stereotype threat one need not believe the stereotype nor even be worried that it is true of oneself, and the effort to overcome stereotype threat by disproving the stereotype ... can be daunting (p. 618).

Steele’s hypothesis caused a stir since he first published his work (Palmer and Maramba, 2011), and many social scientists have replicated his research. Even when researchers manipulated the threat conditions, their findings still confirmed the ST hypothesis.

There has been abundant research on Steele’s theories. Steele tested his theory of stereotype threat by conducting studies in which groups of students were exposed to a set of stereotypes before completing an academic task. The results indicated a relationship between stereotype threat and task performance when academic ability was measured (Palmer and Maramba, 2011, p. 437). In one study, Black and White Stanford University students took a test of some using the most difficult items on the verbal GRE exam to determine whether or not a Black student was more threatened by a test being ability-diagnostic, meaning that it measured intellectual ability rather than by a test that was nondiagnostic meaning not measuring intellectual ability but was just a problem-solving task (Steele, 1997). As predicted, Black students underperformed relative to White students in the diagnostic portion of the study but equaled White students in the nondiagnostic, and apparently less threatening portion of the study.

In a second set of test conditions, the threat was manipulated by asking students to record their race on a demographic questionnaire before taking a nondiagnostic test. Again, Black students underperformed White students because just listing their race triggered a stereotype threat and depressed their performance (Steele, 1997).

The two experiments showed that stereotype threat could depress the performance of Black domain-identified students when they took standardized tests. There have been replications of these studies with different manipulations of the threat. Steele and Aronson (1995) conducted another study with Black and White students under diagnostic versus nondiagnostic conditions, but students were first asked to complete 80-word fragments; 10 fragments were suggestive of terms symbolic of African American stereotypes such as —ce (race), --or(poor), or fragments of self-doubt terms like du—(dumb), lo—(loser), and sha—(shame). Students were then asked how much they preferred various types of music, activities, sports, and personality traits. The measure was to see if students avoided being stereotyped by staying away from activities and interests associated with being African American. As predicted Black, students in the diagnostic condition had fewer references for things related to African Americans such as jazz, basketball or hip-hop than Black students in the nondiagnostic condition or White students in either condition (Steele, 1997, p. 621).

These three studies gave an indication of how stereotype threat could depress Black students' performance on standardized tests. The results had broad ramifications for what went on in our classrooms where 82% of teachers identified as White (U.S. Dept of Education, 2016, p. 1). Teacher multicultural training is a major opportunity to help reduce stereotype threat in the classroom.

Update of the Moynihan Report

It has been 50 years since Dr. Moynihan's call to action for the Federal government to initiate policies to support Negro family stability. In this section, I revisited The Moynihan report's "Tangle of Pathology" to see what changes had occurred in the last five decades. This review focused on selected issues from chapters III and IV using a recent study update entitled The Moynihan Report Revisited by the Urban Institute (2013).

Their update closely mirrored Moynihan's order of the "Tangle of Pathology"; matriarchy, failure of youth, Black male education, unemployment and poverty, delinquency and crime, the Armed Forces, and alienation. Since the focus of this study was Black male education and employment, the review addressed each area of the "Tangle of Pathology" but concentrated on outcomes for Black males.

Another point of context for the review was that when Dr. Moynihan wrote his paper, he was the Assistant Secretary of Labor for policy in the Johnson Administration, and later became President Richard Nixon's Counselor to the President for Urban Affairs.

The Negro Family: The Case for National Action; African American Male Progress

As the result of family disorganization, a large proportion of Negro children and youth had not undergone the socialization which only the family could provide. The disorganized families had failed to provide for their emotional needs and had not provided the discipline and habits, which were necessary for personality development. Because the disorganized family had failed in its function as a socializing agency, it had handicapped the children in their relations to the institutions in the community. Moreover, family disorganization had been partially responsible for a large amount of juvenile delinquency and adult crime among Negroes. Since the widespread family disorganization among Negroes had resulted from failure of the father to

play the role in family life required by American society, the mitigation of this problem must await those changes in the Negro and American society, which will enable the Negro father to play the role, required of him (E. Franklin Frazier, 1950, pp. 276-277).

Matriarchy. The Negro family structure was the main thesis of Dr. Moynihan's paper with emphasis on the fact that according to the 1960 census women were the head of household in 21 percent of non-white families; while in White families, only nine percent were headed by women (1965, p. 11). He also revealed that nearly one-quarter of Negro births were illegitimate. In 1963, the illegitimacy rate was 23.6 percent for Negroes and just over three percent for Whites. In addition, the report showed that nearly one quarter (22.9 percent) of Negro marriages were dissolved through divorce, separation, or abandonment. Because of these conditions, the Negro family had "a startling increase in welfare dependency" (p. 12). Negro children received Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) at a rate of 14 percent compared to just two percent for White children, and the report predicted that the dependency would get worse if Negro father continued to desert their children and families. When Dr. Moynihan (1965) published his report, he concluded with these words:

The policy of the United States is to bring the Negro American to full potential and sharing in the responsibilities and rewards of citizenship. To this end, the programs of the Federal government bearing on this objective shall be designed to have the effect, directly or indirectly, of enhancing the stability and resources of the Negro American family (p 50).

In 2013, The Urban Institute: Fathers Incorporated published *The Moynihan Report Revisited* by Gregory Acs with Kenneth Braswell, Elaine Sorenson, and Margery Austin Turner. This work evaluated the Moynihan Report five decades after it was produced. In the introduction, it stated that Moynihan's main thesis was that because of high non-marital birth

rates among Blacks, Black children lived in poverty in female-headed households, which undermined the role of Black men. Thus, Black men abdicated their responsibilities as husbands, fathers, and providers, and the pattern repeated from one generation to the next (Acs, et al., 2013). The report found that the percentage of Black children born out of wedlock tripled in the years between the early 1960's and 2009, and was still at a much higher rate than for White children (p. 3). In 2009, nearly three-quarters of Black births were out of wedlock compared to three in ten of White births. In addition, 53% of Black children lived in households without fathers in 2009, compared to 21% in 1960, and 20% of White children were in this situation, compared to 6% in 1960 (p. 4). Five decades later, only one-quarter of Black women were married versus one-half of White women. This was close to the ratio of Black versus White marriages when Moynihan wrote his original report (Acs, et al., 2013, p. 5).

Massey and Sampson (2009) in *Moynihan Redux: Legacies and Lesson* pointed to what they called Moynihan's untested hypothesis that "whenever males in any population subgroup lack widespread access to reliable jobs, decent earnings, and key forms of social reward status, single parenthood will increase with negative effects on women and children" (p. 13). In 2010, 40 percent of Black children lived in poverty in female-headed single-parent households compared to 13 percent for White children. During the 1960's, the child poverty rate fell for Blacks from 67 to 43percent and fell from 19 to 10 percent for Whites (Acs, et al., 2013, p. 6). In his report Moynihan pointed out that, "The matriarchal pattern of so many Negro families reinforces itself over the generations. This process begins with education ... Negro females are better educated than Negro males, and this remains true today [1965] for the Negro population as a whole" (Moynihan, 1965, p. 31).

Failure of youth. This section dealt with what Moynihan saw as deficiencies affecting Black youth, such as not living with a father, and not knowing what his father and grandfather did for a living. He actually pointed out that “White families are a powerful agency for transmitting property from one generation to the next” (p. 35). He also observed, “White children without a father *at least* perceive all about them the pattern of men working” (p. 35). Another failure of Negro youth was their low IQ when no father was present. He cited a study of Harlem eighth graders whose median IQ was 87.7, which is “perilously close to retardation” (p. 36). Moynihan cited an additional study of Negro and White 1st and 5th graders that showed IQ was better with the father in the house by social class (socio-economic strata). In a study by Martin Deutch and Bert Brown (1965), as cited in Moynihan 1965, they posited that there was a relationship between social class and IQ, and since Negroes lived in segregated housing and in a caste society, it was difficult for them to move into the middleclass to improve their status and thus their IQ (p. 36). A final failure of youth was that non-White males lagged behind in one or more grade levels because of family structure; shown by age group, when both parents were present, one parent was present, and when no parent was present. To summarize the finding, with both parents present, among 7-9-year old, 7.5 percent of non-White students were one or more modal grades behind. In the oldest age group, among 18-19-year old, 60.6 percent were at least one or more modal grades behind. In homes with one parent (mother) present among 7-9-year old, 7.7 percent were behind modal grade; whereas for the 18-19-year-old group, 65.9 percent were behind modal grade. Finally, when neither parent was present, 9.6 percent of the 7-9-year-old group were behind modal, and 46.2 percent of the 18-19-year-old group were behind modal grade (Moynihan, 1965, p. 38). Unfortunately, Moynihan did not comment on why the 18-19-year-old group with no parents in the household were 24 percent better off than those who had both parents present and were 30 percent better off than those with one parent present (p.

38). His data was taken from the 1960 Census, School Enrollment. On a personal note, at that time I was sixteen and would have been in the 16-17-year-old age group with one parent (mother) in the house; and 40.9 percent of non-White students were behind modal grade (p. 38). I was behind modal grade because school officials had categorized me as “modified general intelligence” in the 3rd grade, which meant that they felt I was retarded. None of the literature that reviewed the *Moynihan report* addressed this section.

A longitudinal study by the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey (2014, Table A-3.xls), covering the period from 1971 to 2013, gave a current view of Black males who were below modal grade experience without regard for parental status. This was reproduced in Table 1. Comparable figures for White males are provided in Table 2.

Table 1

Percentage of Black Male Students Below Modal Grade 1971 - 2013

Year	6-8 Years	9-11 Years	12-14 Years	15-27 Years
1971	18.1	30.9	28.5	47.6
2013	21.2	29.9	35.7	40.3
1965*	7.7	25.8	36.3	40.9

Table 2

Percentage of White Students Below Modal Grade 1971-2013

Year	6-8 Years	9-11 Years	12-14 Years	15-17 Years
1971	12.6	21.6	23.9	24.4
2013	25.1	30.1	33.9	35.3

Note: From U.S. Census -www.census.gov/hhes/school/data/cps/historical/TableA-3.xls. Census age groups were one year different from in 1965 (i.e. 7-9, 10-13, 14-15, and 16-17).

Unfortunately, the data showed the percentages for Black male students have remained relatively stable for almost 50 years, except that the figures were much worse for younger children. The stability of the 15 to 17-year-old group was important because it was the precursor to high school dropouts, where below modal rates were 40.9 percent in 1965; and 40.3 percent in 2013 was not good. The comparison data for White male students was surprising both for how closely it tracked Black students figures in 2013, and because of its negative trajectory. One of the criticisms of the Moynihan report was that it cherry picked data without providing comparable data for White groups. The above data showed that education had a structural problem because of the way it handled all male students.

Black male education. Moynihan reported in 1964 that Black men 18 and older lagged behind Black females in education by 1.1 years (p. 31), and using 2012 graduation rates as a measure for the same group Black males still lagged behind Black females by 1.1 years in 2012 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013, pp. 2-3). In 2013, Black males, graduated high school at a rate of 87.8 % versus 93.3% for White males and 92.5 % for Black females (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013, pp. 2-3). In 1963, only 33.7% of non-White males (Black males) graduated from high school while 45% of Black females completed high school. Also in 1963, 4.5% of Black males had completed one to three years of college while 7.3% of black females had attended college for the same period (Moynihan, 1965, p. 31). As of 2013, 17.4% of Black males had bachelor's degrees versus 37.1% for White males and 23.2% for Black females (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013, pp. 2-3). Additionally, Moynihan reported that in 1963 there were slightly more Black men in college than Black women (p. 31). That was anomalous with data that was more current as late as 2002 Schiraldi and Ziedenberg (2002) in their paper entitled *Cellblocks or Classrooms. The Funding of Higher Education, Corrections, and Its Impact on African American Men* made this damning claim. "In the early 1990's,

Washington, DC literally had more inmates in its prisons than students in its university system” (p. 9). Like the Moynihan Report, *Cellblocks or Classrooms* was a policy paper that conservatives co-opted into a sound bite that, like the “Tangle of Pathology,” demeaned the Black family culture and perpetuated the myth of the Black male criminal. That single comment over-shadowed the real thrust of the policy paper which was that states spent more on prisons than colleges because the funds came out of the same state general funds account. The paper had three key findings: the share of total state government spending on higher education declined as spending on prison increased, between 1985 and 2000, state corrections grew at six times the rate of higher education, and ... more African American men were incarcerated than in higher education (Schiraldi & Zidenberg, 2002, p. 2). However, since 2000 Black males have increased from 635,300 in college to 1,034,700 in 2014 (NCES, 2015, Table 306.10), and the Black male prison population stood at 841,000 for 2009, the last year for which prison population numbers were available (U.S. Dept of Justice, 2010, p. 19). These numbers indicated there were at least 193,700 more Black males in college than were in prison. Obviously, this indicator was moving in the right direction. Moynihan went on to highlight a new program to promote scholarships for Black youth that was originally funded by the Ford Foundation. The National Achievement Scholarship Program, Moynihan stated that 70% of all applications for the new scholarship were girls (Black) “despite special efforts by high school principals to submit the names of boys” (p. 32). Only 43% of the 639 finalists were boys while, in the “regular National Merit Scholarship Program”, 67% of recipients were male (p. 32). In spite of my efforts, I was not able to find current online data in order to update the gender breakdown of the National Achievement Scholarship Program for comparison. However, I was able to find an announcement of the semi-finalists for the 2015 National Achievement Scholarship Program, which gave contact information for the people who issued the bulletin. I called and reached an

official by phone on my first try. He told me they do not collect the kind of information I was seeking (a gender breakdown of the National Achievement Scholarship Program similar to that in the *Moynihan report*) because they do not use it. I conducted further research to determine if others had encountered the same problem. In the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* was an article entitled “News and Views: The Racial Insult Built into the National Merit Scholarship Program” by the Theodore Cross Family Charitable Foundation (2001).

The article stated that the National Merit Scholarship Corporation (NMSC) was founded in 1955 as a non-profit that gave scholarships to academically talented high school students. In 1964, NMSC founded the National Achievement Scholarship Program for Outstanding Negro Students as a separate organization that had been unequal in administering scholarships. The article highlighted the inequalities between the programs, using as an example the 2000 NMSC awards of \$46.8 million mostly to White students, with only \$2.7 million going to Black students in the National Achievement Scholarship Program.

Unemployment and poverty. Moynihan (1965) introduced the section of his report on unemployment and poverty with the following statement: The impact of unemployment on the Negro family, and particularly on the Negro male, is the least understood of all the developments that have contributed to the present crisis. There is a lack analysis because there has been almost no inquiry (p. 19). He went on to say that Negro unemployment “has continued at disaster levels for 35 years” (p. 20). He pointed out that in the 1930 Census Negro unemployment was 6.1 percent compared to Whites at 6.6 percent. Outside of the south, the unemployment rate was 7.4 percent for Whites and 11.5 percent for non-Whites (Negroes). In the 1940 Census, the 2 to 1 Negro-to-White unemployment discrepancy continued: in all areas of the U.S. except the South, White unemployment was 14.8 percent compared to 29.7 percent for non-Whites (Negroes) (Moynihan, 1965, p. 20). He also commented, “Since 1929, the Negro worker has been

tremendously affected by the movements of the business cycle and of employment. He has been hit worse by declines than Whites and proportionately helped more by recoveries” (p. 21). His final comment on Negro unemployment pointed out that in 1963, what he called a prosperous year, “29.2 percent of all Negro men in the labor force were unemployed at some time during the year” (p. 21). As Acs, et al. (2013) pointed out in *The Moynihan Report Revisited* although Black and White unemployment rates moved in concert for decades, the unemployment rate for Black men remained persistently higher than that for White men. To illustrate this point, in 2011 Black male unemployment was 16.7 percent compared to the White male unemployment rate of 7.7 percent (p. 10). Moynihan showed that matriarchy, Negro male unemployment, and the wage system contributed to Negro poverty. In 1963, the non-White median family income was 53 percent of a White family median income (Moynihan, 1965, p. 24). Acs, et al. (2013), showed that by 2010 White men on average earned \$52,000 a year compared to Black men earning \$35,000 a year, i.e. was only 67.3 percent of White male income (p. 10).

Delinquency and crime. Moynihan’s opening statement for this section of his report was provocative: “It was probable that at that time, a majority of the crimes against the person, such as rape, murder, and aggravated assault were committed by Negroes. There was, of course, no absolute evidence; inference could only be made from arrest and prison population statistics” (1965, p. 38).

The crime data he selected to support his case used 1963 Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics. Examples of these were that Negroes were charged with 38,549 offences versus Whites who were charged 31,988, and Negroes were charged with 2,948 murders and non-negligent manslaughter compared to 2,288 for Whites. He further stated that in 1963, Chicago and Detroit reported 75 percent of persons arrested for such crimes were Negro (p. 38). When Moynihan talked about juvenile delinquency, he consistently attributed this to women being heads of

households and to a dysfunctional Negro family structure where the father was not present to discipline children. He selected two studies to prove his point. In a Philadelphia study, 75 percent of the city's Negro delinquents in 1948 lived in broken homes. In addition, in a New York-based study, 44 percent of Negro and 14 percent Puerto Rican youth in trouble with the law came from broken homes (Moynihan, 1965, p. 39). He also noted that, from 1949 to 1954, of those 44,448 delinquency cases reported in Philadelphia, 62 percent of Negro delinquents were from broken homes versus 36 percent for White delinquents (Moynihan, 1965, p. 40). Moynihan had no way of knowing how the subsequent "War on drugs and the School to Prison Pipeline" would make these numbers look like the "good old days".

The armed forces. According to Moynihan (1965), "the ultimate mark of inadequate preparation for life is the failure rate on the Armed Forces mental test [AFQT]. A grown man who cannot pass this test is in real trouble. Fifty-six percent of Negroes fail it" (p. 40). A review of Moynihan's graphical presentation of the AFQT failure rates, revealed that the highest failure rates were from Negroes in the southern Army Area 3 (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee) with an almost 70 percent failure rate versus to almost 20 percent failure rate for White men, and Army Area 4 (Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma) where a 60+ percent failure rate for Negro men compared to a nearly 15 percent failure rate for White men. In 1964, the year before his report, Negroes were 11.8 percent of the population but 8 percent of the Armed forces (Moynihan, 1965, pp. 40-42) Moynihan always considered the military the employer of last resort for Negroes, and in 1966, he convinced Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to institute a jobs program that would allow 100,000 previously rejected recruits to join the Army by adjusting AFQT standards downward (Turner, 2016, para, 1). I covered this program in more detail later in this chapter. Also, since 1973 when the U.S. Military became an all-volunteer organization,

Blacks participation levels had been as high as 28 percent; that was in 1979 (Segal & Segal, 2005, para. 1).

Alienation. This last section was a catch- all for discussing the Negro men that seemed to have withdrawn from American society (Moynihan, 1965). Using the 1963 Census population estimates, there were only 87 non-White males for every 100 non-White women in the 30-34-year-old age group; this ratio did not exceed 90 percent for any other age group of African Americans (Moynihan, 1965, p. 43). There was no comparison for the White population by age group. He said, “The Negro male *can* be found at 17 and 18 ... the conclusion is that he must be there at 19 as well” (p. 43). The implication was that there was a counting error because Negro men did not make themselves available, and when they were found, they were “not in the labor force” (p. 43). Moynihan went on to point out that the labor participation rate for White men was 78 percent compared to 75.8 for non-White men and that almost one-percent of the difference was because Negroes had more long-term illness and mental illness (Moynihan, 1965, p. 43). When suggesting other possible factors, Moynihan, stated that in 1963 Negroes were 54 percent of the addict population according to the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (p. 44). Moynihan closed this section by saying, “The present generation of Negro youth growing up in the urban ghetto has less personal contact with the White world than any generation in the history of the Negro American” (Moynihan, 1965). Lastly, he pointed out that the Negro male “lost contact” with the Negro church in the Northern cities, except maybe Black Muslims (p. 45).

The Moynihan Report through the lens of Critical Race Theory. The *Moynihan Report* predated Critical Race Theory by approximately ten years. Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman left the Critical Legal Studies approach to social justice because “it failed to incorporate race and racism into the analysis” (Yosso, 2005, p. 71). I looked back at the *Moynihan Report* through the CRT lens, using the CRT tenets of the permanence of racism, counter-storytelling,

Whiteness as property, interest convergence, and a critique of liberalism. This was not an in-depth study but a brief look at CRT's relationship in retrospect to the report. One additional disclaimer was that the report was not a scholarly paper but an internal government "white paper" meant for high-level government consumption and originally designed to inspire support for a jobs bill, not to be leaked for public view.

Critical Race Theory recognized that racism was endemic to American life. To Moynihan's credit, he recognized in his preface that "The racist virus in America's blood stream still afflicted us: Negroes will encounter serious personal prejudice for at least another generation, ...three centuries of sometimes unimaginable mistreatment have taken their toll on the Negro people" (Moynihan, 1965, p. ii). In chapter 1, he commented on the 1960's

Negro American Revolution and the Pan-African movement splitting nations along racial lines. He stated, "Such racist views have made progress within the Negro American community itself which can hardly be expected to be immune to the virus that is endemic in the White community" (p.ii). These statements made it more difficult to understand why he did not focus more on institutional racism as impediments to Negro success rather than on the lower income Negro family structure.

Critical Race Theory insisted on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of color and our communities of origin in analyzing law and society. The Moynihan Report was an analysis of quantitative data from various sources and did not speak to the people who were analyzed in the data to get their life stories. This was one of the shortcomings of the report.

CRT asserts Whiteness is a property right. "Whiteness ... the vast majority of scholars agree that it [Whiteness] is directly connected to institutionalized power and privileges that benefit White Americans" (Chubbuck, 2004, p. 303). According to Chubbuck, Whiteness had three underlying dimensions: (1) the invisibility of Whiteness, (2) Whiteness as the normative

standard, and (3) Whiteness as (unearned) merit (p. 303). Bell, in his 1988 article for the *Villanova Law Review* entitled “Property Rights in Whiteness: Their Legal Legacy, Their Economic Cost,” said, “A major function of racial discrimination is to facilitate the exploitation of Black labor, to deny us access to benefits and opportunities that would otherwise be available, and to blame all the manifestations of exclusion-bred despair on the asserted inferiority of the victims” (p. 71). This sounded like the same message that William Ryan put forth in his critique of the *Moynihan report* in which he accused the report of “blaming the victim” (Ryan, 1971). By blaming the victim, the dominant White reinforced the Negro as others/aliens to White middleclass values, were considered the norm. Cheryl I. Harris (1993) in her paper *Whiteness as Property* wrote:

The origin of property rights in the United States are rooted in racial domination. In theory years of the country, it was the interaction between conceptions of race and property, which played a critical role in establishing and maintaining racial and economic subordination. (p. 277)

Harris (1993) went on to say that there was a convergence of race and legal status brought on by Black enslavement (p. 278). If you were White you were free, and if you were Black you were not free, but rather property belonging to a White master. “White identity conferred tangible and economically valuable benefits, and it was jealously guarded as a valuable possession allowed only to those who met the strict standard of proof - Whiteness” (p. 280). Since slavery, federal and state governments have recognized Whiteness as a right superior to Blackness as in the Dred Scott Decision (1857) and Plessy v. Ferguson (1896); the former decision specifically called Blacks property, and the later decision said that Whites had a legal right to be separated from Blacks which was later known as “Jim Crow” (history.com, 2015, para, 6). How did these

decisions relate to the Whiteness as property discussion? Harris outlined what she called the Critical Characteristics of Whiteness. The first was Whiteness as a traditional form of property; the Dred Scott Decision defined White protected rights as tradition. Secondly, she connected property and expectations. “When the law recognizes... the settled expectations of Whites built on the privileges and benefits produced by White supremacy, it reinforces a property interest in Whiteness that reproduces Black subordination” (Harris, 1993, p. 281). Harris third Critical Characteristic of Whiteness identified the property functions of Whiteness which were (a) rights of disposition, (b) the right to use and enjoyment, (c) the conception of reputation as property which encompassed such things as land and personality, and (d) the absolute right to exclude such outlined in the Plessy v. Ferguson case that legalized segregation reinforced Whiteness as a property right (Harris, 1993).

A personal example of Whiteness as a property right was found in my own family. My mother was half White. As a child, she had fair (white) skin, long straight hair, and green eyes, which were not considered the attributes of Negro children. My mom lived in a small town in Kentucky that did not allow Negroes to trade at the local general store, but because my mom looked White, she was able to shop at the store for her family and neighbors who had my grandmother’s permission. There were many instances over my mother’s life where she would “borrow” Whiteness property rights to her advantage and return to being Black even though she looked White. I included a picture of my mom as a young woman in Addendum F.

Critical Race Theory presumed that racism had contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage. The Moynihan Report did not have a declarative statement like the above, but in the preface and at the beginning of all five chapters, it made clear that racism was the root of the Negro situation. Moynihan recognized racism not as a

social scientist, which he was not, but as a naive political scientist since his PhD was in International Relations (Gans, 2011). He was naive because he went to work in the Kennedy Administration's "Camelot" but stayed after the Kennedy assassination and into the Johnson administration. Now Moynihan, a liberal easterner, was writing a report ostensibly to gain favor for the creation of a jobs program for Negro males and to save dysfunctional Negro families by calling the country racist with a southern administration in power. I personally believe that Daniel Patrick Moynihan did not have a racist bone in his body, but the unintended consequences of his report played right into the hands of the people who wanted to slow or stop the Negroes' forward social progress. That was exactly what happened after the report became public. This was not the only time that one of Moynihan's policy papers was used with unintended consequences. It had come to Moynihan's attention that Negro males were being rejected from joining the military in large numbers. He wrote a program called Project 100,000, which was again intended as a jobs program for Negro males that would allow at least 100,000 previously rejected applicants to join the military by lowering the standards on the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT) (Turner, 2016, para. 1-4). The Department of Defense also eased recruitment standards in 1996, which was coincidentally just as the Vietnam War was ramping up. The bottom line was that Negroes made up 40 percent of what were called "New Standards Men", and 44 percent of these men saw combat compared to 38.8 percent of Whites. Negroes were the overwhelming majority of battle deaths among New Standards Men, and Negroes in the Marines had 58 percent of dangerous occupations in Vietnam (Turner, 2016, para. 7-8). This was an example of "interest convergence" because initially Negro males were rejected in large numbers, however, with Project 100,000, they were allowed in to replace White troops and become cannon fodder in the Vietnam War. With friends like Moynihan, Negro men did not need enemies.

A Critique of Liberalism.

Ladner (1973) used Lerone Bennett's quote in the beginning of her book of essays entitled *The Death of White Sociology: Essays on Race and Culture*, which was part of a "Black Sociology Movement" in the early 1970's: It is necessary for us to develop a new frame of reference, which transcends the limits of White concepts. It is necessary for us to develop and maintain a total intellectual offensive against the false universality of White concepts, whether expressed by William Styron or Daniel Patrick Moynihan. (p. xiv) This movement was happening at the same time that the Critical Race Theory movement was getting underway. Both movements were critiques on "White liberalism" in which "many liberals believed in color blindness and neutral principals of constitutional law" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 21). Both of these movements wanted Black scholars to look at scholarship from the Black perspective and not from the hegemonic White liberal perspective which they felt perpetuated the view of Blacks as others, aliens, or deviant to White middle-class norms. It was not possible for Negroes to view themselves as other ethnic groups viewed themselves because--and this was key to many in the Negro world-- the Negro was only American and nothing else. He had no values and culture to guard and protect. (Ladner 1973, p. xxiii). Consider that this was written two years before Moynihan wrote the report that I used it as historical context. Moynihan did not write the chapter on Negroes in *Beyond the Melting Pot*, but he used some of the grim statistics in his Moynihan Report (Patterson, 2010). It was hard to imagine that these views came from liberals of the day, but it made it easier to understand the need for a new perspective on Black life and culture. It was interesting that in the literature, I had not seen an intersection of both schools of thought, CRT and Black Sociology from an interdisciplinary standpoint even though CRT started in law; and Black Sociology started in social sciences, and they were studying the same group, i.e.

Negroes/Blacks. In Ladner's book of essays on *The Death of White Sociology* (1973), not one of the contributors was grounded in CRT, and likewise none of the founders or contributors to CRT were from Black sociology. CRT took issue with the liberal perspective of "civil rights movement as a crusade, as a long process ... and its emphasis on incrementalism." CRT argued that racism required sweeping changes; liberalism had no mechanism for such change (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 12). One final point on the critique of liberalism was that it allowed neo-conservatives to use the colorblind society as a way to thwart affirmative action programs and other race-based remedial programs because some believed that Whites were the true victims.

Black Student Achievement Gap

What was the Black student achievement gap, and why was it important to bridge this gap? The Black achievement gap pertained to the score difference between African American and White students on diagnostic tests. This seemed to be a more significant issue for African American males. In their review of *The Bell Curve*, Neisser et al. (1996) wrote "Many of the most widely used tests are not intended to measure intelligence itself, but some closely related construct: scholastic aptitude, school achievement, specific abilities, etc." (p. 78). Neisser et al. went on to say that "Such tests are especially important for selection purposes ... for college the SAT or ACT, for graduate school the GRE, for medical school... scores on intelligence-related tests matter, and the stakes can be high" (p. 78). Why was it important that we close this Black student achievement gap? It was important for many reasons but especially because since 1954, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the unemployment rate of Black Americans had been twice that of White Americans. The Pew Research Center reported in 1954 that the average White unemployment rate was 5.0% while Black unemployment averaged 9.9%. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (para. 2). This trend continues today in the current Labor Force

Statistics from the Current Population Survey (2016) data. The report showed the 2016 2nd quarter unemployment rate for Black males 16 years and over is 9.1 percent compared to White males in the same age group at 4.1 percent (p.1). As you disaggregate the data by age you see an even more disturbing picture of a deepening gap, Black boys age 16 to 19 years had an unemployment rate of 33.3 percent compared to White boys in this cohort at 14.7 percent (p.1). The 16 to 17 years age group showed Black boys with a 43.0 percent unemployment rate versus White boys at 18.0 percent (p.1). Further, in the 18 to 19 years age group the Black boy's unemployment rate was 29.1 percent versus 12.7 percent for White boys (p. 1). And finally, in the 20 to 24 years age group the Black male unemployment rate was 18.9 percent compared to White male unemployment rate 7.5 percent (p.1). These data was a strong incentive for me to complete the study to find out what were some of the mechanisms at work to perpetuate the Black-White unemployment gap.

African American Male Identity Crisis

It had been noted that African American youth suffered an identity crisis due their estrangement from the dominant society (Erikson, 1968). Erickson conceptualized the most important modern- day task of the African American as one of taking back an identity that was surrendered due to their sociohistorical and psychosocial experiences in the United States. Identity development for African Americans was often hampered by a widespread and deep-seated inhibition against taking advantage of “equal access” even where it was granted, because the experience of being enslaved offered little incentive for independent ambition (Erikson, 1968). African American males had the dual problem of going through the typical identity crises of any adolescent while, at the same time, trying to understand their own racial identity. The most prominent theories in the literature on African American racial identity were the

nigrescence theories (Banks, 1981; Cross, 1971; Thomas, 1971). Nigrescence theories identified aspects of African American identity that occurred in response to racial oppression and those aspects that occurred as a part of the self-actualization process (Gardner-Kitt, 2005). The most frequently cited nigrescence theory described five stages of identity development: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization/Commitment (Cross, 1971). The original model assumed that all Pre-encounter attitudes were indicative of African American self-hatred and poor psychological functioning. The revised model acknowledged that individuals could have high self-esteem even though they used Whites as their reference group (Cross, 1971). Early research on African American male dropouts described them as “misfits” suffering from poor social adjustment, as evidenced by low self-esteem (Beck & Muia, 1980; Cervantes, 1965; Schreiber, 1964). In a more recent study, there was no significant difference in the self-esteem of dropouts compared to graduates (McCaul, Donaldson, Coladarci, & Davis, 1992). This latter study noted that, given the generally strong societal sanctions against dropping out and the stereotypical view of a dropout as a “loser,” it was surprising that there were no significant differences in self-esteem. Nevertheless, the finding was consistent with previous research (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rock, 1986; Wehlage & Rutter, 1986). Some researchers theorized that for students who could not or did not choose to conform to mainstream educational system culture, like many African American male students, dropping out of school may have afforded them greater psychological health than staying in (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Wehlage and Rutter (1986) described a major longitudinal study of high school dropouts by Bachman, Green, and Wirtanen (1971) that provided data on a series of self-perceived themes involving self-esteem, aspirations, locus of control, trust, aggression and delinquency. Wehlage

and Rutter (1986) reported that the dominant pattern for these various measures was one of stability rather than change. In other words, the characteristics that distinguished dropouts from stay-ins at the beginning of the study (tenth grade) persisted over the three years of the study. In some cases, where change occurred, it was toward a slight reduction of the differences between dropouts and graduates. This suggested that whatever factors were responsible for dropping out existed prior to the tenth grade, and the subsequent act of dropping out did not exacerbate any of the measured self-perceptions of these adolescent males. There was no evidence that dropping out was perceived as a negative action by the dropouts during the first three years. The fact that the slight upward trend in self-esteem continued after dropping out provided some evidence that this action was a positive step in the eyes of these adolescent males (Wehlage & Rutter, 1986, pp. 12-13). This was also consistent with the theory that the dropout disengaged from high school gradually and, therefore, had already established a self-perception that was at odds with the institution of education and its teachers (Kaplan, Peck, & Kaplan, 1997). Over time, the dropout no longer identified with mainstream thinking about the value of graduating from high school, but now identified with counter culture peers who had disengaged from high school (Kaplan et al., 1997). Therefore, while self-esteem was not a problem for dropouts in general, self-efficacy was a problem for African American male dropouts because racism experienced or witnessed by them contributed to their formation of self-efficacy expectations (Kutsick & Jackson, 1988), which limited their options, especially educational and employment ones that might have been available after they dropped out.

Black Male Education and Employment: School Security

Caton (2012) used a grounded theory qualitative interpretive design to research ten Black males' lived experiences that led them to drop out of high school. "The purpose of the study was

to explore the impact of the zero-tolerance policies on Black males' educational experiences and outcomes through the lens of Critical Race Theory using the counter-story telling tenet" (p.

1057). She cited several studies including: (a) DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; (b) DeCuir-Gunby & Williams, 2007; (c) Delgado, 1995; and (d) Ladson-Billings, 1998 that supported her assertion that "This paradigm challenges the myth that the American society is fair and access to the educational system is predicated on meritocracy while concurrently addressing the negative ramifications of society's hegemonic structure" (p. 1062). She agreed with Delgado & Stefancic (2001) use of counter story method as adding value to educational research on marginalized populations. The participants' "lived experiences" were a way to understand overt and covert racism and micro aggressions, defined as subtle insults in the educational system (Caton, 2012). Using CRT allowed Caton to see what it meant to be "Black and male in an urban school ...under burden of suspicion" (p. 1063).

Caton's (2012) study included one-on-one in-depth interviews of ten Black males who had dropped out of high school in the last twelve months. Four participants dropped out in the 10th grade and six participants dropped out in the 11th grade. All interviews were conducted at a university that collaborated with the local high schools. A profile of Caton's interview process and outcomes was reproduced in Appendix K (Caton, 2012, Table 1, p. 1059).

Each of Caton's participants was interviewed several times with one participant being interviewed for a total of nine hours. This was consistent with "grounded theory" which, by definition, was a study accomplished primarily through collecting interview data and making multiple visits to the field to develop and interrelate categories of information (Strauss & Corbin, 1997). Another striking aspect of the data was that all of the participants were older than average for their grade level. For example, John was 20 years old and in the 11th grade three to four

years above the average age of 16 or 17. Similarly, Shaun was 19 years old and in the 10th grade. These outcomes were perhaps not so surprising because the participants either had been held back or were so frequently out of class due to zero tolerance practices that they were not promoted. The codes and themes that emerged from the participants' interview data were reproduced in Appendix G (Caton, 2012, Table 2, 1059). Four themes emerged from the participants' interviews: (a) impact of security measures on school environment, (b) need for strong teacher-student relationship, (c) impact of disciplinary space on student learning, and (d) impact of school exclusionary policies on student outcomes. These themes emerged from the open codes, which separated the data into categories. Axial codes attempted to identify: (a) what caused the phenomenon to occur, (b) what strategies or actions actors employed in response to it, (c) what context and intervening conditions influenced the strategies, and (d) what consequences resulted from these strategies (Creswell, 2007, p. 237). Caton (2012) expanded on each of the major themes from the open coding.

Impact of security measures on school environment. The participants in Caton's study stated that their school environment included bag and body searches, live-feed cameras, ID scanners, metal detectors, and insults by security agents (Caton, 2012). The participants reported that the inhospitable and hostile school environment elicited negative emotions. Canton said that CRT called into question the fairness of the policies that gave urban schools top priority to receive surveillance because the original aim of "zero tolerance" was to stop random shootings, and those were not in urban schools. She also invoked Wacquant (2001) who called this kind of surveillance "social panopticism." In the case of urban schools, this meant social service bureaucracies, such as schools, used surveillance to monitor, contain, and control the "problem population."

Need for strong teacher-student relationship. The participants stressed the need for strong teacher-student relationships. In addition, they felt they needed teacher support to be successful. One participant commented, “A teacher can make or break you” (p. 1067). Another participant said that some teachers divided the class into two groups based on perceived skills. The group perceived as “low achievers” were mainly Black males. Canton also stated that the participants’ responses reinforced Ferguson’s (2000) finding that Black males were more at risk to have poor relationships with teachers.

Impact of disciplinary space on student learning. Participants said they were always behind in their schoolwork because they were excluded from the class. They also observed that most of the students excluded from class were Black males (Caton, 2012). One participant stated, “I was suspended from school for several days three times within a semester. I was not doing well in school before the suspension, and when I returned to school, I was so far behind in my schoolwork. I became frustrated and quit school. It is hard out here without a high school diploma” (Canton, 2012, p. 1072). The participants felt that time spent in disciplinary space affected their learning because they fell behind in their schoolwork. Other participants shared similar experiences and perceptions. “Some participants expressed the sentiment that some teachers treated Black males differently because they had negative perceptions of them” (Caton, 2012, p. 1070). Canton cited Ferguson (2000) who “argued that the dedicated disciplinary space is the first tier of the disciplinary pipeline where judgment is passed about the student’s future” (p. 1071). Canton went on to state the obvious that “the continuation of this school practice will not create opportunities for Black males to occupy high-caliber professions and will ultimately keep them on the margin of society” (p. 1071).

Impact of school exclusionary policies on student outcomes. The participants said that excluding students from school influenced their high school failure. The participants also stated that their parents became frustrated with school personnel when trying to prevent a final expulsion because they did not trust the school system and its commitment to educating Black students (Canton, 2012). Several participants stated that suspensions during the same semester made it impossible to be caught up with schoolwork, and they got frustrated and quit school.

This study was similar to my proposed study because the participants were Black males recalling their high school experiences in their own voices and through the theoretical lens of Critical Race Theory. However, in Caton's study the outcomes were the same because all of the participants dropped out of high school. Her purpose was to find a relationship between "zero tolerance" school policies and Black males' educational outcomes. All of the participants stated that time in "disciplinary space" held out of class was the reason they fell behind in schoolwork and decided to quit school. The participants believed they were not treated like other classmates, which spoke to the CRT tenet that Caton used to investigate the assumption that American education was predicated on meritocracy and fairness. In addition, several participants thought that the teachers had "bad perceptions" of Black males, which resulted in being treated differently when punished. This study, like my study, gave a voice to the voiceless to tell their counter story of real lived experiences in school and how it affected their outcomes which, in their cases, was dropping out and maybe they would re-enter school again.

Racial Discrimination and Inequality in Schools

The next relevant study was also Hope, Skoog, and Jaegers (2014), who also conducted a qualitative study. This study examined how eight Black high school students, who were participants in the Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) program, viewed oppression

and racial discrimination. The YPAR program trained students in the research process: (a) problem identification, (b) data collection, (c) data analysis, and (d) action (Peer Resources, 2015, p. 1). The participants were six boys and two girls ranging in age from 14 to 17 years, who were referred to the study by two after-school program facilitators. The facilitators felt the participants demonstrated leadership skills and were interested in social issues. The participants were immersed in a 14-week Saturday program that exposed them to developing a research framework, building conceptual models, reflection, and ideas of hegemony and oppression. The program also covered gender roles, ageism, social norms, racial identity, deconstructing stereotypes, racism, and discriminatory practices. The participants were drawn from two southwestern Michigan school districts, Harbor School District with Skyview and Harper High. Skyview had a student population of 1000 student where 59 percent were White, 17 percent were Black, and one percent Latino with 18 percent qualifying for the free/reduced lunch program. Harper High had 2000 students with 60 percent White, 18 percent Black, and three percent Latino. Twelve percent of students qualified for free/reduced lunch. The other school district was Youngers School District, which had one high school in the study, Youngerville High School where eight percent of the students were Black, 28 percent White, and three percent Latino. Sixty-four percent of Youngerville students qualified for free/reduced lunch, and the school qualified for Title 1 status (Hope et. al., 2014, p. 89). A Title I school must have at least 40 percent of its students from low-income families who qualify under the United States Census's definition of low-income, according to the U.S. Department of Education. The definition of low-income from the 2015 Poverty Guidelines was \$11,770 for one earner to \$40,890 for a family of eight (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2015, para. 7-8). The purpose of this study was to "fill the gap and connect existing research literatures by shifting the focus to the

perspectives of these youth and their critical analysis of racial discrimination in their own lives” (Hope et al., 2014, p. 88). The study sought to understand the following questions:

How do Black adolescents recount and perceive systematic oppression in their schools?

How do these students understand race to operate in these marginalized experiences?

How do these students understand the implications of racial discrimination on their own and general life chances?

Each participant was interviewed 60-75 minutes outside of school or program time. The interview protocol was divided into four sections: Gender Identity, School, Neighborhood, and Family (p. 90). The interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions used to start a conversation with the participant. “The interviews were aimed at engaging participants in narratives about their past and present understanding of their social identities in relation to their experience in schools, neighborhoods, and families” (p. 90). All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and then uploaded into ATLAS.ti for data management. Codes and themes emerged to develop a codebook that was crosschecked between the two raters who conducted the interviews. Once their codes were correlated, each rater coded their own interviews, but they conducted both within-case and between-case analyses to verify codes and themes fidelity.

The participants had gone through an intense 14-week program to enable them to do an “eco-critical analysis” of social conditions in their schools giving attention to experiences of racial inequality and discrimination (Hope et al., 2014). The results of the study were divided into four areas: discrimination in schools, (lack of) institutional support for positive racial climate, inequities between school districts, and burgeoning critical consciousness: counterclaims to a post-racial society.

Discrimination in schools. The results of student interviews highlighted that three males and one female complained about discrimination in Skyview and Harper high schools, which were predominately White. In one incident, Nathan from Skyview was told to stop talking while the teacher let a White girl keep talking, and when he told the White girl to be quiet the teacher admonished him “not to talk to her like that or I’ll send you out” (p. 94). Nathan said the teacher showed racial and gender bias because it was OK for a White girl to talk, but not a Black male. John, also from Skyview, told of teachers and staff reprimanding Black students but never reprimanding White students for the same behavior. In John’s critical analysis, teachers targeted Black student behavior as deviant, which made for a negative school climate. John commented that the Black faculty treated Black students the same way as White teachers did. Another Skyview participant, Terek, talked about how teachers had low expectations for Blacks, so he attempted to fight that stereotype by over achieving. He would try to answer as many of the teachers’ class questions as possible to show her/him that he was intelligent. Finally, Kendall, a female student from Harper High School, complained that a math teacher gave her different homework from the White students based on race and not ability. The teacher just assumed I did not have the ability.

(Lack of) institutional support for positive racial climate. Students from both districts commented that the curriculum did support instruction in topics of race, culture, and diversity. Nathan and Jamal complained that the curriculum did not give exposure to a racially diverse history. Jamal said, “The majority of the time you just hear how beautiful Caucasians live and how glorious the Republican Party is” (p. 98). Jamal commented further “They don’t want the White man to be viewed in a negative eye” (p. 99).

Inequities between school districts. Kendall was the only participant who had attended schools in both districts and could speak directly to the differences. She transferred from a Youngersville school to a Harbor district school, and she said the difference was huge. She said the Youngerville School was very far behind using the same textbook. She started out behind in math so that she had to have tutors to help her catch up. She said, “that she could not understand if the district knew they were behind, and if they did why they didn’t try to get the students on track” (p. 99). Kendall also noted differences in the district grading system. At Harbor, a C or lower is failing, but at Youngersville, you could have a D and still pass. At Youngersville, the teachers expected less of the students, and they got less.

Burgeoning critical consciousness: Counterclaims to a post-racial Society.

Jamal and Nathan recognized several instances of interpersonal and institutional racism that they faced as Black youth... but that White youth did not contend with (Hope et al. p. 100). Jamal also said, “Like wow, are we really stepping back further into history, going backwards instead of going forward” (p. 100). When Jamal, a 12th grader, was asked if he thought hegemony was over he said, “No, no hegemony is definitely not *over*. It is going to new levels.... It’s more, it has expanded into more categories than what it was originally for” (p. 101). One female student, Jenna said her father talked to her about racial socialization and to use academic success to as a way to fight negative Black stereotypes. The study showed that the participants had an awareness of interpersonal and institutional racism. Some scholars such as Rowley, Kurtz-Coates, and Cooper (Hope et al., 2014.) reported that children were aware of discrimination as early as third grade. The Hope et al., study found that adolescence was a good time to engage children deeply in critical analysis and reflection on race.

The participants shared that a school's racial climate (eco-analysis) affected not only how they felt about school but their attitude toward school and therefore school outcomes. They voiced that they did not like being treated differently than White students. They thought it was unfair for teachers to be prejudiced against them for no valid reason. The YPAR program helped the students explore "racial socialization" by providing a safe space to openly discuss issues and experiences of race, a more informed perspective and the evaluation skills to interrogate the experiences, and a space to learn and practice language to describe these experiences (Hope et al., 2014).

The key findings of this study were that YPAR taught the participants how to decode racism, recognize stereotypes, experience equitable treatment, and to recognize how institutional racism affects a school climate.

White-Black Wage Gap

The final relevant study was quantitative research on the White -Black wage gap by John S. Heywood and Daniel Parent (2009). They found that "the reported tendency for performance pay to be associated with greater wage inequality at the top of the earnings distribution applies only to White workers" (p. 249). This research was germane to my research because I examined the relationship between Black males' education and their subsequent employment outcomes, i.e., how fairly they are treated in the labor market. Some researchers believed that "performance pay stands at the center of rising US earnings inequality of the 1980's and 1990's" (Heywood & Parent, 2009, p. 249). Heywood and Parent (2009) pointed out that performance pay jobs "account for a quarter of the growth in wage inequality... and nearly all the wage inequality growth in the upper quintile of earnings" (p. 250). They also agreed with other researchers that "concern about racial differences in access to high-paying jobs reflects evidence on the spatial

and occupational segregation of Black workers” (Heywood and Parent, 2009, p. 250).

Heywood and Parent (2009) had an overarching research question that guided their study, namely, did the wage distributions in performance and non-performance pay jobs differ along racial lines? Heywood and Parent (2009) found that “while performance-pay is associated with dramatically higher earnings for Whites, it is not true for Blacks” (p. 250). This was important to my research because Black males may have self-sorted out of performance- pay jobs as a discrimination avoidance tactic; this could have been the effect of not only perpetuating the wage gap, but also magnifying it at the top of the earnings structure. On the other hand, output-based performance pays (such as piece rates, commissions, and tips) have been shown to reduce earnings differentials by race (Heywood & O’Halloran, 2005; Heywood & Fang, 2006). In a later study by Heywood & O’Halloran (2005), they found larger racial earnings differentials among those receiving individual bonuses than among those receiving only time rates. In addition, they found evidence of White workers sorting into performance pay jobs, and Black workers self-sorting out of performance pay jobs. It was enlightening to find out what occupations my participants decided on and why.

“We define performance pay jobs as employment relationships in which part of the worker’s total compensation includes a variable pay component (a bonus, commissions, or piece rate) at least once during the course of the relationship” (Heywood & Parent, 2012, p. 257). The sample consisted of a main analysis using the *Panel Study of Income Dynamics* (PSID), which was the “world’s longest-running household panel survey which was originally created to assess U.S. President Lyndon Johnson’s War on Poverty. A representative national sample of approximately 22,000 households and an over sample in census enumeration districts with large non-white populations of approximately 15,000 households was drawn by the Census Bureau

and interviews were completed with 30,000 of these households “ (McGonagle, Schoeni, Sastry, & Freedman, 2013, p. 1). The PSID sample used the interviews of male heads of households aged 18-65 with average hourly earnings between \$4 and \$300 an hour (in 2008 dollars) for years 1976-98. The hourly rate was obtained by dividing total labor earnings by total hours worked for the previous year. The self-employed were excluded because their definition of performance pay was based on bonuses, commissions, or piece rates of employed workers (Heywood & Parent, 2009, p.255). The first focus was on the private sector data to investigate hourly earnings structure and its relationship to race. Later, that outcome was compared to the public-sector wage structure outcomes by race. The total sample consisted of 25,258 observations (6,928 for 896 Black workers, and 18,330 for 2,012 White workers) for a total of 3,053 workers (Heywood & Parent, 2009, p. 256).

Heywood and Parent (2009) constructed a performance-pay indicator in the interviews by asking multiple questions about the workers; if the worker received any bonuses, commissions, or piece rate pay or if the worker was on a time clock, and then was paid overtime which excluded that worker from performance pay. Heywood and Parent (2009) noted that their focus was on providing evidence regarding the point-in-time variability of hourly earnings for Black and White workers when part of the total compensation included a variable and possibly subjective component.

Greater understanding of their data was offered by viewing Table 5 in Appendix P (Summary Statistics: PSID, 1976-1998) that reported the sample mean statistics for both types of jobs by race. To start with, the data showed that Whites made 31.5 percent more per hour than Blacks in non-performance pay jobs, but Whites make 54 percent more than Blacks in performance-pay jobs (p.258). There were wage gaps in both types of jobs, however, the

performance-pay gap was very significant considering that the data also showed that less than a third of sample Black males were in performance- pay jobs 29 percent versus 53 percent of sampled White males (p.258). This clearly addressed the question driving Heywood & Parent's (2009) research "do the wage distributions in performance and non-performance pay jobs differ along racial lines" (p. 250). The data also began to shed light on one of the questions driving my study, specifically, how do Critical Race Theory components play a role in African American male education and employment opportunities, if any?

Appendix P reproduces Table 5 from Heywood and Parent (2009, p.249) showing that there are no major differences between Black and White males in age, education, potential experience, and employee tenure except that Black males tended to stay in performance-pay jobs almost two years longer than White males. It was also significant that the data showed that 30 percent of Blacks in performance-pay jobs were in union covered collective bargaining agreements (CBA) compared to 13 percent of White workers in performance-pay jobs. In addition, the data show that 82 percent of Black non-performance workers were paid by the hour versus 64 percent of White non-performance workers, and that 57 percent of Black performance-pay workers are paid by the hour versus 28 percent of White performance-pay workers. In contrast, only 16 percent of Black workers were salaried compared to 34 percent of White workers for non-performance pay jobs, and 29 percent of Black workers were paid by salary compared to 53 percent of similar White workers in performance-pay jobs (p. 258). Both groups' parents graduated high school at roughly the same rate, but the White parents had more college education. This was especially true in the area of performance-pay workers, where 12 percent of White fathers had a college degree versus three percent of Black fathers and nine percent of White mothers had a degree compared to one percent of Black mothers. And finally, there was a

significant difference in the White fathers working as professionals, 11 percent, compared to only four percent of Black fathers. Seven percent of the White fathers were managers compared to the one percent Black fathers who were managers (p. 258).

Heywood and Parent's (2009) Table 6 (reproduced in Appendix Q) provided "Components of Performance Pay by Percentile of Wage Distribution: PSID 1976 - 98 (p. 250)." This data showed the incidence of each type of performance-pay by quantiles of the wage distribution for each race. The numbers represented the fraction of workers receiving performance-pay in a given year (Heywood & Parent, 2009, p. 259). The data showed that Blacks were heavily represented at the bottom of the scale, paid by piece rate; while, Whites predominated at the top of the scale paid through commissions and bonuses exacerbating the wage gap differential. Consistently, White workers were paid less often by piece rate and more often by commissions and bonuses, which could be more subjective than piece rate. When you added the bonuses and commissions together in the 91st -100th Quantile it became obvious that White workers had the advantage; 35.5 percent of Whites received commissions and bonuses versus 14.5 percent of Black workers in the top Quantile. At the top of the wage distribution, White workers received almost two and a half times the commissions and bonuses than Black workers did. Heywood and Parent (2009) had posited this alone accounted for 34 percent of the wage gap (p. 259). Heyward and Parent illustrated their data with a series of graphs. Fig. 1 in Appendix L was divided into panels A and B (p. 254). Section A measured the racial wage gap using the March Current Population Survey where one could see that the public sector racial wage gap was consistent after the tenth percentile to 100th percentile, but the private sector racial wage gap widened as one approaches the 80th percentile, and then was "pulled up "sharply. In panel B using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) 1976-1998 racial wage differentials,

it showed an even more pronounced “pulled up” wage differential at the 80th percentile.

Heywood and Parent attributed this to a performance pay differential at the top of the wage scale that was considered a “White phenomenon” because Black workers did not participate in performance-pay at the same rate as White workers, and performance-pay wage structure was more subjective (p. 254).

Figure 2 in Appendix M plotted the overall incidence of performance-pay jobs for Whites and Black by year. White workers were clearly more likely to be in such jobs than Black workers were (Heywood & Parent, 2009, p. 260). Their data showed that, from 1976 to 1998 the fraction of the sample of Black workers consistently hovered between around 30-35 percent except in 1986. However, the fraction of White workers in the sample showed a consistently higher percentage with rates for approaching 50 percent. Heywood and Parent (2009) suggested that Black workers self-selected out of performance-pay jobs for more secure jobs in the public sector. This may have been true because the wage structure was more controlled and less open to subjectivity and thus to discrimination, however that perpetuated if not accentuated the wage gap (p.260).

Figure 3 in Appendix N presented the Black-White wage gap by type of jobs such as performance-pay and non-performance-pay (p. 261). One could see that the difference in wages in non-performance pay was consistent even to the 100th Percentile but was in stark contrast to performance-pay jobs, where again the wage gap increased significantly around the 80th percentile and was then “pulled upward” increasing the Black-White wage gap.

Figure 4 in Appendix O showed the wage gap between performance-pay and nonperformance pay jobs by race. Again, we saw that the wage gap for Whites receiving

performance-pay went up appreciably at the 80th percentile while the Black wage gap approached zero even in the 100th percentile (p. 261).

Heywood and Parent (2009) stated...there existed a significant racial difference in the returns to characteristics associated with productivity, education and experience in performance-pay jobs. This was especially evident at the top of the earnings distribution and corresponded with skilled Blacks being less eager than Whites to enter performance-pay jobs (p. 275). They stated further, “the association of performance pay jobs with increased inequality at the top end of the wage distribution is largely a Whites-only phenomenon” (p. 280). These two statements represented the bottom line to their study, and their findings were relevant to my study again because the questions which drove my study were:

- How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American male’s employment opportunities?
- How, if at all, do the educational experiences of African American males shape them employment experiences?

Heywood and Parent’s (2009) study indicated with respect to the first question, that even with high education and experience, chances were that the average Black male had not received the same performance-pay as White males. Additionally, Black males seemed to select out of performance-pay jobs for more structured non-performance pay jobs, which exacerbated the wage gap but was more secure and less subjective in the review process.

With regard to the second question, there were three of CRT’s tenets that applied to the findings of this study. First, “CRT recognizes that racism is endemic to American life” (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993, p. 6). Unequivocally, Heywood and Parent (2009) stated increased inequality at the top of the wage distribution was largely a Whites’ only phenomenon

given similar education and experience. Another tenet that applied here is “CRT expresses skepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness, and meritocracy” (Matsuda et al. 1993, p. 6). This wage gap study showed that none of those claims held here and deserved further study. I felt a qualitative study like this proposed study could shed some light on Black male career choices. Finally, “CRT ...adopts a stance that presumes that racism has contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage” (Matsuda et al., 1993, p. 6). One of the findings of this study was that White males had a decided advantage in performance-pay jobs, which increased as you go up the wage distribution, and again that was a Whites-only phenomenon. At the top of the scale hiring, bonuses, commissions, and reviews were more subjective than at the lower end of the wage distribution where more Black males ere. At the low end of the distribution, performance was measurable in finite terms.

This study’s relevance to my last research question was that it pointed to possible Stereotype Threat as evidenced by Black males selecting out of performance-pay to avoid discrimination and job insecurity. If Black males perceived racism in performance-pay jobs and continued to select non-performance pay jobs in the public sector, they would never close the wage gap that currently exists.

Chapter Summary and Transition

Chapter 1 discussed the conceptual framework for the study based on Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat, contextualized through the historical lens of the 1965 Moynihan Report. Chapter 2 provided a review of the relevant current literature including a brief history of the Black male experience in education and in the workforce along with current events that have influenced that experience. Chapter 3 outlined in detail the study’s approach methodology.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

Chapter 1 introduced the problem of the study. It also outlined the theoretical framework and context for the study. Chapter 2 reviewed literature relevant to the education and employment of African American males and the challenges they face. Chapter 3 explained the methodological approach, rationale and design of the study. Chapter 3 also restated the problem, purpose, research questions, and role of the researcher, the study's limitations, and the significance of the study.

Brief Restatement of the Problem

There continues to be a serious gap between African American and White male employment statistics (Acs, et al., 2013). For more than fifty years, the overall African American unemployment rate has been approximately twice that of their white counterparts (PEW Research, 2013, para. 1). Since 1954, the first-year labor statistics were disaggregated by race, when White unemployment averaged 5.0% and Black unemployment averaged 9.9% the gap has persisted (para. 2). During the 1980's the gap averaged 2.77 times the White unemployment rate, and interestingly the lowest gaps came during the recent "Great Recession" when the Black unemployment rate was 1.67 times higher (PEW Research Center, 2013, para. 3). As noted in Chapter 2, the problem continues with current results as late of July 2016, the unemployment rate for Black males is 9.1 percent versus White males at 4.1 percent, and the gaps are consistent with younger men and boys (U.S. Dept of Labor, 2016, Table E-16).

The problem also exists at different education levels. The Economic Policy Institute issued a report in December of 2015 which stated that Black unemployment is significantly higher than White unemployment regardless of educational attainment (Wilson, 2015). Unfortunately, this report was not disaggregated by sex, but it was still useful in identifying the

study's problem. The report stated the unemployment rate for Blacks without a high school diploma was 16.6 percent compared to 6.9 percent for Whites. Blacks with a diploma had an unemployment rate of 9.6 compared to Whites at 4.6 percent. Blacks with some college had an unemployment rate of 7.4 percent versus their White counterparts at 4.0 percent. The last group was Blacks with at least a bachelor's degree experienced a 4.1 percent unemployment compared to Whites with a 2.4 percent rate (Wilson, 2015, para. 2). Clearly, these significant gaps reveal a problem in the employment situation for Black men, and this study investigated the links between education and employment opportunities by examining the experiences of African American males at different educational levels to identify strategies for solving the problem.

Brief Restatement of the Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the connection between education and employment outcomes for African American males through the dual lenses of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat in the historical context of the 1965 Moynihan Report. A qualitative case study design allowed for the collection of rich data through in-depth interviews designed to elicit the Black male participant's perspectives and lived experiences of education and employment. I analyzed the data to identify themes that helped in understanding the current education and employment conditions of African American males. Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Stereotype Threat (ST) were used as interpretive analytic tools to assess whether and, if so, how the participant's race had impacted their educational and employment outcomes.

Brief Restatement of the Research Questions

This study was guided by research questions focused on the relationship between the educational achievement and employment opportunities of six to twelve African American males whose interviews and other data were analyzed within the theoretical frameworks of Critical

Race Theory and Stereotype Threat in the context of the Moynihan Report. Once again, the research questions were:

- 1a: How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American males employment opportunities?
- 1b: How, if at all, do the educational experiences of African American males shape their employment experiences?

Approach to the Study

This study used a qualitative research approach. The study was an explanatory multi-case study because the research questions “deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence” (Yin, 2009, p. 9). Yin went on to say “how and why questions are more explanatory and likely to use case studies, histories, and experiments as preferred research methods” (p. 9). The qualitative case study approach allowed the participants to tell their stories as African American males to an African American researcher. There is little in the literature on the experiential voice of the African American male and even less of this kind of research carried out by an African American male researcher. In fact, while my search of the literature in JSTOR, using the key words “African American male education and employment,” I retrieved 20,970 results. A review of the first 300 records revealed only one study had interviewed African American subjects using qualitative methodology. This study helped fill that gap in the research literature.

Role of the Researcher

I was the sole researcher for this study, and I was responsible for designing all study protocols, interview questionnaires, and consent forms for participants. I was also the sole interviewer and was responsible for the integrity and security of all interview materials. I ensured

that participants' views and opinions were recorded accurately. I also treated all participants with respect and protected their identity.

Study Design

In this section, there is a discussion of why I used the case study approach, and why the multi-case design was appropriate to find answers to the research questions that guided this study. This multi-case study design allowed the participants to, in their own, talk about life experiences and helped fill the gap in this kind of narrative.

Case Study

This qualitative research used the constructivist paradigm because the study attempted to explore the lived experiences of the participants as they related to African American male education and employment opportunities. "A paradigm is simply a belief system (or theory) that guides the way we do things, or more formally establishes a set of practices" (U. of Southampton, 2016, para.2). The "constructivist paradigm", sometimes called interpretivism, is when each individual construct his or her own reality so there are multiple interpretations (U. of Southampton, 2016, para. 3). Creswell (1998) defined qualitative research as "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explores a social or human problem (p. 15)." The choice of the qualitative case study approach was consistent with the "how's" presented in the research questions. "For the case study, this is when a how and why question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control" (Yin, 2009, p. 13). The "how" questions allowed the participants to express their own realities in each case study with relation to their education and employment opportunities. Additionally, by doing several cases, I was able to look for patterns in the data that enriched the literature about African American males.

Multi-Case Study Design

The research design is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to the study's initial, research questions, and its conclusions (Yin, 2009). This study utilized a multi-case study design employing in-depth interviews to explore, through an historical analysis, the educational careers (time in school) of African American males and their employment histories. A multi-case study starts with recognizing what concept binds the cases together. Sometimes the concept needs to be targeted (Stake, 2013). The concept that bound this study together was looking at various levels of educational achievement for African American males and any relationship those had to participants' employment opportunities. Stake (2013) also states, "at the outset of such multi-case study, the phenomenon is identified... and the cases are opportunities to study it" (p. 24).

This qualitative research study utilized the interpretivist (constructivism) paradigm with a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology, framed through the lenses of CR and ST to study the relationship between African American males' education and employment opportunities. The relativist ontology "assumes that reality as we know it is constructed intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially" (Quarles.org, 2014, p. 1). The *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* states "relativism is not a single doctrine, but a family of views whose common theme is that some central aspect of experience, thought, evaluation, or even reality is somehow relative to something else" (Stanford University, 2003, para 1). An example of relativism germane to this study's participants may be found in what the founders stated in the *Declaration of Independence* in 1776: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are

endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness...” (archives.gov, 2016, para. 2).

In this case, the participant’s (Black male) equality was relative to a White man’s equality, which arguably is the standard for all equality measured in America. From this perspective, there was no one truth, but multiple realities of the truth.

Additionally, subjectivist epistemology assumes that we cannot separate ourselves from what we know. The investigator and the object of investigation were linked such that “who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand ourselves and around the world” (Quarles.org, 2014, p. 1). An example of subjectivist epistemology is that, as the investigator, I was “interactively linked” to the object of the investigation, so that the “findings” were literally created as the investigation proceeded (University of Sheffield, 2014, p. 91). Basically, what I knew could not be separated from the findings. The findings were the result of our multiple realities and our relative views of those realities.

This study sought to fill a gap in the case-study/multi-case study literature by focusing on African American males. In so doing, this study provided these participants the opportunity to tell their own stories, thereby augmenting the voice of African American males in the research literature generally and that which focused attention on this population in particular.

Further, it provided a counter narrative or “other side of the story” perspective to the contemporary characterization of African American males as “an endangered species.” One school of thought is that called “the search and destroy hypothesis,” which views Black males as being systematically targeted for discriminatory treatment, especially in public education, the labor market, and criminal justice system (Johnson, Farrell, & Stoloff, 1998). Relative to that, this study had the potential to provide greater insight into how African American males perceive

and negotiate their lived experiences in schools, society, and employment, as well as providing insights for improving their academic achievement and overall employment opportunities.

Methodology

The study used the multi-case research as discussed earlier in Chapter 3. The following section describes the how of the methodology such as the setting, the participants, the timeline, and data collection.

Setting

This study utilized several settings, as the participants were drawn from church and community sources in Las Vegas, Nevada; Los Angeles, California; and Cincinnati, Ohio. This provided a degree of randomness to the participant sample through the purposeful sampling. I got site approval for the IRB from each church in each city from the appropriate authority.

Participant Selection

As previously discussed, this study used a multi-case study design. The main source of data was in-depth interviews or “conversations with a purpose” (Kahn & Cannell, 1957, p. 149). A criterion based selection process (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993) was used to secure the participants for this study. In criterion-based selection the researcher “creates a list of attributes essential” to the study and then “proceed(s) to find or locate a unit matching the list” (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993, p. 70). The criteria used for meaningful sampling must closely relate to the purpose of the study especially so that data-robust participants are secured (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). The attribute criteria for this study was African American males age 18 or older. Six educational levels were represented: (a) one or more high school dropouts, (b) one or more high school graduates, (c) one or more community college graduates, (d) one or more four-year college or university graduates with a bachelor’s degree, (e) one or more graduates

with a Master's degree from an accredited university, and (f) one or more graduates with a doctoral degree from an accredited university.

The goal was to recruit at least one participant at each educational level and then, as time and money permitted, add more participants for a total of twelve. I used an insider at the following organizations to recruit participants: Senior Pastor of First African Methodist

Episcopal Church of Las Vegas, Senior Pastor of First African Methodist Episcopal Church of Los Angeles, and the 1963 Class Captain at the Withrow High School Alumni Association. I used these organizations because I knew that each had access to a pool of possible participants. The participants in the study were identified through each organizations' community outreach program. Each organization used various media to recruit such as church services, bulletin boards, and flyers that I produced. After the initial screening process, 8 participants were selected to be in the study. After the participants had been selected according to the criteria, and education levels had been determined, they were provided with informed consent information and forms.

Participants were compensated \$50.00 for the interview. Compensation was based on the PhD hourly rate reported online [Payscale.com/research/US/Degree_\(PhD\)Hourly](https://www.payscale.com/research/US/Degree_(PhD)Hourly). The rate range was \$42.00 to \$64.96 after excluding the outlier \$24.48 for PhD chaplain, with the range average of \$45.83 rounded up to \$50.00, so that all participants were compensated equally for their time. Each participant was compensated \$30 for submitting K-12 transcripts, which required three separate transcripts, elementary, middle school, and high school. Using Los Angeles

School District as a guide, each transcript cost \$5.00 plus postage and handling (LAUSD, 2016). When applicable, each participant received \$20.00 for submitting a college transcript.

UNLV charged 10.00 for a transcript, and eLearner.com reported a range for university transcripts from \$3.00 to \$10.00 (eLearners.com, 2016). The \$20.00 reimbursement was reasonable for a possible \$10.00 transcript cost, postage, and handling to get this important data. The transcripts were used to triangulate the interview data.

The timeline for the project was as follows:

- Oct. 2016: IRB approval/submit/defend proposal to committee
- Nov. 2016: Set up interviews in Cincinnati
- Dec. 2016: Set up interviews in Las Vegas and Los Angeles
- Jan. 2017: Complete interviews in Cincinnati
- Feb. 2017: Complete interviews in Las Vegas
- Mar. 2017: Complete interviews in Los Angeles
- April 2017: Reflective follow-ups and document reviews
- May 2017: Data analysis begins
- June 2017: Begin to write up findings
- July 2017: Continue writing the study
- Aug. 2017: Finish writing up findings and analysis
- Sept. 2017: Write up conclusion and recommendations
- Oct. 2017: Complete committee revisions and suggestions
- Nov. 2017: Defend the research study
- Dec. 2017: Graduate with a PhD

The timeline was not fixed because I was dealing with a fluid situation where some things finished earlier, and some finished later than anticipated; I adjusted the study actions to accommodate these contingencies as they arose with advice from my chair.

Data Collection

Each participant was interviewed for at least one 90-minute in-depth interview and additional reflective follow-ups as needed. I attempted to limit the number of follow-ups to two per participant, but if I needed more conversation with participants to clarify issues, I asked the participant for more time. All interviews were audio taped and transcribed. All in-person reflective follow-up interviews were recorded, and all phone reflective follow-up interviews were also recorded when possible, but I also made detailed notes. The 90-minute in-depth interview was a structured interview framed by a series of pre-established questions (See Appendix D). The reflective follow-ups revisited the 90-minute interviews to clarify facts, deepen understanding, and augment knowledge production. The questions asked were open-ended to elicit more nuanced understandings of previously collected data. The interviews were held, by appointment, according to participants' availability, at each recruitment site previously named in the respective city. Each recruitment site was centrally located in the respective community where the pool of potential participants existed. I obtained proper site approval from the IRB. The interviews were conducted over a two-month period because the participants were chosen as a purposeful sample from three urban areas in three different states; Nevada, California, and Ohio. Purposeful sampling is when the researcher selects individuals for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research questions (Creswell, 2007). This form of sampling was ideal for the study because it allowed me to choose participants who provided information addressing the research questions posed. The purposeful sampling for this study had two stages. The first stage was the criterion stage that all participants were African American males, and 18 years or older, and the second stage was the stratified purposeful choice of different educational attainment levels for the participant pool. This kind of

sampling gave rich comparisons of the participants' lived experiences. The three cities are cities in which I have lived and have personal knowledge that a pool of potential participants was available. In addition, I had attended each church and graduated from the high school chosen as recruitment sites. I knew that each worked in the African American community to help in any way they could.

Context for Data Analysis

This section will discuss the analytical tools that were used to analyze the data gathered from the participants. The theoretical lenses as discussed in Chapter 2 were Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat; and the 1964 Moynihan Report was used as historical context. This section will also discuss the data analysis, researcher ethics, the limitations of the study, and the significance of the study.

Theoretical Framework

As stated in Chapter 2, Critical Race Theory was the primary theoretical framework that served as a data analysis lens in this study. CRT says racism is endemic to American society. The in-depth interviews probed to explore whether the participants ever thought they had been discriminated against. CRT holds that life experiences with law and society for people of color are important, and the interviews revealed the participants' life views, and experiences. CRT expresses doubt about objectivity and meritocracy, and the interviews revealed if the participants believed that they had been judged on merit or something else.

Once all of the interviews had been completed and transcribed, and all of the artifacts collected, each participant's data was analyzed through of lens of CRT's basic tenets outlined above. The CRT tenets created a kind of rubric against which the data and artifacts were compared. As both male and African American, the participants in this study offered the unique

opportunity to use critical race theory to examine the intersections of gender, race, and class with respect to education and job opportunities.

Stereotype Threat as Additional Theoretical Lens

Stereotype Threat is when a situation threatens one with being negatively stereotyped, with being judged or treated stereotypically, or with the prospect of conforming to the stereotype (Steele, 1997 p. 614). ST is a situational pressure that affects students who are most domain identified with school and academics. Using ST as an additional lens allowed for an analysis of data from the standpoint of whether or not the participant felt intimidated or discriminated against during his school career. This would have a negative effect on school outcome and therefore potentially a negative effect on employment opportunities.

In the interviews, the participants told how they felt in school in various situations and whether they had been intimidated at any point in a way that hurt their performance on tests, especially standardized tests. Did the participants ever feel like they were being stereotyped in school? Moreover, what effect did it have on their performance?

Moynihan Report as Historical Context

Using as context Moynihan's "Tangle of Pathology" matriarchy, failure of youth, Black male education, Black male unemployment, delinquency, crime, incarceration, the Armed Forces, and alienation offered an additional perspective for viewing the data. The main focus was on education and employment, but the analysis also addressed each area of the "Tangle of Pathology." It was interesting to see if the data collected suggested these participants were perpetuating the "tangle of pathology" or if they were an exception. If the latter, how did they accomplish this and to what degree?

Data Analysis

“Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and interpretation to the mass of collected data” (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 150). In addition to the interpretation of the data already noted, once the interviews had been transcribed, I reviewed each interview transcription to identify codes and themes by hand. Later, I used computer assisted/aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), as appropriate, to help in the data coding. It is important to note that data reliability cannot be established in qualitative research in the same manner that it is in experimental research because human behavior and consciousness are not only not fixed, they are continuously fluid (Merriam, 1998). As a result, while this study could be replicated, the responses from the subjects could not be. Internal validity in this study was achieved through developing an understanding of the participant experiences. External validity in this study was developed through the formation of the codes and themes around which these experiences were organized and discussed. The goal of these interviews was to find out as much as possible about each participant’s life experiences, especially, establishing as a baseline, his early educational and professional aspirations to assess these in relationship to the factors that led to his final education outcome. I took care in recording each participant’s experiences as he perceived and then described them in his own words; this allowed the researcher to carefully assess the internal and/or external factors that the participant believed influenced him to take certain educational paths. I developed pseudonyms to identify data collected from all participants in order to protect their confidentiality. Throughout the interviews, I used the constant comparison approach to review the data looking for commonalities, codes, and themes from the participants’ reported experiences. The process led me to develop additional questions to pose to study participants at their reflective follow up interviews.

At the end of the reflective follow-ups, I identified codes and themes across participant interviews to augment my identification of common patterns. I established a final list of codes and themes that were consistent across all participants from participant responses in the interviews. All the interview audiotapes were transcribed and, along with my field notes, were stored in large three ring binders. All digital files were kept on a password protected external hard drive. All data was placed in secure storage. My laptop, which was also password protected, was not used with public Wi-Fi networks or left in the car or left unattended by me. At the conclusion of the study, all the raw data will be stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the Principal Investigator for three years, and then destroyed.

Instrumentation for Recording

To ensure a high level of accuracy, I used two digital recorders with extra batteries to create redundancy in case of equipment failure. I supplemented the recordings with handwritten notes of my observations during the interviews.

Document Review

Document review is an important part of the qualitative research approach. Given the amount of data created through the case study interview process, it was important to double or triple check that the audiotaped interviews had been transcribed correctly. All field notes were summarized, coded and themed in similar fashion to the full interviews. Any artifacts that the participants supplied, including, but not limited to, report cards, transcripts, letters of reference, and employment evaluations were reviewed for content and triangulation of data. “Triangulation is using multiple sources of data or multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings” (Merriam, 1998, p. 204). To enhance the internal validity of the data, I also did member

checking. Member checking is when the researcher solicits informants' views of the credibility of the findings and interpretations (Merriam, 1988).

Ethics

I was the sole researcher, and I was responsible for conducting the research in an ethical manner and for providing an honest representation of the data gathered. I ensured that all human subjects were treated with respect at all times. Confidentiality of the participants was a priority and rigorously maintained in this study.

This study adhered to the standards of the "Office of Research Integrity-Human Subjects" safeguards, and was submitted for Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. This study ensured that: participants were adequately informed of the nature of the study, that subjects' participation was voluntary, the benefits of the study outweighed its risks, the benefits and risks were evenly distributed among the participants, and suspended human subjects' activity that violated regulations, policies, procedures, or an approved protocol, and report such violation and suspension to the IRB. (UNLV Office of Research Integrity, 2013, p. 1)

Limitations and Impact

Since I, the researcher, was like my participants, an African American male, I could show bias due to personal connections to the study. To guard against this, I sought to maintain fidelity to the highest standards of research integrity. I solicited reviews of my data collection technique and the soundness of my data analysis from my doctoral peers and my committee chair to ensure high standards of objectivity. A case study allows the participants to present their life perspectives in their own voice and, in some situations, consumers of the case study may identify with themes that emerge, which adds to the validity and significance of the study. Another limitation may be that interviews are self-reports and depend on the honesty of the participants.

Finally, it might be considered a limitation to the study that the participants will be compensated for their time and transcripts and therefore only participating for the money. I worked tirelessly to mitigate these limitations through triangulation, i.e., getting many sources of confirming documentation.

The knowledge gained from this study may not be generalizable to the total population of African American males however; it may still shed new light on what these men experience in the realms of education and employment. This information can potentially help shape policy decisions to benefit this group of citizens.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 provided an overview of the methodological approach and design of the study.

Chapter 3 reviewed the problem, purpose, and research questions; as well as detailing the approach to the study, role of the researcher, study design, data sources, study timeline, data analysis, study ethics, and study limitations.

CHAPTER 4: The Findings: Lived Experiences of Eight Black Men

The purpose of this study was to examine the connection between education and employment outcomes for African American males through the dual lenses of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat in the historical context of the 1965 *Moynihan Report*. A qualitative case study design allowed for the collection of rich data through in-depth interviews designed to elicit the Black male participants' perspectives and lived experiences related to education and employment. I analyzed the data to identify themes that might help in understanding the current education and employment conditions of African American males.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Stereotype Threat (ST) were applied as interpretive frameworks to assess if and how the participants' race had affected their educational and employment outcomes.

From the CRT perspective, the study was particularly concerned with whether participants ever felt that they were discriminated against because of their race, and, if so, whether they believed this caused someone else (individuals and/or groups) to be at an advantage relative to them.

The study also examined what, if any, experiences the participants have had with the law and the court system. Both subjectively, as well as analytically, this study sought to illuminate how such experiences have influenced participants' education and employment outcomes. More specifically, in this regard, the study looks to discern whether or not participants, who have been court involved, believe they were treated unfairly (relative to other individuals and/or groups).

Stereotype Threat was applied as a lens through which to assess whether participants' performance on any tested measures could have detrimentally altered their educational performance or employment trajectory. Specific details of participants' experiences of Stereotype Threat attributable to their school or work environments were explored.

Finally, the study used the 1965 *Moynihan Report* as an historical baseline for assessing what changes, if any, have occurred in Black males academic and employment achievements in the last 50 years. Specifically, a comparison was made between the study's participants' achievements (contextualized with current achievement data on male achievements in aggregate) and the achievements of Black men as documented in the *Moynihan Report*. Attention was given to each participant's own voice, and his own rationale-for how and why he has or has not achieved in education and employment, including exploring how and why he defines achievement as he does.

Brief Review of Research Questions

- Research question 1a: How, if at all, do the educational experiences of African American males shape their employment experiences?
- Research question 1b: How, if at all, do employment experiences of African American males shape their educational experiences?

Relevant participant questions related to research question 1a and 1b are provided in Addendum D.

Background on Participant Pool

My goal was to recruit eight African American males, age 18 or older to obtain purposeful data on the relationship between their education and their employment outcomes. I also wanted to enlist participants whose lifespan coincided with the *Moynihan Report* to examine how the results from this study's purposeful sample related to those dire warnings about a "tangle of pathologies". Each of the of the participants had his own unique story to tell from the perspective of an African American male; these participants offered counter stories to the "stereotypic Black male." The participant pool represents 473 years of African American male

life in American society spanning the time period from 1944 to the present. Three of the participants are at least 70 years old. Two were in my high school graduating class at Withrow High School in 1963, and the other graduated a year later in 1964. I had not been in contact or seen these three individuals since I graduated from Withrow. I recruited participants using the Withrow Alumni Club and through Classmates.com.

In January of 2017, my wife, Pam, and I traveled to Detroit, Michigan to interview Mr. Green, then on to South Carolina to interview Mr. Black. We then went to Cincinnati, Ohio to interview Dr. Blue, and to Gary, Indiana to meet Mr. Gray. In February, we traveled West to Las Vegas to interview Mr. Brown and Dr. Red, and finally, to Los Angeles to interview Mr. Purple and Mr. Tan.

Even though all participants are African American males their life stories are very different. Nevertheless, similar categories and themes of life experiences emerge from their stories. Mr. Green's mother died when he was quite young. He was sent to live in the south for a while and later reunited with his father and stepmother. Mr. Black was at home with mother and father, but he got into trouble, and was sent south as part of a plea bargain. Later he also was reunited with his mom and dad. Dr. Blue lived with both parents until he finished college. Mr. Brown lived with both parents, but his father was a professional gambler and gone most of the time. Dr. Red lived with both parents, and his father was a Black bank vice president. Mr. Gray was sent by his mom to live with his grandmother and eight cousins because he was considered one too many kids for her. Mr. Purple's mom left him to be raised by his dad, who was a drug dealer and was married to a White woman. Mr. Purple Sr. was in and out of prison. Finally, Mr. Tan lived with his both parents in south central Los Angeles until he graduated from high school.

Portrait One: Mr. Green

Mr. Green is 71 years old and graduated from my high school in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1963, the last time we had been in contact. After graduation, Mr. Green went to Cincinnati Community College due to his bad grades, but subsequently dropped out because he felt he wasn't serious about going to college. During this period, he did a stint with the Army Intelligence Corp, and then eventually he went to the University of Cincinnati and graduated with a BA in accounting and later a Master's in Business Administration.

Mr. Green, now retired, had a stellar career in public transportation. He served in the Operational Planning Department for Queen City Metro, Assistant General Manager for Metropolitan Tulsa Transit, as General Manager of South Bend Public Transportation, and as Chief Transportation Officer for San Francisco, where he had staff of 2500 and a \$110 million budget. Mr. Green has been married for 48 years, and has one daughter.

I was able to contact him through our high school alumni page on Classmates.com. I explained my study, and he readily agreed to participate. He said he and his wife lived in Detroit, Michigan now, but I told him that I and my "trustworthy assistant", (wife Pam) would travel to meet him. Mr. Green came to our Detroit hotel for the in-person interview. It was good seeing him after 54 years, and I looked forward to hearing his story. Over cups of coffee, I turned on the microphone and began with this open-ended question, initiating a "conversations with a purpose" (Kahn & Cannell, 1957, p. 149). Tell me about experiences growing up, including where you lived, who you lived with, and your school experiences.

Portrait Two: Mr. Black

Mr. Black was also in my graduating class in 1963, and like with Mr. Green, we had not been in contact since the day we graduated. Mr. Black completed his freshman year at North

Carolina Central University, but dropped out at the end of the academic year. He was drafted into the military and chose the Navy for his service. He later returned to Cincinnati and graduated from the University of Cincinnati (UC) Magna Cum Laude in Economics. UC gave Mr. Black a full graduate scholarship in economics, but he dropped out after the first year. Nevertheless, he taught economics at UC for twelve years as an adjunct professor. Before finishing his degree, Mr. Black had a varied career that included being a bank branch manager, several positions as a youth counselor for organizations such as Head-Start, and consulting for a marketing firm in Chicago. However, his true career was that of a noted journalist; Mr. Black has had a nationally syndicated newspaper column for years. He has written eight published books on economics and the Black community, and he was the editor of a local newspaper the *Cincinnati Herald*. Additionally, he was the founder of the Greater Cincinnati African American Chamber of Commerce which plans to rename its building The Mr. Black African American Chamber of Commerce Building.

I was able to contact him through our high school alumni page on Facebook. In a personal message I asked if I could have his email and send him information about my study. He reviewed my flyer and study abstract, and said he would love to participate. So, after completing Mr. Green's interview in Detroit, my wife and I flew to Mr. Black's home in Greenville, South Carolina. We had to go to Mr. Black's home because he now has Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis (ALS) a progressive nerve disease that has left him wheel chair bound. We set the GPS and found his beautiful home in the middle of the South Carolina countryside. We were received like family by his wife (Sylvia) and his caretaker.

I gave Mr. Black a big hug, and we spent about 15 minutes getting caught up. Then I turned the microphone on to start the interview.

Portrait Three: Mr. Gray

I met Mr. Gray in Gary, Indiana after interviewing Mr. Black in Greenville, South Carolina. Pam had arranged for us to have a couple days off, before our next interview with Dr. Blue in Cincinnati, and to stay at her best friend's house in Gary. I had not previously met Pam's best friend or her husband. That first night Pam and all the Deltas (her sorority sisters) in the neighborhood were having an "old fashioned hen party" around the dinner table when Mr. Gray suggested we go to the den and watch a movie. We agreed on a movie, and started chatting. As we got to know each other, and he began to share his story with me, I realized he met the criteria for my study high school level participant. I asked Pam what she thought of the idea and she agreed that it was a great idea. At breakfast I asked Mr. Gray if would be interested in participating in my dissertation study. I had him read my study flyer, and my abstract before he signed the consent form.

Mr. Gray and I scheduled a 90-minute interview by Skype one morning, and I recorded that interview. Mr. Gray is a 61-year-old Black male high school graduate who grew up in the Gary, Indiana area called "Gary Small Farms" because it was kind of a shanty town of "uneducated" Mississippi Blacks from "The Great Migration" who migrated there looking for work at the local steel mill. It was so rural that there was no city water. It was so rural. Mr. Gray had two biological brothers and two biological sisters, but because he was the oldest, his mother had sent him to live with his grandmother who already was raising seven of his cousins. When he was in elementary and middle grades the school buses would not pick up the Black children even in the snowy winters. The buses were going to the same school, but ignored Black children. He volunteered that he did not like school but stayed in school to play sports, especially basketball. He helped his high school team go to the Indiana State Finals more than once. He dropped out of

school for a while, but went back just to play basketball. He finished his diploma online. Mr. Gray said he “always wanted to work in the mill “and he did that for 32 years. He started as an 18-year-old making \$2.88 an hour doing manual labor, but later became one of the most important production workers in the mill. Mr. Gray perfected a production process that doubled the amount of steel sheeting that rolled out of the mill. Steel sheeting is used to make cars, refrigerators, stoves, and more. He won national trophies in competition with other mills for production of sheet metal. Later the mill asked him to train other mills from coast to coast on how to increase their production and improve profitability.

Portrait Four: Dr. Blue

Dr. Blue is a 70-year-old PhD who attended the same high school I did, although we did not know each other because he was a year younger. I was able to connect with him through the Withrow High School Alumni page on Classmates.com. I sent him a message asking if he would be interested in participating in my study, and we exchanged emails, so I could send him the study flyer, my abstract, and the Informed Consent forms. He said he remembered how hard it was to get participants for his own dissertation and agreed to participate. He agreed to come to our hotel in Cincinnati, and once we got our coffee, I started the recorded interview.

Dr. Blue was born in Newport, Kentucky, but his family moved to Cincinnati’s West End when he was just eight months old. His dad thought schools would be better in Cincinnati. They lived in the projects called “Lincoln Courts” which was only blocks away from where my family lived in a tenement on Mound Street. Dr. Blue lived at home with both parents until he graduated from college. Dr. Blue’s elementary school years were uneventful even though he attended three different elementary schools before the 6th grade His family moved into another district where he went to the same middle school that I attended, Samuel Ach. Our tenures at that school

overlapped one year in 1959. This is when he developed his interest in music influenced by his music teacher who became his lifelong mentor. He remembers that all of the teachers at Ach were Black and that the place was run like a prison with fights every day. Dr. Blue was in an academic program that challenged him, but he persevered. He then matriculated to Withrow High School in the tenth grade there he had a culture shock because he was on an academic track, and was often the only Black in most of his classes. He felt the teachers didn't want him in their classes since they never offered to help him. He said, "I felt isolated... this day I do not feel good about Withrow." While in high school he joined the Black Fraternity Omega Kappa to help him socialize.

Dr. Blue said he had a similar experience at the University of Cincinnati (UC) where he was the only Black student in the Academy of Music. At UC, he joined Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity to help him feel a part of the university. He got off to a rocky start with a 1.9 GPA in his first quarter but went on to graduate with a Bachelor's of Science in Music on time in four years. He later attended Xavier University of Cincinnati and received a Master's in Educational Administration. Even later after working as a teacher and counselor in the Cincinnati Public School District he decided to get a PhD in Educational Administration and graduated with a 3.93 GPA.

Portrait Five: Mr. Brown

Mr. Brown is a 61-year-old Black male with whom I connected through Western University Alumni and the County School District. I discovered he had two Master's degrees, and thought of him for the Master's category of my study. I asked him if he would be interested in participating in my dissertation study and after reviewing the Las Vegas version of my flyer and reading the study abstract he signed the Informed Consent Form. We set a date for the 90-

minute interview and I met him, his wife and his mother-in-law at his lovely home. We went into a quiet dining room with beautiful cabinets filled with collectables, sat down, and I turned on the microphone.

Mr. Brown was the only boy in a family of 7 children who lived in the Lincoln Field Projects in Miami, Florida. His mother sent him to live with his grandmother because there were six girls in the house, and he was the only boy. While living with his grandmother, he said that all his elementary and middle school teachers were Black, and school in those days, was a good experience. He said that “the teachers felt like family,” and “they kept you on point.” “They used corporal punishment to keep us in line, and our parents were fine with that.” All that changed when he got to high school where his peers and teachers were White for the first time. He said, “now I am going to school with the man. ” It was a culture shock, but he played football to keep him straight. He did just enough in school to be able to play football, but somehow was credit deficient and almost didn’t graduate on time. He felt a family responsibility to be the first to graduate from high school since neither his mother nor father had finished high school. His dad was a “professional gambler” and was gone from home a lot. Mr. Brown graduated from high school, received an Associate’s Degree from the College of the Air Force, a Bachelor’s Degree from Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, a Master’s Degree from University of Phoenix, and a second Master’s degree from Western University. Mr. Brown joined the United States Air Force in 1972 during the draft, and he is still active in the military today. His current rank is Master Sergeant E-7, which is a senior rank.

Portrait Six: Dr. Red

I connected with Dr. Red through my flyers, and he said he might be interested in participating in the study. I sent him the abstract and an Informed Consent Form. He agreed and signed the consent form. We set a date for his 90-minute interview at his office.

I met him one morning at his office at West Coast University. We got coffee, and I turned on the microphone. Dr. Red is a 35-year-old Black male, born in Brooklyn, New York who lived with both parents until he graduated from college. Dr. Red had a noteworthy elementary school experience. He said, “Third grade was interesting because it was the first time I was expelled from school. It was my first interaction with racism at school.” He was sent to what he called “a thug school” where there was no discipline, and students were throwing things at each other in class and fighting every day. A student pushed a desk into Dr. Red. The teacher hit the panic button, the principal came, and the student was expelled. Dr. Red was then sent to an all-Black Catholic school to finish the third grade. He stayed at the Black Catholic school until he finished the eighth grade, even though he still had problems with fighting and other offenses that got him suspended another 15 times. After finishing eighth grade, his dad got a promotion to bank vice president in North Carolina. He said it was a culture shock moving from New York to a suburb in North Carolina with no friends. He continued to get into fights and get suspended until he decided he wanted to play sports, meet girls, and buy his own clothes. In the 10th grade he got his first job at a grocery store but soon quit. He felt it was racist because none of the White workers were asked to do basket runs -only him. Later, he got a job at a Wendy’s restaurant and became an in-store trainer of new employees which provided him the spending money he wanted. Dr. Red was now working, playing school basketball and running track, and keeping up his grades in

order to play sports. Dr. Red was arrested when he was in the twelfth grade for trespassing and getting into an altercation with a Black mall security guard.

Dr. Red graduated from high school and went off to college at a predominately Black university in the South. He did well in his first semester until he started getting high and missing classes. Dr. Red dropped out of college for a few years but then went back and received a Bachelor's degree, a Master's degree, and a PhD.

Portrait Seven: Mr. Purple

I connected with Mr. Purple through the Pastor of the Los Angeles First African Methodist Episcopal Church, who had distributed flyers for my study. Mr. Purple met me for a screening at the church outreach office to see if he was interested. He read the abstract and signed the Informed Consent Form, and we began recording the interview. Mr. Purple is a 50-year-old Black male born in Rochester, New York and moved to Los Angeles at the age of one. His mom left him with his dad shortly after that and never returned. He didn't see his mother again for 25 years. Mr. Purple's dad was a pimp and a drug dealer who had done time in prison, and was running from child support. Mr. Purple's dad re-married a White woman who became his "new mom," and thus his brothers were half White. They lived in a tough area of south central LA that was rat-infested and crime-ridden. His mom and dad had regular jobs besides the other hustles, so they always had more than their neighbors, including a new Cadillac, and they owned their own home. He said, "Everyone in the neighborhood found a reason to dislike us." He had to fight on his way to and from school because of his White mother and half-White brothers. A seminal event happened to Mr. Purple at age six when a boy slapped him and then ran into the street and was hit and killed by a truck. The neighborhood wanted to lynch him, but his armed dad stood by him and ran the crowd off. Mr. Purple also had two older brothers by

different mothers who eventually moved to Los Angeles, and joined gangs. When the brothers came, Mr. Purple no longer had to fight every day because now he was not the older brother. He says he was good student in K-6, and he even made it to the city-wide spelling bee where he ranked fourth. He liked most subjects in elementary school especially math. At the same time, he was being indoctrinated into a gang and was transitioning to a gang life style at eight years old. His years of schooling in grades five through eighth are a blur to him because he became a dedicated gang member selling drugs, gang banging, and was even involved in occasional shootouts that killed some of his friends. Mr. Purple has spent 27 years of his life in and out of state and Federal prisons during the War on Drugs. Although, Mr. Purple dropped out of school in the 8th grade, but got his GED online while in prison and with my help will get into a community college. He is currently a member of Volunteers of America Greater Los Angeles. He is a Community Intervention Worker in the Gang Reduction Youth Development Unit.

Portrait Eight: Mr. Tan

Mr. Tan was referred to me by a contact at my church First African Methodist Episcopal Church. It turns out that the church accountant is also the Dean of Workforce Development at a Los Angeles trade school. He asked Mr. Tan to call me for pre-screening. That went well and I sent him the Los Angeles version of my recruitment flyer, the study abstract, and an Informed Consent Form, which he signed. We set a date to meet in the conference room of the Trade School where I recorded my interview with Mr. Tan Pam accompanied me to the campus because she had never been on this campus either. Mr. Tan and I sat in the conference room, and I turned the microphone on.

Mr. Tan is a 49-year-old Black male born in south central Los Angeles in the same Florence-Graham area where Mr. Purple grew up. They grew up only three miles apart, but they

never knew each other. Mr. Tan lived in the same house from pre-school until graduation from high school. Mr. Tan is the only participant who attended pre-school. He lived with both parents, three sisters and two brothers. His dad drove big rigs across country, and his mother was an RN at a local major hospital. In elementary school, he was a very good student getting B's and A's, and in middle school he was president of the honor society in which his sister was in also a member. Mr. Tan was also a member of the middle school California Cadet Corporation, which is like the ROTC He attained the rank of first lieutenant S-4 which was a supply position. In the ninth grade, his grades began to drop because he discovered girls and lost his focus. Mr. Tan said, "I never had a problem with teachers or administrators because they were all Black. In some cases, his mom, her brother, my auntie, and her sister all had the same teacher." He felt it was a small community. Teachers and administrators who knew his family, handled all discipline issues internally, and could use corporal punishment on him if necessary. He stressed that the teachers "cared for us." In high school, he was in a magnet program called College Incentive Program (CIP) which had a cohort of 120 students who had six courses together, but at different grade levels. He said his cohort hung together carrying about 15 books around all day. He played baseball and football and now only did enough academically to be able to play sports and chase girls.

Mr. Tan was able to stay out of gangs because his family would not accept "that foolishness". Also, his big brother ran interference with gang members for him. One of his brothers had a reputation for knocking out gang members who didn't come at his little brother "correct." Gangs did try to recruit him, but his older brother always handled it. Mr. Tan only had two fights during his school career. One was because a gang member tried to steal his baseball gear, and the other was because another member called him out. By then, Mr. Tan was a big guy

himself, so he knocked both guys out. Mr. Tan graduated high school on time, but he was more interested in making money than going to college even though he was accepted at two colleges. He had as many as five jobs at a time bringing in money, and so he decided college could wait. After those assignments, he worked for a couple of law firms as office manager, and is now back in community college and about to get a certificate that will allow him to matriculate to a 4-year college like UCLA where his sister graduated. He is currently a counselor at the trade school he attends. Table 8, in Appendix E, is the Participants' Outcome Matrix, which provides the reader a quick profile for each participant.

Findings

Method of Analysis

The data analysis was guided by Margaret D. LeCompte's (2000) guide to good qualitative data analysis. Dr. LeCompte believes that data analysis is like taking a puzzle apart and reassembling it. Thus, the analysis should be unbiased in order to make the pieces fit properly. That is what I have attempted to do - remain unbiased, even as a Black male with similar experiences.

Once all the interviews were completed, I began "tidying up" the data. I made copies of all documents and artifacts. I put all field notes, interviews, documents, and artifacts into files in separate binders for each participant. After the data was organized, I put transcripts of the interviews through AtlasTi8 the most recent version of computer assisted/aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), and started the coding process. I utilized video tutorials throughout the process. Atlas.Ti8 allowed me to code, change codes, and combine codes, which aided in developing categories, and ultimately themes. Atlas.Ti8 also allowed me to create a

dashboard to monitor dissections of my data by participant codes, code groups, regional code groups, and code themes.

A sample of the dashboard is provided in Appendix C, Table 7. In the end, there were a total of 953 codes grouped in just five themes which are; education, family, neighborhood, jobs, and racism. These five themes were analyzed through the lens of Critical Race Theory, Stereotype Threat, and the 1965 *Moynihan Report*.

Theme 1: Education

The Negro, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. Now the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. (DuBois, 1903, p. 1)

Education is the major theme of this study which emerged from the data not the research questions. Education had the highest number of codes, 305 of the 953 codes. Participants had strong feelings about their educational experiences, especially since many of them spent their elementary years in “all Black schools” either in the segregated south or the segregated north.

Elementary school. The participants come from three generations of the American populations. Mr. Green and Mr. Black come from the Greatest Generation which is when World War II end in 1945. The author is also in that generation. Dr. Blue, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Gray were part of the “baby boomer” generation which is from 1946 to 1964. Finally, Generation X, from 1965 to 1984 included Dr. Red, Mr. Purple, and Mr. Tan (Bump, 2014). This is important because it shows the that the participants educational baseline started in the 1950’s and extended

through two additional generations of Black male educational experience. In his report Moynihan stated

“low education levels in turn produce low income, which deprive children of many opportunities, and so the cycle repeats itself” (p. 27). The findings in this section revealed whether or not the participants repeated this cycle.

Mr. Black got into trouble and was expelled from the Cincinnati United School District and was on his way to juvenile detention for five years when his parents were able to reach a plea bargain with the judge i.e., that Mr. Black would leave the state and not come back for at least one year.

Mr. Black said he had a gym teacher named Mr. Mann. He was real strict ...hard-core.

And I remember one day I did something bad. He told me he was going to swat me, and I refused to let him do it, and I was in 6th grade. I refused to let him do it. We argued, and I pulled away, so they sent me home so that began my career of belligerence... getting back at the teachers. That was the only incident in elementary...

Mr. Brown talked of his elementary experience in segregated Florida schools where all of his teachers were Black.

We moved frequently because my father couldn't keep a job. I went to elementary school at Poinciana Park Elementary School. I stayed there for a while. I went to Allapattah Elementary School. I finished my 5th and 6th grade at Earlington Heights Elementary. They kept you on point. There was no playing around. They had corporal punishment. I was accustomed to the paddle. The teachers back then had your best interests at heart. When you saw them, you saw a family member? So, it was a very heart-warming experience because it was like you were going to your grandparents'

house with all your cousins and stuff. When you got out of line, they'd paddle you. I lived about 2 blocks away from school, and all the kids would walk home.

The Black teachers left a positive impression on Mr. Brown because he saw them as "family", and made him feel like he was a part of the community even though he had been sent to live with his grandmother, and his cousins. He saw the discipline as caring for the student's success, not just as punishment.

Dr. Red is from Generation X. This generational difference might account for some of his aggressive behavior when he comes in contact with racism and discrimination. Unlike the Greatest Generation and "the baby boomers" in this study who are reticent to meet racism with aggression when encountered. Dr. Red said,

There were these White boys who used to alter this long "patty cake" song so they would say at the end "slap this nigger as fast as you can." They used to hit me, and this went on for about a week or two. I didn't know what a nigger was at that point. I asked my parents what does nigger mean. They said, "Why you are asking." I told them these whites made up this song that said at the end slap that nigger as fast as you can.

When I asked, how many times he had been suspended ... from school? ... and he told me 15 or 20 by the 8th grade. I kidded him saying, "You might go down in the Hall of Fame."

Mr. Purple's memories of his elementary school days are of note considering his outcomes. Mr. Purple actually said he liked school because it was a refuge from home. He said that he was living like the characters portrayed in "*The Wire*" cable show. One cannot help but wonder how things would have turned out for him if he had a more traditional home life.

I was living like *The Wire*... by the grass fields. Now the 105 goes through there. I remember the racism in the area was crazy. Because my father was married to a white

woman. I mean I had to fight going to school and fight coming home. My brother is half-White so I had to fight for my little brother going to school and going over to 118th where I went to school. I always had good grades. I've always been a person who loves to read. In 4th grade, I was in the city-wide spelling bee. I was number four. They picked me out to be in it, and I was on Channel 5 news. During that time, I was also being indoctrinated in the gang, and here I was on the news with a red bandana tied on my head. It was a part of me. All my teachers liked me. My grades were high. I was the only real gang member in the school. My complications weren't at school. My challenges were when I came home from school.

Mr. Tan lived very close to Mr. Purple in south Central Los Angeles, but had a different elementary school experience perhaps because he have had a more traditional family life with both parents present. Mr. Tan also said he liked school because of the Black teachers made it seem like family. Many of his teachers had taught his mom and aunts as kids. Much like Mr. Brown Mr. Tan did not see discipline as just punishment, but as the teachers caring about his success and keeping him focused.

Middle school. This section of the findings again reveals the juxtaposition of participants who are going to segregated schools with Black teachers versus participants going to newly integrated and predominately White schools. Mr. Black enjoyed education in Winston-Salem, Dr. Blue enjoys his all-Black middle school, and Mr. Tan continues to enjoy his Black teachers and his recognition. However, Mr. Green, Mr. Purple, and Mr. Gray are having a tough time in predominately White schools; unfortunately, Mr. Purple went to jail in the seventh grade. Mr. Green and Mr. Gray went to school to play sports not for the education.

Mr. Black compares his school experiences in Cincinnati to those in Winston-Salem regarding their influences on his education.

In Cincinnati, I went to Withrow in the 9th grade. I really didn't want to go to Withrow but they made me so I guess I went there angry. I was in the junior high building cause back then junior high went to 9th grade. I was still looking for jobs...working after school, grocery stores, had paper routes... before and after school, working at car washes on the weekend, and I just got to a point that that's what I wanted to do because I wanted to buy my own clothes... School wasn't a priority for me. I was belligerent and undisciplined. I just didn't want to go to school. I flunked in the 9th grade. All I wanted to do was play basketball and work... They held me back in the 9th. And I went back that second year in the 9th. Still got in trouble. Didn't go to school. Took some jobs, where I would get up and go to the job and not to the school. Parents didn't even know it. After a year in North Carolina, and the positive influence that came from my teachers. They would not let the students fail. They would say you're not going to come in here and not do your work. I had some excellent teachers in Winston Salem. It saved my life. Before that time, I didn't care about education. I really didn't like school, and I didn't like to be there, so I wasn't there. Going down to Winston Salem was like a sea change. It was atomic.

Mr. Tan had a good elementary experience and a more traditional middle school experience.

I was actually a pretty good student in elementary school. There were individual recognition awards, but there was no honor roll award. I was a very studious student only because my sister only being one year older than me were going to school together, and

she was the very disciplined to the tee educated student. Going through school, in 7th and 8th grade. I had a high GPA.

Mr. Green was still having academic troubles in middle school.

I had poor grades. I only got good grades in religion. I loved the Bible. Eighth grade was kind of rough. Had about a C+. In 9th grade, running track was my thing. I ran around with athletes, the jocks....

At a symposium entitled “Middle School Matters: Improving the Life Course of Black Boys,” (July 23-24, 2017), co-sponsored by the Children’s Defense Fund (CDF), they were examining the education and status of African-American males, from birth to age 24. The symposium took place in Cincinnati, Ohio. Some of the presentations at the conference describe what was found in this study. Forging a counter-narrative to help Black boys flourish despite the pressures they will encounter in the middle school years is an urgent task for parents and educators alike. African-American boys need psychological armor to shield them from the negative messages about Black masculinity that they will inevitably encounter. “We have to spend a lot of time providing young people with a counter-narrative,” said Dr. Roland of Emory University, and “That counter-narrative needs to include an understanding of the historical context that has shaped the lives of Black men,” said psychologist Smith-Bynum. She continued,

They have to know that this stuff didn’t happen by accident, that there’s been a structured, intentional set of policies and laws and practices in our country that have created this problem — this is not me,” ... “Without that knowledge, you’re just cast into the sea, and you’ve got to figure out how to swim with no type of protection at all.

Dr. Rice, a Morehouse psychology professor, said that if friends accuse them of “acting White” by speaking standard English and valuing education, children need to know that “it is

cool to be smart, and it's acting Black" (Yaffe, 2012, p. 2). This applies to Dr. Blue because he was always in college prep and honors and was made to feel that he was "acting White" by other Black students, but after leaving an all-Black school he was made to feel unwelcome in academic tracks at predominantly White schools.

Dr. Blue made these comments about middle school.

I think it was in junior high school where I became really interested in music because I had a dynamic choral teacher, and his name was Omar Jones. That's when I got interested in vocal music. That was pretty much the impetus that kind of kept me so interested in school at that time. I had some excellent teachers there who guided us, or coaxed us, and got me into a college prep program in 9th grade. That was still at Samuel Ach. Yeah. That was the 9th grade. That's when they divided the tracks. They had a general track and an academic track. It was touch and go every day when we went to school. You had to watch your back. Going to school every day was a labor. You had to watch out where you were going, where you stopped...The biggest problem I found was when I went to Ach, I was one grade level behind, in the fall of 1958, and I was 11 or 12. Some of the guys were 16, 17, or 18. Not so much the school counselors. I don't recall seeing a school counselor at Ach. Where the mentoring came from was from the excellent teachers that I had, especially in 9th grade. They took more interest in what you were doing...That's when I really got interested in college per se... when I was in the academic track.

Moynihan addressed Black male students being below modal grade as a "failure of youth," and in his report 39.4 percent Black male students between seven - 17 years of age had

were below modal grade (p. 31). In the last census, 21 percent of Black students were below modal grade. but still the highest percentage among racial groups (U.S. Census, 2013, P. 7)

Mr. Gray's memories of middle school in Gary, Indiana involved coming of age story. His story is part of the "kids of integration" when White schools were trying to resist accepting Black students, yet they wanted him to play sports.

I just didn't like it. All my teachers were white. I loved playing sports and was a good athlete. I went to Black Oak Middle School which was next to my high school, Calumet High School. Basketball was why I went to school. I was a great athlete. I helped them win the Gary Basketball Sectionals. I did ok in school. I went to school but just didn't like it. I didn't have anyone to help with my schoolwork. My mom was always working. In fact, I dropped out to work and helped take care of the family.

Mr. Purple's middle school experience was different from the other participants mainly because in the seventh grade he went to prison. This was the start of a 27-year prison career. And he said he was still making good grades and liked school. Mr. Purple said,

In the seventh grade I was still making good grades. I went to jail on campus in the 7th grade. Yeah, around 1980. Junior high started getting complicated. Other people came from other areas...transfers. Mt Vernon sits in Blood neighborhood, but the district overlaps in the Crips neighborhood. Now we go to schools with Bloods and Crips. Like if you go to Foshay and you're a Blood, they ran you out of there. Then, I started getting into so much. I started losing interest. I went to John Adams, but I got kicked out. Gang banging, I guess. My grades were always good. My challenges were with gangbanging. I was always being challenged. I remember I shot somebody. I think I may have stopped going to school. This is when the law came out if you're 16 you're tried as an adult. They

called me just before my 16th birthday. My brother took me. I go down to the police station on August 3, 1983. I sat 2 or 3 hours. Two hours and 10 minutes later, the officers called me to the back. I said is this about writing on the walls, having knives, riding in a stolen car? They said you don't know what this is about. They said there was a shooting, and you were identified as a gunman. I said what the f-. They handcuffed me and took me to jail.

High School. The participants' high school experiences spanned a continuum, from loving the experience to being in a fog. Mr. Tan seems like the "happy little Black boy" on one end of continuum and Mr. Purple fighting for survival on the other end. Each one had his challenges, but some participants had more than others. This may seem obvious, but to how they met those challenges which included discrimination and racism help to determine their life outcomes.

Mr. Tan told me,

High School was an adventure. I went to John Fremont High School which was on 76th and San Pedro. I was in the CIP Program which was the magnet program. It was the College Incentive Program. In that program were about 110-120 students. We all had 6 classes together; but there were different grade levels. All 10th, 11th, and 12th grade were together all day. Your day from beginning to end was with your same cohort, and that was the most enjoyable thing. We were the squares. We walked around with about 15 books, and everybody talked about us. We hung together. We had lunch and recess together. Mr. Neberball, he was my math teacher. I went from algebra to trig with Mr. Neberball. He's a white teacher, but he cared about us. If we excelled in his class, he took us on weekend adventures. I went once with him to the Grand Canyon. He was

phenomenal. If you talk to anyone, they will talk about Mr. Neberball. He's still there teaching today. Having the same people, like Mr. Adams. He was at the district for 15 years, a PE teacher at Edison. He had all of us. He was Blacker than Black. He was at Edison Middle School. He got me officiating one year in high school football.

When I asked him how he was able to stay out of gangs he replied, "Gangs were not an option. My parents are very much disciplinarians. They didn't tolerate all that nonsense. Not so much my dad. It was my mom. You didn't come through her front door with any mess."

I jokingly said to Mr. Tan later that comparatively speaking he had a "Leave it to Beaver" kind of life, but that is because he was able to stay in a predominately-Black and nurturing environment all through his childhood until he graduated from high school and went into the work force.

Mr. Green spoke about his high school days, and it was not surprising that he was not enthusiastic about high school given the negative environment that the school created. He was not the only participant to stay in school to play sports. The author did also. Mr. Green said,

A lot of teachers were disappointed that I didn't work harder... I was always going to summer school because I was failing some classes. It's ironic, I kind of liked Math, and later on I focused on Math in my undergraduate studies. I wasn't out there socially. So, I sort of...uh...under-performed...but had a good time. I didn't have any anxiety about high school. Track influenced me. I knew I could do better, but I didn't. Because of my grades, my father wouldn't let me play basketball ...or football until my senior year, which really hurt me. There was a Math teacher, Weyland. Of course, it was the athletes, a group I wanted to be a part of ... the athletes... the jocks. It was the girls...

Mr. Black was able to compare his school experiences in the south with Cincinnati schools. Mr. Black is echoing that segregated schools in the south were better for Black children because they cared about their Black students. Black schools had been stigmatized as symbols of Jim Crow and engines of educational failure in the era before *Brown v. Board of Education* (Fairclough, 2006).

I specifically asked him, “When you think about the school in Winston Salem, did they have, in your opinion as a student, the same resources that Withrow had?” He responded,

Absolutely not. They (South Carolina) wouldn’t put me in 11th where I belonged. I had to take this test. They said if you pass this test we will put you in 10th. I was taking courses that were so easy because I had already had them at Withrow. Matter of fact, I had taken Spanish for 3 years, and the Spanish teacher in North Carolina asked me to take her place when she wasn’t there. It caused me of course to be more confident, and it drew out things from me that I could have done in a lesser extent in Cincinnati... I was on the Student Council... Only thing I did in Cincinnati was basketball... I was the head of the Spanish Club, Science Club... I was in that. I was on the honor roll. I came back from North Carolina at the end of my junior year and went back to Withrow. I remember the principal asking me “Are you the same guy in the 9th grade who gave us all that trouble”? We were in an assembly, and he asked me. He asked “Are you the same guy? I said I could always do the work. I just didn’t like it. I remember my senior year, I was in the top 10, when I graduated in my class at Withrow. I graduated and went back to North Carolina, North Carolina Central. I sang in the choir.

Dr. Blue had a more mixed bag of high school experiences, largely due to culture shock of going to an integrated school that did not make him feel welcome. This was only five years

after Brown was decided so Dr. Blue was one of the “integration trailblazers” which may have affected him more than others. I explain my theory at greater length in Chapter 5. Dr. Blue recalled,

I was in that academic program. When I went to Withrow that was the first time that I had gone to a racially mixed school on a large scale. When I got to 10th grade that was the biggest cultural shock that I have ever experienced. I had the hardest time adjusting, and by being on that academic track in the 9th. My biggest problem when I got to 10th grade at Withrow, there was almost nobody in my classes who looked like me in my classes. No matter what class I was in, there may have been one or two Blacks in my classes.... And that, at my age, was a hard adjustment for me having come from a minority school background.

Mr. Brown remembers high school this way.

Every school I went to was predominately Black until I went to high school.

When I went to high school, it was like 6 or 8 blocks, maybe 2 miles away because they were integrating schools to get more African-Americans into the White schools. It was rough for us when we went from middle school to high school with White teachers. It was like a paradigm shift because now we see people, at that time in the ‘70s, who we thought before were the enemy, the man. Now we are in class with them and stuff. It was a culture shock.

Mr. Brown is another of the study’s “integration trailblazers” who speaks of culture shock and “learning with the enemy.” He like several of the participants would have preferred to be in segregated schools with Black teachers. However, during this integration period Black teachers and administrators were losing their jobs in the consolidation of school district since

Whites had control. As the NAACP pushed for integration, they knew that integration would jeopardize Black teachers who were dependent on de facto segregated schools (Fairclough, 2004).

Mr. Gray's high school memories were interesting because he dropped out and then re-entered to play basketball at the coaches' urging. Mr. Gray is another one of the study's "integration trailblazers" who was turned off by the school climate of racism except for basketball.

I started working at U.S. Steel. I dropped out of school, but I went back to play basketball. I kept working while taking the home study LaSalle Course to finish and get my diploma. I did ok in school. I went to school but just didn't like it. I didn't have anyone to help with my schoolwork. My mom was always working. In fact, I dropped out to work and help take care of the family.

Mr. Purple never really attended enough high school to get his regular public high school diploma. I asked him, "Education-wise were you learning anything about education except how to be a gang member?"

Not in my world. I got a case for getting caught with a knife. They gave me a deal for one year for a knife. Sixteen, couple of weeks before I turned seventeen. It was 1984 in the summertime. There was no school. At that time, I was pitching cocaine. It was crazy. I did 1 ½ years. I went to Jefferson twice. I went to Jefferson before I went to camp and went to Jefferson after I came out of camp. I tried to go to LA High where I lived, but I ended up at John Marshall. Little did I know Crips were there. I went to class 2 or 3 times, but there were issues there. When security realized what was going on, they got me out of there. All I wanted to do was sell drugs and make money. I got my GED in 1988

from Salinas Adult School. I'm buying guns and cars. My father is giving me cars. Now I have the ability to buy what I want to buy. I'm staying over here now on the eastside. I'm always getting into stuff. I was selling drugs, and I got caught by the police.

Junior college/community college. Five of the eight participants attended Junior/Community College during their educational careers. Mr. Black went to junior college because his family couldn't afford a four-year college. The author also had to go to junior college because I lacked college prep classes course like a foreign language, college prep math, and trigonometry. I attended night high school and junior college classes to earn enough credits to be considered for a four college in my case the University of Cincinnati- only to be made fun of in my English 101 class because I said "beautiful" too often. The professor considered it too slang in an academic atmosphere.

About this part of his educational career, Mr. Green reported, "with my bad grades... I had to go to City College. Freshman year, I went to Business College. I didn't have a major...took the basic classes and stuff like that. Grade wise, I did poorly."

Mr. Brown had some external incentives as his wife directed him to go to junior college.

Three months after I got out of the Air Force, my wife looked at me one day and said you have to get your associates degree. What happened when I was in Oklahoma, I took a one-year program to get my bachelor's degree, but I had to have my associate's degree, but I didn't? They allowed you to get your bachelor's degree, work on your associate's degree, and you link them together, so I went to Southern Illinois University (SIU).

Mr. Purple epitomizes the non-traditional man of color student that the Center for Community College Student Engagement, spoke of in its 2014 report *Aspirations to Achievement: Men of Color and Community College*. It said"

Men of color have high aspirations when they begin higher education. Why are these aspirations not matched by similarly high outcomes? Until higher education institutions fully embrace the charge of eliminating this disparity, we cannot effectively serve our students, our communities, our national economy, or our democracy. There are two reasons that community colleges can—and should—take the lead in this work. First, community colleges open their doors to all students, and they are the higher education institutions most likely to serve men of color. Second, open access is just the first step toward attaining the equity ingrained in the mission of community colleges. The more significant work is ensuring that every student has the support he or she needs to succeed. If community colleges can make this experience the norm for every student, the gaps will close (CCCSE, 2014, p. 3).

I asked Mr. Purple “when did you go to community college?”

In 2000, we were drinking, smoking weed, and shooting dice, but at the same I was attending City College studying business and philosophy I’m over 30 now... I studied religion. I took a class in gang intervention... nothing but “hardcore” gangbangers. It was a 16-week course. I became certified with LA for gang intervention, anger management, and conflict resolution...I got an award and was one of the first LA Peace Ambassadors. I went to California Men’s College in another prison in 1992. It was California Rehabilitation Center (CRC East). I’m in prison and going to school. I would rather be in an air-conditioned room than scrubbing pots. I am truly impressed by Mr. Purple’s persistence to learn, and community colleges kept him connected to higher learning while he was getting high. That sounds like a typical college student to me, but not a gangbanger.

Undergraduate college. Mr. Green, Mr. Black, Dr. Blue, and myself all went to the high school and to the same university and experienced the similar barriers racism and discrimination. Sometimes in the same time period when our college days overlapped, but we did not know it. During the 1966 to 1969 period, I was the campus Black militant, but none of the three study participants were ever involved in campus protests. However, our stories about the campus climate are similar.

When I asked Mr. Green, what it like was at UC, he said,

I didn't know much about college. I was like. Well I guess I will go to college and see what this stuff is all about... I wish I had known about HBCUs, but I didn't because if I did I probably would have opted to go there. With my grades... I had to go to City College. After the first year, I talked to the Dean and received a letter that said, "Mr. Green we don't think you are serious about school" so I dropped out of school and went to work for Kroger unloading trucks and mopping floors, and decided I didn't want to do that for the rest of my life. And the next year I went back and had about a C+ average and graduated at the bottom of my class. The years were memorable... It was a dropout issue. The freshman year, I didn't do well academically but I grew up socially. I majored in accounting... My sophomore, junior year got involved in different aspects of college like... did some theater...played football for a couple of years. My senior year, I met Jane, and she motivated me to be a better student. One year I almost made the Dean's list. I thought I was in the hippie crowd. 67... that was the year of revolutions... from the Kennedy assassination to Nixon and Vietnam...the hippie crowd. They closed the campus down.

Dr. Blue said his first impression of college life was disappointing.

When I got there, it was the same environment as Withrow. In fact, it was worse. They didn't care if you were there. But I was in the Conservatory of Music, and they got most of their students from heavy recruiting from the south. White folks. They weren't letting too many Black folk get in there. I just barely got in. They didn't want you there, and they made no bones about it.

I asked him specifically what was problematic, and he replied,

That no help thing, half answering your questions, overly criticizing your work...In class, and especially when you had a paper or something and you had to talk to them about it. They just acted like it was the worst piece of mess they had ever seen. It was not an inviting area. But there was a small group of students who had each other's back. By me being at Withrow in Omega Kappa Fraternity, when I got to UC, some of the same older guys were in Alpha Phi Alpha so that's how I got involved with Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity because of guys I knew from back home. It was almost like college got in the way of my social life. That got me over socially. It was like I majored in fraternity life, and college got in the way... The third year, we moved over on campus...We were on the quarter system. I had 3 quarters, and I had a 2.88 the first quarter.

Mr. Black went back south after high school to start his college career, and even though he did well he dropped out only to re-enter later at the University of Cincinnati where he would eventually become an adjunct professor in economics.

I had gone back to UC... I went in and took 1 course around '75 and got back in full time. I went 16 straight quarters and graduated magna cum laude. They gave me a scholarship in Economics...to get a degree in management...MBA or something like that. I went 1 year but it dealt with labor law and economics... man I was so burnt out,

doing 16 quarters. I didn't finish. I dropped out so I didn't finish. I was still working for Chrisman when I finished my degree. I never forget Barbara Jordan was our commencement speaker...

In a recent study entitled *A Look at Black Student success* (2017) reported that only 41 percent Black students who start college as first-time, full-time freshmen earn bachelor's degrees from those institutions within six years — a rate 22 percentage points below that of their White peers (Nichols and Bell, 2017, p. 1). Closer to home, the most recent data on graduation for Black students at University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV) shows that just 33.9 percent of the 2008 cohort graduated, compared to the 39.1 percent for the total. (UNLV Data Warehouse, 2014).

The study by Nichols and Bell (2017) compared the graduation rates for schools whose Pell Grant recipients make up 40–75 percent of their student bodies. In this comparison, the average graduation rate for Black students at HBCUs was 37.8 percent, compared with 32.0 percent for non-HBCUs. The study noted that roughly half of the nation's 105 HBCUs have a freshman class where three-quarters of the students are from low-income backgrounds, while just 1 percent of the 676 non-HBCUs serve as high a percentage of low-income students (Nichols and Bell, 2017, p. 1).

Looking further, I found that the University of Cincinnati's six-year graduation rate for its 2009 cohort of Black males was 42.2 percent, compared to 59.3 percent for men overall (UC Institutional research, 2015). Listening to the participants and realizing that 50 years later still only 4 in 10 African American males graduate from four-year universities in the expected amount of time makes one wonder, how much does campus climate affect those numbers, and

much those numbers might improve if the universities put forth more effort to supporting this group of students.

Graduate school. Four of the study participants completed graduate degrees. I am still in graduate school, so I carefully monitor how my personal experience could influence my perceptions; I will say that I have faced some challenges that I felt were racially motivated and that have created significant barriers to my graduate studies. Like my participants, I soldiered on with “grit and persistence” characteristics not needed in the same ways for White males to succeed. The participants and I have all tired of hearing well-meaning professors telling us that “you have to be twice as good as a White student.” My preferred response would be “No I don’t, I will do my best, and that is good enough for me. Why should I have to put additional pressure on myself because racist professors are not being fair?” I was once called arrogant because I stood up for myself in an academic meeting. I thought “well if that is what Blacks who stand up are called,” then I am in good company, along with those other Black men who stood up: Martin Luther King, Malcom X, Colin Powell, Richard Pryor, Dick Gregory, Thurgood Marshall, and of course President Barrack Obama. As difficult as it is for a Black male to get into graduate school, and then you spend your entire time having to prove you belong. Stereotypes about Black male in graduate school include questions of your intellect and low expectations, especially in math classes. A constant diet of condescension can make any Black male “angry” in graduate school.

Dr. Red starts by discussing his decision to go to graduate school.

I realized my first semester of my senior year that if you had a degree in psychology, sociology, or art, you had to go to grad school to make some money. I said f-, I got to go to school. I looked up all the schools, and all the deadlines were gone; and I had to take

the GRE. I found one school on the West Coast. I took the GRE two weeks later with no prep. I did well and passed first time. My first semester I had all this racist s- going on with instructors saying things to me ... They were like you don't belong here. That was my first semester. I was trying to transfer to another master's program. I was getting A's... it was just the other bullshit. I had to switch my thesis subject from a study of Black people. My comps went smooth. I chose my committee. The only other thing is I know I did things in my dissertation that I know that other people didn't have to do. Part of that reason is because I am Black. It was like you have to be better. You have to be twice as good to get the same job and make some money... But I saw other people's dissertations that looked weak. I think part of it was the Black thing, because if you're Black, they're going to question everything; but if you just answer everything ahead of time you will less problems, which I hate accepting that.

Dr. Blue remembers grad school like this.

Well, before that, remember the Viet Nam War was raging. I left school early to get a teaching position, but after June came around in 1968, the pressure was I could go back to school and be safe. So, I said I better be safe. That prompted me to go back to UC... and I just stayed there to work on my second masters. I had never thought of going back to grad school a second time. In 1970, I got my first master's degree in music. I had no intention of going to grad school... There were a few more Blacks. So, I didn't get a chance to know any of them. I just did what I had to do... get in and get out so I could get to work. At the end of 1970, they had the Kent State thing, and classes were given pass/fail. So, I wish I had taken a full load, but I only had one class. I had to go full time for a couple of years to do that... 12 and more hours, on campus for a certain number of

hours. I was doing this PhD solely so when I retired, I could teach in college. But when I finished in 2000, I didn't want to do nothing. I started traveling...

It also emerges from the data that the "Greatest Generation and Baby Boomers" in the study were in the Viet Nam era. Even though Mr. Green, Mr. Black, and Mr. Brown were in the military during the war they did not experience combat. Before the war started I was planning to join the Marines like several of my friends from the neighborhood. Some had even become Marine drill instructors which I also wanted to do. But once the war heated up and Black marines were coming home in body bags, I changed my mind, went college, and became a Black militant and anti-war protester. As an aside, I have seen my friend's names on the Viet Nam Memorial in Washington, D.C... I wonder what they died for?

Mr. Green remembers graduate school as a stepping-stone.

Moved back to Cincinnati.GI Bill paid for it. I got a partial scholarship from Cincinnati and was outstanding, grade-wise... business fraternity... I was more aware. My GPA 3.75.... Graduate school, you need to be serious. Business school... grad school... so you're supposed to be serious. In general management...I got interested in the Math side. Then when you graduate, you really got to get a job. I applied to 40 companies...

Mr. Brown was on a mission to become a counselor.

I did that... what happened was my wife took me down to the licensure place, and the people told me I could get my counseling degree and become a counselor. I was in a rehab Voc-Tech military program because I was 20% disabled so that enabled me to go back to school. No, I went to Western University first and got my degree in Workforce Education with an emphasis on corporate training. One professor said Brown we want

you to be with our license. I checked into it. I put my application in, and I got it. Plus, I'm doing what I love to do because a counselor would be doing career stuff anyway.

Black educators. Several of the participants talked about the important role played by Black educators in their trajectory through school. Mr. Black talks about the difference between schools with White vs. Black teachers. Mr. Black's experience with Black educators got him interested in learning.

When they let me go to North Carolina, I can tell you that I went to not thinking at all about the future to getting my life straight. To go off from Cincinnati to Winston Salem, from going to school at Withrow High School that had about 2000 or more students, mostly white, going to Paisley High School in Winston Salem with about 225 students...all Black because it was still segregated. It saved my life.

Here's one thing I remember most that helped me with my thinking. When I was in Cincinnati, I never thought about the future, going to college. When I got down to Winston Salem, the students never asked are you going to college. They always asked me where are you going. You were going somewhere. When I was in North Carolina the influences came from my (Black) teachers. They would not let the students fail. We were like a family really. Even though it was a segregated society, you go to the theater... you sat in the balcony... Because of that, it gave me a greater appreciation for education. Mr. Brown talked about Black teachers this way.

They [Black teachers] kept you on point. The teachers back then had your best interests at heart. When you saw them, you saw your family. You saw a family member. It was a very heart-warming experience because it was like you were going to your grandparents'

house with all your cousins and stuff. When you got out of line, they'd paddle you. Even all the way up to high school, they'd still paddle you.

Adam Fairclough (2006) said in his article *The Costs of Brown: Black Teachers and School Integration* that "the notion that integration destroyed something uniquely valuable to African Americans in the South has been powerfully influenced by memories of ... Black teachers." Black students recall that segregation encouraged a special sense of dedication to Blacks that compensated for the deficiencies of the schools (p. 1). Our participants' memories seemed to confirm that view.

Summary of Education. The education theme chronicles the metamorphosis of the participants from children to young men. They all had challenges at home which had an effect on their interest in school. Some had experienced significant challenges as early as elementary school. Dr. Red was suspended and expelled in the 3rd grade. There was an attempted retention of Mr. Brown in the 3rd grade that he thwarted by refusing to leave his proper class. He was allowed to stay in his proper 4th grade class.

Only Dr. Blue and Mr. Purple said that they liked school although for very different reasons and both had success in elementary school such as Mr. Purple competing in the 4th grade spelling bee. The participants contrasted their experience being in segregated schools where all Black teachers and administrators cared about the success of Black students with time spent in predominately White schools where they were made to feel that they did not belong. This was exemplified in the extreme by the case of Mr. Gray where the school buses would not let Black students board to ride to school, even in the winter snow. Mr. Green, Mr. Black, Dr. Blue, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Tan all spoke of the culture shock of switching to predominately White schools (middle and high schools) for first time. Mr. Brown epitomized these reactions when he said, "I

was going to school with the man.” Several participants did not like being in school and only kept grades up to play sports. Mr. Gray, for example, dropped out, but was recruited back to high school to help the school basketball team make the regional championships (see Appendix V). Dr. Blue and Mr. Tan come closest to having a traditional high school experience i.e. without major issues that affected their grades, but their life trajectories took very different paths. Dr. Red was arrested in the 12th grade, and almost missed graduation.

Transcripts for verification. I was able to secure 18 transcripts from the participants from a total of 48 for a 37.5% capture rate. As soon as my committee cleared me to start my study, my participants and I contacted school districts to get their transcripts for K-12 and college. Only Dr. Blue and Mr. Gray were able to get their elementary grades. Dr. Blue had his report cards from kindergarten through the 12th grade, and all of his transcripts through graduate school for his PhD. Mr. Gray petitioned the Metropolitan School District of Calumet Township and obtained his transcripts for 1st grade through 11th because he completed high school online and that school is now closed. Mr. Green, Mr. Black, Dr. Blue and I all petitioned Cincinnati Public schools for our respective K-12 transcripts followed up with phone calls. Dr. Blue received a one-page recap of his senior year which had some general information such as his IQ score (106) measured in 1960. He scored in the 70th percentile of the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT), and graduated 127th out of 572. The most complete success for transcripts was with colleges supplying 12 of the 18 transcripts. These transcripts serve two purposes for my study. First, they allow me to see details of participants lived educational experience, and second they allow triangulation with participants’ interviews to validate the data. I have created a Participants’ Transcript Summary (Table 9) which is available in Appendix F.

Some highlights from the transcripts and report cards for Dr. Blue and Mr. Gray show sharp differences in teachers' attitude toward our young participants. Dr. Blue was going to an all-Black school in the first grade when his teacher wrote, "At present Dr. Blue is my best reader. I am pleased that he can make out new words". Later the teacher said, "I am sorry to tell you Dr. Blue has not been a good child". In the last report of that year she wrote "He is much improved, shows readiness for the second grade." Mr. Gray's transcript covers 1st through 11th grade listings his grades, his teachers' names, his attendance, intelligence tests, various achievement tests, and his teachers' comments for each year. He was retained in the 4th grade. It is noteworthy here that Mr. Gray had a 96.4 percent attendance record (832 days present/863 days enrolled) in elementary school, and a 94.8 percent attendance record (495 days /522 days) in middle school, while in high school his attendance dropped to 70.8 percent (192 days/271 days). His elementary teacher's comments were "Mr. Gray is a weak student. He never does assignments. He forgets and losses his books, and adjustment to school is very poor". Yet, the 8th and 9th grade teacher said he was promoted because he worked at that grade level. In grades one through three he was considered a very weak student, so weak they did not give him grades in first grade and mostly W's for the next two years where he showed up 96.4 percent of the time. Grades three through seven, he was assigned to a grade but was not promoted until the 8th grade. Mr. Gray took the SRA Thurstone Primary Mental Abilities Test in 1959 when he was in the first grade after being sent to live with his grandmother and seven cousins, they recorded an IQ on this test of 79. He also took several achievement tests over the next five years, on which he scored very low, and on the Stanford, test the school did not record his results. His high school transcript shows poor attendance and low grades, and he reported he did just enough to play basketball because the coach asked him to come back for the regionals.

The college transcripts show that Mr. Green was on probation four times and suspended once as an undergrad, but he went on to get a BA in Accounting and a Master's in Business Management. Mr. Black made the Dean's list four times and got a BA in Economics; but he dropped out of graduate school in spite of having a full scholarship.

Theme 2: Family

Since the widespread family disorganization among Negroes has resulted from the failure of the father to play the role in family life required by American society, the mitigation of this problem must await those changes in the Negro and American society, which will enable the Negro father to play the role, required of him (E. Franklin Frazier, 1950, pp. 276-277).

This is the quote that Dr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan used to close out the *Moynihan Report* in 1965. He also commented that between 1950, when Dr. Frazier made the comment, and 1965, when he published his report matters had gotten worse not better. My study looks at the participants lived family experiences in the context of Moynihan's "Tangle of Pathology" to gauge how it applies to them.

Early childhood. Early childhood experiences among the participants are varied, representing the full range of possible lifestyles. In the historical context of the *Moynihan Report* most if not all of the participants would have been raised in household headed by a woman. Fathers were in involved in all, but two families. Even so, those two participants succeeded without fathers. To confound predictions even more, some of the participants with fathers got in more trouble than participants with fathers. For instance, Mr. Purple was basically an apprentice to his dad who trained him to be a "drug dealer." However, Mr. Purple's own desire to learn and survive has allowed him to re-enter mainstream society and thrive. Conversely, Black boys who

don't have father in their lives cannot use that as an excuse for failure in life. I am included in Moynihan's statistics from the 1950's and 1960's of Black boys raised in a matriarchal home. I was a latch key kid who never knew who his father was until I was a senior in college. My brothers were my male role models, but both knew their fathers, but had only lived with them a short time because both men were abusive, and my mother ran away. Looking back in my own early childhood, I felt that having a father was overrated because the fathers seem to create problems in the families that had them. Growing up without a father was normal for me; I had a strong disciplinarian mother, and two strong and honest brothers. Having a healthy nurturing home environment seems to be most important no matter the make-up.

Mr. Green characterized his family upbringing as "typical."

It is kind of a typical story growing up the first 10 years of my life in Athens, Alabama, uh pre-integration and uh going to an all-Black elementary school and growing up with my grandfather. My mother died early of cancer so growing up with my grandmother and grandfather in Athens. When I was 10, my mother died, and my father remarried and moved us all to Cincinnati, Ohio. And then started school in Cincinnati. We moved to really Evanston, right next to Walnut Hills, Hewett Avenue and started in the eighth grade at Withrow High School.

Mr. Black was raised by his parents both of whom worked.

My earliest memories go back to probably to... I remember living in the west end of Cincinnati, Ohio, and I was born in Cincinnati. I just remember us being a family where mother and father worked all the time as much as they could. At that time, we were 3 children. We were fortunate enough to have a great grandmother who lived with us, and she kind of took care of things when my mother and father was working. We moved a

couple of times and ended up on York Street in Cincinnati. I hated going into that classroom... didn't want to take my coat off.

Dr. Blue's family moved to provide a better school experience.

I was born in Newport, Kentucky. My family stayed there for 8 months. My dad didn't want me to attend public school in Kentucky. My dad thought school was better in Cincinnati, so we moved to Cincinnati. We moved to the West End. As a result, I was in the West End for the first 10 years of my life. At that time, we were in income based housing, in Lincoln Courts. So, if your parent's income level was above a certain level, they put you out. That's what they did so we were forced to move to other lodging, and that's when we moved to Walnut Hills.

Mr. Green, Mr. Black, and Dr. Blue all grew up in Cincinnati in households with two parents, and all three graduated from college. This study does show that family stability does make a difference regardless of the composition of the family.

Mr. Brown says of his early days.

Well, I was born on June 7, 1953 in Miami, Florida. I'm the only son of 7 kids. I got 6 sisters. We lived in Lincoln Field Projects. Matter of fact, it's still there right today. I went to elementary school at Poinciana Park Elementary School. Matter of fact, it is still there today.

Although Dr. Red characterized his childhood as normal, the situation had significant negative elements.

My childhood was somewhat normal. I was disciplined heavily. Spankings were definitely a part of my daily routine. I think I got a whipping every day at 5 o'clock when my dad came home. We moved around a lot but most of my time was in central city

which was a rough city. I had to walk about 10 blocks to school in the morning, and in the afternoon, I would be jumped by these kids. It would be about 10 of them on my route.

Dr. Red's "normal" childhood is one where he seems to be always fighting, something that just seemed to make him tougher. He was unlike Dr. Blue who wanted to avoid confrontation and to "go along to get along." With his intellect, and his stable family background until college he appears to be an underachiever, given his talents.

Mr. Gray shared thoughts about his early days.

I had 2 brothers and 2 sisters. I grew up in Gary Small Farms, which was a part of Black Oak. Black Oak was in Ross Township. It was like the country. There was no city water. There were cesspools. A lot of uneducated Black people moved there from Mississippi.

There was extra racial tension in Mr. Purple's early life, due to several circumstances. I cannot help but think if Mr. Purple had lived in a drug-free two-parent stable home how different his life might have been.

I was born in Rochester, New York in 1967. My earliest memory is I remember Rochester when we came to LA and went back to Rochester. I was brought out here in 1968 by my mother. My father had already come to LA. I guess he was looking for a better place to live without bad weather and bad circumstances. My father was actually shot 7 times by the time I was born. So, with that said, he left Rochester, and he moved to Los Angeles. I remember my mother vaguely. My mother brought me to LA, but her brother died. My mother had to go back to help take care of her mother. From then on, my mother wasn't in my life from 5 to 30, and I found her; but I'll get back to that. When I was a child we lived on the east side. It was called the Low Bottoms now, 24th and

Central, Adams and Central where the old Black entertainers used to go for drugs. My father was a hustler. Because he married a White woman, I had to fight every day at school and in the neighborhood. He eventually bought a home on 116th and Town, off Avalon, right where the Watts Riots started.

Parents at home. The participants shared these answers to the question “Tell me about your home environment growing up, and who did you live with.”

Although Mr. Green was raised by his parents, medical problems meant he did not have either of them available for extended periods of time.

You saw your friends, parents. My parents were both at that time school teachers. My father became a school teacher late in life. He worked at a number of jobs when we moved from Alabama. Well, he was always in Cincinnati because my mother was in the hospital a lot at Meharry, in Nashville and that was the only hospital in those days for Black people who had cancer because hospitals were still segregated.

The racism and discrimination experienced by Mr. Green’s mom is hard to believe in 2017, but such attitudes and behaviors were commonplace during the time period the participants and I lived, the 1950’s. Imagine the impact on a child’s identity when he learns his own mom is not good enough to be treated for a life-threatening illness close to home, just because she is Black.

Mr. Purple had two parents his father and his White stepmother, but did see his biological mother again for 25 years after she left him as a young child. Mr. Purple’s father was a drug dealer and a pimp, but he provided for his family and taught them the family trade dealing drugs in the neighborhood. Mr. Purple’s father was the only parent of a study participant who was incarcerated. And Mr. Purple is the only participant to spend time in prison. Mr. Purple recalls,

My father, of course, pimped. He wasn't an educated person book wise, but streetwise he was extremely intelligent. I recall being a child, and my father brought me in the house. I was about 3 or 4. When he brought me in the house, he filled my pockets with money and sent me back outside to play. I looked in the house, and the police were in the house. In the old days, if the police were in the house it was to shake you down for money. My step-mother was White, and my brothers are all half-white. My step-mother came to Los Angeles. I don't know what year that was. When she moved to LA, she started working for the city. My father was still hustling. He was still in the streets. He was still getting money from women.

Mr. Brown also had a father who was not traditionally employed, and was often gone from the home. He reflected on his home environment this way.

My family, the Brown side was my father's side. He was considered the Black sheep of the family. He got all the way to 12th grade, but I don't think he graduated. He was a professional gambler, and he would travel up the pork and bean trail, up and down Florida, the panhandle, gambling wherever the sharecroppers worked. That's what he did. He was a professional gambler... All my daddy's brothers went into the military.

Mr. Brown felt a responsibility to go into the service because of his uncles' service not because of his dad had served. His male role model was not his father, but his father's brothers.

Extended family (aunts/uncles and grandparents). A few of the participants lived with extended family such as grandparents or aunts/uncles. One participant, Mr. Green went to live with his grandparents, and then returned to Cincinnati when his father re-married.

My mother died early of cancer so uh growing up with my grandmother and grandfather in Athens. When I was 10, my mother died, and my father remarried and

moved us all to Cincinnati, Ohio. And then started school in Cincinnati. They knew it would be too hard... Instead of us staying with my father because he couldn't take care of two boys, my brother went to stay with my aunt. I was sent to a private school called Mather Academy at age 11 in the 7th grade. There was a house mother. I got into trouble for things.

Even though Mr. Black's family was intact, his parents worked "all the time," they relied on a live-in great-grand mother.

Mr. Black remembered his great grandmother this way,

... she kind of took care of things when my mother and father were working. When they let me go to North Carolina to live with my aunt, I can tell you that I went to from not thinking at all about the future to getting my life straight.

Mr. Gray lived with eight kids in the house, not all of whom were brothers and sisters. When Mr. Gray was sent to live with his grandmother, there is evidence of a difficult transition apparent in his third and fourth grade report cards. He was dealing with being away by his own mother. One result was that he was retained in the fourth grade. Mr. Gray said, "I lived with several members of my extended family, grandmother and seven of my cousins. My grandmother raised us. I lived with them until I got grown and left."

Parents' education and occupation. Unfortunately, the pattern of parents' education follows the *Moynihan Report* model where the women have more education than the men even though they were working and in the home.

High school dropout. The participants' parents often compensated for less education with a strong "work ethic." In talking about his parents, Mr. Black said my father dropped out of high school in the 10th grade. He worked as a night watchman and custodian until he retired.

Similarly, Mr. Brown's father did not graduate from high school, even though he could have. "He got all the way to the 12th grade, but I don't think he graduated. He was a professional gambler."

Mr. Purple did not specifically address his father's school record, but shared these observations,

He ran from child support. My father couldn't get a job at that time. My father hustled. He sold drugs and pills... My father, of course, pimped. He wasn't an educated person book wise, but streetwise he was extremely intelligent.

Mr. Tan's dad also did not finish high school, but modeled a work ethic his son was proud of.

My dad was a truck driver. He drove big rigs for over 48 years before retiring. My dad retired at 75 years of age. Working was the foundation of him.

Dr. Blue's father also did not finish high school. He told me

My dad dropped out of school in the 9th grade to help support his family when his mom died. He worked as a maintenance man for various companies around town. He worked for one company for 29 years.

Mr. Gray's father also dropped out of school as did his mother.

I didn't really have anyone to help me. My mom didn't finish school. She dropped out in 10th grade, but she worked all the time. Cleaning people's houses... and some of everything. My mom had to work to support the family.

Mr. Gray's mother was the only mother not to graduate from high school, but six of the participants' fathers dropped out of high school. This is important because parents' interest in education, or lack thereof is key to the child's motivation. Regarding the participants of this

study, the parents and surrogates kept most of them engaged enough to at least complete high school; of course, the rest was up to the participant.

High school graduate. Notably, it was often participants' mother who completed high school. Mr. Black was proud to say his mother graduated from high school. These statistics for this group are a little better than those offered in *Moynihan's Report*, specifically non-White females in 1964 completed 10.0 of schooling on average (p. 31). Five of the six participants' mothers that kept their children completed 12 years of high school. Even if Mr. Gray's mom dropped out in the tenth grade the average for the participants' mother's educational attainment would be 11.7 years.

Mr. Black was proud to say his mother graduated from high school. "My mother graduated from high school and received her diploma. She did domestic work, cafeteria work, and part time at the local laundromat and Sears. My dad graduated from high school also." Mr. Brown's mother also graduated from high school. "My mother graduated from high school, but worked all the time doing domestic cleaning." Mr. Purple reflected on his White step-mother who graduated from high school, and secured better employment, perhaps because she was White. "My step mother worked as a clerk in a law firm in Los Angeles." Dr. Blue's mother graduated from high school and "was a factory worker through World War II." Dr. Red noted that his mom tried to go beyond her high school degree. "My mom graduated from high school and attended college but did not graduate." Another who went beyond her high school education was Mr. Tan's mom. He was proud his mom was RN. "My mom was an RN at the time when she passed in 2002. She worked for Kaiser Permanente as an RN at the Cadillac facility."

College graduate. Only two participants had parents with college degrees. In the *Moynihan Report*, he pointed out that only 4.5 percent of non-White males had completed 1 to 3

years of college, while the percentage for women with that much education was 7.3 percent (p. 31). It is also notable that those two participants' fathers achieved Master's degrees during the 1960's, and each son went on to get a Master's degree and a PhD.

As Mr. Green previously noted,

My parents were both at that time school teachers. My father became a school teacher, late in life. He worked at a number of jobs when we moved from Alabama. He went back to school... he went to school to get a BA and Masters at University of Cincinnati and taught Math and Science for 5th and 6th graders in downtown Cincinnati. He worked for Elementary School... downtown probably on Central.... My stepmother went to Washington Park, which was also downtown in the West End, teaching second grade. They were both teachers and really influenced me and my brother an awful lot.

Dr. Red's father graduated with a Master's Degree, and was always in some form of finance.

Summary of family. These eight participants represent a purposeful sample of Black families in American from 1944 to today. These Black families are by no means homogenous because they revealed a spectrum of family constellations, including having both parents at home, having stay at home moms, or having a single dad raising six children in a war zone. The focus of Moynihan's "Tangle of Pathology" was Black matriarchy; however, in my study, fathers were prominently involved in the lives of six of the eight participants. In two unfortunate situations where the mother died or left, the father remarried and kept the family together. There were two cases of where women were heads of the household, and both involved grandmothers raising the participants. Interestingly, both PhD's came from two parent households that were stable as a nuclear family, even if they moved a lot for job opportunities. Two of the six fathers

involved participants went on to college, and five of the eight participants were court involved at some point, with Mr. Purple spending the most time in prison - 27 years. Another issue in the “Tangle of Pathology” was illegitimate births among Black as reported in Chapter 2 of Moynihan’s Report; however, only one of the current study participants, Mr. Gray, was born out of wedlock. He eventually married twice and had 12 legitimate children with two wives; ten with his first wife, and two with his second wife. He also fathered two illegitimate children. He remains close to all 14 children to this day. Mr. Tan also had an illegitimate child who is now at the same community college as he is and lives with him. Also, at the time of the interviews, four of the participants were married, with an average duration of 34.5 years. Mr. Green and Mr. Brown have been married 48 and 44 years respectively. *Moynihan’s Report* also addressed the issue of parental education, finding that “Negro females were better educated than Negro males for the Negro population” (1965, p. 31). The participants’ parents were representative of the 1965 data, with six of the eight fathers dropping out of K-12 school at various grades. Whereas five of the participants mothers graduated from high school, and a couple took some college classes. However, two fathers not only graduated high school, but also went on to graduate college. Dr. Red’s father, for one, earned a Master’s degree in business and retired as a financial executive. None of the participants families were on the welfare rolls because the parents had a high work ethic even if that meant selling drugs to make ends meet.

Theme 3: Neighborhood

All eight participants lived in poor Black neighborhoods at some point in their lives, but all spoke in positive terms about their neighborhood and the sense of community they felt there, especially in segregated neighborhoods of the South. These participants offer some revealing examples in the old debate about “Nature vs. Nurture,” particularly when you compare the

outcomes of Mr. Purple and Mr. Tan, who both grew up in the same south-central area Los Angeles at the same time. To some degree, each neighborhood helped develop a sense of toughness and persistence that was required to just survive.

Mr. Green described his first ten years in Athens, Alabama, as “typical” of the pre-integration era.

When I was 10 my father moved us all to Cincinnati, Ohio. We moved to Evanston, right next to Walnut Hills, I started in the eighth grade at Withrow High School. We walked to school every day, was about 2 miles from Withrow So, no school bus for us, but it was still a nice walk. But growing up in Evanston was kind of a Black middle-class community in those days in the late 50s or early 60s. Everybody was rich you know, but a lot of my friends were growing up from the West End or downtown, which was considered the hood or the ghetto in those days, but I really don't think it was that much different from them growing up or us growing up.

Mr. Black was also raised in Cincinnati.

My earliest memories go back to living in the west end of Cincinnati, Ohio. We moved a couple of times and ended on York Street. We did a lot of crazy things, risky things. You know, we had the typical West End life style. Go to school every day, go out and eat, and play. Didn't have TV then. Every Sunday...walked to church. We went to Revelations Baptist Church. We'd walk from York Street down there.

Similarly, Dr. Blue spent his first ten years in Cincinnati's West End, but he also had to move out of the projects and away from downtown. My mother also had to move out of the West End in 1957 to a new, outlying government housing project. The interview data revealed that many of my participants moved a lot because there were 63 coded quotations regarding moving.

In preparation for analyzing the neighborhood theme, I did some research into the history of Black neighborhoods often described as “blighted areas,” “slums,” or “ghettoes.” The childhoods of several participants, including mine, coincided with the start of the “decade of urban renewal” federally funded schemes to areas of urban blight—often areas populated by people of color, and almost always areas adjacent to downtown business districts where real estate was of great interest to developers and large corporations (Herriges, 2017, p. 4). In the case of Cincinnati’s West End, where I and several participants lived as children, Blacks were moved out to build Interstate 75 and Interstate 71, which cut through the West End, and pushed all the way down to the Ohio River, the Riverfront re-development included a new baseball stadium for the Cincinnati Reds. Almost all of the participants were affected by urban renewal in different parts of the country because a New York developer named Robert Moses had created “the scheme” to combine federal highway expansion and “urban removal” in order to get the government to pay 90 percent of development cost.

Mr. Brown describes a different racial mix for his neighborhoods in Florida.

I was born in June 7, 1953 in Miami, Florida. I’m the only son of 7 kids. I got 6 sisters. We lived in Lincoln Field Projects. Matter of fact, it’s still there right today. We moved frequently because my father couldn’t keep a job. I finished my 5th grade to the 6th grade in Brownville neighborhood. When I went to high school, it was like 6 or 8 blocks, maybe 2 miles away because they were integrating schools to get more African-Americans into the White neighborhood. The school that I went to, Miami Jackson, at that time was predominately Black. The majority White that were living in the neighborhood, it wasn’t that many because a lot of Cubans moving in. It was predominately Black and Cuban.

One of the reasons Mr. Brown moved around a lot was that Lincoln Fields grew overcrowded from Interstate 95 cutting through the center of Overtown, and then later the building of Interstate 395 also forced Blacks to move. Many families were told to move without any compensation (Green, 2013). Some old residents of Overtown recalled the glory days of that segregated neighborhood of Miami called “the Central Negro District or Colored Town” (Green, 2013). Many of the residents of Overtown fled to Liberty City and Lincoln Fields Projects which, in turn, forced some families like Mr. Brown to move to the Brownsville neighborhood.

Mr. Gray encountered distinct neighborhoods growing up in Indiana.

Gary had seven neighborhoods, some with ethnic majority populations such as Mexican and Italian, Greeks, Polish, and so on. Called the East side, West side, Tolleston, Brunswick, etc. They were distinct communities. They didn’t have Merrillville, it was just Gary and south to Crown Point. You couldn’t go much more north because of the Lake. One section of Gary used to be East Gary. Then they changed the name to Lake Station when Gary elected a Black mayor, Mayor Hatcher. Small Farms, Mr. Gray’s neighborhood was really called Oak Meadows. Mr. Gray’s neighborhood also saw “urban removal” when Interstate 94, Interstate 65, Interstate 80, and Interstate 90 all were built to go through Mr. Gray’s poor neighborhood of “Small Farms,” in Gary, Indiana.

In spite of serious race-related issues, Mr. Purple still had good things to say about his neighborhoods in Los Angeles. He was the one participant that talked about a freeway going through his neighborhood. It is amazing how all of the participants, including me, thought this was all normal. It was far from normal. Mr. Purple shared,

We lived on the east side, called the Low Bottoms now, 24th and Central, Adams and Central where the old Black entertainers used to go for drugs. My dad eventually bought

a home on 116th and Town, off Avalon, right where the Watts Riots started. Yeah, loved that area. It was interesting now when I reflect on it because when we moved there my father had a job. It was a time of great poverty. You can imagine what it was like living there. Then my little brother was born, and he was half-white. So, everybody in the community found a reason to dislike us because everybody else was starving. I had to fight all the time because my father was married to a white woman. I was fighting my neighbors. I was fighting everybody in the neighborhood.

Mr. Tan's experience in South Central Los Angeles, which included interactions with gangs, were somewhat different.

I lived in South Central Los Angeles. I lived with both parents. Both were working parents. All my brothers and sisters lived under the same roof. To be honest there was a lot of idealness, normality in this area. Our street, 65th Street, from corner to corner, was 99% Black, older people from Gage Avenue to Friendship. It was the safest street. No one came and played havoc. You just mind your business. The gangbangers came on the block, and we'd play tackle football with the gang bangers. No pads, with gang members. You played baseball in the street. You played football from light pole to light pole. You even had Saturday games. To be honest, I never really worried about the gangs. If I wanted to walk up to Florence Avenue and Douglas to the hamburger stand or the taco stand, they didn't bother us.

Interstate 105 went through Mr. Purple's and Mr. Tan's South-Central neighborhood similar to other big cities using highway funds for "urban removal." The history of Interstate 105 showed that it was on the books to be built as early as 1947 as the "Century Freeway." However, because of resistance from African American who were still upset about earlier freeways going

through Black neighborhoods, the highway was stalled for years and eventually completed in 1993. This particular freeway led to a court decree in *Keith v. Volpe* which instituted various civil rights protections and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). The Consent Decree required that housing removed to construct the freeway had to be replaced which created the Century Freeway Housing Program within the California Department of Housing and Community Development (Interstate 105, 2017).

Summary of neighborhood. All eight participants' neighborhoods have something in common they were all predominately Black and poor when the participants were growing up there. There were variations based on localities, of course, such as Cincinnati where Mr. Green, Dr. Blue, and Mr. Black grew up. Each talked about only running into problems with racism only when they left their neighborhoods. They would have to fight White boys when they crossed into other neighborhoods. The same was true when Mr. Green and Mr. Black spent time in the South. They were in Black neighborhoods and going to Black schools. More than once participants talked about the support they felt they received from friends, neighbors, and teachers who were neighbors in those segregated neighborhoods. Mr. Brown grew up in the poor Black projects of Miami, Florida, and experienced similar confrontations when crossing into White neighborhoods.

Mr. Gray is the only participant that grew up in a poor Black rural area, but his story was similar to those of participants that grew up in urban areas. He also encountered racism when he left his neighborhood to go to school in a White neighborhood. African American were attacked by White boys, and sometimes White men who did not want their schools integrated. The neighborhood children banded together to protect themselves and their Black female classmates.

Although his father's education and upwardly mobile banking career allowed Dr. Red's family to move into more upscale neighborhoods, he also started out in a poor Black neighborhood. His early experiences were similar to those reported by other participants having to fight White boys going to and from school out of his neighborhood. In a way, Dr. Red's dad is a microcosm of this study because of his education he represents among the Black male parents of the participants that he had the most mainstream success as a bank vice president, and had a stable middle-class family that produced a Black male PhD in the family.

Both Mr. Purple and Mr. Tan grew up in the same South-Central Los Angeles area, but had very different daily experiences in their neighborhoods. South Central was almost all Black when our participants grew up there. Mr. Tan felt supported by neighbors, friends, and teachers and school administrators. However, Mr. Purple experienced what might be called "reverse racism" because his dad married a White woman. Many of his neighbors and schoolmate picked fights with him because of his half-White brothers. He felt an obligation to protect them as well as himself.

Two common themes emerged from this examination of neighborhood influences: on the one hand, participants often experienced support, conversely, they frequently had to fight for survival. The participants' identities were shaped by their environment for good or bad, but they all adapted to what many might say is a harsh environment of being Black and poor. Seven of the participants felt that the neighborhood supported them to the point of calling it "their community." Mr. Purple's lack of neighborhood support maybe made him tougher and in significant ways altered his life trajectory. Perhaps the silver lining of this process is that all participants exhibit strong identities and persistence.

Lastly, each participant's neighborhood experience is a function of how the family handled being dislocated often to build interstate highways around the United States at the expense of Black families, a clear example of environmental racism. One researcher asserts there is little doubt that racism played an enormous role ... Racial discrimination had been an explicit part of federal government policy toward cities from the mid 1930's. The Federal Housing Administration adopted guidelines that allowed "redlining" or not lending in risky neighborhoods i.e. Black neighborhoods. That made it even more difficult for displaced families to find or buy homes (Herriges, 2017).

Theme 4: Jobs

Six months before he was assassinated, on October 26, 1967. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr spoke to a group of students at Barratt Junior High School in Philadelphia. In his speech "What Is Your Life's Blueprint?" he related the tale of the street sweeper. It was intended to encourage the listeners that regardless of what we do we should always aspire to be the best we can at what we do (Grier, 2013).

And when you discover what you will be in your life, set out to do it as God Almighty called you at this particular moment in history to do it. Don't just set out to do a good job. Set out to do such a good job that the living, the dead or unborn couldn't do better. If it falls your lot to be a street sweeper, sweep streets like Michelangelo painted pictures, sweep streets like Beethoven composed music, sweep streets like Leontyne Price sings before the Metropolitan Opera. Sweep streets like Shakespeare wrote poetry. Sweep streets so well that all the hosts of heaven and earth will have to pause and say: Here lived a great street sweeper who swept his job well. If you can't be a pine at the top of the hill, be a shrub in the valley. Be the best little shrub on the side of the hill. Be a bush if

can't be a tree. If you can't be a highway, just be a trail. If you can't be a sun, be a star.
For it isn't by size that you win or fail. Be the best of whatever you are.

This theme of the study addressed the employment outcomes in the research questions as they related to the participants' educational attainments. I have divided this theme into five sections to focus on which job sector they felt most comfortable with their education and skills. The sections are Private/Public, Private, Public, Military/Public, and Black Market. I have created a Participants Outcome Matrix in Appendix E to give an overview of participants' life outcomes including top income levels.

Private/public sector.

The private/public sector was the sector into which most of the participants' fell. Sometimes a participant started in private and migrated to public and maybe back again. The more education a participant received the more mobile his was.

Here is Mr. Green's account of his work history.

Back in the late 70s.... after college, undergrad school, it was Stouffer's Foods. I was the first Black management trainee. I must have been so good and that in about 6 months, Uncle Sam asked me to work for him... they had the draft. Later they had the lottery. I was number 1 so I would have been drafted anyway. I applied for 40 jobs...because I said I just don't want a job, I want a profession. I want to do something exciting, something fun. I applied to Playboy, every kind of transportation firm... looking for something fun. I got a ton of rejection letters. Ultimately, I went to a transportation company. I said I like to talk to someone about a job and was informed the city was going to hire a firm to beef up their transportation. So, I went into that firm looking for a job. And he introduced me to another Black person who worked for the company. He came in

and talked to the mayor. He knew to be successful in the urban community, they needed to have people who looked like them to be successful. They were reaching out to these graduate schools. That company became number 1 for a long time. We were very successful. We had that understanding. He recruited people. I recruited people. We had that understanding. We ended up starting our own company.

Later Mr. Green was managing bus companies... about 400 or more in South Bend [buses]... in Tulsa I had about 100 [buses]... the street cars were included in New Orleans. We were there to 84, but I always desired to go to the west coast, specifically to San Francisco. But New Orleans was having a difficult time because of gas and oil and hospitality... It took me about a year, but I got a good job for the city of San Francisco as a city employee. I was a deputy operations officer... '84... and I found a fraternity brother... It took about a year... civil service exams... That network is strong. ... and I worked in the Feinstein administration. She was mayor then.... Then she won the election after Mosconi was killed. I was there for 4 years. There was a guy I worked for was number one in San Francisco, but he went to Philadelphia, but he got chased out from Philadelphia by the unions... The mayor took him back. I was the next candidate for the job. That was in 87 or late 80s... I was up for the top job, and people were protesting, especially the Black community that they were putting this guy in over me. I should have become the number one guy.

Mr. Black talks about his job experiences starting with banking Management would start me out a Branch Manager in Provident. They would put me in different branches. About one year of college, and they put me out as an Assistant Branch Manager. I was the only one (African American). They would put me at different

branches. I was at Northside, at the Kroger, at the Madisonville branch.... When I look back, they were show-casing because I was the only one with a desk by the window... They were nice. They were helpful. ... As I look back, it was all about having at least one Black manager. Based on what I had learned and came to know that everything is run by and through economics, so I began to push that. I wrote a column that I submitted to the *Cincinnati Herald*. The paper asked me to do a weekly column. I was already working for the Chamber and for Henry Christman a little bit doing some consulting work, and I worked for AT&T. And they asked me to work for the *Herald*...I would go in the evenings and edited... That how I became a syndicated columnist. The national organizations started picking up my column. That was in 1993. I wrote a book called *Economic Empowerment or Economic Enslavement – We Have a Choice*. It came from some of the writings I had done with the newspapers...Put that book out in 1997. People really loved it. I published it myself. I sold them as I went around and gave speeches. I always had books to sell. That was my first book that I wrote on economics. Then *Blackonomics*... That was my 2nd one on that topic. Since that one, I wrote eight of them altogether. I just kind of found my niche. In the 1960s, I was an angry young Black man because of what was going on in the south. I used to just write things and put them away. It made me feel better, a cathartic kind of thing. I just gravitated to writing. I don't know where I got it. I never took a class in journalism. My mother said I probably got it from my father because he was always writing little notes even though he didn't graduate from high school.

Mr. Green, Mr. Black, and I were all affirmative action hires out of college. In Mr. Black's case he was the affirmative action hire that demonstrated the company "had one"

[Black]. They tapped him even before he finished college since there were still so few Black males going to college. Daniel Patrick Moynihan served as President Kennedy's muse crafting affirmative action policy that was issued as Executive Order 10925 establishing the concept of affirmative action. Later, Moynihan was instrumental in writing of President Lyndon B. Johnson's commencement address to Howard University in June of 1965 (Patterson, 2010). Excerpted below is part of that speech because it still resonates with those of us who were the beneficiaries of this policy enforcement.

Freedom is not Enough

But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "You are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair. Thus, it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates. This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability, not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result....To this end equal opportunity is essential, but not enough, not enough. (Johnson, L., 1965, pp. 765-772)

Affirmative action was a government policy decision that really affected the trajectory of our three lives in so many positive ways that it is difficult for me to imagine my life without that boost, and that is what it was, a boost. It did not replace our drive. We did not work less hard, if anything we worked harder to keep our positions. People were always asking me why I worked

so hard, and I would always say “Because I can.” I appreciated the opportunity to work hard and get promoted, it was not until much later I ran into a glass ceiling. Mr. Green and Mr. Black also ran into these invisible barriers as did Mr. Brown in the military. However, before we got there “we worked our asses off.”

Everything in Dr. Red career history was interesting so what sets his trajectory apart from other participants? Dr. Red 30 plus years younger than the “Greatest Generation or the Baby Boomers,” and it seemed that he would have benefited from the “Civil Rights Movement,” which gave him more of a Black identity compared to the older generations. He chose to follow the Richard Pryor school of thought which is “Don’t start no shit and there won’t be any.” Dr. Red is defiant in school and in your face in the workplace. Some call this “the angry Black man” or “you (Black man) have a chip on your shoulder.” A Black man that is smart and aggressive is considered dangerous in American society. Dr. Red stated,

I think I started into this activist role at Wendy’s. I learned how to be a cashier. I learned how to work the grill. I was a runner. I was doing everything. I had been working about 1 ½ years. I was 16 or 17, and there were older people who worked who were 25 or 28. I don’t know if minimum wage changed or anything. I think I was making \$6.50, but I found out that other people who were hired were getting \$7.50 or \$8.00. So, once I found out, I got everybody to walk out until we got paid the same as the people did. So, we asked for a raise. We said you are hiring people who don’t know anything, and they’re making \$7.50 and \$8.00, and we’re still making \$6.50, and we know everything. They said oh no we’re not giving you a raise. So, we quit. We all walked out. It lasted for 3 days. There were Blacks and Whites. Then three days went by. They called us back to work. They made me a trainer. I was like 17 and making \$11 an hour. I said s- I’m

making \$200 a week oh s-. That is when I really started feeling myself. This new manager came and said Mr. Red I need you to take out trash. I said Mr. Red don't take out trash. So, he said if you don't take out the trash, you gotta go home. I said obviously you don't know who I am. So, I said you want me to go home? I'll go home. So, I did. The next day the manager of the store called me back and said we need you to come in. I said it wasn't like I cussed him out or anything. They brought me back in. After that he was cool.

It was a culture shock for Mr. Tan when he went into the job market after spending his life mainly around Black people. In some ways Mr. Tan had a rather "Black privilege" life even when he went into the job market. By "Black privilege" I simply mean that in his Black community he is treated how White boys are viewed in a White community where the community knows and cares for one another. Mr. Tan was the only participant to experience that benefit until he had to go into the job market. That is why Mr. Tan said,

You didn't have a mindset of White people unless you were working. You knew it was you and the Hispanics. Whether you believe it or not, the Hispanics were more like your brother. After I graduated from high school, I worked for Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). I worked for the resident officers. As I said I had all these jobs at LAUSD. I had so many jobs and making so much money that I was ok. I had 5 assignments. I was a teacher aide and running 3 programs after school. I was getting paid by Boy Scouts of America, Sugar Ray Foundation, and Youth Services, which is called Youth's Best now. . . A year later, I was running three after school programs from 1984 to 1992. The program started phasing out. I worked for the campus police. I filled out reports. I was kicking gang bangers butts too. Wiley and Jones had guns, but they were

calling me to assist them. I left and went to work for a brokerage firm in Westwood. I ran Cycle Training. We're selling natural gas and oil in Oppenheimer Tower on Wilshire. We had 4 floors. Was it legal? I doubt it. Everything is done over the phone. I was in control of the cold cards. We bought them in bulk. I was the most important person because I had the key. I was on salary, no commission. I got paid straight salary. After 2009, I went to Los Angeles Trade Tech as a counselor. When I got here, I went into the Process Technology Program. Process Technology is the baby of Chem Tech, and process basically is what goes on in refineries and all the manufacturing industry things... Many teachers. There were a series of classes you have to go through. You have to take 46 units and get a certificate of achievement. Then you get an AA. Not a degree, or they are in the industry. The majority are instructors. They are not engineer professors. The title is like the title of the course. They call it Process Plant Technician. The course is Process Plant Technology.

Private sector.

Mr. Gray was the only participant to work in the private sector his entire work life. It is understandable when one hears that "to work in the mill" was his boyhood dream. Mr. Gray is in many ways a typical Midwesterner who worked his entire career at one company, and never moved away from his home town. A Pew (2012) report stated "in the Midwest, nearly half of adult residents say they have spent their entire lives in their hometown. That compares with less than a third of those who live in Western states. Cities, suburbs and small towns have more movers than stayers, while rural areas are more evenly split" (p. 1)." This is also true of Dr. Blue who not only still lives in his home town, he even lives in the same house where he was raised. Interestingly, they both worked for unions in their

hometown work lives which gave them job security. Both have generous retirement packages because of the union's collective bargaining agreements. Mr. Gray recalled,

I was still going to LaSalle when they hired me in the mill. The reason why they hired me is because I was in private school. Even though it was a home study course, they still hired me. I started like everybody else in labor. ... and that's how we started changing things, especially in my unit. When I started, I was curious about everything. They wouldn't train you. You had to sneak and see what they were doing. I started getting in pretty good with the older White guys. They would say son go get me this. Go get me that. I would listen to their conversations to see what they were doing. How I tricked them was one night this Black guy was secretly showing me some things. His name was Dean Barnes, and he told me you think you can operate this machine. He said what I'm going to do is I'm going to report off. He said not only will I let you run this unit, I am going to report off at the last minute when they can't find anybody; and you demand that they let you have this job. When they did that, they opened up that door. I've been the operator, supervisor, union foreman... I've been doing all that, taking calls from ISSA (warehouse safety), and training them. They were afraid to let it out; and after a while when HR saw how I operated, they said damn let's let him do it. Some of my own people started saying now he's got uppity because I was training folk. And I went through all that. I think it was 1976. White folks were afraid too because they had never seen anything run that fast before. They were afraid of it, but I have never been afraid of no equipment. I haven't never been afraid of no car. So, when they gave me the opportunity, I went for it. They didn't know I could run it. So, I got the credit. I thank God. That's how I ended up setting those records.

At that time the younger generation, my age, went to school and could read and write. They were just afraid because they had this mentality White was right. Black is wrong. They would never put you on a job if ... so we hurried up and trained up because I started training them. The union was always for the working guy. If you could do anything to help the union look good, you make the company look good. So, the union would set it up. The company would sign off tooth and nail. They said "Let's let Gray do this. Let's let Gray do that." Every time it was a success, they'd pat themselves on the back. They would let other people come in from other plants and watch me run it with my group. They said they never dreamed they could do something like that, but we did it. I asked about his starting salary, his first supervisory job salary and his final salary. He told me, he started at \$2.88 an hour, earned an annual salary of \$6,500, but also worked a lot of overtime. When he retired from the mill, he was making in excess of \$150, 000 a year.

Public sector.

Dr. Blue is the only participant to work in the public sector his entire career in education. He also has the most degrees and certificates, yet he earned less than most of the other participants except for Mr. Tan. As mentioned earlier, Dr. Blue basically never left his hometown for school or for a job. Like the stereotypical Midwestern baby boomer, he never moved far from home and sought job security over being upward mobile which during this era was, at best, risky to Dr. Blue. Dr. Blue reflected,

My first school was Beasley Elementary as a counselor, and I went there the end of March to the end of the school year... most of the population was white Appalachian and poor Blacks. That was my best experience. I loved those kids. Despite their backgrounds, they excelled because of high expectations. I set high expectations, and I got what I

wanted; and I didn't take no bull. That was a great experience. I wanted to stay there, but unfortunately, they moved me the next year to a full-time 4-6 position at Washburn Elementary... Then when I got there I wanted to stay there, but after one year they moved me up to senior high music into choral music. They kept me moving up. At that time, choral positions didn't open up because people kept them. Yeah...but if I had stayed there instead of going back to grad school for a second time, I could have insisted that they keep me in the inner city because I wanted to serve us...Actually it was always a good thing. They were promoting me each time... in my field... At the fall of 1975, I started as a counselor at Walnut Hills. Hated it. The parents were prima donnas. The kids were prima donnas. It was that kind of arrogant attitude that I despised, that elitist attitude. Took me three years to get out of there...I had this service organization. There were three counselors... 150 kids a piece. You couldn't do any extra college guidance to get them started, and I wanted to do some things that were done to me. So, I wanted to take them on a field trip to Indiana College, and they gave me the blues. The principal told me I couldn't do it. It seemed to me that they didn't want me to learn anything about counseling...college education.

Military/public sector.

An article by Ellen McGirt in *Fortune Magazine* (2016) sheds light on the participants' (and my) jobs and career experiences in dealing with White managers. McGirt interviewed Bernard J. Tyson, the Black 57-year-old CEO of Kaiser Permanente, a health care organization that employs 180,000 people and has nearly \$60 billion in annual revenue (p. 1). Tyson shared that when he received his first big hospital assignment, he and the manager who promoted him were at each other's throats all the time. One day the boss told Tyson that he had a problem

talking to him because he had never had a “Black peer” before, and did not know how to act or what to expect. Since, I have categorized the participants into generations, I will add that Mr. Tyson is a “baby boomer” who, based on his interview comments, did not want to be threatening. This kind of racism is more a statement about the manager than about the Black employee, but it still may prevent a hire or promotion.

Mr. Brown is the only participant to spend most of career, 28 years, in the military, although he started another career late in life in education. Mr. Brown is a prime example of the Black student who initially was not interested in education, but later appreciated education, and became, in his own words, an “education hog” like his wife. His education while in the military gave him the ability to have a second career plus other military benefits such as the GI Bill, Veterans home loans, and Veteran medical benefits. Remember, Mr. Black said the smartest thing he did was stay in the military to accrue benefits. Mr. Brown talked about his time in the military,

When I went to military training. My field was aircraft mechanics so they sent me to Champaign-Urbana to go to school. I got sent back because I couldn’t pass this test on fuel systems. For the life of me I couldn’t figure out why I couldn’t pass that test so I got sent back four weeks to the next class behind me. I don’t know if it had to do with Math. It had something to do with electronics or something. I had to just stop going to the clubs and playing with those other people. I had to go home to the barracks... and buckle down. At that time, I was engaged and had told my wife I was going to marry her, and I had to do that. So, I passed that with flying colors. Then I went to Eglin Air Force base in Florida, in the panhandle, right next to Alabama, Crestview, which they said was the seat of the Ku Klux Klan... That was a unique experience.

I asked Mr. Brown, what problems, if any, he had encountered with superiors. He noted that the orientation was racist, but that his first supervisor was fair. He said,

Hans was my supervisor. He was like a northerner in the south. He couldn't understand how this stuff (racism) worked. It was a White girl who lied about not paying for a lunch which was written into my performance appraisal and prevented me from becoming an E-9. I didn't get my E-9. So, they sent me to the worst engine management shop in the air force. It became the best engine management shop. They sent me to school. This white guy, named Mad Jack. He was my boss down there. He told me Brown you go to the training and do what you have to do, and it will be okay. I went. I have a picture upstairs next to my son's. I got these guys, and I said if I have to do your job, I don't need you. I took a bunch of misfits and whipped them into an efficient team.

I was a counselor at City Adult School... But I wasn't hired as a counselor. There wasn't an opening for a counselor, but had I known it, I could have been hired permanent and given two years to get my license... but they didn't do it...Ms. Lincoln ... What came open... they had this summer Workforce job for the summer. She didn't want me to leave. So, I did that. I did two years of grants, and this 18-month grant came up. So, they made me grant facilitator over a \$345,000 grant. The way I did the program they were going to give us \$10 million, but Dr. Cooper didn't want to do it. The main problem was Dr. Cooper. She wanted to use the money to pay the teachers... The state had already signed the paperwork for us to get the money. But Dr. Cooper didn't want to do it.

Black market sector.

Mr. Purple was the only participant to have a criminal career in the Black Market, and consequently was the only participant to spend years in prison. Mr. Purple was not a "school to

prison pipeline” candidate because he was his father’s apprentice in the drug business, and as long as he behaved himself in school, it was fine with him. However, when school found out he was a notorious gangbanger and drug dealer he had to go. Even so, he made a lot of money which was a big draw for Black boys in the inner city. I asked Mr. Purple what he earned when he was a drug dealer and he said he was a top \$300,000 earner for about ten years. I decided to do a “back of napkin” estimate of the hour rate of his prison stay of 27 years. He was in prison approximately 9,855 days or 236,520 and when you divide the hours into his estimated \$3,000,000 income as a top earner that works out to \$12.68 an hour. I know I have taken license by calculating the implicit cost of prison over time, but this is the point I try to make when I speak to Black male groups. That \$12.68 an hour is about what a lead person at a McDonald’s would earn. Mr. Purple also talked about how he first got involved in trying to reach some more peaceful solutions between the gangs. He was in college and taking religion and philosophy classes, so gang members liked talking with him. He was also writing pieces for the website, streetgangs.com.

I was always talking about us [gang members] trying to find a better way. I’m over 30 now... Carter, OG one of original dudes, one of the founding fathers of the Family Bloods and his homeboy, first officer, over the Nation of Islam. ... said we’re trying to bring peace between Bloods and Crips. Are you interested? I started talking to them. I studied religion. I talked to them about Muhammad and the Angel Gabriel. They were amazed. I was a writer. I would literally come out of my philosophy class and be sitting in my car selling drugs with paper and pen writing while I was waiting on sales. . I’m going from school to streets, so my ideology is different. I’m not sitting around all day marinating on bs. I had a different surrounding. So, I’m here now, and everybody would

trip on me because I was enlightened. So, they were from Outlaws, and I was from Rollin 20s. They said we need somebody out of the 20s to represent us. Are you down with that? I said yeah. So now I'm evolving. One day I met Steve Harvey. They said they had this class on gang intervention. It was nothing but hardcore bangers. It was a 16-week course. I was certified. I received a certificate from the city for gang intervention, anger management, conflict resolution... I graduated in 2001. I got an award at City Hall. I was one of the first Peace Ambassadors in the City of Los Angeles. I got an award at City Hall. It wasn't a paid position, at the same time, it wasn't a job. I was still selling drugs. I'm doing gang intervention, but I was still selling drugs. This was all I knew to do. I ended up going back to prison because I was still selling drugs.

I talked to Mr. Purple about his life since his most recent release from prison 3 months ago.

I'm realizing I'm doing wrong. My daughter wanted to come and see me. I didn't want her to see me in prison. When I got out, I called her. She told me she went back and moved in with my mom. So, I started at Late and Ready on and off since 2003. I was at Metro from 2008 to 2009 and started driving a truck for LA Times. When I first got out I was living on skid row, in a hotel... I went from \$3000 a day to this, but I couldn't sell drugs anymore.

Summary of Jobs Theme.

This theme is at the core of the study findings, because we have finally heard the participants' employment and life outcomes in their own voices. The findings here provide the raw data to analyze the entire study, and answer the research questions. Question 1a is: How if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American males' employment opportunities? Question 1b is: How, if at all, do the educational experiences of African American

males' shape employment experiences? I have summarized the findings in the Participants Outcome Matrix, but I will highlight some noteworthy aspects here. The study was able to recruit and interview eight African American males 18 and older as a purposeful sample. The eight participants represented the educational striated sample set forth in the proposal which included one participant who dropped out of high school, one who graduated from high school graduate, one with an associate's degree, one with a Bachelor's degree, two with Master's degrees, and two with PhD's. Also, I was able to get older participants which allows me to compare the relative progress these participants have made in relation to the 1965 *Moynihan Report*. The youngest participant is 35 years old, thus he lived during most of that historical period.

The participants present a continuum of outcomes for both employment outcome and income. The specifics might be considered counter-intuitive because Mr. Purple, the study's high school dropout made the most money at \$300,000 a year on the Black market compared to both PhD's whose highest incomes were \$70,000 and \$110,000. Mr. Gray who completed his high school diploma online also made more money, \$150,000, than the most educated participants except for Mr. Green who also earned \$300,000 in his best year. As I analyze the data, it is apparent that there are significant factors, beyond educational attainment that influenced outcomes, such as a need for security and structure with study participants. Dr. Blue, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Tan versus a strong streak of independence for other participants like Mr. Green, Mr. Black, Mr. Purple, and Dr. Red.

Another noticeable highlight was the flexibility some participants had in going from the private industry sector to the public sector and vice versa; which was a function of education attainment. Also, the work ethic was a constant undercurrent in the participants' interviews. All

of the participants spoke of having several jobs as teenagers and always wanting to work to buy things their parents could not afford to buy for them.

The data show that education played a role in the outcomes of all the participants except for Mr. Purple who dropped out and spent almost two-thirds of his life in prison. He is now resuming his education at a community college. Even though, participants had the requisite education in some cases it did not assure that they would get commensurate jobs. I will discuss the racism participants faced in lived experiences.

Theme 5: Racism

This theme consists of nine different codes derived from 142 coded quotations. Breaking this down by location, 88 quotes were from Cincinnati participants, 47 from Nevada, and seven from Los Angeles. The following quotations are those deemed to be the most significant in each participant's life even though all participants spoke of an environment of racism to some degree. As the researcher and a Black male, I am taking extra care to not editorialize on participants' comments.

Mr. Green encounters with racism in his career as he repeatedly strove for the top job only to find that the powers that be kept moving the goal posts. Mr. Green recalled,

That was in 1987 or late 1980s... I was up for the top job, and people were protesting, especially the Black community that they were putting this guy in over me. And I was accused of orchestrating this media company. So, I just survived. I survived 2 terms...one term with Gary and one term with Ron. In 2002, I decided to go my own way. One issue, I was going after a position. It was the typical trashy stuff... labor issues. When I went in, first Black executive there, and there was issue how do you deal with that? It was Seattle being Seattle. There were some issues with dealing with Black bus drivers being overly

disciplined versus White. We would bring in a consultant ... get more Black folks involved. But still, people say here's what Paul brought to us for diversity. We had managers... Black men, Black women, Latino women, one Asian...

Mr. Black's first confrontation with racism was going into White neighborhood, and may have influenced his Afro-centric leaning in his later writings. He turned his anger about racism into positive energy for educating other Blacks on how to beat poverty and build wealth. Most of his books are about what he calls *Blackonomics*, a term which caught on nationally. Mr. Black stated,

They would start me out a Branch Manager in Provident. They would put me in different branches. About one year of college, and they put me out as an Assistant Branch Manager. I was the only one. They would put me at different branches. I was at Northside, at the Kroger, at the Madisonville branch.... When I look back, they were show-casing because I was the only one with a desk by the window...As I look back, it was all about having at least one [Black manager]. This reminiscent of Sam Greenlee's (1969) novel entitled "The Spook Who Sat By The Door" which was about the CIA's first Black officer who sat by the door to show the CIA had one [Black].

Dr. Blue's ongoing issues with racism in education seems to have influenced his career choices. Dr. Blue stayed in the very education system that he loathed for his entire school career. In Chapter 5, I offer my thoughts about how this may have been a longer version of Stereotype Threat. Dr. Blue said,

They didn't want you there. Didn't offer you much help or anything. You were like the student by the door. You were isolated. You were isolated socially. I didn't get any slurs. I didn't hear anything, but you felt it every day. You felt the weight of being Black in a

white environment. I have been to all of our reunions. I basically only go to see people from our neighborhood. When I got to the University of Cincinnati, it was the same environment as Withrow. In fact, it was worse. They didn't care if you were there. But I was in the Conservatory of Music, and they got most of their students from heavy recruiting from the south. White folks. They were not letting many Black folk get in there. But the worst experience I had was when they moved me in the fall of 1974 to Midway every other day. At Midway, when I came back one weekend, in big chalk they wrote go home nigger, outside my music room. You would think the janitors or custodians would go and remove it immediately, but they let it stay up for 3 months. I wanted to see how long they were going to leave it there.

Mr. Brown felt racism was a way of life, but did not let it dampen his desire to succeed in the military, or later in education as a counselor. Like me, Mr. Brown's first introduction to racism in education was in the 3rd grade. I was a little surprised that a "baby boomer" would be so bold as to stand up for himself, and "say I ain't going nowhere, I belong in this class," and he stayed.

They were going to put me back. I had to advocate for my own self. I think it was 3rd grade. They told my mom they were going to put me back. That was the worst summer of my life. So, when school started, I went to the class I was supposed to be in. They told me you're not supposed to be in here. She said your name isn't on my roster. They got the principal, and I said this is where I belong. So, they let me stay, and I got A's and B's. I had to prove my point. So, after six weeks they let me stay there, but my parents didn't advocate for me. ...You know, the racism was subtle. It was just like a way of your life...Parts of the town you didn't go to... Your friends in the military would tell you...

Let me tell how it was. The Birth of a Nation was a film that all of us would look at.

Yeah, it was a part of our orientation. ... in Alabama and Florida.

E-7 is a senior rank. E-6 and below are sergeants. E-7, E-8, and E-9 were top dogs... top Master Sergeants. So, I only had one more to go.... What happened is one day I had a supervisor. His name was Beckenheimer. He would say you go get me something, and I'll pay you when you get back. Now Beckenheimer was white, and I am Black. I thought it was legal. I didn't know. One day, a kid came to me and said they were going to get something to eat. I said I'll pay for it. They said no, we got it. They set me up. They told my boss, the colonel, that I told them to go get food and pay for the whole facility. So, they moved me. They sent me to another shop. This was a white girl, who made a false claim that I did not pay for my lunch, and this was written in my performance appraisal. I didn't get my E-9. So, they sent me to the worst engine management shop. It was the worst engine management shop in the Air Force.

Dr. Red's confrontations with racism are always an adventure. He has always met racism head on. I feel he is representative of his post-civil rights Black male mentality which is to lean forward against racism. He also had a stable home life with both parents, and a strong father figure. Moynihan would have said he predicted Dr. Red's outcome. Dr. Red recalled,

I experienced racism in 3rd grade, didn't get much of it in between because I was mostly around Black kids. It was a little racist because it was mostly trailer folks when I got this job at the grocery store. I had only been there two weeks. I was the only Black guy again. I was a stocker, a daytime stocker. They always called me to get the carts. I would say isn't that the bagger's job, but all the baggers were white. All the white guys and girls were in the front; and the Black guys were in the back. So, I would say man I'm not

going to get these carts. It's too hot outside. Even then I was pushing back. It was racist. So sometimes they wanted me to get the carts, I'd be missing... Every time they ask me to go get the carts. That's racist... One day, it happened. They called me in the office. They said, "You're not fitting in." I said "What do you mean? He said, "You're just not fitting in." I said, "Is it because I'm not White." They said, "I'm not saying that at all." Then I had to be a N- then. I said "f- you mfers. F this! F you! Customers were in there. I just said f- it. I figured I could walk to work to get another job so I got a job at Wendy's, and they gave me a bunch of hours. There were other Blacks and Latinos there. I was there for about 4 years. This was in the South... Later ... I'm having trouble with my thesis. People said don't do anything on Black people because it won't pass. They don't want to see research on Black people. I had to switch [thesis topic] mine. I just changed it from Black people, but they found another way to hang me up. I finally had a date set for my defense. About 2 weeks before my defense, I get an email from the department chair saying he wants to meet with me in person the next day. It was all bullshit! It taught me how to deal with racism, politics, and s- around getting a degree. The classes weren't hard. It was dealing with these f-ing personalities.

Mr. Gray had early and repeated confrontations with racism, but learned to handle them in a constructive manner. Mr. Gray is another positive "baby boomer" in the study who forges ahead in the face racist headwinds. Mr. Gray said,

The buses went in a circle, but they would pass us [Black kids] up. We had to walk through the White neighborhood. You couldn't run and leave the girls. It was dangerous. Well, the Black kids had to walk in the wintertime. We had to walk in the street and the snow. We had to watch out for the motorcycle gang. They were called the Invaders. They

would wait until the Black kids came home and chase us. And they would throw eggs at us. And throw rocks and call us names.

What is interesting about the racism Mr. Purple faced was that it came from Black people because he had a White stepmother, and two biracial half-brothers he fought to protect. I identified with Mr. Purple because my family faced similar problems in the Cincinnati slums when Black people called my mother names because she looked White. Darker women in the neighborhood would try to fight my mother because they thought she was an easy mark. My mother carried a straight razor and “a leather braided Billy club” in her purse for protection. She sent more than one attacker to the hospital. My brother Roy was very light skin also and this was equated with being weak, so he had to fight all the time for himself and to protect his two brothers. Reverse racism is an unintended consequence of “collateral damage” of White racism in America. Mr. Purple said,

We lived on 116th and Town ...the neighbors were jealous because they lived in poverty and partially because my father was married to a White wife, partially because for whatever reason...We would fight going to school and going home from school. We would fight all the time. They would always f- with me. They would say you have a white brother and white mother. Later ...I'm in prison ...there are about 20 cells. Four men upstairs, 6 men downstairs. Everybody in there were Bloods, isolated from the Crips. It was ridiculous. Remember we had money. We had access to guns. I always said the government financed that. They just didn't finance the war that was going on in South America, the Sandinistas. They financed the drugs over here too. They had a lot of government issued weapons out in the street. They made sure we got all of that. In the 1980s there were no crackheads.

Mr. Tan encountered the least amount of racism because all of his education was in the Black community. Mr. Tan stated,

You didn't have a mindset of White people unless you were working. You knew it was you and the Hispanics. Whether you believe it or not, the Hispanics were more like your brother. In the mall or Huntington Park, which was Hispanic or on the streets of South Central. They might call you n- but they would take off when you came near them. I never had a racism altercation physically where I would go blow to blow.

When he was talking about his work experience, I commented to Mr. Tan that it seemed like "a reverse plantation" system and he responded,

Exactly. I got it Bob. You're exactly right. On each floor, there was a "head nigger in charge" [HNIC]. Mike was over all the chauffeurs. The company had all the cars for clients and administrators. Dave Bryant's brother, Joe Bryant, was on drugs and ran the San Diego office. We were charged to go down, all Black, to bring him back to LA. So, we went with a U-Haul, a Porsche, and a Mercedes. All Black. We rolled. Dave and Dave took care of us. A year after I left, the government shut them down. I left because I was going from Westwood to South Central. I got a job at Gibson, Dunn, and Crutcher, which is on 3rd and Grand in the Wells Fargo tower. They own all the floors except the 54th floor.

Racism summary.

The participants reported that they met with racism at an early age in school, especially, if they attended a predominately White school. The thesis of this study is the relationship between education and employment opportunities, but the participants have indicated they experienced racially biased mistreatment and barriers as early as elementary school.

In Chapter 2, I reviewed a qualitative study by Hope, Skoog, and Jaegers (2014) that interviewed eight Black high school students who were going to predominately White high schools. The experiences with racism in this study parallel the findings of Hope and colleagues, racial discrimination and inequality in schools, lack of institutional support for positive racial climate, and inequities between school districts. Both studies confirm that racism in schools have not changed in fifty years. In Chapter 2, I also discussed Rowley, Kurtz-Coates, and Cooper (as cited in Hope et al, 2014) that reports that children are aware of discrimination (racism) as early as the third grade. In this study, Dr. Red “said “that he was in the third grade when he felt racism and discrimination.” The most flagrant example of racism in education in these findings was the fact that Mr. Gray’s school buses would not pick up Black children even in the winter snow. The transition from segregated Black schools to predominately White schools was a culture shock for all of the participants who had to integrate White schools in the 1950’ and 1960’s. Mr. Brown reminded me of that old saying that “culture is like water to fish, you don’t realize you are in it” when he said, “he thought Racism was a way of life.”

The racism in this study was not limited to education, but was shown to exist in employment settings as well, such as Mr. Gray’s not being allowed to be trained to run the machine at the mill where he later became the national trainer. Mr. Green was passed over for the top transportation job when he was “acting chief” of transportation in San Francisco. Or Mr. Black who was the Black manager who literally sat by the window to show Cincinnati that the bank had “one” during the affirmative action period that President Ronald Reagan killed.

Racism was also apparent in the segregated neighborhoods where the participants spent most of their childhoods. Some continue to live in segregated neighborhoods by choice. As the participants explained many times segregated Black neighborhoods have fewer services, poorer

schools, and tended to be violent. There was a form of racism that did not get widely reported by the study participants, and that was the criminal justice system. All of the participants were adults during the country's "War on Drugs", but only one participant was caught in that net, and he never once said he was treated unfairly by the courts. This is the guy that spent 27 years of his life in prison. He did suggest, consistent with other published accounts, that the U.S. government may have played a role in funneling drugs and arms into Black neighborhoods. He thought he was treated fairly and did not complain. Dr. Red said he was "profiled" in the mall and was later thrown in jail for being belligerent and abusive to mall security.

Finally, there was explicit evidence of racism in healthcare when Mr. Green's mother could not get cancer treatment in Cincinnati, and had to go to Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee for treatment. The racism in healthcare is still a timely issue because the Republican Party wants to "repeal and replace" the Affordable Care Act aka Obamacare which extends Medicaid coverages to low income and minority citizens. If they are successful in the repeal, many low income and minority will not have any medical coverage and may face early preventable death like Mr. Green's mother. It seems like a politically spun but no less reprehensible version of eugenics policies at work.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented five themes that emerged from data compiled through interview narratives, artifacts, and member checking, all designed to explore the relationship between education and employment outcomes for African American males 18 and over. One clear idea that emerged from this study is that education is foundational for these participants. What is meant by foundational, is that, although most participants did not like school for various reasons, they matured they recognized the need for more education in order to succeed. Among these

participants there were a range of educational outcomes: one Associate's degree, five Bachelor's degrees, six Masters Degrees, and two PhDs. Based on the data from this small sample, one could surmise that, if all African American males achieved similar levels of education, Black males would be doing much better in the work place. Each participant in his own way proved that education is the key to opportunities for success for them and other Black men. In Chapter 5, I will analyze the data through the theoretical framework lenses of Critical Race Theory and, Stereotype Threat, in the context of the *Moynihan Report*.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Stories are useful tools for the underdog because they invite the listener to suspend judgement, listen for the story's point, and test it against his or her own version of reality. This process is essential in a pluralist society like ours, and it is a practical necessity for underdogs: All movements for change must gain the support, or at least understanding, of the dominant group, which is White (Delgado, 1989).

Chapter 1 provided an overview of the study and discussed the researcher's personal connection to it. Chapter 2 reviewed the literature related to the study. Chapter 3 delineated the study method. Chapter 4 documented the study findings. Chapter 5 discusses the analysis of the study findings using the interpretive framework of Critical Race Theory, and Stereotype Threat in the context of the 1965 *Moynihan Report*. This chapter draws conclusions and offers recommendations for future research.

Findings Analysis

Building on the discussion in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, this chapter discusses the findings through the lens of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat, in the context of the 1965 *Moynihan Report*. I examined the direct responses of the participants to the research questions which were reframed as they were asked of the participants in order to better understand their lived experiences and provide greater understanding of what life was like for a Black male in America.

Research Question 1a: How, if at all, Do the Educational Experiences of African American Males Shape their Employment?

The stories of the eight participants sample eight different levels of education to fulfill their occupational goals. None of the participants really liked school because of the challenges

they faced as Black boys in a predominately White education system, except when they went to segregated schools and had Black teachers who cared for them. However, all felt the need to get an education to further their life goals that, in each case, were fluid over time. Even the “drug dealer” Mr. Purple, a dropout, re-entered education to get a GED, which he needed to receive a Gang Intervention Certificate from Los Angeles County. This allowed him to legally make \$30,000 a year versus making over \$300,000 as a drug dealer, which resulted in him spending half his life in prison. When examining the Participants’ Outcome Matrix (Appendix E) there is not a direct correlation between education and income for the participants because the person with the lowest level of education, a GED, made the most money (\$300,000 a year) through illegal activities. Mr. Green, with a Master’s degree, also made \$300,000 a year as assistant director of transportation of a major city; but conversely, the person with the most degrees, Dr. Blue, made the least (\$70, 000) as a teacher and administrator, along with Mr. Tan who had an Associate’s degree. All the remaining participants fell in between these book ends on the income continuum. Also of note here was that Mr. Gray, with an online high school diploma, made twice (\$150,000) as much as the participant with the most degrees. Five of the eight participants earned over \$100,000 year at some point in their careers, which on average was more than they would have earned as average Black male workers in the main stream workforce. There was no doubt that their relative education levels allowed our participants to achieve certain career goals they felt were personally fulfilling. Mr. Gray always wanted to work in “the mill” and had to complete his diploma to be hired there, where he worked for 32 years. He gained national attention for perfecting a process that doubled the speed of rolling steel sheets that make cars and appliances. Mr. Tan graduated from high school but dropped out college to work and found out later on that he needed more education to change his career from being an office clerk to

eventually becoming a community college counselor. Mr. Black's Bachelor's degree and one year of graduate economics at the University of Cincinnati allowed him to become an adjunct professor at UC for twelve years teaching economics. Mr. Black had many other jobs that were a function of his education including writing eight books and a weekly syndicated newspaper column. Mr. Green graduated high school with me, but he dropped out of college and did a stint in the Army before realizing he needed more education to get into his first career love-transportation. He re-entered the University of Cincinnati, got a Bachelor's degree, and later received a Master's degree which allowed him to compete at a very high level for top transportation jobs in some of America's most prestigious cities. Mr. Brown was not interested in education until he married his wife who he called an "education hog." Mr. Brown became kind of an "education hog" himself when he received an Associate's degree, Bachelor's degree, and two Master's degrees on his way to realizing his goal of becoming a school counselor. Dr. Red did not like school at all and was suspended, in his own words, more than 15 times from various schools on the East Coast. He was the only participant whose father had an advanced degree. He also dropped out of college but realized that he did not want to work in a dead-end job the rest of his life. He re-entered college and received a Bachelor's degree, a Master's degree, and finally a PhD to pursue his goal of becoming a college professor. Dr. Blue came the closest to not minding school, he just did not like how he was treated in predominately White schools. He became somewhat of a perennial student while receiving a Bachelor's degree, two Master's degrees, a PhD, and various education certificates. Dr. Blue did not have a specific career goal but just wanted to stay in education and be secure.

These eight participants represented a purposeful sample to answer the first research question. In their own voices, they tell us how education was meaningful to furthering their life

goals. One of the take aways from the interviews was that each came to realize that education was a flexible tool in their tool box for life. Education emerged in the data as not an end point, but a means to reach higher life goals including employment goals that enhanced their quality of life and income levels. Without a doubt, this sample of education levels shows a strong relationship to employment outcomes and participants' lifelong learning.

Research Question 1b: How, if at all, Do Employment Experiences of African American Males Shape their Educational Experiences?

This was a tricky research question when, in most cases, one thinks of job outcomes after education. However, in the data from the interviews, education emerged, as I said before, as a flexible tool for the participants to use and re-use to improve their occupational status from time to time over their lifetime. All of the participants, except Mr. Gray, at some point, sought education to improve their job status. For example, Mr. Green tired of working in a Kroger warehouse lifting boxes, which propelled him back to college to get a Bachelor's degree and later to get a Master's degree, ultimately making him a major player in the public transportation industry. Mr. Black was in banking as "the spook that sat by the door" with some college when he decided to go back to school to complete his Bachelor's degree; this, in turn led him to attend graduate school for one year and teach as an adjunct professor for 12 years. Dr. Blue left no education tool behind because he used education to his advantage, to moving between teaching, counseling and administration. Mr. Brown saw education as a way to improve his job status in the military and in public education. After he got his Bachelor's degree, he had to get a Master's degree to get the counseling job he wanted; later, he had to get certificated for counseling in two states. As mentioned earlier, Dr. Red went back to school after working in a dead-end banking job. Seeing an older co-worker still having to work after retirement scared him enough to drive

him back to college. Mr. Tan tired of being an office manager and decided to go back to community college to change fields and go into the refinery industry, only to get interested in becoming a community college counselor and get certified like Mr. Brown. The final example of how, if at all, employment experiences of African American males shape their educational experiences is Mr. Purple who spent 27 years in prison because his job was dealing drugs. To change his life trajectory, he had to get a GED to be eligible to become a Community Intervention Worker and later get certified as a Domestic Violence Counselor in Los Angeles County. The data showed that the participants in this study reacted to their career paths by using education to change that trajectory, which always resulted in greater self-actualization.

Relating the Findings to Critical Race Theory

DeCuir and Dixson (2004) described five main CRT tenets as follows: (a) counter storytelling - method of telling a story that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths especially ones held by the majority; (b) critique of liberalism - critique of three basic notions embraced by liberal legal ideology: colorblindness, neutrality of the law, and incremental change; (c) Whiteness as property - due to the history of race and racism in the U.S. and the role U.S. jurisprudence has played in reifying conceptions of race the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest; (d) interest convergence - significant progress for Blacks is achieved only when the goals of Blacks are consistent with the needs of Whites; and (e) permanence of racism both conscious and unconscious, is a permanent component of American life (Bell, as cited in Horsford, 2007, p. 170).

Counter storytelling. The open-ended questions in this study allowed for the collection of 473 years of counter stories from the lives of eight Black males presented in their own voice. Even though these eight participants came from very different backgrounds and locations, there

were interesting commonalities revealed in their stories, such as stories about Black teachers who “would not let the students fail, and felt like family.” However, White teachers made them feel like they were not wanted, and they felt isolated from the White students. Another commonality was in middle school and high school where neither teachers nor counselors gave advice to Black male students to help them with college and career advice. Four of the eight participants were held back in school at some point which is consistent with the data on retention. Hearing their individual stories about such practices made it human. Mr. Brown was held back in the 3rd grade but refused to accept the retention. He stayed in his proper class and successfully advocated for himself without help from his parents. Dr. Red was in trouble from the 3rd grade through graduation, but he went on to obtain a PhD which he stated did not prepare him to be a professor at the university level. Mr. Green got in trouble for “breaking and entering” in elementary school but graduated from high school. He had a successful stint in the Army and later got a Master’s degree. Mr. Green became the Transportation Director for some of the largest cities in America, which included San Francisco with its beloved trolley cars. Mr. Green’s mom died when he was very young, but his dad remarried and created a new stable home environment that fostered Mr. Green’s attitude about the value of a stable home and resulted in his 48-year marriage.

Mr. Black’s story was almost a story of modern day redemption because he started out stealing cars and returning them on Sundays to the used car lot, got caught and was expelled from the Cincinnati United School District. He was adjudicated to stay away from Cincinnati for 12 months. He said being sent to Southern segregated schools saved his life because Black teachers gave him an interest in education. He came back to Cincinnati and graduated from high school, had a stormy but successful Navy term of service, and graduated college Summa Cum

Laude while making the Dean's List four times. Mr. Black went on to become a nationally known and weekly syndicated journalist who has written twelve books and now has a building in Cincinnati named after him.

Listening to these lived Black male stories through the lens of Critical Race Theory reinforces the need to get more counter stories in mainstream media to stand up against the dominant culture's racist narratives about Black males which have created untrue and damaging stereotypes. Delgado (1989) said stories attack and subvert the very "institutional logic" of the system. Stories' success is not so easily circumvented; a telling point is registered instantaneously and the stock story (*the stereo type*) wounds and changes things. Stories like Mr. Purple's could be an example of a counter-story about a Black male drug dealer who started out as a good student and contestant in a city-wide spelling bee in elementary school only to spend 27 years in prison behind bars, and then re-entered his education to receive his GED in prison. This former drug dealer, career criminal, and gang banger is now certified by the County of Los Angeles as a Domestic Violence Counselor and Gang Intervention Specialist. At one point in my interview with Mr. Purple he volunteered "that the Black man was doomed;" yet he never gave up, and he soldiered on for his children.

So, stories- stories about oppression, about victimization, about one's own brutalization – far from deepening the despair of the oppressed, led to healing, liberation, and mental health. They also promoted group solidarity. Storytelling emboldened the hearer, who may have had the same thoughts and experiences the storyteller described, but hesitated to give them voice. Having heard another express them, he or she realizes, I am not alone (Delgado, 1989, p. 2436).

In this study, the participants exhibited persistence that was not attributed to Black males in the dominant narrative; nor does that story reveal the consistent work ethic that was an integral part of each participant's story. Mr. Gray's story combined the worst of family predictions from the *Moynihan Report* with too many children raised by mothers and grandmothers personifying the Black matriarchy he wrote about in 1965. The prediction would have been that Mr. Gray's future would be dropping out of school, being unemployed, and ending up on welfare. But Mr. Gray persevered after being sent away by his mother, and dropping out of high school - only to be called back because he was a stellar basketball player, getting his diploma online so he could find his dream job at "The Mill" where he worked 32 years, set national records for steel rolling, and taught other United States Steel locations his process. As noted in Chapter 1, Matsuda (1993) defined counter storytelling as a method of telling a story that aimed to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths especially ones held by the majority. The majority preached that American culture was one of "meritocracy", but the participants' stories challenged that narrative.

Critique of liberalism. Crenshaw (1988) defined critique of liberalism as a critique of three basic notions embraced by liberal legal ideology: colorblindness (*meritocracy*), neutrality of the law, and incremental change. Listening to the participants stories, one understood that they did not live in a colorblind meritocracy. One striking example of the myth was Mr. Green, whose mother had cancer but could not get cancer treatment in Cincinnati in the 1950's because she was Black. That was not colorblind. Several participants went to segregated schools in the South and recalled that they actually preferred segregated schools with Black teachers because those teachers cared about their success and futures. It was not colorblind when Calumet School buses would not pick up little Black school children in the winter snow going to the same school as the White children riding the bus. The participants made it clear when going to predominately

White schools they were not treated the same as White students, but were made to fend for themselves if they needed information or classroom support. Mr. Black passed his naval entrance exam to become clerk on board a ship, but he was relegated to kitchen duty as were all the Blacks on that ship. Mr. Gray had to sneak to learn how to roll steel, and then became the national trainer for other U.S. Steel mills. Mr. Brown was demoted because of a set up bogus claim and sent to the worst jet engine garage; nevertheless, he set performance records that became the standard for the Air Force quarter masters. Dr. Red's experience at the mall combined a lack of colorblindness with a failure of neutrality of the law when he was arrested days before his high school graduation because he spoke up to mall security and local police about targeting a group of Black teenagers to disperse while allowing a group of White teenagers to enter the mall without a word.

Five of the eight participants were court involved at some point in their lives, but surprisingly no one complained about treatment in court including the drug dealer participant. They were living at the height of the War on Drugs, and only the drug dealer got caught in that web.

Whiteness as property. Harris (1993) said the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest which translates to anyone not White not having the same rights and being subject to exclusion or segregation from Whites. The participants reported many instances where they were confronted with White Privilege/Whiteness as Property. It took many institutional forms such medical treatment, busing practices, residential segregation, school segregation, military segregation, school counseling, university research subjects, military promotions, government job promotions, teacher and school administrator promotions, college admissions, and school funding. This list was not intended to be comprehensive, but does illustrate the point that the participants 'Black male lives were circumscribed by White Privilege/Whiteness as

Property. There were 26 coded quotations by the participants which addressed this phenomenon almost one fifth of the racism coded quotations. This was significant in the data because it showed that participants were limited by Whiteness as Property in attempts to self-actualize their lives. All of the participants felt Whiteness as a property right when they attended predominately White schools because White children were offered unfettered education opportunities and inclusiveness, while Black students were excluded and made to feel not wanted and had to fend for themselves for feedback and college counseling. Their individual outcomes are a testimony to their persistence in the face of adversity, as was the case with Mr. Green when he was denied the top transportation job in San Francisco when he was already the interim chief. Mr. Brown was denied becoming an E-9 in the Air Force because Whites conspired to frame him with a bogus claim to impede his progress. Dr. Blue was not allowed to learn how to counsel his students for college in order to keep that knowledge exclusive to White counselors. Mr. Black had passed the Navy test to become a clerk on his ship, but only Whites were allowed to be clerks, so he had to peel potatoes instead. Mr. Gray experienced Whiteness as a property when school buses only carried White children even in the snow, and when at the mill he learned that only Whites could operate the steel rolling machine; yet, he later became the mill's national trainer for that same machine. Finally, Dr. Red was told by his graduate committee that no one was interested in research on Black people and was forced to change his research project, which sent the message that only White research was acceptable.

Lynn (2005, as cited in Lynn, Jennings, & Hughes, 2013, p. 613) chronicles his experience in graduate school by arguing that the doctoral training process is designed to effectively de-politize radical young Black scholars by shaping them into conciliatory non-threatening 'Negroes' who are reminiscent of "Mammies and Sambo's". In Lynn's narratives,

race, gender, and class become significant as they are both quickly stereotyped as either “the loud and aggressive Black woman” or as “the (arrogant) angry Black male” who because of their working-class status, lack the appropriate cultural capital for success in the academy (Lynn, Jennings, & Hughes, 2013).

Again, this was not intended to be a comprehensive list of examples of White Privilege the participants encountered in their 473 years of being Black males; one can easily find more examples by reading their interviews in the Appendix. Whiteness as a property right circumscribed the participants and created unfair head winds against their individual success.

Interest convergence. Interest convergence, as noted in Chapter 2 posits that significant progress for Blacks is only achieved when the goals of Blacks are consistent with the needs of Whites. There were several instances of “interest convergence” within participants’ stories. When Mr. Green first interviewed for a transportation job he was told that he would be hired to represent the company to the minority community; later he leveraged that approach to be a part of a consulting company. Similarly, Mr. Black became an assistant bank manager as part of the affirmative action program so the bank “had at least one”, and he was moved from branch to branch to show him off as the “the spook that sat by the door”. Also, Mr. Gray was only allowed to run the steel rolling machine after he had secretly been taught by a Black employee and subsequently developed a process to double their production standard saving millions of dollars for the company. Finally, Mr. Brown was demoted which prevented him from becoming an E-9 and was sent to the “worst engine repair shop” in the Air Force. Mr. Brown did not let this end his career. Instead, he took on the challenge to improve the quality and output at that shop, eventually receiving a commendation for reducing the shop’s error rate down to 0.5%-a rate heralded as outstanding.

Permanence of racism. Horsford (2007) quoted Bell as saying, “the permanence of racism both conscious and unconscious, is a permanent component of American life” (p. 170). In the data and in light of recent events in the news it is difficult to refute this negative view of American society. Viewing this study through CRT allowed the researcher to focus the analytical lens sharply on the CRT tenets, much as a biologist would using a microscope in the lab while analyzing a sample slide. In the data, the participants had 219 coded quotations under the umbrella of racism out of a total 953 coded quotations. The racism codes were broken down in the following way with nine separate sub-codes convergence 16, discrimination 114, integration 23, problem with research 1, racial slurs 10, Reagan 2, retribution-justice 1, segregation 26, and Whiteness as property 26. As the researcher, I coded this data in an unbiased and objective way to protect the integrity of the data and the study. These participants’ quotations, however, did not uniformly suggest that participants felt they were being treated unfairly or targeted because they were Black. Mr. Brown said as a child “he thought racism was a way of life.” That is a profound statement from a child who, in spite of an attempt to retain him in the 3rd grade, graduated high school. Despite being demoted in the Air Force for a bogus claim, Mr. Brown improved the worst engine repair shop to become the new standard for the Air Force. He then went on to obtain a Bachelor’s degree and two Master’s degrees showing that, even though racism created an uneven playing field, it did not stop every Black male. Each participant had a story of how they encountered racism, yet they found a way to overcome those barriers to not only survive, but, succeed in life.

The researcher is writing this section of Chapter 5 a week after “the Charlottesville, Virginia Nazi/ Alt-right, and White Nationalist demonstration” that resulted in a fatality. The rally was to protest the removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee Civil War Confederate Army

General and to publicize a support for White supremacy (Astor, Caron, & Victor, August 13, 2017). It seems that this Alt-right coalition, has the tacit support of our current president insuring that racism is front and center in American policy and politics. The current president and his adopted party control all the levers of government and are pushing racial and xenophobic policies from voter suppression to a Muslim ban. Racism is alive and well in America.

Relating the Findings to Stereotype Threat

Stereotype Threat (ST) was conceptualized by Claude Steele in his seminal paper *A Threat in the Air* (1997). He posited that sustained school success required identification with school and its subdomains, and that societal pressures such as discrimination and economic disadvantage could frustrate this identification. Those who have become domain identified (with school) face the further barrier of stereotype threat (p. 613). Steele (1997) said this was a social-psychological threat that arose when one was in a situation or doing something for which a negative stereotype about one's group applied. The situation threatened one with being negatively stereotyped, with being judged or treated stereotypically, or with the prospect of conforming to the stereotype (p. 614). ST is a situational pressure that affects African American students who are most domain-identified with school and academics. Steele identified five general features of Stereotype Threat:

Stereotype Threat is a general threat not tied to the psychology of particular stigmatized groups... that which turns stereotype threat on and off; the controlling "mechanism" so to speak, is a particular concurrence. A negative stereotype about one's group becomes relevant to interpreting oneself or one's behavior in an identified with setting, this mechanism also explains the variabilities of stereotype threat: the fact that the type and degree of this threat vary from group to group and, for any group, across settings, to

experience stereotype threat one need not believe the stereotype nor even be worried that it is true of oneself, and the effort to overcome stereotype threat by disproving the stereotype ... can be daunting (p. 618).

In this study, two participants experienced stereotype threat as described by Claude Steele (1995). The first example of stereotype threat in this study concerned Dr. Blue. Even though Dr. Blue had the most degrees in the academic domain, he was the least successful in terms of return on academic investment. In analyzing his data from his elementary school grades to his graduate school transcripts he excelled in education but not in the business of education, and that is why he made the lowest salary of all participants because in his academic administration he suffered from the stereotype threat of being unwanted in that domain which affected his desire to advance upwards. He settled for move after moving which included getting a PhD to escape an assignment rather than push for an assignment or promotion that he really wanted. Stereotype was situational, and it did not have a time limit. Remember, that stereotype threat is situational, not limited to education per se. There are all kinds of situations where it applies in everyday life. An example was given where a Black male felt uncomfortable standing behind a White person at an ATM because the Black male was thinking that the White person was thinking that "Black may rob me." The Black male could have reacted by trying to prove he was not a threat. The Black reacted to his stereotype threat in that situation. Similarly, Dr. Blue seemed to exhibit stereotype threat when he felt out of place in his chosen domain. Instead of using his proven academic skills, he chose to not excel in the domain (education) as a career by adding more responsibility and thus drawing more attention to himself which would increase his Stereotype Threat level, and that was how the researcher saw stereotype with Dr. Blue.

The second instance of a participant experiencing stereotype threat was Mr. Brown who had to take the Nevada counselor's test eight times and didn't pass the test. He had passed the South Carolina counselor's test the first time with no problem because he was in a predominately Black community. In Nevada, he was in a predominately White community which created a stereotype threat and led him to not perform at the same high level as in South Carolina. The other six participants did not have anything in their background that signaled stereotype threat; however, there seemed to be a corollary to stereotype threat that if a Black person had a strong identity and, even though domain-identified, they still may not have experienced stereotype threat.

Relating the Findings to the *Moynihan Report*

The goal of this section of the analysis is to look at the data in the context of the *Moynihan Report* of 1965. In his report, he made dire predictions regarding the Black family and matriarchy, failure of youth, Black male education, delinquency and crime, the Armed forces, and alienation. The researcher reviewed the current literature on these issues in Chapter 2 and only reviewed each subject as they pertained to the participants.

The Negro family: The case for national action; African American male progress.

As the result of family disorganization, a large proportion of Negro children and youth have not undergone the socialization which only the family could provide. The disorganized families have failed to provide for their emotional needs and have not provided the discipline and habits, which are necessary for personality development. Because the disorganized family has failed in its function as a socializing agency, it has handicapped the children in their relations to the institutions in the community. Moreover, family disorganization has been partially responsible for a large amount of

juvenile delinquency and adult crime among Negroes. Since the widespread family disorganization among Negroes has resulted from failure of the father to play the role in family life required by American society, the mitigation of this problem must await those changes in the Negro and American society, which will enable the Negro father to play the role, required of him (E. Franklin Frazier, 1950, pp. 276-277).

Matriarchy. The families of the eight participants had various combinations that constituted a family, but matriarchy was not a dominant model. Six of the eight participants had fathers in their lives. Even when Mr. Green's mother died the father re-married and re-constituted the family with him as head of the household. Mr. Green's dad went back to college to become a teacher also. The same happened with Mr. Purple when his mother went back to New York and left him, his father re-married and raised all of his sons to be "drug dealer", which was the family business. Mr. Tan, Dr. Blue, Dr. Red, and Mr. Black had a nuclear family that stayed together. Mr. Black was sentenced to leave Cincinnati for a year after a car theft conviction, but his family was intact when he returned. However, two participants, Mr. Brown and Mr. Gray, did experience matriarchy when each was sent to live with their grandmother because there were too many children for the mothers to raise alone. In these two cases Moynihan predicted correctly,

Because of non-marital births rates among Blacks, Black children lived in poverty in female-headed households, which undermined the role of Black men. Thus, Black men would abdicate their responsibilities as husbands, father, and providers, and the pattern would repeat from generation to the next" (Acs et al., 2013)

The only participant who repeated the cycle was Mr. Gray who fathered 12 children with two wives, and two out of wedlock. One of his boys went to prison and later died. I was able to

do some member checking with friends and family, and they confirmed that he is involved in each child's life to this day. Mr. Brown only had one son, of whom he is very proud.

Failure of youth. Failure of youth in the *Moynihan Report* represented three issues affecting Black males: 1) not living with their fathers, 2) living in segregated communities, and 3) being one or more modal grade behind. Not living with their fathers was covered above in matriarchy. In the *Moynihan Report*, the belief about living in segregated communities that "it is difficult for them to move into middle class to improve their status and thus their IQ" (p. 36); however, for the participants they felt they received a better education in segregated communities because the teachers and administrators would not allow them to fail, and cared about their wellbeing and success. In the segregated schools, failure was not an option but going to college was. This study did not seek measures of IQ, but Dr. Blue's IQ was listed as 106 in the 9th grade on his 1960 Cincinnati Unified School District data sheet. Mr. Gray's IQ on the Metropolitan School District of Calumet Township data sheet was 74 when he was in the first grade in 1959. Both of these participants lived in segregated neighborhoods all their school age lives. Dr. Blue did well in segregated schools where he felt included, but when he went to a predominately White high school later on, he felt excluded until he adapted to that environment and created his own inclusion through music and extra curricula programs. The White school hindered his progress instead of enhancing his intelligence. It made learning more difficult. As expressed in his interview, Mr. Gray was in an unfortunate situation where the school did not want to integrate and made life difficult for him. If he wanted to improve his IQ it was not going to happen at that school. They made it clear he did not belong until they realized he excelled at basketball. They even asked him to return to school to help the team get to the regionals, which

he did, and they did, before he left again to get his diploma online. Since we know how Mr. Gray's life turned out, the 74 IQ score from the school district is suspect.

The researcher was not able to obtain any elementary school records for the six remaining participants for various reasons, but mainly due to the archival data being lost over time. However, the core of this belief in the "failure of youth" was that Black males needed to be around White people to be more intelligent and succeed, when it seems the opposite was true. Again, the participants succeeded in the segregated schools but ran into a head wind of discrimination in White schools, which made their education more difficult. Mr. Brown summed it up when he said, "Going to a White school is like going to school with the Man," and as he said, he thought "Racism was a way of life."

The last failure of youth tenet was that Black males were one year or more behind in modal grade because of family structure. This was not generally the case for these eight study participants; only two were retained or attempted to be retained, as was Mr. Brown's case where he refused retention and advocated for himself in the 3rd grade. Mr. Gray was retained in the 4th grade where he failed all but two classes while showing up for class 94.8% of the time. The school did not want to integrate, and they did not want to teach him either.

Black male education. The connections between education and outcomes are at the core of this study. In Chapter 2, the researcher cited Moynihan reporting that in 1963 only 33.7% of Black males graduated from high school (p. 31). The researcher and two of the participants were in that graduating class of 1963. Moynihan further reported that in 1963 only 4.5% of Black males completed one to three years of college. In 2013 the National Center for Education Statistics reported that Black males graduated from high school at a rate of 87.8%, and 17.4% of Black males had Bachelor's degrees.

In Chapter 3, the researcher considered that qualitative research was often criticized because of the sample size, suggesting results could not be generalized to the larger population. However, Yin (2009) suggested that doing case study research was looking for “analytic generalization” not “statistical generalization” (p. 15). The researcher mentions this limitation here because of how I compared the universe of the eight participants to the *Moynihan Report* ‘s numbers. I understood that I had a purposeful sample, and the numbers were just for that sample and for the “analytic generalization” of that sample of eight.

Seven of the eight participants graduated from high school for a rate of 87.5 percent compared to 33.7 percent in the *Moynihan Report* and 87.8 percent in the NCES 2013 report. Five of the eight participants 62.5 percent have Bachelor’s degrees compared to 4.5 percent in 1965 and 17.4 percent as reported by NCES in 2013. Also, of note is that two participants have Master’s degrees for a rate of 25 percent, and two of the participants have PhD’s for a 25 percent rate also. There was no mention of graduate degrees in the Moynihan Report.

The analytic generalization made here is that in this participant universe, education became important to the participants at some point in the lives. Only one participant had a linear path through education, and that was Dr. Blue who lived at home until he graduated from college. He also went back later for additional education to further his career. Just imagine how things would be different in our society if 62.5 percent of Black males, the rate for my sample had Bachelor’s degrees, 25 percent had Master’s degrees, and 25 percent had PhD’s.

Also discussed in Chapter 2 was Moynihan’s statement that only 30 percent of new National Achievement Scholarship Program applicants were Black boys despite efforts by high school principals (p. 32) to recruit them. Not one of my participants or myself were ever approached to apply for this undergraduate scholarship. However, Mr. Black, Dr. Blue, and Dr.

Red received scholarships and grants from their universities to pay for their graduate programs; but no one received undergraduate scholarships.

Unemployment and poverty. Moynihan stated that “Negro unemployment has continued at disaster levels for 35 years” (p. 20), and that was in 1965. As late as 2011, Black male unemployment was 16.7 percent compared to White male unemployment rate of 7.7 percent (Acs, et al., 2013, p. 10). It was interesting that unemployment was not a factor in any of the eight participants’ lives. Six of the participants had a father as the head of the household. One had a grandmother as head of the household, and one had an aunt as head of the household. Moynihan showed that matriarchy, Negro male unemployment and the wage system contributed to Negro poverty (p. 24). All of the participants were born into poor households, but with family members, including fathers, who had a strong work ethic. A couple of the participants talked about how hard it was for their Black fathers to find work, but the fathers always found ways to put food on the table. The participants picked up that strong work ethic modeled by their fathers and other family members. No participant ever drew welfare or unemployment insurance. They all changed jobs at some point but never considered themselves unemployed because they used their education, skills, and personal networking. One could say, in fact, that overarching characterization of this group was a strong work ethic and tenacity.

Comparing income of Blacks to Whites. The participants did quite well when you compare their career high incomes with the current equality index from the 2017 National Urban League Report *Protect the Progress: State of Black America 2017*. This current report used 2015 data and showed the national average income for all Black male workers was \$38,243 compared to \$55,166 for White male workers (Acs et al., 2013). According to Acs and colleagues in 2010, Black workers were making \$35,000 annually compared to White males earning \$52,000 which

is 67.3 percent of what White males earned. In 2015 Black males were earning 69.3 percent of White male's annual salaries. However, when you review the Participants Outcome Matrix, all of the participants exceeded even White average income. Dr. Blue and Mr. Tan had the lowest incomes at \$70,000s their best year. Mr. Brown earned \$75,000 in his best year. Mr. Green and Mr. Purple earned the most in their best year at \$300,000 annually. Dr. Red earned \$110,000 in his best year. Mr. Black earned \$125,000 in his best year, and Mr. Gray earned \$150,000 in his best year. Over the course of this study, I checked artifacts, transcripts, newspaper reports, YouTube presentations, and did member checking to verify that these self-reports of income were accurate.

Delinquency and crime. In Chapter 2, the researcher quoted Moynihan's opening statement to this section:

It is probable that at present, a majority of crimes against the person, such as rape, murder, and aggravated assault are committed by Negroes. There is, of course, no absolute evidence; inference can only be made from arrest and prison population statistics (p. 38).

Moynihan used 1963 Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics to prove his point that Negroes were charged with 38,549 violent offenses versus Whites who were charged with 31,988 violent offenses, and Negroes were charged with 2,948 murders and non-negligent manslaughter compared to 2,288 for Whites (p.38). In reviewing the same statistics through the *Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics* from the FBI, archives don't support the numbers in Moynihan's report because in 1963 there were a total 316, 970 violent crimes, not 70,529 as he reported. Also, in 1963 there were 8,640 murders and non-negligent manslaughters, not 5,236 as he reported.

These discrepancies are important because the *Moynihan Report* cosigned the narrative that Black people, particularly Black males, were violent.

The Color of Crime (2016 Revised Ed) by Edwin S. Rubenstein showed rather that Black violent crimes were in proportion to their population in United States. Mr. Rubenstein's statistics tell us that Whites committed 5, 2432,632 violent crimes in 2002 versus 1,023, 828 for Blacks. That meant that Whites committed 73.2 percent of the violent crimes versus 13.8 percent for Blacks; and more recently in 2013 Whites committed 3,832,527 violent crimes compared to 815,061 violent crimes for Blacks, which translated to 62.6 percent for Whites versus 13.3 percent for Blacks (Rubenstein, 2016, p. 188). Mr. Rubenstein received his data from the Bureau of Justice statistics for each year. The percentages of Black violent crime, 13.8 in 2002 and 13.3 percent in 2013, were generally consistent with the proportion of African Americans in the overall population which was 12.6 percent in the 2010 Census Report and 13.3 percent for 2016, based on the Current Population Survey (*Census Bureau Quick Facts* V2016, 2016).

Five of the participants were court involved during their lifetime, but only Mr. Purple committed violent offenses that were court involved like gangbanging and drive by shootings. Mr. Purple was in the population of the Color of Crime statistics for 2002 and 2013. Mr. Brown was involved in a botched robbery assault but was not charged. Mr. Green committed a house break-in while very young but got probation. Dr. Red was arrested his senior high school year for questioning what he felt was racism. Mr. Gray was arrested for union activity during a strike at the mill. He was accused of cutting the brake lines on the company trucks in Chicago. The union worked successfully to get the charges dropped. Mr. Black was arrested for stealing cars to joy ride but did return them to the used car lot the next day, which was usually a Sunday.

In a nod to Moynihan's contention that a stable home with the father present was the most productive for Black children. Dr. Red and Mr. Tan came from very stable homes with father and mother present, and neither had ever been court involved as children or as adults.

The Armed forces. As discussed in Chapter 2, Moynihan admonished "the ultimate mark of inadequate preparation for life is the failure rate on the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT). A grown man who cannot pass this test is in real trouble. Fifty-six percent of Negroes fail it" (p. 40).

In a recent study, a sample of the 350,000 high school graduates aged 17-20 who applied for entry into the Army between 2004 and 2009, approximately 50 percent of these applicants, a total of 172,776, joined the Army. The group is not representative of individuals across or within states and the nation but is a self-selected sample of individuals aged 17-20, with a high school degree. In the sample, 58 percent of the test-takers were White, 19 percent African-American, 12 percent Hispanic, 8 percent unknown, 1 percent each of Asian, American Indian/Alaskan Native, and Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander, while 76 percent were male and 24 percent female. About 23 percent of the test-takers in our sample failed to achieve a 31 —the qualifying score—on the AFQT. Among White test-takers, 16 percent scored below the minimum score required by the Army. For Hispanic candidates, the rate of ineligibility was 29 percent, and for African-American youth, it was 39 percent. These dismally high ineligible rates for minority youth in our subsample of data are similar to the ineligible rates of all minority Army applicants as recorded over the last ten years. Overall, applicants of color scored lower on the AFQT than their white peers (Theokas, 2010, p. 3).

Comparing Moynihan's results in 1965 and Theokas results from 2010, African Americans (males) have improved their passing rates by 17 percent in fifty years.

The lowest performers, those states with the highest rates of ineligibility on the AFQT, include Louisiana, Mississippi, and Washington, D.C. Also, five states exceeded the overall ineligibility rate for African-American youth by more than five percentage points: Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Wisconsin. Four southern states were on the list of highest African American AFQT failure rates 50 years ago: Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

Three of the participants did military service. Mr. Green was honorably discharged from the Army. Mr. Black was honorably discharged from the Navy. Mr. Brown was honorably discharged from the Air Force. All three graduated from high school and passed the AFQT the first time it was taken. Moynihan did not talk about racism in the military once an African American passed the AFQT and entered one of the forces. Mr. Brown and Mr. Black shared their experiences with racism throughout their tenure in the military. It was proposed to Mr. Black that he could leave the Navy early with a dishonorable discharge, but he stuck it out which he said, "was the smartest decision he ever made" because he now has veteran's health insurance that takes care of his ALS related medical bills. Mr. Brown faced many racial roadblocks to his service including losing a chance to become an E-9 and possibly an Air Force Colonel.

Discussion of Findings

Discussion of Research Question #1a: How, if at all, Do the Educational Experiences of African American Males Shape their Employment?

The participants' eventual levels of educational achievement made it possible for their economic success and employment outcomes. Listening to each participant's story drove home

the message of the first Critical Race Theory tenet that “racism is endemic in American society.” Racism was the overarching culture Black people have lived in since slavery. Yes, there has been progress by some measures; however, when you listen to these eight independent accounts, it is clear they faced racist practices against them as children, and later in high school and college. It is hard as an African American male who loves his country to ignore the racism in these stories.. One has to ask: Why would White teachers not want Black children to succeed in school? Why would White teachers not want to share college information with Black children? Why would White school districts allow school buses not to pick up Black children? Why is it ok for a White school to support a Black male athlete with bad grades but not help other Black male students with college information? I don’t intend for these questions to be rhetorical in nature, moreover they need to be answered because the participants completed their education in a culture of racism that made it harder for them than for their White counterparts, who didn’t have to deal with feeling isolated, who received college information, and who were allowed on the school bus. Each of the participants had a success story rooted in their eventual education that allowed for them to survive at a much higher level than if they had not completed it.

An unexpected revelation from the interviews was that in the American culture of racism in education the participants preferred segregated schools because they had teachers who “cared about them.” Imagine, segregated schools are a “silver lining” in a racist education culture for the participants. The fact that they persisted in a difficult education environment helped to shape their future employment success. More than one participant said, “Failure was not an option”.

Discussion of Research Question #1b: How, if at all, Do Employment Experiences of African American Males Shape their Educational Experiences?

The answer to this research question was another of the revelations from the interviews. Each participant re-entered education at some point to reach a higher employment goal which ranged the spectrum from Mr. Purple getting his GED in prison to Dr. Blue going back for his PhD. As I said earlier, the participants saw education as a tool to be used in becoming more upwardly mobile. This revelation emerged as I started to analyze the data where recurring sub-themes emerge of educational re-entry shaped by participants employment experiences. At first, one might think this question is the same as question 1a, but when considered in the context of the participants' life and careers, it has a totally separate meaning.

My own employment experience has helped shape my desire to complete my doctorate because I wanted to help more Black boys graduate from high school. It was my frustration with keeping young Black males on staff in my stores longer than 90 days that drove me to higher education to help from a position of knowledge.

Discussion of Theoretical Framework

Before I discuss the theoretical framework, I would first like to issue a preface or disclaimer, if you will. I have maintained an unbiased approach to this study. I used Margaret D. LeCompte's essay "*Analyzing Qualitative Data*" as my guide and moral compass. It was particularly important because I am a Black male who has experienced events like those of participants in my own life. I consciously sought to remain unbiased and objective, following the famous maxim from Sergeant Joe Friday on the TV show *Dragnet*; "Just the facts ma'am."

I distilled Dr. LeCompte's advice down to a few words of wisdom that I looked at regularly:

Good qualitative data are as unbiased as possible, structure is created in stages, and forms the basis for assembling data into an explanation or solution, assembling patterns involves looking at some of the characteristics that were used to identify items (codes), in the item stage of analysis researchers create taxonomies of “things” (codes) at different levels of abstraction... they grouped into patterns in the pattern stage of analysis... , and in the structural stage patterns are grouped into structures, which can help to describe or explain the whole phenomenon (LeCompte, 2000, pp. 146- 151).

I used these parameters to circumscribe my unbiased analysis of the data using the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat, within the context of the 1965 *Moynihan Report*. I also had a narrow study focus of analysis in the binary of Black males and White males. I was aware that CRT had expanded into other genres, but my focus remained on African males in American society.

Critical Race Theory. I confined my discussion of CRT to how I could use it as an analytical tool to help explain the lived experiences of the eight Black male participants. Before CRT was ever conceived, noted scholars like W.E.B. Dubois said race was the central issue in America... “The Negro race like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.” “The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth” (Dubois, 1903, p. 1). As I began to analyze the data from the interviews, I was struck by how little has changed in this basic fight for a good education for African Americans children, especially African American males.

Counter storytelling and critique of liberalism. The counter stories tell of the racism each man endured over his lifetime, which in some instances were more severe than others; the stories highlighted the pervasiveness and persistence of racism in education at all levels. This was not

surprising to me because of my own experiences with racism in education. What was unique, on an emotional level, was hearing someone recount a similar occurrence so matter of factly. Carter Godwin Woodson (1933), in his seminal book, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, said the so-called modern education, with all its defects, however, does others so much more good than it does the Negro, because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved and oppressed weaker peoples...the philosophy and ethics resulting from educational system have justified slavery, peonage, segregation, and lynching (p. 5). There were several occasions reported in participants interviews where they were “mis-educated or undereducated,” such as trying to hold back Mr. Brown in the 3rd grade or numerous failures to informing students of college-related opportunities, which by default made it a Whiteness property right to be kept from Black students. The participants were mis-educated when they were made to feel isolated as an “other” in classrooms while attending predominately White schools because they were not White and an “other” and therefore inferior. That mis-education persisted into higher education, as told by Dr. Red and Dr. Blue when, they were made to feel unwelcome and that they did not belong no matter how good their grades were. Sometimes mis-education was by omission, as was the case for Dr. Red thinking he was getting an education to become a professor only to learn that he did not receive all the requisite training during the program, and then also being asked to change his research topic from Black people to something acceptable. I had a similar issue with my Master’s research study, but I refused to change my topic or theoretical framework, CRT, which caused two members to quit my thesis committee three days prior to my defense. It took me four years to get my study approved.

Sherick Hughes (2004, as cited in Lynn, Jennings, & Hughes, 2013) in his book chapter *“Beyond the Silenced Dialogue: What We Tell Ourselves When the White Academy Ain’t Hearin*

U’’ discussed his experiences as a graduate student feeling of exclusion and domination as he pursued his doctoral education. Dr. Blue and Dr. Red have shared some of the attempts to silence and exclude them in the White academy. I have experiences of my own in the White academy that were efforts to silence my graduate studies and research. The reason it took me four years to get my Master’s research project, *Re-Entry African American Male High School Dropouts through the Lens of Critical Race Theory with Content Analysis of the Case Studies* (which has been cited 5 times), was that my committee balked at using Critical Race Theory as my theoretical framework. My committee consisted of two White female professors and two White male professors. I thought that was odd since I learned about CRT in one of White female committee member’s Qualitative Research class, but she was adamant that she did want to be a part of my CRT study. She did not resign right away. This put me in a bind because she was my qualitative expert, but she always had excuses why she could not meet with me. At one point, she evaded me for three months and then went on vacation. When I complained to my chair, he said “Show some respect. She deserves her vacation.” I was waiting at her door when she came back from vacation, but she said she couldn’t meet with me because she was going on sabbatical out of the country. When I complained to my chair, he said “You will have to wait until she gets back,” which was 12 months. During this time, I had to get two extensions for my Master’s program, even though I had already completed the Master’s curriculum in just two years (by 2006). With no guidance from my chair, I started taking classes toward a PhD in my subject area and applied to that PhD program, receiving a provisional acceptance provided I complete my Master’s by a certain date. That was problematic since my committee was refusing to meet with me. I went to the Graduate Office to ask for help and was heartened that someone in the Graduate Office would help me get my thesis to the point of defending. I printed up copies for

each member to make any revisions they deemed necessary, and to my surprise they were all minor revisions. A day was set for me to defend my thesis, and I asked the Graduate office person to attend as moral support. However, I needed more than moral support because before the defense started all non-committee attendees were unceremoniously asked to leave the room, so the committee could talk to me alone. The White female qualitative expert professor, who did not want to be a part of the CRT study, now was charging me with *plagiarism* because I dropped a citation that she found in an Intuit plagiarism program. The people who would not meet with me were now trying to get me kicked out of the program. I showed the committee and the chair of the department that the citation had been dropped somehow in the current iteration but was in the original before the revisions. Not good enough, they wrote formal charges to the department.

While going through this with my department, I told a professor what was happening, and she said she would help with the department. To make matters worse, I had a stroke from the stress of it all and had to be taken to a stroke center. Despite this Transient Ischemic Attack (TIA), I dodged a bullet and only missed two days of school. This would be funny if it were not so serious. The professor helping me with my plagiarism battle met with the chair of the department who told her that since I had a stroke I was probably too brain damaged to continue in the program anyway. I had to get a letter from my personal physician that I was able to complete my Master's thesis and defense. That helpful professor became a member of my thesis committee and was instrumental in new preparation for my thesis defense. Now, I have a new date for defense, and three days before that defense both original White female professors quit my committee without prior notice. The helpful professor pulled a rabbit out of a hat, and the department chair and a nationally known professor substituted on short notice. I passed.

This process had taken so long that now my department PhD acceptance had expired, and the department would not extend it when the coordinator had assured me they would. I was forced to apply to another PhD program in the same School of Education. I was accepted in the new department and this study is a result of that continued struggle to achieve a PhD in the White academy.

This qualitative study attempted to gauge the influence at various educational levels on the employment and economic outcomes of the eight participants. As I analyzed their educational data and looked forward to their economic outcomes, I was struck by how commonly some form of discrimination occurred that reduced their educational experience before they even got to the job market. That reduction in educational experience reduced the quality of the education that they received to some degree, but each still persisted. I saw the educational experience as a metaphorical co-efficient in the equation of life that affected every other variable depending on the strength of that educational experience. For the sake of argument, White educational experience was considered 1.0 co-efficient for the best possible experience regardless of gender. Of course, not even every White will have a 1.0, but they still start closer to 1.0 than any Black person, especially Black males. Now, consider the eight participants' educational experiences with discrimination and racism. How much less than 1.0 was Mr. Gray's experience when the school bus would not pick him up and take him to school? Yet, he persisted in life to become a national figure in his field. Or Mr. Brown who they tried to retain in the 3rd grade, but he went on to get two Master's degrees and become a school counselor. And in my case, I was retained in the 3rd grade because I was labeled "modified general intelligence", but when I received my school records it showed that I tested at 110 IQ. My educational experience co-efficient would be around 0.5 because I was labeled and tracked

for vocational education and work as a laborer. I had a White teacher tell me, “You people are only as good for your strong backs.” I bring this phenomenon up here because economic outcomes are a function of education, and the education is a function of the quality and equity of that experience. Receiving less than a 1.0 educational experience affected all life outcomes for the participants and meant they had to persevere and overachieve unlike their White counterparts. This is a corollary to the old saying “A Black person has to be twice as good as a White person to get a job.” A better approach would be to take away the racism, and let the White person stand on his or her own merits. It is important for Black males, like the participants and myself, to tell our life counter stories to combat the narrative of liberalism that America is a meritocracy.

Whiteness as property. In analyzing the participants’ data, I had to agree with Harris (1993) that Whiteness as property right encompassed the right to exclude Blacks or others. Exemplified by this data, Whiteness as a property right was used to exclude Black children from a 1.0 educational experience, by being relegated into segregated neighborhoods, denied information about college, being excluded from appropriate jobs on a Navy ship or higher ranks in the Air Force, being denied certain high school counseling assignments in Cincinnati, withholding knowledge of how to work machinery at the mill, being overlooked for the top transportation executive in a city, and denied becoming a professor.

The author had two instances where Whiteness as property right affected my own economic outcomes. The first experience occurred with a department store company I joined right out of college where I became their first Black executive trainee to complete the training program. I did so well that they asked me to teach the merchandise math to trainees in subsequent classes. Over my 15 years with the company, I held jobs at every level coming up the

ranks and held positions such as department manager, assistant buyer, assistant to Senior Vice President Merchandise Manager, and divisional store manager. I was the first Black store manager for this national chain. I was assigned to a store in an urban area that was affected by the Watts Riots. Basically, they wanted to see if a Black store manager could save an urban store that was marked for closing. I was able to turn that store around, and it is still open today. My reward was the 2nd worst urban store about four miles away, that had caused the last White store manager to have a breakdown, and literally to be taken away crying from the loading dock. I loved that store and added five million dollars in sales over five years which put me on the short list to become the first Divisional Vice President of stores for this national company. Instead of the promotion, they asked me to manage store 24 miles from my home in a White neighborhood that they were closing. When I asked why this was happening, I was told that the company was not ready for a Black Vice President; that was a Whiteness property right that changed my economic outcome.

Believe it or not, this happened again with another national company. I took over the worst urban store in the United States for this company and turned it around in 12 months. My reward was that they promoted me to district manager of eight urban stores in northern California that had not made a profit in more than five years. I was able to turn that district around in 18 months and we won District of the Year sales increase and a big shortage reduction bonus that I used to take my family to Maui. My reward now was to become the district manager of my old district where I was a store manager just three years before. When I took over, my old boss had been fired because that district had fallen to 48th place out of 48 districts in three years. In about a year, I revived that district to 10th place in the company, and I opened a new store that had the largest opening sales on the West Coast. I was invited back to corporate to suggest best

practices for sales and preventing shrinkage. The feeling was if he can do this with our worst urban stores maybe he can help our “regular” stores. In one of the meetings with the company Executive Vice President of Stores, he mentioned there were some Regional Vice President positions coming up and asked if I would be interested. Of course, I was, but what happened was that my boss, who was a Regional Vice President, told me to my face he did not want me to be a Regional Vice President like him. After that conversation, he did everything in his power to sabotage my district performance such as cutting my payroll, sending regional people to do unannounced audits, and promoting my good managers and replacing them with problem people. For the second time, I did not become a Vice President because only White people were entitled to own that property position.

Interest convergence. Three participants also experienced “convergence of interest” where Whites only allowed Blacks to do something because it also benefited them. Such was the case with Mr. Gray being readmitted to high school, so the basketball team could make it to the regionals. Later at his mill job Mr. Gray secretly learned how to roll steel, and after he improved production, he was then made the trainer and a national ambassador for the mill. Mr. Brown was sent to the worst Air Force engine shop to work but later was allowed to run the shop when he made it a highly efficient shop. Mr. Black was hired as the “only” Black assistant branch manager and then shuttled from branch to branch to show that the bank had one Black.

This researcher was involved in at least two occasions of interest convergence which I covered in Whiteness as property. For two different national department store chains, I was used to turn around urban stores that my White counter-parts either were not able to manage or did not want the assignment. Each company wanted me when it was in their interest to save a business but did not promote me to Vice President which in each case was my next step up. This kind of

racism has impacted economic outcomes for Black males and what they could do financially for their families. As an aside to my interest convergence counter-story, a White male who was in my executive training class during 1969-1970 was given the Divisional Vice President assignment that I coveted in 1985, but he did not perform in the job. Later, when I was with the second nation department store chain, the Regional Vice President called me to give a reference for someone from my old company. I said sure who is it? He said, "It is Bob Smith (pseudonym,) a former Divisional Vice President, who said you guys were in the same executive training class in 1969." I said "No way, he only knows how to fly a desk. We need people to work our stores and train our people." Bob Smith was White.

Permanence of racism. Dr. Derrick Bell (1973) in an article entitled "Racism in American Courts: Case for Black Disruption or Despair," said, "the insidious destruction of the human spirit of the essence of both slavery and the worst aspects of contemporary White racism." (p. 165). It is now 2017, and those words are just as poignant today. The historical context of this study was from 1965 to the present, and even though Black males have made some progress, as exemplified by the study's eight participants, they told of racist incidents throughout their lives, especially at every level of their education. Racism in the military also created a glass ceiling for Blacks suppressing jobs and rank advancement. They experienced racism in employment opportunities, in segregated housing and communities not only in the South, and pervasive racism in how Black males were portrayed in the media as deficient and violent. It is noteworthy that, in this study, all of the participants did well financially. Not one complained of their White counterparts earning more than they earned; however, Whites got jobs that they did not earn by merit.

I would be remiss if I did not mention the renewed tension of the racial climate since Donald Trump has been elected President. What happened in Charlottesville, Virginia was deplorable by any measure, but the President of the United States refuses to condemn Nazis and White Nationalists. Some think the President's actions are a "dog whistle" suggesting that it is ok to be racist in the open in America. Unfortunately, Dr. Bell was prescient about the permanence of racism in America.

These stories represented an important 'counter narrative' that challenged the racist ideology used to create, maintain and justify the use of 'master narratives' in storytelling (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002 as cited in Lynn, Jennings, & Hughes, 2013, p. 609). Solorzano and Yussso also stated that since race was the main focus for people of color Bell's work (1987) a theoretical lens and a complimentary methodology that offered a counter narrative to comprehend the dilemma (of race) and helped develop viable solutions (p. 609).

Stereotype Threat. The author also analyzed the data through the lens of Claude Steele's Stereotype Threat (ST) which, is a situational pressure that affects African American students who are most domain-identified with school and academics. Earlier in this paper, I had two examples where ST may have been at work. One was situational with Mr. Brown who took the Nevada state counseling test eight times but had passed it the first time in South Carolina where he had a Black support group. The second ST example was Dr. Blue who could not have been more identified with academics with his Bachelor's degree, two Master's degrees, and a PhD, but he never had a position higher than assistant principal and was among the lowest earners. Early in the interview, Dr. Blue admitted that going to a predominately White school was a culture shock, and he felt isolated and different. Here is where I humbly differ with Dr. Steele that Stereotype Threat is only situational in academics. To me, Dr. Blue was a victim of ST, but

the timeframe was his academic career, not any particular test. From Dr. Steele's research and from my study, ST created a feeling of inferiority and a lack of efficacy that had a negative effect on performance of African American students. In Dr. Blue's case, he was made to feel inferior in a predominately White school and later in the same predominately White school administration. His reaction to the threat over his career was to continually go side-ways instead of wanting to move up the school administration ladder. Talking about his early career, Dr. Blue made the following comment.

In the fall of 1975, I started as a counselor at Walnut Hills. Hated it. The parents were prima donnas. The kids were prima donnas. It was that kind of arrogant attitude that I despised, that elitist attitude. Took me three years to get out of there... It seemed to me that they didn't want me to learn anything about counseling...college education. Walnut Hills High School had been the best high school in Ohio and predominately White since I was a child.

In 2017, it is still ranked number one in Ohio and number forty-seven nationally with 57 percent White students (U.S. News & World Report, 2017). My analysis through the lens of ST suggested that his education and subsequently his career was influenced in a negative way. Therefore, I suppose a corollary to Dr. Steele's Stereotype Threat was that it was not strictly situational but could do lasting harm by creating an inferiority complex and negative self-efficacy in the victim who is domain identified. It seemed that I am not the only researcher who believes this. Hucks (2014) in his study of African American males entitled "New Visions of Collective Achievement: The Cross-Generational Schooling Experiences of African American Males also used Steele's Stereotype Threat as a theoretical framework, and said this:

Regarding Steele's (1997) stereotype threat model, which suggests that negative stereotypes hinder the academic performance of African American males, findings from the current study support his work. At the same time, the current findings complicate Steele's work in a major way. Steele's research was limited to students experiencing stereotype threat under testing conditions. The participants in the current study have indicated that the threat of negative stereotypes impact their school performance on a daily basis beyond the parameters of testing. While Steele used a larger sample for his research, the group was narrowly defined due to their identification as gifted students of color. The current work uses a smaller sample but a more diverse group on a generational scale, which raises questions regarding the influence of stereotype threat on the non- test taking schooling experiences of Steele's group of students. By focusing solely on students' performance on standardized tests, Steele has overlooked the significant contextual factors that the current study has identified as being at work, both beyond schools and in schools - even when testing is not taking place. These contextual factors can negatively impact their performance on both formal and informal assessments as well as diminish students' learning experiences. In light of the findings suggested in this study, curiosity is piqued about the classroom learning experiences of Steele's "gifted and talented" students of color. Does stereotype threat exist in other areas of their academic lives? Eleven-year-old, Tyreek and 10-year old, Tyrone, would answer, "Yes, it does."(p. 351).

I agree with Huck's comment that Steele overlooked contextual factors by focusing in on performance on standardized tests. When students left the classroom where the standardized test was taken, they did not leave the ST behind with the test papers. It was a part of their psyche and

will remain in other contexts like inertia until acted upon by something that replaces it or reduces the ST.

The *Moynihan Report*. A goal of this study was to analyze the eight participants' lived experiences in the context of the 1965 *Moynihan Report* to see what progress these African American males made when compared to African American males at the time of the report. A major factor in the *Moynihan Report* was the Black family matriarchy, which was not a major factor for this study. As stated earlier, six of the eight participants had fathers at home. The failure of youth issue for Moynihan became the success of youth in this study because most participants lived with their fathers, felt nurtured in segregated schools, and none of the participants were behind a modal grade because of family structure. In the universe of the participants, education became very important to each one. As I said earlier, just imagine a world where 62.5 percent of Black males have Bachelor's degrees, 25 percent have Master's degrees, and 25 percent have PhD's. That will be a beautiful place. In the participants' experiences, unemployment was never an issue. Even though Black male unemployment still runs close to twice that of White males, the education level and work ethic of the participants kept them employed over their working careers. Income comparison for the eight participants was also positive when compared to the White male national average of \$55,166 in 2015 with the study's lowest earning participant achieving \$70,000 annually. In Moynihan's study, he said "A majority of crimes against the person...are committed by Negroes" (p.38). The author debunked that theory earlier in the chapter with current statistics from the Bureau of Justice. However, in our participant collective experience, we had one career criminal who spent 27 years in prison for drug and firearm offenses. Later, he turned his life around and is now a solid citizen putting his son through junior college. The other participants had brushes with the law as youngsters,

especially Mr. Black and his stealing used cars for joy ride adventures. He later became an adjunct professor, writer, and publisher of eight books on economics. Finally, none of the three participants, who took the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT), failed it. My study sample was a purposeful sample of African American males which cannot be generalized to the general African American male public, but analytically this group was illustrative of the progress that could be made and would be made, even when Black males were erroneously labeled an “endangered species.”

Limitations of the Study

I am an African American male researcher like my participants who are African American males. I could have shown bias due to personal connections to the study. To guard against this, I sought to maintain fidelity to the highest standards of research integrity. Qualitative research is often criticized because of the sample size; it cannot be generalized to the larger population. Another limitation may be that interviews are self-reports and depend on the honesty of the participants. Finally, it might have been considered a limitation to the study that the participants were compensated for their time and transcripts and therefore only participating for the money. I worked tirelessly to mitigate these limitations through triangulation, i.e., getting many sources of confirming documentation.

The knowledge gained from this study may not be generalizable to the total population of African American males; however, it can still shed new light on the experience of African American males in the realms of education and employment. This information could potentially help shape policy decisions to benefit this group of citizens.

Implications for Future Research

While doing background research for this study I continually saw a lack of qualitative research that gave voice to life experiences of Black males related to education within the Critical Race Theory framework. The same can be said for the lack of CRT scholarship in qualitative research giving voice to Black male job outcomes. There needs to be more studies that test Stereotype Threat's effect on Black males over time, based on their own perspectives. I see the last two research studies as a mixed method research model using the numbers to explain some of the interview data gained from participants. There needs to be more research into how institutionalized racism affects Black males view of the educational process. I also think there should be more research into each of the themes of this study regarding Black lives; education, family, jobs, neighborhood, and racism. For instance, the theme neighborhood leads me to research the evolution of neighborhoods the participants lived in, which lead me to the "Urban Renewal" policies of Robert Moses of New York. A comprehension study of that policy is worth researching to find the accumulated effects on Black lives.

Lastly, more research is needed to better understand the effect of having Black teachers teach Black children (Walker, 2008, p. 108).

Recommendations for Policy

Policy makers need to promote programs that promote a better school environment for African American males:

1. Create a mandatory teacher diversity and sensitivity program to promote better cultural understanding among mostly White female teachers.

2. Develop a program to increase the number African American teachers in schools across America, especially African American males. Look at creative ways to use retired African American college graduates, former teachers, and military officers.
3. Re-institute the military draft. The military is still the employer of last resort for Black males. This could pull proportionally more Black males into mainstream society.
4. Re-institute the Federal Affirmative Action to promote hiring minorities including set-asides for Federal programs and construction projects.
5. The Federal government should re-visit the educational “unintended consequences” of *Brown versus Board of Education*.

Conclusions

In Chapter one, I stated the purpose of this study was to examine the connection between education and employment outcomes for African American males through the dual lenses of Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat, within the historical context of the 1965 *Moynihan Report*. Also, I had three assumptions about African American males in the study: 1) that they are entitled to pursue their basic “unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”, 2) that there is some relationship between educational attainment and employments prospects, and 3) Black males want to be meaningfully educated and employed. The study was driven by two research questions:

- 1a: How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American males’ employment opportunities?
- 1b: How, if at all, do employment experiences of African American males shape their educational experiences?

The study used the qualitative research approach of in - depth interviewing of a purposeful sample of eight African American males 18 years or older. The study emphasized the use of an older sample to fit the historical context of the *1965 Moynihan Report*. Three of the participants were in their 70's, two were in their 60's, two were in their 50's, and one in his 30's which totaled 473 years of Black male life experiences in America to give their perspective in their voice.

Using Critical Race Theory and Stereotype Threat as lenses to examine the participants' experiences allowed the researcher to provide structure to their data, of their life experiences. All of the participants used educational attainment to be successful in the work force, but attaining an education was never smooth when navigating in predominately White schools. I was surprised when data revealed that the participants preferred to be in segregated schools with all Black teachers and administrators because they felt cared about and supported to succeed, and they would not let them fail. It was not a surprise to me that predominately White schools were racist and treated Black students like they did not belong. Still, the eight participants persisted in education to accumulate as a group: 1 GED, 1 high school diploma, 1 Associates' degree, 5 Bachelor's degrees, 6 Master's degrees, and 2 PhD's. This line score of the participants' education is why I wanted to do this study in the first place. There is a dearth of qualitative studies about Black males in education that does not portray them as deficient in some way. The stories of these eight Black males gave an important positive counter story to the prevailing narrative that Black males are a lost cause and "an endangered species." The second thing that I learned from this study was an answer to the second research question about how employment experiences shape educational experiences. All of the participants used education as a tool over their life time, including the drug dealer who went to school in prison to get his GED. The other

participants went back to school to get Bachelors, Master's, and PhD's, all to move to the next level in their career even though, in some cases, they were not welcomed in graduate school.

Critical Race Theory tenets and Stereotype Threat provided the theoretical framework for their voices. CRT tenets of counter storytelling, critique of liberalism, racism, Whiteness as property, and interest convergence were used to highlight instances in the participants' lives where these tenets intersected. The CRT tenets allowed the researcher to put participants' similar racial occurrences into theoretical buckets that confirmed Derrick Bell's thesis of the "permanence of racism" in America. Counter storytelling can be a powerful tool in qualitative research. How else would we learn about a young Black boy being raised by his drug dealing father, who was entered in a city wide spelling bee in the fourth grade, but went on to spend 27 years in prison. Without counter storytelling, how would we know of the "interest convergence" that occurred when a Black boy, not allowed on the school bus at a newly integrated school, labeled a "weak student," and retained in the fourth grade, but then was to asked to return to school to help the basketball team win the regional tournament. I was surprised that a Black boy treated like this would show up for school 96.4 percent of the time in elementary school and 94.8 percent in middle school to be educated. The school system failed Mr. Gray, but he survived and succeeded anyway because of his grit and positive attitude. This same participant experienced another occasion of "interest convergence" "when the steel mill where he worked did not want to train Blacks to run the machinery, but like in the era of slavery the Black co-workers at the "the mill found a way to train him. Mr. Gray became the national face of that same mill because he developed a process that doubled production, and he became "the man" to train the trainers around the United States. Without counter storytelling, how else would we know about "Whiteness as a property" in the military? Two participants were not allowed jobs in their branch

of the service because those jobs were for “Whites only”. Mr. Black passed the AFQT and should have been a clerk, but was relegated to kitchen duty with the rest of the Blacks. Also, Mr. Brown was prevented from becoming an E-9 and managing his own air group because of false accusations placed in his file nevertheless, he proved his worth by improving what was considered “the worse engine shop” in the Air Force bringing it to exemplary performance levels.

Throughout the interview data, it was evident that the participants experienced many instances where the “critique of liberalism” applied because schools were not “colorblind” nor were they “a meritocracy”. Moreover, schools exhibited racist tendencies toward Black boys in many cases. These tenets gave the researcher an invaluable framework to view and organize the data, and for that I am grateful to Critical Race Theory.

The other theoretical lens I used to analyze the data was Stereotype Threat. I was surprised that not all of the participants experienced some form of ST. I combed through each participant interview looking for ST but only came away with two instances. One was a “classical Stereotype Threat” where Mr. Brown took a counseling test eight times in a predominately White environment, and the other was Dr. Blue who excelled in academics but seemed to be intimidated in predominately White environments. He experienced assignments in White schools where he stated, “I hated it.” However, this started much earlier when he got to high school where he was made to feel like an “other”, because he was Black. That feeling was magnified because he was usually the only Black in his honors class. My interpretation of the data is that he experienced a long-term version of Stereotype Threat somewhat at odds with Dr. Steele’s position that ST is “only” situational. I see in Dr. Blue’s case that he had a “love-hate” relationship with academics. He loved doing well in academics, which he did with all of his

degrees but felt some form of Stereotype Threat that produced an inferiority complex in predominately White venues. I cannot help but to wonder how different his career in education would have been if he had remained in an all-Black nurturing environment his whole education. Maybe school superintendent?

Using the 1965 *Moynihán Report* as historical context allowed me to be surprised about where my participant sample stood in relation to the “tangle of pathologies” and to his dire predictions that Black matriarchy, failure of youth, Black male education, unemployment and poverty, delinquency and crime, and the Armed forces would perpetuate the cycle (p. 30). In the study’s sample, these dire warnings did not hold. Fathers were in six of the eight homes. Only two households were headed by women. There was no failure of youth in this sample even though two participants, plus the author, were retained for dubious reasons in a racist school system. This sample exceeded expectations for Black male education by quite a margin with all those degrees and certificates. Even given the fact purposive nature of the sample, their educational accomplishments were impressive: 87.5 percent with diplomas, 62.5 percent with Bachelor’s degrees, 25 percent with Master’s degrees, and 25 percent with PhD’s. Black male education was not a problem in this universe.

Unemployment and poverty was not a problem for any participant largely due their education and work ethic. They talked of being between jobs or careers but never in the sense of being unemployed or being poor. They all had better than average incomes, even when compared to White males.

In the area of delinquency and crime, I was surprised that delinquency was not a problem for the group. Even though as youngsters, five were court involved, only Mr. Purple became a career criminal and spent time in prison. It must be noted that Mr. Purple turned his life around

and is now working with the city of Los Angeles in Gang Intervention in his office on church property. Three of the participants served in the military and passed the AFQT the first time. All three had honorable discharges which made them eligible for all veteran medical, housing, and retirement benefits. Mr. Black, who has ALS, said “Staying in the Navy was the smartest decision he ever made,” besides marrying his wife.

I learned a lot from the data collected in these interviews and feel honored to have worked with the eight participants who agreed to be part of this study. Such in-depth lived experiences, told in their own voices, will add to the literature looking to understand the African American male experience in education and employment. Also, the 50-year time span was an important gauge of Black progress on issues brought up by the 1965 *Moynihan Report*, which is now becoming a “White urban myth.” The bottom line of Moynihan’s White urban myth is that the Black family and Blacks are more violent and is the blame for “the Negro Pathologies” of his day. 50 years later, we are finding that the Black family condition is socio-economic rather than cultural, and that proportionally; Blacks are no more violent than Whites as shown in Chapter 4.

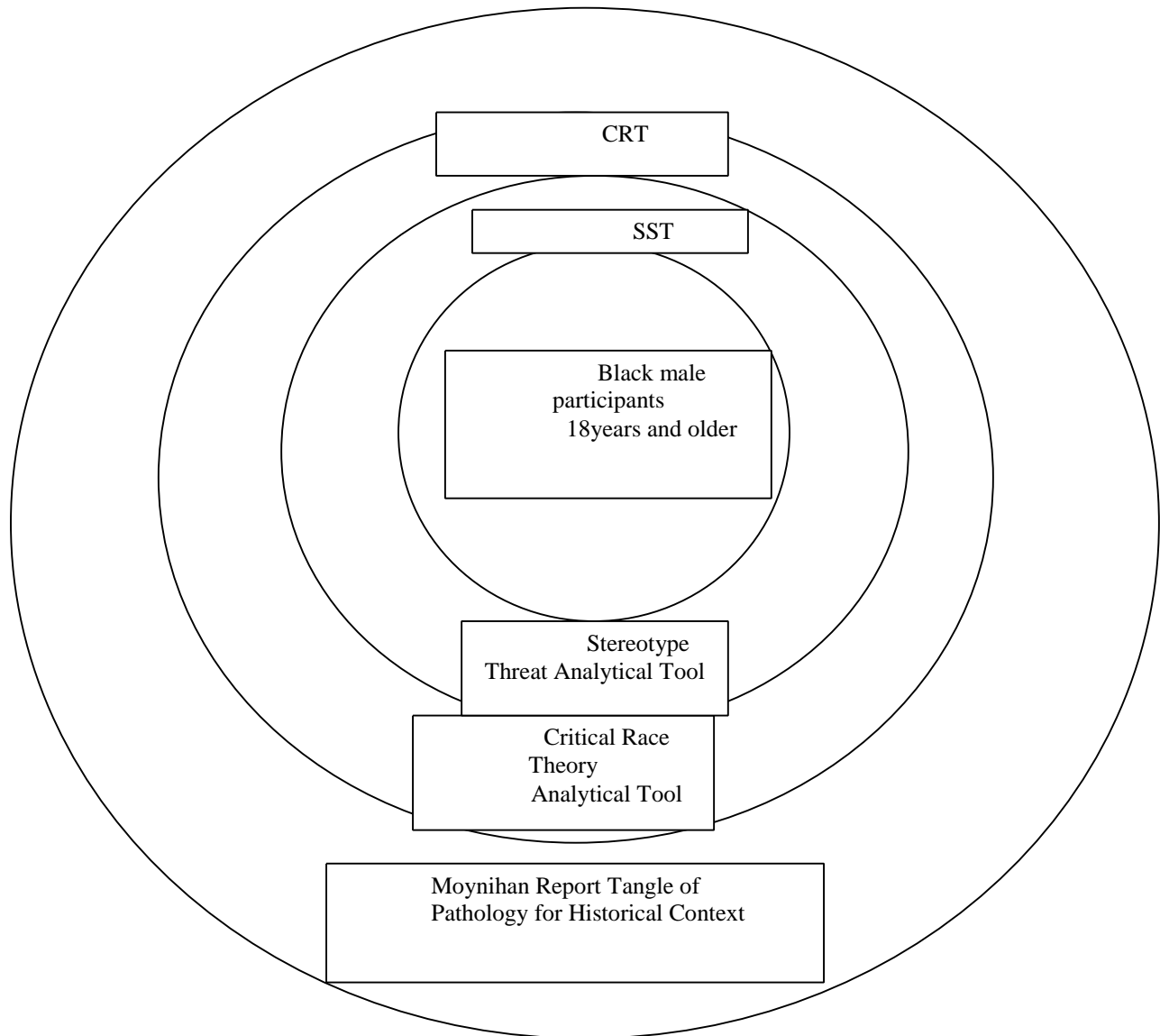
Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is to understand personal experiences of what life is like being a Black male in a White hegemony. It is significant that the study examined participants at several different levels of educational attainment and subsequent employment outcomes. Out of the data three revelations emerged: 1) that the participants preferred segregated Black schools with fewer supplies, and schools that had Black teachers would not allow them to fail. Brown vs. Board of Education forced integration, but an unintended consequence is that many Black teachers were forced out when school districts were consolidated; 2) that employment experiences shape educational experiences because as participants achieved more education they

moved up to better jobs or careers, which in some cases necessitated even more education to move to the next level; and 3) that all of the participants plus the author had to move because of “urban renewal” which was aimed at Black neighborhoods to secure highway funds from the federal government. Herriges (2017) in his report *The History of Urban Freeways: Who counts?* shows that Black neighborhoods were targeted. This policy disrupted the lives of Black families who in some cases had just settled in the “great migration”, and now they had to resettle again to make room for highways. There was nothing about this in the *Moynihan Report* which overlaps with this time period.

This study is significant because it is the first time the *Moynihan Report* was examined through the lens of Critical Race Theory, and the crime data in the report was found to be incorrect when compared to the source; FBI: Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics: Violent Crimes (1963). Lastly, this study fills a gap in the literature regarding Black men and their lived experiences; especially as reported by a Black male researcher.

Appendix A: Conceptual Framework Diagram



Appendix B: Jim Crow Laws

The following are examples of Jim Crow laws from various states that stayed in force until the 1960's.

Teaching: Any instructor who shall teach in any school, college or institution where members of the white and colored race are received and enrolled as pupils for instruction shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars (\$10.00) nor more than fifty dollars (\$50.00) for each offense. *Oklahoma*

Education: Separate schools shall be maintained for the children of the white and colored races. *Mississippi*

Education: Separate free schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent; and it shall be unlawful for any colored child to attend any white school, or any white child to attend a colored school. *Missouri*

Education: Separate rooms [shall] be provided for the teaching of pupils of African descent, and [when] said rooms are so provided; such pupils may not be admitted to the school rooms occupied and used by pupils of Caucasian or other descent. *New Mexico*

Textbooks: Books shall not be interchangeable between the white and colored schools, but shall continue to be used by the race first using them. *North Carolina*

Libraries: The state librarian is directed to fit up and maintain a separate place for the use of the colored people who may come to the library for the purpose of reading books or periodicals. *North Carolina*

Textbooks: Books shall not be interchangeable between the white and colored schools, but shall continue to be used by the race first using them. *North Carolina*

Intermarriage: All marriages between a white person and a Negro, or between a white person and a person of Negro descent to the fourth generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited.

Florida

Cohabitation: Any negro man and white woman, or any white man and negro woman, who are not married to each other, who shall habitually live in and occupy in the nighttime the same room shall each be punished by imprisonment not exceeding twelve (12) months, or by fine not exceeding five hundred (\$500.00) dollars. *Florida*

Railroads: The conductors or managers on all such railroads shall have power, and are hereby required, to assign to each white or colored passenger his or her respective car, coach or compartment. If the passenger fails to disclose his race, the conductor and managers, acting in good faith, shall be the sole judges of his race. *Virginia*

Lunch Counters: No persons, firms, or corporations, who or which furnish meals to passengers at station restaurants or station eating houses, in times limited by common carriers of said passengers, shall furnish said meals to white and colored passengers in the same room, or at the same table, or at the same counter. *South Carolina*

Restaurants: It shall be unlawful to conduct a restaurant or other place for the serving of food in the city, at which white and colored people are served in the same room, unless such white and colored persons are effectually separated by a solid partition extending from the floor upward to a distance of seven feet or higher, and unless a separate entrance from the street is provided for each compartment. *Alabama*

Buses: All passenger stations in this state operated by any motor transportation company shall have separate waiting rooms or space and separate ticket windows for the white and colored races. *Alabama* (MLK, Jr National Historic Site, 2014, p. 1).

Appendix C: Participants' Coded Quotations by Location

Table 7

Participants Coded Quotations by Location

Code	Cincinnati	Nevada	Los Angeles	Totals
Education	172	82	51	305
Family	71	35	30	136
Jobs	92	48	26	166
Neighborhood	101	45	58	204
Racism	88	47	7	142
Totals	524	257	172	953

Appendix D: Research Questions Matched to Participants Questions

Research Questions Matched to Participants Questions		
Research Question 1a	Data Source	Relevant Participant Questions
How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American employment opportunities?	90-minute interview Follow-up interviews	Describe your experiences growing up. With whom did you live while in school?
How, if at all, do the educational experiences of African American males shape their employment experiences?	90-minute interview Follow-up interviews K-12 transcripts (report cards) College transcripts Participant student archives (i.e. yearbook) Member checking Newspaper clippings	Where did you live? How would you describe your home environment growing up? What can you tell me about your K-12 school experience? Do you remember any specific successes/challenges in school? What do you remember about your school attendance record and your grades? Do you remember liking or disliking school? Why/why not? Did you ever have trouble in school/or get into trouble at school? Please explain. During your school years did you ever become court involved? If so, please explain. Did you finish high school? Why not?

Research Question 1 a	Data Source	Relevant Participant Questions
How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American employment opportunities?	90-minute interview Follow-up interviews	What influences do you remember impacting your ability to finish high school or not finish high school?
How, if at all, do the educational experiences of African American males shape their employment experiences?	90-minute interview Follow-up interviews K-12 transcripts (report cards) College transcripts Participant student archives (i.e. yearbook) Member checking Newspaper clippings	What did you want to be when you grew up? Do you remember if you knew how to become what you wanted? What influences do you remember impacting these aspirations? What influences do you remember impacting your ability to attend college or not attend college? Where did you go to college? Why? Did you graduate from college? Why not? What influences do you remember affecting? how far you went to college?

Research Questions 1 b	Data Source	Relevant Participant Questions
How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American employment opportunities?	90-minute interviews Follow-up interviews	What was your first job? Did you did work while in high school?
How, if at all, do employment experiences of African American males shape their educational experiences?	90-minute interviews Follow-up interviews Resume Performance reviews Reference letters Recognition and awards Any licenses Any workplace artifacts Newspaper clippings	What was your first job out of high school? What do you remember about your job searches? Did you always get the job you wanted? Please explain. How many jobs do you apply for before you land one? Have you always had good work experiences? Please explain. What do you remember about your job interviews? What is your current job status? Are you satisfied with your career situation? What is your current family status? Have you ever been convicted of a felony? Have you ever felt that you were discriminated against in a job search?

Research Question 1 b	Data Source	Relevant Participant Questions
<p>How, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American employment opportunities?</p> <p>How, if at all, do employment experiences of African American males shape their educational experiences?</p>	<p>90-minute interviews Follow-up interviews</p> <p>90-minute interviews Follow-up interviews</p> <p>Resume</p> <p>Performance reviews</p> <p>Reference letters</p> <p>Recognition and awards</p> <p>Any licenses</p> <p>Any workplace artifacts</p> <p>Newspaper clippings</p>	<p>What influences do you remember impacting your aspirations (or lack of aspirations)?</p>

Appendix E: Participants' Outcome Matrix

Table 8

Participants' Outcome Matrix

Partic. ID	Age	Identity	Educ.	Career	Employ. Sector	Top Yearly Earning	Court	Kids	Married
Mr. Green	71	Black	Master's	City Transport	Public/Private	\$300,000	Yes	1	48
Mr. Black	71	Black	BA	Counselor; Journalist	Public/Private	\$125,000	Yes	1	25
Dr. Blue	70	Black	2 MA; 1 PhD	Teacher; Counselor	Public	\$70,000	No	0	N/A
Mr. Brown	61	Black	2 MA	Military; Counselor	Military/Public	\$75,000	No	1	44
Dr. Red	35	Black	PhD	Banking; Education	Public/Private	\$110,000	Yes	0	N/A
Mr. Gray	66	Black	High School	Steel Manuf.	Private	\$150,000	Yes	15	21
Mr. Purple	50	Black	Dropout	Drug Dealer	Black Mkt.	\$300,000	Yes	2	N/A
Mr. Tan	49	Black	Assoc.	Office Mgr; Counselor	Private/Public	\$70,000	No	1	N/A
Total Years	473								

Appendix F: Participants' Transcript Summary

Table 9

Participants' Transcript Summary

Participant	Mr. Green	Mr. Black	Dr. Blue	Mr. Gray	Mr. Brown	Dr. Red	Mr. Purple	Mr. Tan
Elementary Transcript	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0
Mid. School Transcript	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0
High Sch. Transcript	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0
Comm.Coll. Transcript	X	X	0	0	X	0	0	X
Undergrad. Transcript	X	X	X	0	X	0	0	X
Graduate Transcript	X	0	X	0	X	X	0	0
Undergrad. GPA	2.31	3.66	2.46	N/A	2.56	N/A	N/A	2.72
Graduate GPA	3.68	N/A	3.53	N/A	3.72	3.84	N/A	N/A

Appendix G : Selected Examples of Data Codes

Table 4

Selected Examples of Data Codes

Open Codes	Axial Codes	Themes
<p>Security measures affect school environment</p> <p>Security measures affect participants' perception of school</p> <p>Security measures affect participants emotionally</p> <p>Influence of security measures on participants' interest in school</p>	<p>School environment is uncaring</p> <p>School environment is similar to a detention center</p> <p>Participants experience various emotions</p> <p>Participants did not want to go to school</p>	<p>Impact of security measures on school environment</p>
<p>Teacher-student relationship affect participants</p> <p>Importance of demonstrating support for participants</p> <p>Teacher-student relationship affects participants' interest in school</p>	<p>Good teacher-student relationship is essential</p> <p>Teacher-student relationship demonstrates support for academic efforts</p> <p>Teacher-student relationship influences participants' academic performance</p>	<p>Need for strong teacher-student relationship</p>
<p>Participants' belief that teachers were not supportive of them when they misbehaved</p>	<p>Teachers should demonstrate support for participants when they misbehave, rather than send them to the Dean's office</p>	<p>Impact of disciplinary space on student learning</p>
<p>Teachers' stereotypical beliefs about Black males policies affect participants' ability to graduate</p>	<p>Influence of stereotypical belief on teachers' reactions influence participant ability to complete coursework</p>	<p>Impact of school exclusionary policies on student outcomes (Caton, 2012, Table 2, p. 1059)</p>

Appendix I: Author Booking Photo



Appendix J: My Mother Passed for White When Necessary



Appendix K: Demographic Profile of Participants

Table 3

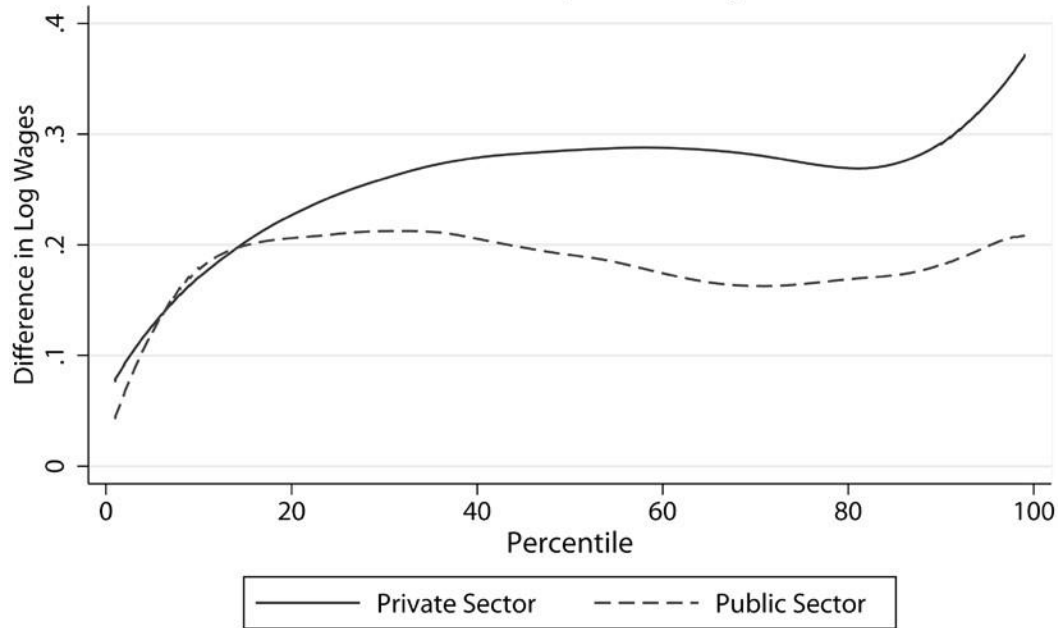
Demographic Profile of the Participants (N=10)

Participants' pseudonyms	Age	Number of Interviews	Total hours of interview	Number of highest grade achieved	Reason for dropping out
Troy*	19	7	8	11th (16/17)	Expulsion
Errol	18	7	9	10th (15/16)	Expulsion
Dwayne	19	8	8	10th “	Suspended-behind in class
John	20	6	8	11th (16/17)	Expulsion
Chris	17	7	8	10th (15/16)	Suspended-did not return behind in class
Mike*	18	7	7	11th (16/17)	Expulsion
Tom*	17	7	8	10th (15/16)	Suspended-did not return behind in class
Shaun	19	8	8.5	10th “	Suspended-did not return behind in class
Cliff	19	6	6.5	11th (16/17)	Expulsion
Andrew	18	6	7	10th (15/16)	Expulsion

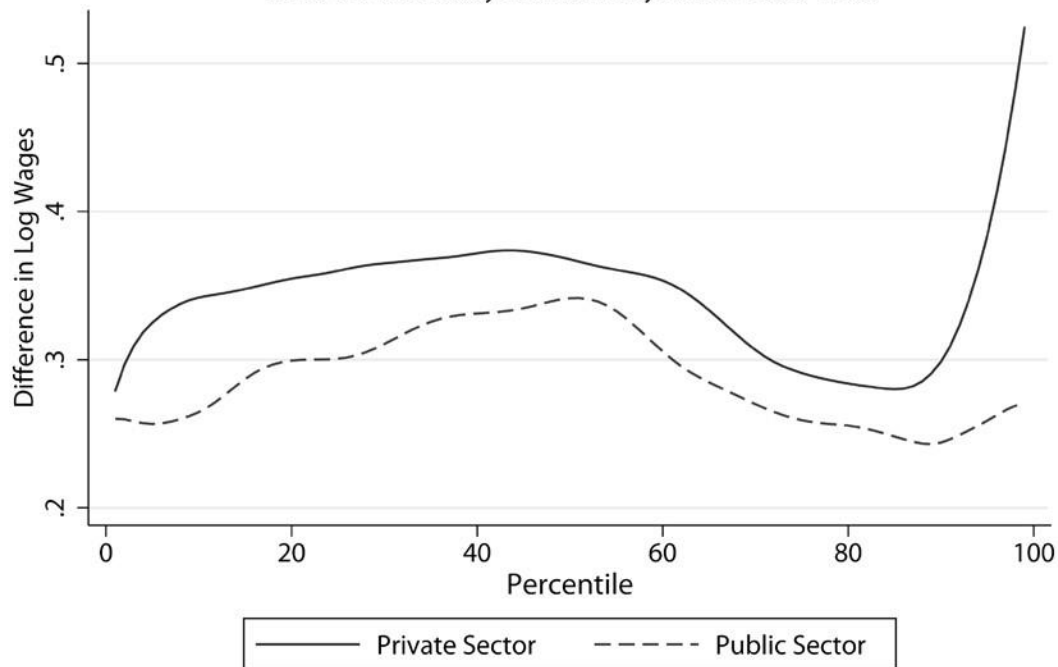
Note: Troy, Mike, and Tom were transferred from their neighborhood high school to one for students with violent behavior (Caton, 2012, p. 1059).

Appendix L: White-Black Wage Gap by Percentile

Panel A: March Current Population Survey 1976–1998

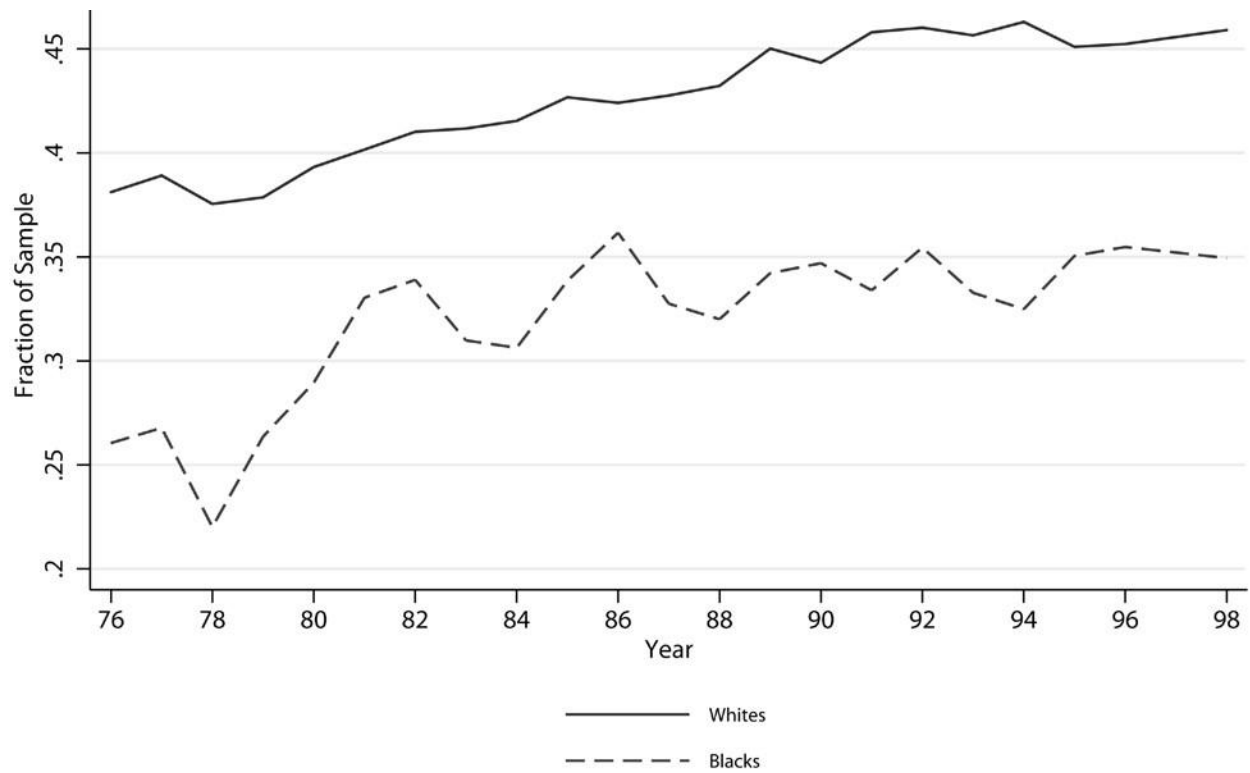


Panel B: Panel Study of Income Dynamics 1976–1998



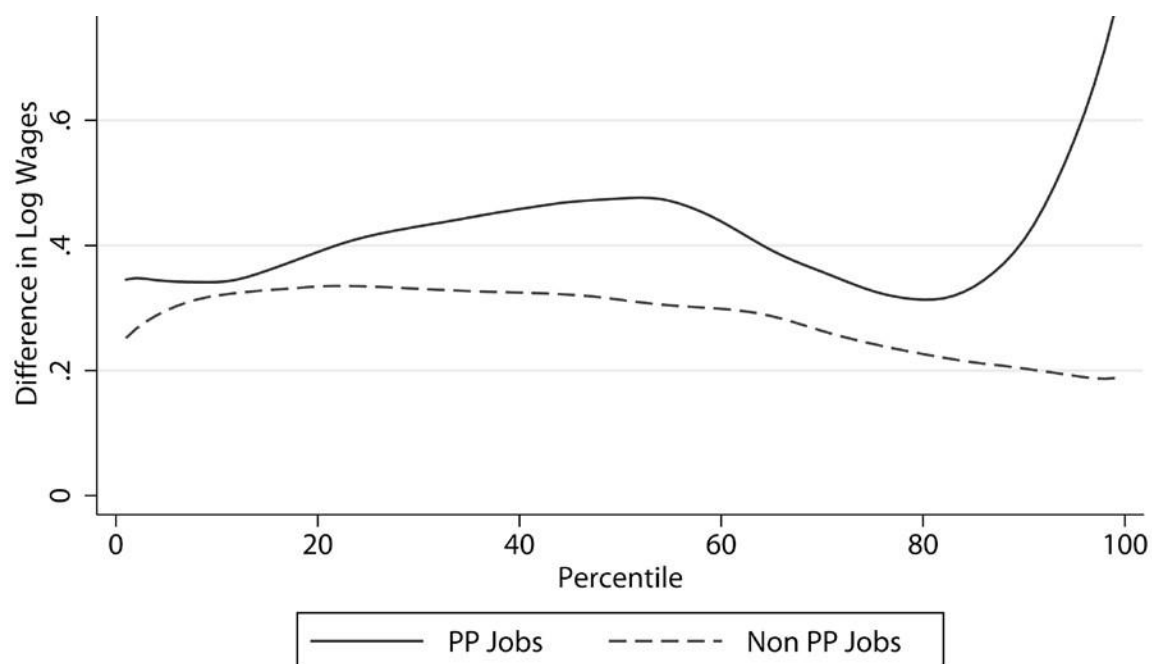
Note: White-black wage gap by percentile, smoothed by locally weighted regression computed net of year effects. Source: PSID, 1976-98. (*Figure 1*. From Heywood & Parent, 2009, p.260)

Appendix M: Performance-Pay by Job Incidence



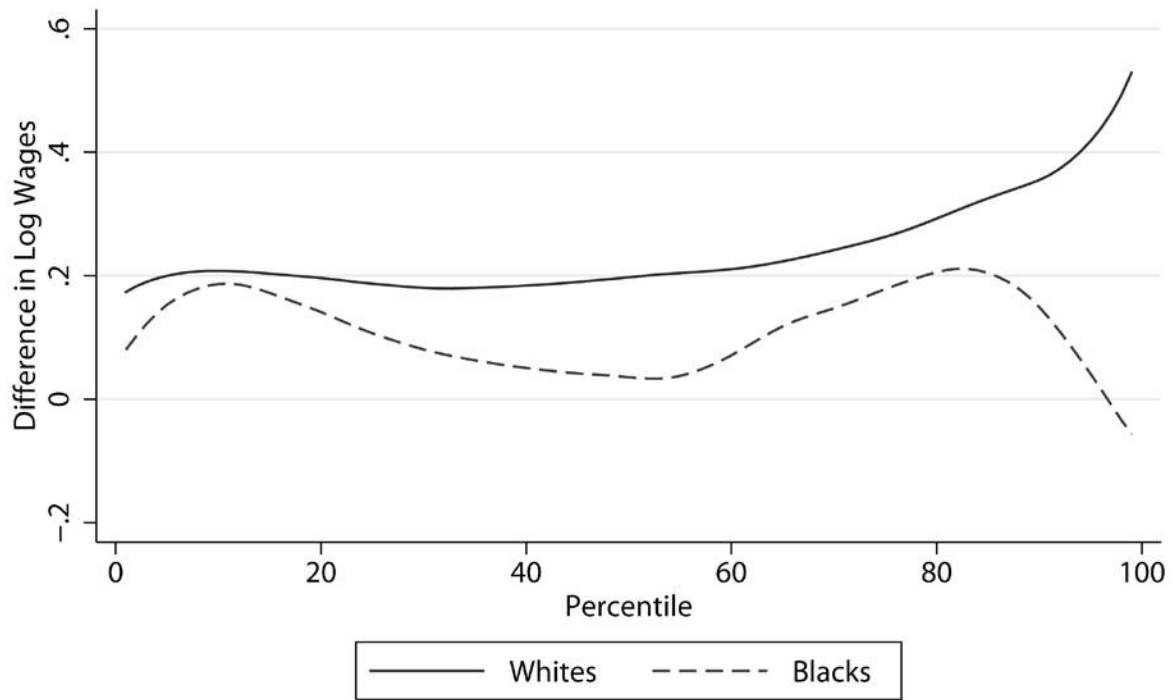
Note: Performance-pay job incidence. Source: PSID, 1976–98. (*Figure 2.* From Heywood & Parent, 2009, p. 261).

Appendix N: White-Black by Job Type



Note: White-black wage gap by type of jobs: smoothed by locally weighted regression. Source: PSID, 1976–98. (*Figure 3* from Heywood & Parent, 2009, p. 261).

Appendix O: Wage Gap Performance Jobs



Note. Wage gap between performance-pay jobs and non-performance pay jobs by group: smoothed by locally weighted regression. Source: PSID, 1976 (*Figure 4* from Heywood and Parent 2009, p. 261).

Appendix P: Summary Statistics Performance Jobs

Table 5

Summary Statistics: PSID, 1976-98

	Blacks		Whites	
	Non-Performance Pay Jobs (1)	Performance Pay Jobs (2)	Non-Performance Pay Jobs (3)	Performance Pay Jobs (4)
Avg hourly earnings (2008 dollars)	18.80	21.03	24.73	32.45
Age	38.11	37.75	38.16	39.17
Education	11.78	12.39	12.60	13.39
Potential experience	20.34	19.36	19.56	19.68
Employee tenure	6.47	10.99	7.58	9.15
Married	.60	.60	.73	.79
Union covered CBA	.32	.30	.27	.13
Paid by the hour	.82	.57	.64	.28
Paid a salary	.16	.29	.34	.53
Annual hours worked	2,018	2,222	2,137	2,296
Father H.S. graduate	.20	.30	.24	.28
Mother H.S. graduate	.20	.38	.42	.43
Father BA+	.02	.03	.09	.12
Mother BA+	.02	.01	.05	.09
Father professional	.01	.04	.08	.11
Father manager	.01	.01	.05	.07
No. workers (2908).	797	302	1702	923
No. job matches (7159)	1,683	383	3,747	1,346
Observations (total)	4,771	2,157	11,059	7,271

Note. The sample consists of male household heads aged 18–65 employed in the private sector. All figures in the table represent sample means. Education, potential experience, and employer tenure are measured in years. Potential experience is defined as age minus education minus 6. Performance-pay jobs are employment relationships in which part of the worker's total compensation includes a variable pay component (bonus, commission, or piece rate). Any worker who reports overtime pay is considered to be in a non-performance pay job. Workers are considered unionized if they are covered by a collective bargaining agreement. If the respondents either do not know their parents' level of schooling or do not want to answer, then those parents are assigned to less than high school. (Heywood and Parent, 2009, p. 258)

Appendix Q: Components of Performance-Pay

Table 6

Components of Performance-Pay by Percentile of Wage Distribution: PSID, 1976-98

Percentage Range	Blacks	Whites
1st - 10th		
Piece rates	.038	.013
Commissions	.51	.6
Bonuses	.98	.125
11th-30th		
Piece rates	.034	.008
Commissions	.054	.008
Bonuses	.123	.153
31st-50th		
Piece rates	.017	.008
Commissions	.046	.066
Bonuses	.112	.130
51st-70th		
Piece rates	.012	.009
Commissions	.048	.066
Bonuses	.103	.125
71st-90th		
Piece rates	.002	.005
Commissions	.031	.063
Bonuses	.086	.147
91st-100th		
Piece rates	.001	.003
Commissions	.020	.083
Bonuses	.125	.262
No. workers (2,908)	896	2,012
Observations (25,258)	6,928	18,330

Note. Entries represent the fraction of observations for which the worker's pay includes piece rates, commissions, or bonuses in any given year. (Heywood and Parent, 2009, p. 259)

Appendix R: Mr. Purple's First Interview

Bob: March 29, 2017

Bob: Start in the beginning with your earliest memories of your childhood, going to school, your parents, your household, when you moved... Literally this is about you and your life story.

Mr. Purple: I was born in Rochester, New York in 1967. My earliest memory is I remember Rochester when we came to LA and went back to Rochester. I was brought out here in 1968 by my mother. My father had already come to LA. I guess he was looking for a better place to live without bad weather and bad circumstances. My father was actually gotten shot 7 times by the time I was born. He got shot 7 times and never died. So, with that said, he left Rochester, and he moved to Los Angeles.

I remember my mother vaguely. My mother brought me to LA, but her brother died. So my mother had to go back to help take care of her mother. From then on, my mother wasn't in my life from 5 to 30, and I found her; but I'll get back to that. When I was a child we lived on the east side. It was called the Low Bottoms now, 24th and Central, Adams and Central where the old Black entertainers used to go for drugs. My father was a hustler. He ran from child support. My father couldn't get a job at that time. My father hustled. He sold drugs and pills... My father, of course, pimped. He wasn't an educated person book wise, but streetwise he was extremely intelligent. I recall being a child, and my father brought me in the house. I was about 3 or 4. When he brought me in the house, he filled my pockets with money and sent me back outside to play. So I was outside playing. I looked in the house, and the police were in the house. In the old days, if the police were in the house it was to shake you down for money. They didn't realize it. I didn't realize I was outside playing outside with all the money in my pockets.

We grow up in ...When my mother left, my stepmother came by. My step-mother was white, and my brothers are all half-white. My step-mother came to Los Angeles. I don't know what year

that was. When she moved to LA, she started working for the city. My father was still hustling. He was still doing his thing. He was still in the streets. He was still getting money from women, but he eventually bought a home on 116th and Town, off Avalon, right where the Watts Riots started.

Bob: When you said that, it immediately went to my brain.

Mr. Purple: Yeah, loved that area. We lived behind her, on the other side. It was interesting now when I reflect on it because when we moved there my father had a job. It was a time of great poverty. You can imagine what it was like living there. My father was working for the city of Los Angeles. My stepmother worked for a law firm. We owned our house. My father had a brand-new car. He had a brand-new Cadillac. Then my little brother was born, and he was half-white. So everybody in the community found a reason to dislike us because everybody else was starving. At that time, we'd go in houses and play... I didn't have the realization of two things that I'd find old walkie talkies and stuff packed up. One thing I didn't realize, since I was so young, was that people had left because of the Watts Riots. The second thing I didn't realize was that a lot of people had just come back from the Viet Nam War. We would actually get old army issue walkie talkies and stuff. The houses were boarded up. So as kids we would tear off the boards off the houses.

Bob: Like the Wire.

Mr. Purple: Like the Wire... by the grass fields. Now the 105 goes through there. This was before the 105. The 105 wasn't even an idea at that time. We moved eventually. I remember the racism in the area was crazy.

Bob: Like what?

Mr. Purple: Because my father was married to a white woman. I mean I had to fight going to school and fight coming home. My brother is half-white, so I had to fight for my little brother going to school and going over to 118th where I went to school.

Bob: So who were you fighting?

Mr. Purple: I was fighting my neighbors. I was fighting everybody in the neighborhood.

Bob: What kind of neighbors? Were they Black, white...?

Mr. Purple: Black. We lived on 116th and Town near a big apartment building. It took up a whole block. It was a poverty-stricken area. Like I said, my father worked for the city. My step-mother worked for a legal firm. So we basically had all our needs taken care of; but everybody was jealous because they lived in poverty and partially because my father was married to a white wife, partially because for whatever reason...

Bob: Everything thrown in the mix.

Mr. Purple: Right. We would fight going to school and going home from school. We would fight all the time. They would always f- with me. They would say you have a white brother and white mother... So I had an incident when I was a kid. It was one Saturday. I never will forget this.

One day, my father sent me to the store. There was this store on 117th and Avalon. It was across the street from the fields. I would cross the fields on the other side of the apartments. It was before the 105.

This morning, my father sent me to the store. This boy was there who I would fight all the time.

We were in the store, and me and him were having a conflict in the store. All the adults were agitating it. At the same time, the boy's brother was in the store. They were agitating...

agitating... They said you f-ed your white brother... Your white mother this... So the boy slapped me, and I chased him. I ran out on Avalon, and I stopped at the curb. He ran out in the

street, ran across the yellow line, and was killed by a truck. He was killed by a diesel truck. I was 6. I don't know how old he was.

At that point, I didn't know how to process it. One thing I didn't have was I didn't have my mother to help me process the situation or understand the feelings. I had never seen anything like that. I went home. I was amazed. I locked myself in the bathroom. I didn't tell my father.

My father didn't take any bullshit. He came out the streets. He didn't take any bullshit. I heard the whole community outside. Sounded like a crazy a- lynch mob. My father, I don't what he did; but I know they got out of there. They left. He called me out the bathroom and asked me what happened. This was the first time that I processed the total situation. I told him I went to the store. The boy slapped me. I chased him, and the boy ran out in the street and got hit by a truck. I started crying. So now he knows it was just a crazy situation because it was beyond comprehension.

At that point in time I was still fighting even more everyday going to school. What I had been receiving at this point in my life was that I pushed him out in the street. My father and the police officer investigating the case were the only people who told me that it wasn't my fault. His evaluation of the case was that I never stepped off the curb. The boy ran out across the yellow line. So between my father and the police officer, this was in my head. For a long time I always believed that. As a boy, everybody had big families. Everybody around us had a big family. Back in those days you had brothers.

Bob: I grew up next door with the Matthews. They had 5 brothers on one side, and the Burkes with 4 brothers on the other side. So I know exactly what you are talking about.

Mr. Purple: Fighting everyday... I never was a religious person. I never will forget this as a child. One day this lady came up to me, and I was playing outside. She said you pushed the boy

in the street and killed him. She said God's going to punish you for that. You're going to hell for that. I was a kid, and she made me cry. When it happened, I remember going in my room that night. At the same time, I'm not able to process the situation in my head. I'm crying, and I thought of my mother.

I hadn't seen my mother since I was 5 years old. For a long time, I had a dislike for my mother because I felt that every time I needed her she wasn't there. My step-mother couldn't process the situation. It's a total difference. Sometimes you do need your mother. We eventually moved out of there. At that point at my age, it gets desensitizing. You know how a kid deals with sexual molestation... you are desensitized to it.

Bob: You compartmentalized it.

Mr. Purple: I turned off something in my head. I blacked out that experience. I was a kid. So back then you don't talk about that. Weren't no therapists. So basically, we had to move out of there. We moved to 47th and South Dalton Avenue.

Bob: South Dalton?

Mr. Purple: South Dalton. Back in those days, it was different. I had older brothers, but they had different mothers. They came to Los Angeles in '75.

Bob: So this was in 1975 when you moved to South Dalton?

Mr. Purple: Yes.

Bob: How many brothers do you have? And how many different mothers did they have?

Mr. Purple: The ones who were raised together, I have 4 brothers. No, I have 3 brothers. My little brother has a different mother, and my 2 older brothers and sister have the same mother.

Bob: So you had 3 biological brothers?

Mr. Purple: Two with the same mother.

Bob: So you have 3 half-brothers? I'm just trying to get it right. We have the same thing in my family. The brother that raised me was technically my half-brother, but we don't say half-anything. He's my brother. So you have 3 half-brothers, and each one of them had a different mother?

Mr. Purple: My 2 other brothers and sister have the same mother.

Bob: Your sister had the same mom.

Mr. Purple: Yes.

Bob: And that's your mom?

Mr. Purple: No, my mother was in New York. She moved out when I was 5. She left beforehand when I think about it.

Bob: So did your sister move out also?

Mr. Purple: No. My father bought a house on Dalton Avenue. He took all the boys and raised us in the house together from '75 to present day. I had other brothers, but they weren't raised in the house with us. They were raised by their mothers. It was like me and my 3 brothers were in the same gang. We were all aligned in the same gang because we were here together. I can't tell you when the gang situation started with us. It was just so familial. It's like I'm in my house.

Everybody had a house.

My oldest brother was 4 years older than me. My younger brother was 4 years younger than me. Then I got a brother that's 3 years older than me. My sister was 5 years older than me. We were all involved in gangs, but my sister wasn't involved in any gang activity. We had another brother who was raised in Inglewood by his mom, and we never saw him that much. In those days my dad said all his momma wanted was some money. He wanted to come live with us. I had another

brother who popped up in the last 5 years. Crazy as ever! My father was very well-known. He was all about money. In LA, he owned at least 3 houses.

My father was very family oriented. They came from South Carolina and moved to Rochester, New York. My dad had a lot of women in his life, but him and my mom were more traditional because they had to go through a courtship. For my dad to interact with my mother, Momma Dear had to approve it. Everybody knew everybody. They were Geechees... from Gullah. That's a language, right?

Bob: Yeah. There's an island off the coast of South Carolina.

Mr. Purple: My dad's family came from Sumter. So you can imagine how that was in Rochester. Our families were intertwined. When my dad went with my mother, he had to get approval. He had to go through a ritual. He had to go through a courtship. They had these family traditions. Back in the 60s.

When my mother's brother died, she had to go back and help with her mom. It was traumatic. My mother and father had an agreement. My sister died in 2012. I have her tattoo right here. She was born in LA, and I was born in Rochester. They had an agreement if they ever separated. This is what I learned later on. If they ever separated, my father would take the boys, and my mother would take the girls. Fast forward, my brothers and I, we were all a part of the times. Everybody went to the skating rink. Everybody skated. Everybody went to school. If you lived north of 29th Street, you went to Mt. ... Junior High School.

Bob: Back up, what was elementary school like?

Mr. Purple: Here was different than when I lived over there. When I moved over here I had older brothers. So now I'm not the older brother. I didn't have to fight every day.

Bob: In the classroom, how was it?

Mr. Purple: It was totally different from 118th Street.

Bob: What were the teachers like? What were your grades?

Mr. Purple: I always had good grades. I've always been a person who loves to read.

Bob: I can tell that. What do you remember about being in the classroom, grades, and your teachers in K-6th grade?

Mr. Purple: In 4th grade, I was in the City Spelling Bee. I was number four.

Bob: I gotta Google that.

Mr. Purple: Yes, you do. They picked me out to be in it, and I was on Channel 5 news. During that time, I was also being indoctrinated in the gang, and here I was on the news with a red bandana tied on my head. It was a part of me. All my teachers liked me.

Bob: So how did they pick you?

Mr. Purple: My grades were high. My comprehension was good. I also used big words. In my training class, they will say does anyone else besides Ronald want to answer that question.

Bob: Was this 24th Street School?

Mr. Purple: I'm looking at the map. 34th, on the other side of Western. That's got to be it.

Bob: Most of the schools you went to are in LAUSD, so I'll try to find out what it takes to get your transcripts... You may not understand it what you're sharing here. It's an important experience for people to hear about it because you are a survivor. So what about 4th grade...

What other classes did you like in elementary school?

Mr. Purple: Well, you didn't have a lot of subjects then, but I like maps. I think that's why I became a gang member because I like boundaries.

Bob: That's an interesting concept.

Mr. Purple: I can calculate square mileage. I do it in my head. I've always been a reader. I read right now... I just ordered a book.

Bob: Well, I got a book for you too by Michelle Alexander.

Mr. Purple: I got a son like that. He's got a stack of books. It gets on my nerves. We've got stacks on the floor.

Bob: You want to help yourself out. Go to Overstock.com and get some bookshelves to get those books off the floor.

Mr. Purple: I have two bookshelves. I believe that an educated man got to have bookshelves because when you read you have to be able to find that material somewhere and organize it. I live in a single apartment right now, and I have 2 bookshelves. I am constantly building because I'm a reader. I read and go back to refer.

Bob: I try to read in 10-page chunks. Let's go back to your 4th grade, 5th grade, 6th grade...

Mr. Purple: At 3rd or 4th grade, I started realizing it wasn't a gang. It was being a part of the Neighborhood. I came from a neighborhood, and I knew everybody in the neighborhood.

Everybody knew me in the neighborhood. I was writing on the walls. My indoctrination to gang life was writing on the walls because I guess I just wrote on the walls.

Bob: What were you writing?

Mr. Purple: The gang...It was the Neighborhood. My name was Mr. X back then. When they found out who Mr. X was, they said that's a little bitty boy. I used to write on buses and everything. So people would just trip off me. It was my level of indoctrination in my head. I was just 8 years old. My brothers were already involved. It hadn't escalated. At that time, Bloods and Crips would be going to the same schools. They would be going to the same parties. I was young still. They wore Godfather hats, long earrings, crosses and bomber jackets, Levis, Stacy Addams

and stuff. The era was a whole other time. They were smoking angel dust. It was a different element.

We used to go to the skating rink. I wanted to get out the house late at night. I asked my step-mother if I could go because I was going with a group of kids, and she would let me go. I just had to get out the house. She didn't realize. I had my homeboys who grew up in the same neighborhood. My parents didn't realize. It was new to them. They thought gangs were delinquents.

Bob: Did you have a name?

Mr. Purple: It was the Neighborhood. There wasn't an alignment. They were Bloods. There had not been an alignment. The Blood gang developed as independents first. That is why they have certain gangs that attached the word Bloods to their names. They were independents first. There was no one movement that created these Blood gangs. Say for instance with the Crips, you had these historical figures like Raymond Washington, Dooky Williams, or a guy like Mack Thomas who were historical figures within the Crips. Blood gangs were gangs that had been around that had not become Crips.

Bob: I got one, Raymond Washington....

Mr. Purple: Raymond Washington was one of the founders of the Crips.

Bob: Who else?

Mr. Purple: Mack Thomas, Dooky Williams, Mel Barnes... from the eastside, westside, and Compton. You had the Brims, the Bloods. I think the Brims was the first consolidated Blood gang. You had the Brims in different neighborhoods around the school district. Outlaws was like that at one time. Outlaws is the oldest gang. Outlaws go back before the Bloods and Crips. Now they're like Rollin' 20s almost, on Central and Adams, same place I said I lived at when I was a

child. I know a lot of them because of my father, and I grew up with a lot of them. They were original LA gangs before the Bloods and Crips. They just evolved and attached Blood to them. Same as the Neighborhood. Neighborhood started in 1970. The Crips started around 1969. Crips was eastside and westside. Neighborhood was an independent group. There was another gang down in this area called the Hoover family. We had the Grims. We're awfully close to the Grims.

Bob: Neighborhood was about 1969?

Mr. Purple: The Neighborhood started in 1970. It came from the last generation of Blood Adams. It started around 1955. Around 1970, another group formed in the area called the Vultures. The Blood Alley was multigenerational, from 1955-1970. What was left of Blood Alley and what had become with the Vultures consolidated and became Neighborhood. It's a trip how I know all that.

Bob: You lived it. That's how you know all that.

Mr. Purple: I know my history. I studied it. I taught the old guys. Cause I'm a third generation Neighborhood and first-generation Neighborhood Blood.

Bob: Back to 6th grade...

Mr. Purple: I was in gang life.

Bob: Did you graduate from 6th grade on time going into junior high? Did you make honor roll?

Mr. Purple: I don't remember. As I became a teenager I was hanging out in the house with the OGs. I'll never forget. I was about 9 or 10 years. I would go to the house where my brothers would hang out. They open up the doors. They said that's him. He's the one that's been writing on those walls. They recognized me. I was about 9 or 10. I was falling deeper in.

I was about 11 when we went to a party in midtown. The Crips were just starting. They wouldn't let us in the party, so we came back. At the time, the boundary was 29th. The Crips were on one

side. The Bloods were on the other side. They wouldn't let us in because a lot of Crips were in there. So we decided to walk down there.

My brother pulled out a gun. They started pulling out guns and shooting at us, pushing us back. We ran from Jefferson to 27th. You could hear gun firing. This was 1978. Pow pow pow. Might be one o'clock in the morning. I got separated from the crowd. I ran into a group of people, my friends. I am walking down. I said they're not coming down here. When we got to 27th, they said Ronald be quiet. I said ain't nobody coming down here. So as I'm saying this, I see headlights. I see it's a taxi. We're walking up 27th and get to LaSalle. I'm little, and I'm making noise. I see headlights. They made a U-turn. A group jumped out and starting shooting. Pow pow pow. They ran to an alley. They looked up. They beat my ass. I was 11 years old. My head was like a basketball. I was still in elementary school. I walked down the alley into my backyard. Next thing I know is I hear somebody crying. I might have blacked out. I remember I was at home.

Bob: What year was this?

Mr. Purple: 1978. I was 11 years old. From there, my life moved fast. It was a lot of gang relations. My mind was so messed up. I had a belief that that was all I was here for. I remember when I went to school, teachers would ask me questions. I would say f- that. I'm a Blood. I would say some stupid s-. I was the only real gang member in the school. This was 24th Street.

Bob: So you were the only gang member in the school? You were feeling your oats.

Mr. Purple: I was so f-ed up in the head. All we talked about was gangs.

Bob: But you were a good student too. How do you weigh these two things?

Mr. Purple: I went to school, but when I came home, this is what I came home to. It was in my house. When I was 12 years old my step-mother left. So my father would come home once a week. He had another place on the eastside. Now it's me and my brothers in the house.

Bob: So were you ever close to your step-mom?

Mr. Purple: Yeah. We were real close because you know she raised me up to about that time.

When she left, she just couldn't take it anymore. It was so d- crazy. They were shooting the house up. Police were coming in raiding the house. We had some stuff going on. That was 5th grade. I was 12, no, 13 when I went to Mt. Vernon, but I was the only one in the gang. You know you had guys who claimed they were, but I was the only one who really was. I don't care who the coolest kid in the school was. Everybody respected me. When I came to school beat up, they'd ask me man what happened to you? I said the Crips beat me up. They said oh s-.

Bob: That's what I would have said. Is that what I have to look forward to?

Mr. Purple: S-, I'm staying away from gangs. As I fast forward up to junior high, this was just life experiences.

Bob: When you went to Mt. Vernon, you were no longer the only gang member?

Mr. Purple: Everybody knew me because I was already a gang member. I was a gang member before them in 24th Elementary School. These guys picked it up in junior high, but I was already in a gang. They were getting jumped to be in a gang. I was never jumped. I was like a hood baby. Everybody knew who I was. When I went to Mt. Vernon Junior High, I already had a reputation.

Bob: So what was school like then?

Mr. Purple: School was cool, but I just stopped caring about it.

Bob: So when did you stop caring about school because you were a good student?

Mr. Purple: It was crazy because I was still getting good grades. I remember I had a peachy folder. Do you know about that?

Bob: No. What's that?

Mr. Purple: They were the old orange folders with basketball players on them. I had gang writing all over it in black marker. I would fold it up and put it in my pocket, so people could see where I was from. They wouldn't let me wear a bandana on campus...but I would draw on my peachy folder and fold it in half, so everyone could see my neighborhood, so they knew where I was from. I was getting As, Bs, and Cs.

Bob: People wouldn't expect a gang member to be an A, B, C student.

Mr. Purple: My complications weren't at school. My challenges were when I came home from school.

Bob: So in 7th grade you were still making good grades.

Mr. Purple: Seventh grade I was still making good grades.

Bob: Any particular incidents when you were in 7th grade?

Mr. Purple: I went to jail on campus in the 7th grade.

Bob: What happened there?

Mr. Purple: I got caught with having a knife in my pocket.

Bob: That was it?

Mr. Purple: We knew we were going to have a gang incident at school so I brought a knife to school. I got jacked up by campus security. I got caught with a knife. Seventh grade, I had a car.

Bob: You were 13 years old, and you had a car? There's only one thing missing.

Mr. Purple: Driving license. My father taught me how to drive a 3-speed 1962 Ford Fairlane or Falcon.

Bob: Don't tell me it was green.

Mr. Purple: No, it was white. I was cool though. As a gang member I was escalating.

Bob: The OGs were wondering how you got a car.

Mr. Purple: My father taught me how to drive at 12. He got me a 1962 Ford Falcon with an 8-track tape player in it. I had Temptations and Spinners 8-track tapes, or something like that. I was wearing a derby. This was in 1980.

Bob: Do you have any pics of that?

Mr. Purple: I was in and out of prison so much I lost stuff. It was in 7th grade. I never will forget that.

Bob: Did the teachers know?

Mr. Purple: No, because I parked a block away. My homeboy was in 9th grade. Crazy had a 1966 Chevy Priest. We'd go to parties and stuff and do our thing. I remember when I was young, a 7th grade student, there was an incident on Washington; and they killed a dude at the party. It was a bunch of confusion. One dude bumped into another guy. They said he was a gang member, but he wasn't. Next thing you know, everybody rushed him. They beat him. They stabbed him and set him on fire. They shot him in the head 2 times in the alley. The dude ran right past me. He spilled gas on some people next to me. They tried to set him on fire. They ended up in an alley. They shot him in the head twice. They started calling everybody down to the police station. I was in 7th grade, and I thought nobody knows me. But they knew my brothers' names. So they called me down to the police station. I'm like I don't know nothing. This was the first time I was close to a gang-related murder. The dude died. They rounded up a lot of people.

Bob: How old was he?

Mr. Purple: About 13...same age as me.

Bob: That was when you were at Mt. Vernon?

Mr. Purple: Yeah, around 1980. Junior high started getting complicated. Other people came from other areas...transfers. Mt Vernon sits in Blood neighborhood, but the district overlaps in the

Crips neighborhood. Now we go to schools with Bloods and Crips. Like if you go to Forshay and you're a Blood, they ran you out of there.

Bob: What do know about Forshay?

Mr. Purple: I never went there. I went to the Mt. Vernon side.

Bob: The reason why I asked is because I sit on the Board of Advisors there.

Mr. Purple: I work up there in the area now at ... Then, I started getting into so much. I started losing interest. I went to John Adams, but I got kicked out.

Bob: For what?

Mr. Purple: Gang banging I guess. My grades were always good. My challenges were with gangbanging. I was always being challenged.

Bob: Like a gunslinger.

Mr. Purple: Like a gunslinger.

Bob: At Mt. Vernon, what was your academic accomplishment?

Mr. Purple: I don't remember. All I remember was gangs in junior high school. These were all the people surrounding me. It was a lot of disjointed groups. It was like the training ground. Jackson had closed down.

Bob: How did Jackson affect you?

Mr. Purple: It was for probation. So now they put us all in the same schools. Mt. Vernon was like Cooley High.

Bob: I got to relook at Cooley High.

Mr. Purple: I ended up at Adams. It was like coming of age, junior high school. When I was 15 years old, I remember I shot somebody.

Bob: Were you at Jefferson High or Adams?

Mr. Purple: I think I may have stopped going to school. This is when the law came out if you're 16 you're tried as an adult. They called me just before my 16th birthday. It sounded weird. All this time I was free. I said what is this all about. Is this about writing on the walls? They said we'll talk about it when you come down. I decided not to go on my birthday. I went the next day. My brother took me. I go down to the police station on August 3, 1983. I sat 2 or 3 hours. Two hours and 10 minutes later, the officers called me to the back. I said is this about writing on the walls, having knives, riding in a stolen car? They said you don't know what this is about. They said there was a shooting, and you were identified as a gunman. I said what the f-. They handcuffed me and took me to jail.

What happened was a car had come up. They had shot at us, and I shot at them; but they went to the police station. I was going to fight the case. So I went to court. I'm being tried as an adult. Something happened with the case. The witness stopped coming to court. My people were in the courtroom. I walked up, and this lady public defender came up to me and said you're nothing but a baby. Before I had a male PD. Now this lady said you need to be home with your family. I said who the f- are you? She talked to the judge about how I needed to be at home, and my father didn't have anybody at home. My father came to court. I ended up taking a deal for a year in a probation camp, Afflerbaugh.

Bob: Is it still around?

Mr. Purple: I don't know.

Bob: So you're at a camp.

Mr. Purple: More gang banging. It was training ground. My exposure to Bloods and Crips in Compton, Watts, Inglewood, Long Beach, LA County, the Valley. It's a whole new fish tank. A whole other species. Everybody was fighting for reputation.

Bob: Is there any kind of education there?

Mr. Purple: The school is when everybody would get together. You could never talk to your homeboys in class. You'd wait for them outside in the hallways when class got out in a long line. When they call out your unit number, you'd say yeah. You'd wait by the door so you could talk to them. That's when you'd find out what's going on. They'd say get that mf-er. It was a lot of that.

Bob: Education wise, nobody was learning anything about education except how to be a gang member?

Mr. Purple: Not in my world. I got a case for getting caught with a knife. They gave me a deal for one year for a knife.

Bob: When you got out how old were you?

Mr. Purple: Sixteen, couple of weeks before I turned seventeen.

Bob: They let you back in high school?

Mr. Purple: It was 1984 in the summertime. There was no school. At that time I was pitching cocaine. My father sold pcpc. We hid it in the freezer. My dad let us sell it too. When he left we put some white stuff in a joint. We lit it up. It smelled funny. It was primo. It was pcpc. I was tripping off this whole situation. There was a transition going on between gang banging and money. People were making money. LA was seeing so much money. They had crack...you know rocks. Cocaine was everywhere.

Eventually, if I'm gangbanging I have to finance my operations. I got to buy cars. I got to buy guns, so I sold drugs. I never really did drugs. The most I ever did was smoke weed. My father taught me how to rock cocaine. He showed me how to cook cocaine with a cotton swab and alcohol. So he started educating me in drug dealing. He made \$3,000 every few days. In 1986, I

was on Adams, and I sold drugs to an undercover officer. It cost me a year. I went up for one year to LA County Jail. It was a whole other world, worst place in the world. The police would beat you. I did time for sales, trafficking, distribution. It was crazy. I did 1 ½ years.

Bob: So you were still a teenager when you got out.

Mr. Purple: I was 18, turning 19. I got out in early '87. February 27, 1987, I got out. A guy told me there were some rock houses. I said f- school. I said you gonna sell cocaine. Making high money. Same girl I'm trying to talk to others talking to. Money got bigger. Drugs got bigger.

Bob: How long did you go there?

Mr. Purple: I dropped out in 11th grade.

Bob: You were admitted to Jefferson?

Mr. Purple: I went to Jefferson twice. I went to Jefferson before I went to camp and went to Jefferson after I came out of camp. I lived in Silverlake. I tried to go to LA High where I lived, but I ended up at John Marshall. Little did I know Crips were there. At that point in time, it was crazy. I remember when the police came in, he walked straight in my house. At this point I had just come out of camp. He went upstairs and found a shotgun. I said f-. I didn't know it was there. They said whose is this? Your brother's? I said what? I said that mf-er ain't my brother.

Bob: You were trying to go to John Marshall.

Mr. Purple: I wanted to go to school, but I had to fight to get there. So I had to transfer out of there. I would have liked to have gone there because it seemed safer.

Bob: You registered there but never got to stay?

Mr. Purple: I went to class 2 or 3 times, but there were issues there. When security realized what was going on, they got me out of there.

Bob: What were the issues there?

Mr. Purple: The students. So security got me out of there.

Bob: So you went back to Jefferson?

Mr. Purple: I went back to Jefferson.

Bob: How long were you there?

Mr. Purple: Until 11th grade. I dropped out in 11th grade.

Bob: So you didn't do anything?

Mr. Purple: Nothing. All I wanted to do was sell drugs and make money. After that statement was made in my mind. That stayed with me. All I wanted to do was make money. I had access to the drugs because my father had access to drugs.

Bob: Now you're making money.

Mr. Purple: I'm buying guns and cars. My father is giving me cars. Now I have the ability to buy what I want to buy. I'm staying over here now on the eastside. I'm always getting into stuff. I was selling drugs, and I got caught by the police. They searched me and found 1 or 2 rocks. They were still charging me with possession of drugs and firearms. I went to prison. The LA gangs were... You know the 54th Street Massacre. That's a friend of mine. Keith was a friend of mine. I saw him. He was a Blood at the time. The world changed. When I saw some people, prior to this, they were dusty. Now the guys had gold chains and cars. When I saw the 54th Street Massacre on TV, I said like wow. When I went to county jail, he was on death row fighting for his life. He's been in jail since '84. So when I saw him in jail it was a trip. Everybody's a gang member. There are about 800 gang members in a gang module in 4 tiers. They are about 20 cells.

Bob: Are they all the same?

Mr. Purple: All over the city. There are about 20 cells. Four men upstairs, 6 men downstairs.

Everybody in there were Bloods, isolated from the Crips. It was ridiculous. Remember we had

money. We had access to guns. I always said the government financed that. They just didn't finance the war that was going on in South America, the Sandinista. They financed the drugs over here too. They had a lot of government issued weapons out in the street. They made sure we got all of that. In the 1980s there were no crackheads.

Bob: Exactly.

Mr. Purple: We didn't even know the effects of that cocaine. When I went to jail I saw OGs. Dudes coming to jail who hadn't been asleep in 4 days. Back in 87 there were no crackheads. Now I'm seeing OGs walking on the back of their shoes. Feet look all crusty. They talked about living in the park. They said they were living outside by the bus stop by their momma's house. Remember I had never seen anything like that. I was seeing the effects of that. There were no homeless people.

Bob: Reagan did that.

Mr. Purple: I said I'm never doing any drugs like that. I decided I just wanted to live my life and build my family. I met my kid's mother in 84. I ended up staying with her a long time. We had 3 kids. My father always taught me to take care of family. Take care of your family first. You got plenty of room to take care of yourself. When you get your money, take it home. Make sure you have something to eat. Whatever is left belongs to you. This is the way I lived. I always paid rent and made sure my kids had a decent place to live. My kids never lived in my neighborhoods. My son is 26, and he's never lived in the hood. He never had to make a proclamation of loyalty to the ground to say this is my hood. He never had to fight to go to school.

Bob: Because you wanted something better for your kids.

Mr. Purple: Right. I raised him in the Wilshire District like 4th and Virgil, 3rd and Hoover, Beverly and Lafayette... Really there were no gangs down there. It was safe down there. Before

that he lived in the Edloe Valley in Palmdale with his grandmother. I went to prison. I went to Soledad when I was 20 years old. I went to the state penitentiary. It was mind-blowing. I said this is the big house.

Bob: So how many years did you have to do at Soledad?

Mr. Purple: I did a year and a half. It was amazing. The degree of gang banging changed. Now it's not juvenile hall. I'm with guys I went to juvenile hall with in 1983. It is now 1987, and they are now called murderers. They got life. It's a whole other element. It had gotten real. It was serious. Fortunately, I was never a part of prison gangs, so nobody could tell me what to do. I'm not killing nobody, but I know my obligations because I'm affiliated; but if something happened I had to be with my people. If something had to be done, and we all have to do it then I'm with it.

Bob: So at Soledad you were there because...

Mr. Purple: Because I got kicked out of prison.

Bob: Oh, I remember you said you got kicked out of prison.

Mr. Purple: They were going to stab this guy. It was a weird story. They put me in the hole for 6 months. There was a problem with paperwork. It disappeared. The guy who snitched on us was a clerk. He had access to the paperwork..... And at the same time, I got out the hole. I was a level 1 inmate. They raised my custody level to maximum security level for 4 or 6 months. They sent me Solano California state prison. They sent me up there. It was a whole other world. I was in so much stuff. If it was going down I was in it every day that I forgot about parole.

Bob: How do you forget about parole?

Mr. Purple: Everybody I was around. Everybody I was around didn't. I didn't realize that 90% of these people here didn't have anything to go back to. So they made this home. I had to make a level of assessment within myself. These people who were here were happy to be here. I was

talking to this guy. He kept saying this mf-er this and that. I'll stab this mf-er. I didn't think in my head this mf-er got problems. He didn't have any family or love himself because if he did he wouldn't be giving all this time to these people.

So after parole I came back and sold drugs. After parole, I was 21 when I got out. My little homeboy Don was somebody I liked to hang out with. He used to hustle, sell drugs, and get money. So he was cool to deal with. I liked money, and I smoked weed. This is what we do. My homeboy would buy weed one day. I'd buy it the next day. We'd have some girls. I used to pick him up. He worked on 27th and Vermont... One day, it was a situation that happened in our neighborhood. The Crips would chase him around all the time. They were scared of me. Now I'm hearing my homeboy was in a car, and he was driving with somebody else. They stopped when they saw a girl that they knew. They stopped to say something to the girl. When they stopped, dudes ran up to the car tried and tried to hit my homeboy who was driving; but they hit my other homeboy Don in the head. I go to the hospital. I was 21. I didn't realize he was 14. I didn't realize I was so advanced because he had a car. He was selling drugs.

Bob: He was the new you because that's what you did.

Mr. Purple: He was around his uncles like I was around my brothers, and we automatically clicked. We spoke the same language.

Bob: Remember it's like you and me clicked when we first met.

Bob: Did he survive?

Mr. Purple: No. They let me in to see him when I went to the hospital. I never will forget. I remember he had gauge on his head. He was a light-skinned guy. He was all black and blue. They had to take his eye out to take the bullet out his head. It was me, another homeboy, his

neighbor off the block, his momma, his grand momma, his auntie, and a priest or preacher. I was in the room with him when they read his last rites. I was like wow. It infuriated me.

I saw a lot of people dying. I had hatred in me. I had a hatred in me from when I got beat up at 11 years old. It was like you do us. We do you. The escalation was crazy. When they killed him, I wasn't on drugs or anything. It's my stable state of mind. The thing that scared people about me is I'm not on drugs. I was just crazy. All we thought was drug s-. We shot schools at 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning. It was mf-ing Beirut. When Donald died, my first kid's mother was pregnant with my first kid. Wait a minute. I went to Soledad in 1987. Donald died before I went to prison. Donald died when I came out of county jail. My homeboy said in life, you should want to have one of these girls to have a baby when you go to jail and come back you have somebody to go back to. It was a trip that I adopted that. I wanted to have a baby.

When I got out of prison, I had a daughter. My daughter was born. I had to buy diapers, food, shoes. When I got out, I didn't want to be involved in drugs, but I got to do what I need to take care of the situation. My girl got in some s-, and her momma was like get the f- out my house. So I go back to selling drugs. One night I told her we're getting out this Friday. That Friday, I told her get the baby ready because we're getting ready to go. When she realized we were about to go, she was like y'all really leaving.

We got a 1 bedroom in Eagle Rock. It's another element. I had to deal with the world as a father. It's opening up to me now. It's another side to me now. I have to assess life. I was still involved in gang banging and other shit. Before I didn't care if something happened to me. Now I do care because I have a daughter. Later on I ended up having a son. My son was born in 1990. My son is 26 right now, going on 27; but I worry about him because I went back to prison. Man, I've been to prison so many times I don't even know... I thought about that. It really affected me

because I thought Black men were doomed. I thought I'm not going to let him be a victim. I realized prison was in my head. I was a prisoner within my own self. I have an understanding now that I have this whole world to navigate through not just West Adams.

Bob: The earth is not flat.

Mr. Purple: The earth is not flat. When I had a son, I had to think about this. I started thinking about my son. People were still dying all around me. My homeboy Dibs died in 1991. My son was one-year old. Dibs had 6 kids. He was a guy I grew up with since we were about 6 or 7. He was my next-door neighbor, across the fence. Played together every day. Grew up together. He went to Camp Afflerbaugh with me. We were the same age. We always been cool. Our families were cool. One night they told me he got shot. They said man it's bad. They said they were shooting up at the corner. He was behind a wall. He stepped out, and a car shot him full of bullets and killed him. It's affecting me now as a father.

Bob: You don't want to go like that?

Mr. Purple: No, I'm a father with 2 kids. He's a father with 6 kids. I'm like this is dangerous. Now the hatred is manifesting inside of me because I'm thinking about everything he's leaving behind.

Bob: Was it gang related?

Mr. Purple: Yeah.

Bob: So he was a Blood and the Crips shot him for any particular reason?

Mr. Purple: Yeah. They shot the block up.

Bob: This is something I don't understand. Why did they shoot the block up?

Mr. Purple: Didn't need a reason. The thing about the gang situation is it's an illogical situation. It's all about you get when you can get them. We knew people would be up doing drugs because

the chicks would be out. We might come through when you don't think we're coming through. It might not be retaliation. All we thought about was plot and plan. They might just say come on let's go.

Bob: How many people would you be talking about?

Mr. Purple: May be 4 or 2 people. It all depends. We'd shoot up houses and everything. When they killed him it messed me up? All I thought of was my son. My son was a baby. No way do I want him to be a part of drugs, a part of the s- I had been a part of. It f-ed my life up so bad. I didn't think I had a purpose in life at that time. 1992, after the riots hit, I was at FAME church when they announced the verdict, and they started tearing s- up. It was like something I had never seen before. You know how they said it was going on Florence and Normandy. That was not true. The riots were going on so many places. If you were at home watching television, you weren't in the riot. LA was like a f-ing war zone. I was here when they brought the military in. I was here when the lights went out. LA was like a martial law zone. I remember I had a red '78 Cutlass Supreme, and the military pulled me over. They pulled m-16s on me and searched my car for guns. I was at home watching TV, and they were talking about a gang truce. The first time I ever saw Bloods and Crips together. I'm seeing people that I know involved in this, and I said wow. What the f-.

Bob: I can still see it in my mind's eye when they said it on tv.

Mr. Purple: At that moment, there was still some hope in me. I tried to contact Jim Brown.... I saw my friend Tee Rogers. I was trying to get in contact with him, but everybody was already wrapped up in their own agendas. But I was still involved in gang banging, but the seeds were being planted. It was 1992. I wasn't ready for it because my homeboy had just died in 1991. He had left 6 kids behind. At the same time, I'm processing it still. It was amazed. As time

progresses, I go to some events. I go to South Park. Bloods and Crips together, and nobody fighting. I had never seen anything like that happening. I wanted to be a part of it, but I didn't know how. Then it was like it just went away, Watts and truce. The gangs in LA who weren't a part of the truce, we had some understanding of boundaries. Y'all over here. We're over there. But it was mind blowing. I was tripping off it. I'm growing up now. We're talking about '90s. I got kids. My kids are growing up. In 2000, I was in the back of the apartments. It was like low income housing project on top of the hill. We were drinking, smoking weed, shooting dice, and talking. At that time, I was attending city college. I was studying philosophy.

Bob: You were at LA City College.

Mr. Purple: I was at City College studying philosophy, and I was studying business management.

Bob: So you had your GED?

Mr. Purple: I got my GED in 1988.

Bob: And that was from?

Mr. Purple: Salinas Adult School. I went to California Men's College in another prison in 1992. I took business for about a year.

Bob: You studied business?

Mr. Purple: California Men's College. It was CRC East. They sent me to California Rehabilitation Center. I did it there also, but I didn't complete the course. You know I'm in prison, and I got to school. I'd rather be in school in an air-conditioned room than work scrubbing pots. Philosophy blew my mind.

Bob: What year?

Mr. Purple: 2000. Then I'm back to smoking weed, drinking. Dudes walked up. FOI walked up, and they started talking to my homeboys. They said you need to talk to Mad Ronald. I was

always talking about us trying to find a better way. I'm over 30 now. Carter, OG one of original dudes, one of the founding fathers of the Family Bloods and his homeboy, first officer, over the Nation of Islam. They said we're trying to bring peace between Bloods and Crips. Are you interested? I started talking to them. I studied religion. I talked to them about Muhammad and the Angel Gabriel. They were amazed. I was a writer. I would literally come out of my philosophy class and be sitting in my car selling drugs with paper and pen writing while I was waiting on sales. A lot of my stuff is published on streetgangs.com. It's under Mad Ronald. I have a couple of websites myself. I'm going from school to streets, so my ideology is different. I'm not sitting around all day marinating on bs. I had a different surrounding. So I'm here now, and everybody would trip on me because I was enlightened. They're looking at me, and I'm talking to them. So they were from Outlaws, and I was from Rollin 20s. They said we need somebody out of the 20s to represent us. Are you down with that? I said yeah. So now I'm evolving. They had stuff going on. One day I met Steve Harvey. They said they had this class on gang intervention. It was nothing but hardcore bangers. When I walked in, this guy turned to me and said I know you. He said I know your wife. I said I'm not married. They said you know K-Ray. I said that's my brother. He said he's the one. I guess they were testing me. So they're trying to verify how I am. They said ok. That's him. I was in the class with them. It was a 16-week course. I was certified.

Bob: What was the certification?

Mr. Purple: With the city for gang intervention, anger management, conflict resolution... I graduated in 2001. I was I got an award at City Hall. I was one of the first Peace Ambassadors in the City of Los Angeles. I got an award from Janice Hall at City Hall. It wasn't a paid position, at the same time, it wasn't a job. I was still selling drugs. I'm doing gang intervention, but I was still selling drugs. This was all I knew to do. I ended up going back to prison because I was still

selling drugs. When I was 30 years old, I have a big family. I knew my family last name. The operator gave me the phone number. They migrated to New York. I called home to Rochester. I said may I speak to Ruth Falwell. She said she's not here. Who's calling? I said I'm her son Ronald. She said Ronald. This was my grandmother, Ma-Dear. I hadn't talked to her for 5 years old. I talked to my grandmother. I was about 30 years old, and I was surprised she didn't call me back. I called my mother back.

I have 2 sisters and a brother back there, only 1 sister now. We started talking regularly. We're constantly in contact now. As time progresses, in 97, my mother called me distraught. My brother he was in jail and got beat up by police so bad. He had blood in his lungs. I got on a plane. I'm in the airport, and my mother knew who I was. We all knew who each other was. Waiting room was full of them. I haven't been there in 30 years, I'm sitting there tripping. My sister hugged me. I said do you know who I am? Tears was in her eyes. I told my mother my experiences. She told me she was on crack so long, but I had to get my life together. She said I wish I had been in your life earlier. I told her it wasn't time yet. She couldn't have been in my life then with her struggles. I told her I had no anger toward her. I said I was thankful to get the opportunity to reconnect and make amends now. I said I got you now. She respected that. I went and lived there 2004-2006, but it was too f-ing cold. F- that. I'm not shoveling snow. That wasn't like going to Big Bear. Temperature dropping down to 20 degrees below 0. Canada is right across the water. You got that Arctic chill. My father passed in 2003. He wanted me to see her. He worried about me. My other brothers had their mothers out here. He had a stroke in 1997 and passed in 2003 at 67. I didn't realize how young he was until I got 50. My blood pressure is good. I took a lot of things out my diet. I don't eat beef. I don't eat pork. My father used to tell me go back and see your mother. Me and my younger sister have this automatic bond. It was like

we never left. It was crazy. When I left there because it was so cold there, I caught a case down here.

Bob: For what?

Mr. Purple: Selling cocaine.

Bob: How long had you been back?

Mr. Purple: About 3 months. I went in 2006 to CCC. I did 2 years in the Sierra Madre Mountains. I'm realizing I'm doing wrong. My daughter wanted to come and see me. I didn't want her to see me in prison. When I got out, I called her. She told me she went back and moved in with my mom. So I started at Late and Ready on and off since 2003. I was at Metro from 2008 to 2009 and started driving a truck for LA Times. When I first got out I was living on skid row, in a hotel... I went from \$3000 a day to this, but I couldn't sell drugs anymore.

Bob: At the peak of your drug sales, what were you making a year?

Mr. Purple: 21 x 4 is \$84,000 a month gross. Then I go had to go back and get more, netting \$1,000 a day.

Bob: That's still \$365,000 a year.

Mr. Purple: But my expenses were \$365,000 a yr. This was an economics issue. I'm training for domestic violence. Took my first class yesterday. I was talking to this lady. I said I had problems renting. My son is 26 and attends community college. She said I'll give you an application. She said come down to Western and 78th. I said I'm thinking about buying a house. You buy a house, and your mortgage won't be what your rent is.

Bob: I'm a broker.

Mr. Purple: What's a broker?

Bob: I'm a walking corporation. I'm a real estate broker. I do deals. When you look for a house, tell them you already have a broker who will write the offer for you.

Mr. Purple: I have child support.

Bob: That's part of the application. When you get a chance, get a credit report. It costs \$50 for all 3 off them.

Mr. Purple: My credit is like 757. My child support payments are current.

Bob: You and your son can do it together or you by yourself. ...

Mr. Purple: I'm looking at my range and down payment.

Bob: I can work that out for you. When I adopt you, you're one of my kids?

Mr. Purple: This is part of my transition.

Bob: My mom said the Lord helps those who help themselves. It doesn't mean your lives will be on one straight path. You're a survivor. Not everybody survived like you. Not everybody survived like me. I didn't carry a knife, but I carried single edge blades when I was sent to a continuation school where they sent all the bad actors. The guy who bailed me out was you...it was Arthur Burks got me out. He was the baddest guy in Cincinnati. I fought him because my mother made me. I beat him. We became friends. I hadn't seen him for 10 years. I got put out of vocation school and went to continuation school. Who came to my rescue was, it was Archie Burks who became Golden Globe Champion in Ohio Valley. He came to my rescue when the dudes were about to jump on me. I never had another fight the rest of my life in Cincinnati. LA is a different story. LA is where I got all these wounds and cuts. You never know who is able to help you. I'm going to help you get a house. We're going to do a follow-up.

Mr. Purple: I need to summarize about my daughter and my mother. My daughter told me she was living with my mother. My family was coming together, and I didn't expect that. I didn't

even know my daughter was reaching out to my mother. My daughter and my sister were close. My daughter and my niece looked alike. When I showed up at their house when I got out of prison, my daughter was kind of scared. I met her boyfriend. My daughter said Daddy I'm pregnant. She had tears in her eyes. I said I'm happy for her and that I loved her. I said are you happy? She said yes I am. I said do you love him? She said yes I do.

One day he picked me up from the train station, and he said he was going to do right by your daughter. I love her, my baby. I started spending some time with them. One day he called me and said she's in labor. Later on I called her cellphone, and my daughter said she's here. I said what do you mean she's here. I said d- did she bring luggage? The first time I saw my grand-daughter, I fell in love with her. My family is everything. My son is 26 years old, and he still lives with me. I told my son I'm not pushing him out. He doesn't have to go anywhere. This is where you are supposed to be. My life is getting better. 2009, my co-worker Jeff called me into the room. They said we want you to attend this meeting. These are all the people who killed all my people, Pewter, Dibs... This is the Neighborhood. They're homeboys. I walked in the room. Everybody know me. They respected me. We met 5 or 6 times, and we came up with an understanding to stay out of our neighborhoods. Don't come down and shoot me. I won't come down and shoot you. We won't write on your walls. You won't write on our walls. We worked through this situation, and there hadn't been a shooting from 2009-2016. I was one of the people representing the community, representing the gang members. We'd meet right on the street. Eventually I could bring some of my people into the room. So now they see it's real. That was a great accomplishment because nobody was able to do this. It wasn't on the news. Wasn't no money involved. Politicians weren't involved. Police wasn't involved. It was nobody but us. It was based on our mutual respect for each other. Nobody fired no shots.

Man, I got a call in 2010. We were at church. I fell asleep in church because I had been at work.

I'm the bad parent. Now fast forward 2010. I'm on my way to work. They hang up. It's my daughter number. I have a niece in Lancaster. She called and said call Ronesha's house.

Something's going on right now. I called, but nobody answered. My niece goes over. So they said the police is over there. I called the sheriff. I told him I the situation, and I was trying to contact my daughter. The officer said who's your daughter. I said Ronesha Chatman. He said I'm sorry, but your daughter passed away. Her baby's daddy shot her. He shot her in the stomach. She was 22 years old. She went to University of Phoenix. She died 3 months before she received her business management degree. He got 75 years to life.

I had my niece adopt my granddaughter. I take care of her. She's 8 years old. My sister, my mom, and my niece came to LA. They came to LA. It was a crazy situation. I hadn't seen my mother in LA since I was a little boy. I had another sister in the military. She couldn't make it, but she gave my mom and sister money to get here. My military sister's kids came too. I was talking to my niece, I wanted her in a house with some girls. She said don't worry about it. She adopted my grand-daughter. She calls her momma. She's been with her since she was 13 months. There are two other nieces. There's a bunch of little boys around there. They're like the Black Brady Bunch.

All this turned me into a workaholic. I got a call in 2012. My other sister born here tells me she's diagnosed with stage 4 colon cancer. Then later on she's in hospice. I get a call one night from my little sister that she died. Then I had to help bury her. We all maintain our bonds. My concentration is about me and my family. My whole goal is take care of my home. There are a lot of obstacles, and I'm still dealing with them. How I landed this job, once I made up my mind I stayed on that path. I've been doing all this in these organizations. I got a call, and they said

they had a job for me. I said I got a job. They said DOA got this job. They said they have this contract and have a house...this...this...and this. I talked to them. They wanted me to work with them. This house is my neighborhood, but we're all from different gangs. My people don't come down here. They know the rules. They don't trip because I'm here because of the work that we're doing. It taught me a lesson because you never know who's watching you. It taught me a lesson. You always do your best.

Bob: I'll probably talk to you a couple more times. Sign this receipt. This has been excellent.

Appendix S: Mr. Brown's First Interview

Bob: February 2, 2017

Bob: Tell me about where you were born, where you grew up, what your early education and home life was like, and then go from that into junior high and high school, in college, and if you entered the air force any time between that, what life was like and where were you?

Mr. Brown: Well, I was born in June 7, 1953 in Miami, Florida. I'm the only son of 7 kids. I got 6 sisters. We lived in Lincoln Field Projects. Matter of fact, it's still there right today. I went to elementary school at Poinciana Park Elementary School. Matter of fact, it is still there today. I stayed there for a while. I went to Allapattah Elementary School. We moved frequently because my father couldn't keep a job. I finished my 5th grade to the 6th grade in Brownville neighborhood. The school was Earlington Heights Elementary. The school located next to it was a feeder school, and I went there. It was Brownville Middle School. From Brownville Middle School, I transferred over to Miami Jackson High School.

Bob: What was life like at those elementary schools and the middle schools? What was the student body like?

Mr. Brown: Earlington Heights was an all-Black elementary school, as commonly in the Black neighborhood. All the teachers, staff... everybody was Black. All the kids were Black. Matter of fact, every school I went to was predominately Black until I went to high school.

Bob: So are there any memories about those schools and the teachers that stand out?

Mr. Brown: Yeah. They kept you on point. There was no playing around. They had corporal punishment. I was accustomed to the paddle. The teachers back then had your best interests at heart. When you saw them, you saw your family? You saw a family member. So it was a very heart-warming experience because it was like you were going to your grandparents' house with all your cousins and stuff. When you got out of line, they'd paddle you. Even all the way up to

high school, they'd still paddle you. I lived about 2 blocks away from school, and all the kids would walk home. When I went to high school, it was like 6 or 8 blocks, maybe 2 miles away because they were integrating schools to get more African-Americans into the white neighborhood. The school that I went to, Miami Jackson, at that time was predominately Black. The majority white that were living in the neighborhood, it wasn't that many because a lot of Cubans moving in. It was predominately Black and Cuban.

Bob: The teachers and the administrators?

Mr. Brown: Our principal was white. The dean was Black. He was a coach, and we had predominately deans and people who kept kids straight. They were predominately Black because they were coaches.

Bob: They didn't teach any classes. They were just coaches and deans?

Mr. Brown: Oh no, they didn't teach any classes. Matter of fact, the head coach was white, Joe Dvorsky. He was the best faculty member... When I was in the air force, I went back to visit him. He cared about the kids. It was rough for us when we went from middle school to high school with white teachers. It was like a paradigm shift because now we see people, at that time in the '70s, who we thought before were the enemy, the man. Now we are in class with them and stuff.

Bob: It was like culture shock.

Mr. Brown: It was a culture shock. Of course, I played football. My playing football pretty much kept me straight because you had to keep your grades up. Now I got all the way to 12th grade, and I had to go to night school because I wasn't doing what I should have been doing.

Bob: Well, what do you mean by that?

Mr. Brown: I needed one more extra credit. I was credit-deficient. Back then the counselors really didn't care because the Viet Nam War was going on so, and they pretty much felt the majority of the kids would wind up going to war.

Bob: The majority of what kind of kids?

Mr. Brown: The African-American, Mexicans, and Cubans would wind up in the war... So we didn't have a counselor who would sit down and talk to you or did a career guide or a career plan with us. We didn't have that back then.

Bob: So when did you find out you were credit deficient and might not graduate?

Mr. Brown: About 6 weeks before graduation.

Bob: Oh ...really?

Mr. Brown: About 6 weeks before graduation, they called me in and said we have bad news for you. I said what you mean. You're not going to graduate. I said what do you mean? They said you need ½ credit. I said what you mean I need ½ credit. They said well back then.da da da da da...you didn't take this class.. da da da da da...

Bob: You mean you had to dig up this information yourself from them what this deficiency was?

Mr. Brown: I was in class, and they told me Brown go see the counselor. I thought I was going to talk to them about getting my cap and gown. But one thing they did do was pay for the class.

They took care all the expenses. I would go to football practice and night school afterwards with adults. It was an eye opener experience, but I felt I was let down.

Bob: Of course, you did.

Mr. Brown: Because I shouldn't have been put in that position. I went on and did what I had to do and got on out of there.

Bob: Why did you feel you had to graduate?

Mr. Brown: My family, the Brown side was my father's side. He was considered the Black sheep of the family. He got all the way to 12th grade, but I don't think he graduated. He was a professional gambler, and he would travel up the pork and bean trail, up and down Florida, the panhandle, gambling wherever the sharecroppers worked. That's what he did.

Bob: He was a professional gambler?

Mr. Brown: He was a professional gambler... All my daddy's brothers went into the military. We're the Browns so we had to go to the military.

Bob: So you had to graduate high school to go to the military?

Mr. Brown: Well, I had a good job. I was working for the city of Miami. I ran into this young lady at the club, my wife... I went to this club with a friend of mine, and I met my wife; and that was a big change in my life.

Bob: Was this in high school?

Mr. Brown: Yeah, in high school.

Bob: What I am trying to get at is why you felt you had to graduate.... Because you had to get it to go into military, was it personal, or what?

Mr. Brown: I was the first male in the family to get a high school diploma. It was something to know it was a lot depending on you. The kids don't have this now-a-days. You are more than you think you are. You have to prove it. I would get up in the morning and ask for something, and my momma would say to go to my grandmother's house. Every time I said I wanted something, I would pick beans. I would take trash out. I would wash cars. I have sold tomatoes. I did that because my momma said a good day's work didn't kill anybody.

Bob: How many of your brothers and sisters eventually graduated from high school?

Mr. Brown: All my sisters graduated; but out of 6 sisters, one didn't graduate because she got on drugs. She went to the Job Corps, but she got on drugs.

Bob: So your dad didn't graduate from high school.

Mr. Brown: My mom did.

Bob: Your mom did. So that's important. So now you're in high school. You're credit deficient, and now you can go from there.

Mr. Brown: I got my credit. After I got my high school diploma, my parents looked at me and said now what. I had 4 weeks to get it out my system... The City of Miami sanitation department paid good, and somebody told me they had jobs. There was some kind of program... I can't think of the name of it... It was a program where the government had given money and gave the city money... to help the inner city...

Bob: To pay for jobs...

Mr. Brown: I went down there, and I got on.

Bob: You were 18 or 19?

Mr. Brown: I was 18, just turned 18, and I got on. About 2 or 3 months, I met my wife. Almost 6 months or almost a year later, I got my draft card. So when I got my draft card, I had to make a decision. There was this African American who worked for the city. He was a lieutenant in the air force, but he worked as a supervisor for all the cooks and everything. He was sharp, a good man. He asked me why are you in here? I said I'm working. He told me there's a better life out there. I was working 4 days a week, got paid for 5.

Bob: It's the most money than you've made in your life.

Mr. Brown: He said there's a better life than this. He would pull me aside and talked to me and asked why don't you join the air force. One day I started looking at different recruitments because I had my draft card, and I had to respond.

Bob: What year was this... '71 or '72?

Mr. Brown: It was '71... One day I went down to the recruitment office. The navy was too much water.

Bob: Could you swim?

Mr. Brown: I could swim, but I saw the posting every day when I drove by on the truck. So finally, I went to the army guy and went home and told my daddy. And he said hell no because he got put out the army because he was discriminated against. They put him out the army for gambling. They put him out for demanding the officers for money. I went to my uncle who had been in the marines, and he had me convinced. The next day, I went to the marines. I waited and waited, and no one came. I heard some music. Boom boom boom boom... I walked down the hall to the back..... I said how you get a job like this. The guy's name was Church. I'll never forget that, and he said you want to be a marine. Man, they get killed. I never looked back.

Bob: I wanted to go to the marines because in my neighborhood all we ever did was fight... Four of the guys went to the marines. I was younger than they were. Two of the four were drill instructors; but then two of the four came back in body bags, in my block. I knew something was wrong with that, and that turned me off from the war and from the military. So I went to college and became anti-war...

Mr. Brown: We had some from my neighborhood... guys down the street... David...

Bob: Was he on the Wall because my guys were on the Wall?

Mr. Brown: He wasn't in the marines. He was in the army. He came home on leave, went out swimming, came back on shore, but heard a woman hollering so he went back in to save her. He pushed her, but he died.

Bob: He went back in to save her. Did he die from a heart attack?

Mr. Brown: I don't know. All I know is he drowned. The only one I knew who died in the war was my Uncle Herbert.

Mr. Brown: When I was coming up I had 6 sisters, so my daddy and my momma sent me to my grandmother's house because I was the only boy, with my uncles. I have pictures of all my uncles in the military. It was like a family tradition.

Bob: The marines was mine. But you got me laughing about the navy...

Mr. Brown: I'm living on a main street and looking out the window... I kept looking at that Atlantic Ocean on that poster, and I said that's a lot of water.

Bob: ...So let's go back to high school for a minute. During your high school years, did you have any issues with teachers or administration?

Mr. Brown: No, we didn't because we played football. If you got in trouble, you couldn't play football that week, and nobody wanted that. Football was the thing that got us to college...Sports was what we used. I have a few friends of mine who went pro ball. Warren Cromartie, famous baseball player, was supposed to be inducted in the Hall of Fame. He came from my school. One of the running backs, Mike Strawn, was a running back who got caught bringing drugs into the NFL. He played football for the New Orleans Saints. We had people close to us that we saw it was a way out.

Bob: So did you have any hopes of going into the NFL?

Mr. Brown: No, I got this... from doing a crime, and I got hurt. That prevented me...

Bob: What kind of crime?

Mr. Brown: We were robbing a guy.

Bob: Oh talk about it. We all did something.

Mr. Brown: I had this guy named Jerry. Jerry was my next-door neighbor who lived across the street. All Black, we had a little gang, and we went out one night. We were all out there in the street doing something we shouldn't have been doing; and they wanted to rob a guy. So Jerry jumped up on this guy and started beating the guy. Me, myself, I was partaking in it. Jerry grabbed a bottle, and he broke the bottle. Jerry came down to hit this guy on the head with the bottle, and I threw my arm in the way...

Bob: Because you knew that that could kill him, and it was a reflex...

Mr. Brown: And the guy didn't die, and that saved my life....

Bob: And his life because he didn't die.

Mr. Brown: That saved my life! Jerry got killed, not even a year later.

Bob: That doesn't surprise me. We have things like that in our lives. I had some contacts who wanted me to do some things...but I said I can't do that. We all have some friends that change the trajectory of our lives, and we grow really fast out there.

Mr. Brown: Not even a year later, Jerry and another guy friend of mine, from that night, were in a bar. There was a fight in the bar. The two people who were fighting, one of them had a gun. So the guy took the gun... a guy named Ralph. Never forget it, I wasn't there. But Ralph threw the gun across the street. I'm saying it was dark, no lights. Ralph threw the gun in the woods. I'm not talking about the parking lot. Jerry and Bobby went and found the gun. The fight had broken up. They came back in the club and said they were talking about they found the gun... they

found the gun. Bobby had the gun in his hand, and Jerry reached for it; and when he reached to grab for it, the gun went off and killed him.

Bob: It was just his time. You're reminding me of Robert Epps. He found a rusty gun, revolver, on our playground. Now why would someone put a rusty revolver to their head. So it killed him.

Bob: But you didn't have any issues in school because you had all-Black teachers.

Mr. Brown: I wasn't the smartest kid. School didn't excite me, but if you give me a toy car or a car. Then I would do that all day long... I was mechanically inclined, and they really do anything with learning styles...School didn't really click to me. If you saw my report cards, you'd wonder why I was up there.

Bob: That's why I need your report cards.

Mr. Brown: Our archives in Florida burned down.

Bob: They held me back in third grade because they said I was retarded.

Mr. Brown: They were going to put me back. I had to advocate for my own self. I think it was 3rd grade. They told my mom they were going to put me back. That was the worst summer of my life. So when school started, I went to the class I was supposed to be in. They told me you're not supposed to be in here. She said your name isn't on my roster. So they got the principal, and I said this is where I belong. So they let me stay, and I got A's and B's. I had to prove my point. So after six weeks they let me stay there, but my parents didn't advocate for me. You know what I'm saying...

Bob: I know exactly what you're saying because I loved my mom to death. They say she didn't finish 3rd grade because she couldn't read or write. So she wouldn't go to parent conferences, and I understood that. When it came time for them to suspend me, I took the paper home, signed it, and took it back. It had nothing to do with our parents.

It's a sign of how they came out of slavery, how far we've been put down....Slavery started in 1619 in the United States, but it is still going on today. It's just a lesser degree, but we help it as people because we carry on slave mentality.

Bob: So no issues other than they wanted to put you back, and you had to advocate for yourself? Were you ever expelled or suspended?

Mr. Brown: I never got suspended... never got expelled at all...

Bob: So now you're in the military. It's your first day in the air force.

Mr. Brown: I came into the military in November. It was 1972... I went to Lackland. It was different. They take you down and shave your head and everything. It was unique. I saw a lot of people drop out; and every day you were in, it gave you more motivation to stay in it. ... I did slick stuff, and I had to pay for it.

Bob: Tell me about it.

Mr. Brown: One day I told KP I wasn't going to do dishes. He said I bet you do. I said I bet I won't. So the next day I said I was sick. So, they sent me to the pharmacy. They gave me a thermometer, and there was a trick to light a match and heat it up. They called me "Brown," and I had to hurry and stick it in my mouth.

Bob: No, you didn't! So you're sick now.

Mr. Brown: I ended up in the hospital for 3 days because my temperature was so high. I got back on track. I learned a lesson from that.

Bob: So how was basic training?

Mr. Brown: It was beautiful because it made me into the person I am.

Bob: So you remember much about your drill instructors?

Mr. Brown: Oh yeah. My instructors...they got their money's worth. They are your supervisors. They are NCOs. They have to break this person down because in the time of battle, which is nothing but pressure, you have to be able to keep a cool head. They did their jobs well. They weeded out those who needed to be out. But as I thought about it, I would have done the same thing.

Bob: Tell me some examples.

Mr. Brown: He told us to mop the floor with this, but don't tell anybody. They had inspection, and I knew. He said that floor looks good. He called Daisy, and Daisy told... So I see now. They told him to do it. So Daisy was gone. They played with the mind. They build the body up and play with the mind.

Bob: They're searching for character.

Mr. Brown: They're searching for character.

Bob: There's no one way to build character.

Mr. Brown: They played mind tricks. We had duty and would stand at our barracks, and a guard would be on duty. Guard on duty, they called it. He couldn't let anybody in or out. So that day they put a new guy in our barracks, and he said I got some clothes to wash so I need to get out. The guard let him out, and there was an officer down there. That was a plant. So the person that let him out got in trouble.

Bob: You had to follow the rules. When somebody tells you to do something, there's no gray area...

Mr. Brown: It tore me down and built me back up...

Bob: So your family can depend on you and so forth. That's a big character. So where did you go from there. What were your jobs and promotions?

Mr. Brown: You go to military training. My field was aircraft mechanics, so they sent me to Champaign-Urbana to go to school. There was this guy who said you want to buy a coat. It was a big parka. I said I don't need a coat. I'm from Florida. They sent me to Chicago. When I got to the airport, it was so cold. My nose was running. I was crying. They gave me a blanket. The sergeant that was there said I'm going to do you a favor. Your class isn't going to start until 2 weeks. So he got me a plane ticket. They sent me home. They said all I want you to do is when I call you, you'd better pick up. I got a phone call. He said your class starts Monday. That was on a Wednesday. So he said make your way back here. So I got to Chanute.

I got sent back because I couldn't pass this test on fuel systems. For the life off, me I couldn't figure out why I couldn't pass that test so I got sent back four weeks to the next class behind me. I don't know if it had to do with Math. It had something to do with electronics or something. I had to just stop going to the clubs and playing with those other people. I had to go home to the barracks... and buckle down. At that time, I was engaged and had told my wife I was going to marry her, and I had to do that. So I passed that with flying colors. Then I went to Eglin Air Force base in Florida, in the panhandle, right next to Alabama, Crestview, which they said was the seat of the Ku Klux Klan... That was a unique experience.

Bob: So what was that like?

Mr. Brown: There were a lot of racist people. The Blacks in the military there, we maintained it. The only bad thing that happened to me was the guys that I was hanging with in Florida. One night we were coming back from a club. The guy I was with, robbed a gas station, and I'm sitting in the car. He was a GI. He got away... because the gas attendant said he stole x amount of dollars, and they found out that the gas attendant took the money and put it in his pocket, so the GI got off.

A story back in my high school I forgot to tell you... in my middle school. We found a gun in my backyard, and we started shooting the gun. One of my friends went around and started shooting out lights. So, the next day at school in the auditorium, police walked in, and asked the following students to come up. So, they called us up and took us to jail. The gun had been used in a murder, and the guy threw it away; and we got caught with gun. So they knew we didn't do it, but we had a weapon that had been involved in a murder. So that meant our mommas had to come up and everything.

Bob: So did you get a record?

Mr. Brown: Yes, we got a record...

Bob: Did it come up...?

Mr. Brown: No. They sealed it.

Bob: It didn't show up when you applied for your teacher's license?

Mr. Brown: No, it never will because Florida had a thing because I was a minor. I found out a year later that if it had not been sealed they could still get to them.

Bob: Ok. We need to know that. So the kids who were involved in it, did everybody go on and finish school and graduate?

Mr. Brown: No, everybody but Billy. Billy had everything. His parent had money. They had the big house, big fence around the house. His mother went to school with my mother. So my mom knew her. He dropped out of school. He got hooked on drugs. Education wasn't important to him because he had already had it.

Bob: Was his dad at home too?

Mr. Brown: No, just his mom and his grandma. His home was so beautiful. They had a circular drive. His bedroom... he had his own key like an apartment, and then you walk into the main house.

Bob: So he was a spoiled brat.

Mr. Brown: Yeah, he was a spoiled brat. He had everything. So he didn't graduate. No, Junior didn't graduate. He was under us. Lee didn't graduate. Pollack graduated. So out of 5 people, two graduated.

Bob: What happened to those two people and their lives?

Mr. Brown: Pollack died two years ago on an operating table. Billy died about 10 years ago from aids.

Bob: Aids...that was rough...

Mr. Brown: Well, he was a drug user.

Bob: Oh yeah... from dirty needles...

Mr. Brown: Junior is still around. He's working a hard 8 to 5. He's doing good. He's got a family.

Bob: So out of that group, are you the only one who went on to college?

Mr. Brown: Yeah. Pollack stayed in the system and worked. He was a bus driver and everything.

Yes, I was the only one.

Bob: That's what this is all about. We keep sifting through over our lives, and more and more you become the cream that rises to the top. Any issues in middle school, high school with teachers...? Did you experience any racism?

Mr. Brown: No. No.

Bob: So now we're back in the air force. You are in Alabama Florida area... Did you run into any problems with the townspeople? Or with your superiors in the early years?

Mr. Brown: You know, the racism was subtle. It was just like a way of your life...

Bob: Give me an example.

Mr. Brown: You know there were some areas not to go to.

Bob: Such as...?

Mr. Brown: Parts of the town you didn't go to...

Bob: How did you know?

Mr. Brown: Because your friends in the military would tell you... Let me tell how it was. The Birth of a Nation was a film that all of us would look at.

Bob: Really?

Mr. Brown: Yeah, it was a part of our orientation.

Bob: It was part of your orientation... in Alabama and Florida?

Bob: So what year was that?

Mr. Brown: In 1973.

Bob: And we're talking about Cecile B. de Mille's version and about the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. Brown: Yeah. They stopped it in the air force in '80 something, maybe '90. They finally stopped doing it.

Bob: So with that, did they tell you which parts of the city not to go to?

Mr. Brown: Yeah.

Bob: Such as?

Mr. Brown: I'd have to show you on a map. Like Crestview was an area.. Blacks were there, but you had to be careful. At Eglin, it was a long road with no lights because it was the longest air

force base in the world. So you could drive miles before you saw lights coming at you. So they told us to be careful, not to go out at night... It was just blatant racism.

Bob: So when you were there, other than the orientation being racist, did you run into any problems with your superiors?

Mr. Brown: No because I was E-1, E-2, E-3.... Hans was my supervisor. He was like a northerner in the south. He couldn't understand how this stuff worked.

Bob: You didn't know either...

Mr. Brown: I had another white guy named Andy. He loved to smoke, smoke-a-holic. He was a white guy. He was like the cousin that you'd give a job to...

Bob: He's like the guy you give a job to keep him from asking you for money.

Mr. Brown: Andy was one of those guys.

Bob: We all have them in our family.

Mr. Brown: He was the nicest guy you want to know, but he wasn't right in the head. Another guy, Rutherford... he was a white guy. He was like a hillbilly, but he was okay. He would tell you, you don't go over there. He'd say stay away from over there. The African Americans stayed in groups. We wouldn't be out by ourselves. Two or three of you would get in a car and go to Pensacola to a party or downtown... You didn't want to be caught out on the streets alone at night. I don't know if it's like that now.

Bob: My son is in New York, and I tell him don't go out anywhere without a wing man. I learned that the hard way. You see that. That's where I got jumped by six people trying to cut my throat... I was out by myself. That was the last time, December 7, 1977. Never went again by myself again. I always had my wing man, a guy just like you. His name was Eli. He was my buddy who did two tours in Viet Nam, but it took me a hard lesson to learn it.

Mr. Brown: So I stayed there until '75 until I went to Korea. The racism followed. White people got killed. Black people got killed. That's why I think there's so much hatred from the Koreans. They brought the Black army guys in from Viet Nam, and they had to keep their reputation up... so that wasn't good with the local community so that's why there was the hostility. You had racism from the Koreans.

Bob: You see the racism is so unfair to Black military people. When North Korea came down to South Korea, it was when they were reducing the footprint of the military. They didn't have battalions to send into Korea except for the Black battalions, and those are the ones who pushed them back to the 51st parallel. But they don't talk about that...

Mr. Brown: It was okay. The only regret I do have about the military is I didn't do what I was supposed to have done... Had I had the age, the wisdom, or maybe I was just stupid, I could have made E-9. It was in my grasp. I got E-7, way ahead of people. Matter of fact, when I went to Arizona, I was E-6, and I was put in a shop with a guy named Randy, a white guy. Randy was supposed to train me because I had only worked with equipment and supplies, but he never trained me. In fact, that's the cup right there where they thought enough of me to give it to me. But Randy was supposed to have trained me. If he had I could get my own fleet of airplanes, but he never trained me.

Bob: Why?

Mr. Brown: Put it this way, Randy had a big truck with a gun in the window. When you went in his house, he had a big owl that he shot on his wall. That's the kind of person he was, but he explained he wasn't racist. So he went and told the colonel that I had it, but I wasn't showing him anything. I just bided my time there and got on out of there.

In fact, Randy had an assignment to leave. So I went down to Randolph. The guy who controlled my assignment, his brother and I were based in Korea together. I flew back. Then I got a phone call. They asked do you want to go back to Okinawa? I said yeah. He said when do you want to leave. I said I can't leave because Randy has an assignment to leave, but he said Randy put that bid in a long time ago. He said I'm in the Air Force so I'm directing you to leave. When do you want to leave? So nobody knew about it. Couple of days later, the phone rang. They said they want you in the order room. See, now he had this data. Before I left there, I told him as long as I'm Black, I will never work for somebody like you.

I left. I went to Japan. When I got to Japan, I studied and made E-7. Almost a year and a half to the day a friend called me from Philippines. He said ...I'm sending my crew down there. I said who you sending? He said I got da da da da da, and I got a new guy named Randy Edward. I said wait a minute. I'm going to describe him. He said he's short. I said he chews tobacco and smokes a cigar. He said how you know him. I was sitting in my chair. God gave me justice.

Bob: That was justice.

Mr. Brown: When he got there, he looked at me and shot out the door.

Bob: God works in mysterious ways.

Bob: So E-7 is Master Sergeant?

Mr. Brown: E-7 is a senior rank. E-6 and below are sergeants. E-7, E-8, and E-9 were top dogs... top Master Sergeants. So I only had one more to go... So when I saw him, I had already made it.

Bob: So you're E-7 now and Master Sergeant?

Mr. Brown: Right.

Bob: So what are you thinking about going forward? What is the next rank you were interested in?

Mr. Brown: What happened is one day I had a supervisor. His name was Beckenheimer. He would say you go get me something, and I'll pay you when you get back. Now Beckenheimer was white, and I am Black. I thought it was legal. I didn't know. One day, a kid came to me and said they were going to get something to eat. I said I'll pay for it. They said no, we got it. They set me up. They told my boss, the colonel, that I told them to go get food and pay for the whole facility. So they moved me. They sent me to another shop.

Bob: So were you demoted or did they bust your rank?

Mr. Brown: They sent me to another section.

Bob: Was this white guy or what?

Mr. Brown: This was a white girl, and this was written in my performance appraisal.

Bob: That's what you were talking about. So you didn't get your E-9.

Mr. Brown: I didn't get my E-9. So they sent me to the worst engine management shop. It was the worst engine management shop in the air force. It became the best engine management shop.

Bob: How did you do it?

Mr. Brown: They sent me to school. This white guy, named Mad Jack. He was my boss down there. He told me Mr. Brown you go to the training and do what you have to do, and it will be okay. I went. I have a picture upstairs next to my son's. I got these guys, and I said if I have to do your job, I don't need you. I took a bunch of misfits...

Our planes were on alert, breaking down. I went in. I said colonel I have an idea. So he said what do we need to do? So I ran reports and gave it to him. When I left there, another guy came in after me. They got the award. We went from 101.1 error rate to a .5 error rate.

Bob: It was like everything was an error before.

Mr. Brown: These people had not been changing... it's like an engine, and they had a turbo blade. If the blades weren't changed in so many hours it could be damaged. They had so many things wrong with the computer. So once I went in and reset the computer, everything improved...

Bob: You had to do it one by one.

Mr. Brown: Yeah... They got it up.

Bob: You brought it up to .5 error rate, and they got the award after you left. That was your award, but that happens.

Mr. Brown: So I left and went back to Okinawa. I wound up in a different unit. They merged departments... they had a deployment center. What they did was they did everything that had to do with deployment. I really didn't want to do anything with it because I saw right away it wasn't run right; but they didn't want to listen to me. So the guy in charge of it had to leave on emergency, so the next senior ranking person in charge was me. So I told them if I take it, I have to do it my way.

The guy from the inspection team came and found me. I have a copy. He said I had to come see you. He said I've been doing this for 15 years. That unit that you put together right there, you guys palletized and mobilized 25 pallets in 24 hours with no errors. I have never seen it done. I had to tell you myself. We got excellent, but I didn't get the credit for it. My department... my shop did.

Bob: So you didn't get it because you were Black.

Mr. Brown: Because I was Black, and if they did I would have gotten E-9.

Bob: So when you find it, take a picture, and send it to me.

Mr. Brown: We had a big hangar...

Bob: Do you have any pictures of that?

Mr. Brown: No... This number of people had to be there at this time... I had a phone, but I didn't need it.

Bob: It was efficient.

Mr. Brown: It ran like a machine. When it got to that corner over there, if there were any issues, it would get caught, and it would get pushed aside.

Bob: So everything you palletized had to go on a cargo plane?

Mr. Brown: You had to have a form for everything and get signed off by the right person... He was from Hawaii. He said this is incredible.

Bob: You just organized it and supervised it.

Mr. Brown: I said it was all the guys. You look at the data and history of it. We weren't able to send a deployment force because it wasn't right... I had to have people trained on each other's jobs.

Bob: You had them cross-trained.

Mr. Brown: Yes, I had them cross-trained. I had two Master-Sergeants on each shift. I'd ask them where do you think we have a problem. I said walk me through it. It was beautiful.

Bob: That was team-work. Was most of your team white, Black...?

Mr. Brown: It was mixed... We turned that thing around.

Bob: Excellent. So where was that?

Mr. Brown: Okinawa.

Bob: So you were also helping the marines too?

Mr. Brown: Yeah.

Bob: So they put a cap on you being E-9?

Mr. Brown: Yeah. But they came back and tried to reverse it. They tried to help me. The guy who talked to me about the palletizing wrote me a letter, and I wrote him a letter. He said it's about that time. He went to the colonel and then to the general. The general said if it had come to me I would have signed it. So the one star general tried to help me.

Bob: So why didn't they change it?

Mr. Brown: The air force pulled it out. They tried to put me in promotion consideration, but they don't understand that the board couldn't ask why it was pulled. They looked at the one behind it and saw that it was low because of that one, but they couldn't see what happened because that would have been a good one. That Board of Corrections didn't do it right.

Bob: So were there any Blacks on the Board?

Mr. Brown: You don't know. It was a blind board. He said it stayed on your record 7 years. So he said they should have taken that into consideration, and they should have promoted you to chief right then; but they didn't. So I ended up being EA-Master Sergeant.

Bob: So when did you start getting interested in going to college?

Mr. Brown: Three months after I got out. My wife looked at me one day and said you have to get your associates degree. What happened when I was in Oklahoma, I took a one-year program to get my bachelor's degree, but I had have my associates degree, but I didn't. So they allowed you to get your bachelor's degree, work on your associates degree, and you link them together so I went to SIU...

Bob: What's SIU?

Mr. Brown: Southern Illinois University.

Bob: You started working on your bachelors first before you went back to get your associates? That was a one-year program?

Mr. Brown: Yes. Every weekend for a year. When I left Oklahoma, I went to Okinawa. When I came back I had enough hours for an associate, but I needed one English class and one Math class. I should have done it, but I didn't get it. So, I went to Western University, got the two classes, and got it done. I got my Associates degree in August, and got my bachelors in December.

Bob: So what made you decide to go to college in the first place?

Mr. Brown: My wife.

Bob: God bless her.

Mr. Brown: She jumped in and got her education. She was an education hog. I got my credits at SIU, and she did it a year later.

Bob: So when you were taking your courses, did you have any problems with teachers or administrators or anything?

Mr. Brown: No. No problem.

Bob: So, let's go on to when you started your first masters.

Mr. Brown: I did that... what happened was my wife took me down to the licensure place, and the people told me I could get my counseling degree and become a counselor. I was in a rehab Voc-Tech military program because I was 20% disabled so that enabled me to go back to school. No, I went to Western University first and got my degree in Workforce Education with an emphasis on corporate training. What happened was the businesses downtown told the university they wanted a class of people to go through this program, and they were going to pay for them and promised them jobs; and they pulled out while we were in it. So when we got done, there were no jobs there. I told them I have this degree that I can't use... so Western decided they would pay for another one because they should have investigated it more. So I went ahead and

got my counselors license. When we got into the program, they led me to believe there was no exam. Little did I know when I finished the program, they told me I had to take the Praxis exam.... I said what do you mean? They said we thought you were in teaching? I said no. I could have sued, but I went ahead...

Bob: So, did you have any problems with anyone at Western University?

Mr. Brown: No ...they did their jobs.

Mr. Brown: Some professors call me every now and then. One wrote me a letter to help me get my degree, so I could get Workforce Education changed over to Workforce Connection... I got it anyway.

Bob: Yeah.

Mr. Brown: One professor said Brown we want you to be with our license. I checked into it. I put my application in, and I got it. Plus, I'm doing what I love to do because a counselor would be doing career stuff anyway.

Bob: What was your first job you had with your education?

Mr. Brown: I was a counselor.

Bob: Where?

Mr. Brown: At Emerson High School... But I wasn't hired as a counselor. They weren't an opening for a counselor, but had I known it, I could have been hired permanent and given me two years to get my license... but they didn't do it... What came open... they had this summer Workforce job for the summer. The principal didn't want me to leave. So, I did that. I did 2 years of grants, and this 18-month grant came up. Then I got on with another group. The group leader's husband was sick, and she said I can't do it. She said if anybody can do it, Brown can. So they made me grant facilitator over a \$345,000 grant. The way I did the program they were

going to give us \$10 million, but they didn't want to do it. The main problem was the principal. She wanted to use the money to pay the teachers... They directly called us. They had already signed the paperwork for us to get the money. So they came back and said we can't give them all the mechanics. We can't get them credit cards. We can't get them medical, and we can't do this. The guy called me and said Brown go back and tell them this. He said it's like your kids go on a field trip. You get a release form. It's up to you to check and make sure the bus driver isn't drunk, stupid or crazy... He said the majority of your kids are on welfare... and they already have case managers, so you are already covered. Tell them it's the same thing. They make sure they have medical, so you have an exemption. So they're already covered. But the principal didn't want to do it.

Bob: So what did they do?

Mr. Brown: They didn't want to do it. He said tell the principal she can use part of that money and build on to the school.

Bob: Did they take over the school?

Mr. Brown: We're going through a process now where we all have to reapply for our jobs. The NAACP went all the way to the governor. They're going to combine our school with another one. My principal doesn't know if she's going to be there next year. Budget wise, it's a problem.

Bob: What's the ratio?

Mr. Brown: 40% Latino...20% Black... I'm the only Black teacher there. One day we met...

The people were talking about the grant... I said that grant is not meant for that. If somebody spends it for something else, somebody's going to jail. We met again with the principal.

Somebody started talking about the grant. I just shook my head. I said what you said is not right.

I said come to my office. I showed her my computer, and she said you're doing all that? .. I

talked to Bob and said you have the yin and the yang going on that campus. I told him the principal was going to move me and put me in a portable... He said don't anybody move a thing... even you Mr. Brown.

Bob: Because he's exposed too...

Mr. Brown: There's going to be a metamorphosis.

Bob: Everybody has to be honest.

Mr. Brown: The woman that is there now, I told her my loyalty is to the kids. She said I can respect that. She called me into her office because she wanted to get rid of a teacher. She said the teacher had the same license that I had and more seniority, and he had planned to bump me. But she wanted me to stay at our campus, so she let the other guy go. I told her she had my loyalty.

Bob: So what is she?

Mr. Brown: Mexican...

Bob: Do you want to stay at your level or move on?

Mr. Brown: I want to stay where I am because I get an opportunity to work with lower socio-economic children. I have them do an assessment and build a one-on-one relationship with them. I like what I'm doing. If there was some way to make that class mandatory, but they're pushing and trying to get graduation rates up.

Bob: Is your title still the same?

Mr. Brown: My title is career education teacher. I only have two periods now. One is testing, Renaissance testing, to figure out what grade level they are on and put them in the appropriate class...

Bob: What test are you using?

Mr. Brown: Renaissance. It's a good assessment tool.

Bob: Have you thought about... you remember the Armed Forces Qualifications test. I see that as a test to do what you're doing there. I want people to start using that in prisons also because that's an accepted national test that gauges where a person is. It needs to be universal. My wife teaches in prison, and she has to give individual tests to do what you're doing. I was telling her about the Armed Services Qualifications test because that's a test that businesses use even now. They will score wherever they are on a test, and if you go from state to state, it will be the same.

Mr. Brown: The Renaissance test is matched up the national standards, local standards, and the state standards...Common Core Curriculum.

Bob: But if you have one matrix, like they had in the military...When people told me they couldn't have one graduation rate, I said of course you can. You can have one graduation rate because you have one unemployment rate. You just simplify everything.

Appendix T: Dr. Blue's First Interview

Bob: January 23, 2017

Bob: Tell me about your experiences growing up, where you lived, your family, your brothers, your sisters...and whatever was important to you and bring it up to grade school, middle school, high school, and how you got every degree in the world.

Dr. Blue: I was actually born in Newport, Kentucky. My family stayed there for 8 months. My dad didn't want me to attend public school in Kentucky. My dad thought school was better in Cincinnati, so we moved to Cincinnati. We moved to the West End. As a result, I was in the West End for the first 10 years of my life. I went to Washburn Elementary in kindergarten and first grade. Then I went to Dyer Elementary School in 2nd to 5th grade.

At that time, we were in income based housing, in Lincoln Courts. So if your parents' income level was above a certain level, they put you out. That's what they did so we were forced to move to other lodging, and that's when we moved to Walnut Hills. In moving to Walnut Hills, I had to transfer from Dyer out of the 5th grade in one year to Frederick Douglas Elementary School in the 6th grade. From there I went to Samuel Acheson, which was the neighborhood district junior high school in Avondale. That was 7th grade.

Bob: What year was that?

Dr. Blue: That was fall of 1958.

Bob: Really?

Dr. Blue: Fall of 58, and I was there until June of 61. At that time, the ninth grade was a part of the junior high, 7th, 8th, and 9th...

Bob: So 1958 to 1961?

Dr. Blue: Yes.

Bob: I was there in 1959.

Dr. Blue: Were you? Amazing. So basically, I think it was in junior high school where I became really interested in music because I had a dynamic choral teacher, and his name was Clive Williams. He stayed there for another year or so after I left the 9th grade, and then he went on to Broadway to do some things on Broadway. He was a dynamic teacher and an excellent music teacher, and that's when I got interested in vocal music. That was pretty much the impetus that kind of kept me so interested in school at that time. We also had some excellent teachers there who guided us, or coaxed us, and got me into a college prep program in 9th grade.

Bob: That was still at Samuel Ach?

Dr. Blue: Yeah. That was the 9th grade. That's when they divided the tracks. They had a general track and an academic track.

Bob: Wait a minute. That is not my memory of Samuel Ach I... Maybe there was a general track and an academic track, but I must have been in whatever the third track was.

Dr. Blue: I think it was all one level until you got to 9th grade.

Bob: I was there in 9th grade. I was put out of Central and sent to Samuel Ach, and the Samuel Ach that I remember was like a prison and fights every day.

Dr. Blue: Oh yeah, all of that.

Bob: So include some of that. I remember, about 5 guys tried to jump on me my first day of school, and the big bully of Samuel Ach happened to be a good friend of mine from West End, Arthur Burks.

Dr. Blue: Socially, you kind of had to run for your life and everything. I guess I was speaking academically.

Bob: Well, you have to give me a cup of flavor...

Dr. Blue: Definitely, it was touch and go every day when we went to school. You had to watch your back. Going to school every day was definitely a labor. You had to watch out where you were going, where you stopped... The biggest problem I found was when I went to Ach, I was one grade level behind, in the fall of 58, and I was 11 or 12. Some of the guys were 16, 17, or 18.

Bob: That was the track I was in because I had been held back in 3rd grade. I was not age appropriate. I was older for the grade I was in.

Dr. Blue: They were way older than one year.

Bob: It was like a holding tank for over-age kids.

Dr. Blue: You know at that time, they didn't promote you. They didn't have social promotion. They kept you until you passed. Most of the kids were over-age; and as I look back I think that was the crux of the social problem.

Bob: So even in that, Clive Williams helped mentor you in music?

Dr. Blue: Yes, yes.

Bob: Even in that, you had a school counselor that got you interested in college?

Dr. Blue: Not so much the school counselors. I don't recall seeing a school counselor at Ach. Where the mentoring came from was from the excellent teachers that I had, especially in 9th grade.

Bob: Really?

Dr. Blue: In 9th grade, it was a ton of work, and I really didn't think that I belonged to this academic program because at that time I felt I was there to socialize. To make a long story short, they guided us and exposed us to college information, took us on college jamborees... I had a core of teachers who were really great mentors. They actually nurtured us.

Bob: What was their ethnicity?

Dr. Blue: I think all of them were Black, I believe. I did have some white teachers in the lower grades, in 7th and 8th grades, but in the 9th grade, all of core teachers were Black.

Bob: In my experience, all of my teachers at Samuel Ach were Black.

Dr. Blue: So, when I got to 9th grade on the academic program, I did have Black teachers that actually... you know it's important to have teachers who look like you and understand where you come from.

Bob: Did you connect better with them?

Dr. Blue: Yes, and not only that, they took more interest in what you were doing... That's when I really got interested in college, per se ...when I was in that academic program. When I went to Withrow, that was the first time that I had gone to a racially mixed school on a large scale.

Bob: Going to Washburn and Dyer because they were down the street from where I lived. I lived on Mound Street.

Dr. Blue: The homes...there were some European families in there. There was a sprinkling of white kids. At Dyer, that was basically all-Black, and Douglas school was Black. I was only at Douglas one year... When I got to 10th grade, that was the biggest cultural shock that I have ever experienced, and I had the hardest time adjusting; and by being on that academic track in the 9th, and that was a big problem.

My biggest problem when I got to 10th grade at Withrow, there was almost nobody in my classes who looked like me in my classes. No matter what class I was in, there may have been one or two Blacks in my classes.... And that at my age was a hard adjustment for me having come from a mixed school background.

Bob: What year was that?

Dr. Blue: 10th grade

Bob: What year was that?

Dr. Blue: The fall of 1961.

Bob: So the teachers that you dealt your first year there, how do you describe them? How did they relate to you?

Dr. Blue: Not at all. They probably didn't want you there. Didn't offer you much help or anything. You were like the student by the door. You were isolated. You were isolated socially. You know, a few of the kids, a few of the white guys, you could go back and forth with them, but as far as feeling included in the class, I never got that feeling of belonging. I never got that nurturing that I had the previous year at Ach. And at basically all the other schools, the teachers really cared, in my earlier experiences. They cared, and, at the same time, they were really hard on you. They made sure you performed and did your homework; and of course, at that time, they had corporal punishment, so you were encouraged.

Bob: I had a lot of that.

Dr. Blue: Withrow was totally different, and to this day, I really do not feel good about Withrow to this very day. It was not an inviting place. When it comes to getting information... even by this time I was getting interested in college from 9th grade. You had to seek out information on your own, or ask upper classmen. Black upper classmen would give you information, where to go, this and that... The only time I saw counselors was when they called you to discuss your options for next year, and then you were out, no time put in to discuss the class or the track you were on, your major, or your future plans, none of that.

I really didn't realize how little information they gave us until I became a counselor myself.

Then I thought so this is what they should have been doing for us. We had to find out what test to take and where the test was given, how to fill out the information to get registered for all that...

Bob: You're talking about the PSAT, the SAT?

Dr. Blue: PSAT, SAT, the ACT, all of them... I don't know if you experienced that...

Bob: Of course, I did. It was worse for me because I was stupid as a brick.

Dr. Blue: I don't know now. You're doing pretty good. I didn't do well in school man. The thing that kept me in the 10th grade...had it not been for my parents, I would have quit school because it was an environment that I had a hard time dealing with and adjusting to. But I knew my parents would have sent me to school. That wasn't even an option. The other kids had endured it since the 7th grade. So I said if they had existed, and they're in their fourth year of dealing with it when I was in 10th grade, there must have been a way to deal with it. So, I decided you either join them or fail I guess. Failure wasn't an option in my household, so I decided to get involved in activities. So that's when I got involved a ton of activities. It was probably too many and that affected my grades, but you brought your friendships, and it helps you make it through.

Bob: It gets you connected...

Dr. Blue: And it gives you support, because between classes you can vent. But it was way too many... I must have been there in about 12 activities, and that kept me there every day... That was the best motivation for me to stay in school. I continued the music thing. I got involved in music at Withrow and did pretty well. I was able to do some special things like being in special ensembles like Madrigal... Of course, senior choir was a big thing. I became President of that choir in my senior year. I was also president of Hi-Y in my senior year. All those activities helped to bring me into the fold and give me a little more connection socially. Academically, that was secondary...

Bob: What was your GPA when you graduated?

Dr. Blue: I don't know, but it couldn't have been that high, but I know I ranked 127 out of a class of 575.

Bob: Well that was pretty high. You were still in the top quarter.

Dr. Blue: So I was able to do that much. My classes... I didn't have any support. At that time, it was important to have people look like you, that you see people that talk like you...

Bob: When you were at Withrow, did you have any overt racist situations that happened?

Dr. Blue: Other than being ostracized from their activities... school activities. When we got to our senior year, a group of us decided that hey this is our school too so we started going to some of their dances in the gym, the little homecoming, the cardiac capers... We decided to participate ...We kind of forced ourselves to integrate, and you know that was the theme of the day, integration...

Bob: What was the response on the other side?

Dr. Blue: They were mildly... they were friendly in front of your face. There was some isolation.

Bob: Any slurs?

Dr. Blue: I didn't get any of that. I didn't hear anything, but you felt it every day. You felt the weight of being Black in a white environment.

Bob: Is that why you don't go to any reunions?

Dr. Blue: No, I've been at all the class reunions.

Bob: You were at the 50th?

Dr. Blue: Yeah, but I graduated a year after you.

Bob: Oh, that's right. You're a baby.

Dr. Blue: I have been to all of our reunions. I basically only go to see people from our neighborhoods.

Bob: Exactly.

Dr. Blue: I go to connect back with them. I don't go for the larger majority of our class or anything.

Bob: How many Blacks showed up at your last reunion?

Dr. Blue: Probably around 70 or so.

Bob: That's double ours. I went to the 45th and the 50th. I actually helped put the 50th together to get out more Black people. We ended up having it down at the Underground Railroad Museum.

Dr. Blue: I heard that.

Bob: And we still only had about 30 Black people.

Dr. Blue: Is that right?

Bob: When we had it at the Racetrack, which was out in west Jesus, we had less than 20.

Dr. Blue: They probably had the same feeling that I felt about the school. What I experienced in that school, I still feel isolated. But that's the only reason I go to the reunions is to see most of my friends, which would be mostly Black people of course.

Dr. Blue: It wasn't a good environment ... but I have to give ops and props. When I went to Withrow in that 10th grade year, I was ahead in French II. Our teacher had prepared us so well in French I that I didn't have to study that whole first semester. I had done that so I said been there... done that. That just enabled me to play a little more...

Dr. Blue: Withrow was basically a bad experience for me, and it got better when I made some effort to do things to make it better with the activities. That's the only thing that got me through.

But as far as getting information on the things we should have known on college...

Bob: So in your senior year, how many activities were you in?

Dr. Blue: About 10 or 12 activities.

Bob: Do you have a list of all the activities?

Dr. Blue: Yes. I've got a list.

Bob: That's important because you basically made a track of how you were going to stay in school.

Bob: In a way, I did the same thing with baseball. I had to keep my grades up, so I could play baseball. If it hadn't been for that, I probably would have been put out of school permanently, which I was almost there, and my mom would have killed me...

Dr. Blue: Yeah...

Bob: Now let's go back to your childhood. You said your mom and your dad ...

Dr. Blue: I was an only child. My dad had a brother, and my mom had a sister. Two brothers married 2 sisters. They had 3 boys. We were cousins, but we like brothers even to the extent that even though they lived in Newport, and we lived in Cincinnati, my mom and my dad would get me stuff. And I would say I'm an only child, and I got all this stuff to myself, and they would say oh no you're going to share this with your cousins...Everything I got almost we'd take it over and divided it.

Lo and behold, I didn't know they were doing that to keep me from being selfish. Maybe the lightbulb went off when I was in college.... I was so grateful I didn't grow up to be a snotty-nosed only child. Our family was tight-knit in that respect because those cousins were like my brothers. We were raised like brothers.

Bob: So literally, until you finished high school and started college, you were in a 2-parent household?

Dr. Blue: No, we lived in Cincinnati. My cousins lived in Newport.

Bob: No, not your cousins, I'm talking about your mom and dad.

Dr. Blue: Yes, I lived with them in high school and all the way through college.

Bob: So that is different for Black males. That's outstanding.

Dr. Blue: In those days, even though I worked a little part-time job all the way through college, at Sears selling shoes, it wasn't enough money to maintain a house or an apartment, so I just stayed and walked to school every day.

Bob: Walked to UC?

Dr. Blue: Walked to UC.

Bob: From where?

Dr. Blue: From Walnut Hills.

Bob: No way... And you didn't have a car?

Dr. Blue: Didn't have a car. I did that for 4 years until my senior year I was forced to get a car. By that time, I had had that job long enough, and I would work a few hours throughout the year. But by the beginning of my senior year, I had to student-teach because I was in education, and I could not take my parents' car because he needed the car to get back and forth to work, and I needed it for student-teaching. So that's the first time I got a car.

Bob: And you were how old?

Dr. Blue: I got my first car at 21.

Bob: First car at 21...

Dr. Blue: But I must admit my parents were very generous with their car. I even drove it to school every day in my senior year at Withrow. My dad wouldn't take it because my mom needed it.

Bob: So your family had the one car.

Dr. Blue: Exactly...And my dad wouldn't take it to work. He caught the bus everyday, so my mom could be mobile and get to the store.

Bob: So your mom didn't work.

Dr. Blue: No, he insisted that she stay home and take care of me.

Bob: You lived as a Black male with two parents, and a stay-at-home mom?

Dr. Blue: Yes.

Bob: That's different.

Dr. Blue: At my dad's insistence. She wanted to go work, but he said no you need to watch him.

Bob: Oh, that was special. I wanted to get it down pat. So you walked to UC for your whole 4 years until you got your first car. What was your first car?

Dr. Blue: It was a 1964 Oldsmobile, F-85.

Bob: That was a muscle car.

Dr. Blue: Yep, it was.

Bob: What were they... the 42s?

Dr. Blue: I think they came out the next year because my cousin got the next one the year. This was the first time I was really mobile, completely mobile.

Bob: So now, let's get back to your senior year in high school. No guidance counselors...

Dr. Blue: No, not at all.

Bob: So did you have any issues in school, got in any fights... get in any trouble with the law?

Dr. Blue: Well, when I was in the 10th grade, I was talking with these young ladies, and they were talking about bringing some alcohol to school. So I brought these little bottles to bring some alcohol to them. Somehow, I think the girls started blabbing, and so I got busted for bringing it. So I had to go through a hearing at juvenile court. This was when I was in 10th grade

having all these adjustment problems. So that didn't help. I ended up not getting suspended. I didn't have to go to 2020 for anything except for that particular adjudication. But that kind of scared me straight too. It was a good thing I had that experience because, after that, I just decided to get involved in activities. Another thing that motivated me was the next year was my junior year, and I'm going to turn this around, and I knew my parents weren't having it anyway.

Bob: What was your sentence? How did it get resolved?

Dr. Blue: I had to do some kind of work detail at school.

Bob: Did they have some type of probation?

Dr. Blue: Yes, but that was over at the end of school because that was the first time I had gotten into trouble.... But like I said trying to get in good with the girls, and I thought that would help...

Bob: So maybe I don't understand. Did you get suspended at all?

Dr. Blue: I didn't get suspended or expelled at all. I was very lucky, I mean very fortunate when I look back on that... That was my worst year in 10th grade. All of that was in 10th grade. I turned it around in 11th grade. My grades got a little better.

Bob: So did you order that transcript from them yet?

Dr. Blue: Yes...back in December.

Bob: So I don't have that yet. You're going to have to call them again. I have almost all your college transcripts. We're going to need all those, along with all your college transcripts.

Dr. Blue: Good...

Bob: It's like pulling teeth.

Dr. Blue: It takes about 6 weeks?

Bob: Yeah...over, but we will need them. I gave you the number of that woman...

Dr. Blue: I don't think so... oh, I remember that. I'm surprised you don't have it yet. Would they give me K-12?

Bob: Yes.

Dr. Blue: Would they give us Ach also?

Bob: No, that's a separate order. There haven't been able to get my Porter Hayes or my Ach grades. I was at Central too, but I was only there one year... but I did want to get Ach, and I did want to get Porter Hayes.

Dr. Blue: Somewhere at home, I have my K-12 report cards...

Bob: Good. Make a copy for me.

Dr. Blue: I gotta find them.

Bob: Ok, so find them and get them to me. You can scan them or fax them to me because you have my number.

Bob: When I got my Withrow, I got the whole thing from 9th grade. Well in 9th grade they put me out so I had failing grades. So I had one semester of 9th grade where I was failing everything, and when I came back in 10th grade and had 10th grade through my senior year. When I look at it now I say to myself, if I was my kid, I would have beat the crap out of me. I was just abject. It's because I had the same feeling as you.

Bob: But that's what happens to Black kids. That's why we have a low graduation rate and such a high dropout rate. So now you're graduating...you went to Senior Prom?

Dr. Blue: Oh yeah.

Bob: Ok, went to senior prom. Everything was going well. You played football too right?

Dr. Blue: No. At that time, music took up so much time. We didn't have any time. We had one music thing after another, from January to June.

Bob: You had to practice and rehearse...

Dr. Blue: All times of the night. I mean some people were in choir and played football, but they weren't as involved as I was with Madrigal, and all the solos, and all the things I was involved in.

Bob: But you were so talented...

Dr. Blue: They just ...

Bob: So in the year you graduated in 1964, who would you say your top 3 friends were?

Dr. Blue: Delilah Kinnebrew.

Bob: Ok.

Dr. Blue: She was one of my singing mates.

Bob: Delilah Kinnebrew? Her sister Delores married my brother.

Dr. Blue: Are you kidding me?

Bob: Her sister Delores married my brother. You're giving me goose pimples. You know what, Delilah was my first date in my entire life.

Dr. Blue: Is that right?

Bob: She was the first girl I had seen who wore that gold streak.

Dr. Blue: Yeah... the gold streak. Delilah was one of my best friends. Another one was Harry Calloway. He was basically in music... Larry Scott, Fred Kennedy...

Bob: I think I remember the name Harry Calloway. Whatever happened to Harry Calloway?

Dr. Blue: He's doing real well man. He went on to get his masters. I think... from Wright State.

He was in counseling as well. He was in Dayton Public Schools. He taught music for a while like I did in Dayton as well. In fact, he's still teaching K-8 in Dayton. I don't know if you remember

Fred Kennedy. He did all of the playing for the choir, and I would say Cynthia Fan. She was a girlfriend of mine. She was younger than me. So those were my best friends.

Bob: For you to name Delilah, a girl that I dated... Because my brother set it up. You remember the Roosevelt Theater downtown? Delores, her sister, worked there... She got us great drinks and hot sauce...

Dr. Blue: Of course.

Bob: And we sat up there, and watched "A Summer Place"; and I was absolutely petrified. My brother was saying how did you like it? I told him I watched the movie. He fixed me up with a beautiful girl. I may have 13... I might have been 12. We laughed at that for years. He went ahead and married her sister Delores. She became like my sister-in-law so I never wanted to...

Dr. Blue: I have some pictures of her when she was in my quartet.

Bob: Really?

Dr. Blue: I was hoping she would come to our 50th reunion because I haven't seen her...

Bob: Somebody that knows the family told me she actually became a preacher...

Dr. Blue: Really?

Bob: So maybe we can do some trolling on Facebook.

Dr. Blue: Man, I'm not even on Facebook.

Bob: You've got to...it's how you connect.

Dr. Blue: Man, the fear I have is I have all these tons of students, and I am afraid they would hit me up and want me to respond.

Bob: My wife Pam has some of her students on Facebook, and she likes it because the students that contact her are always the ones who are doing well... So now we're on to UC. How was it? What was the environment like?

Dr. Blue: When I got there, it was the same environment as Withrow. In fact, it was worse. They didn't care if you were there. But I was in the Conservatory of Music, and they got most of their students from heavy recruiting from the south.

Bob: So when you say the south, are you talking about...?

Dr. Blue: White folks. They weren't letting too many Black folk get in there. I just barely got in there. I don't know, but I'm glad I got in there. They didn't want you there, and they made no bones about it.

Bob: What was that problem?

Dr. Blue: That no help thing, half answering your questions, overly criticizing your work...

Bob: In class?

Dr. Blue: Well there, and especially when you had a paper or something and you had to talk to them about it. They just acted like it was the worst piece of mess they had ever seen. It was not an inviting area. But there was a small group of students who had each other's back. By me being at Withrow in Omega Kappa Fraternity, when I got to UC, some of the same older guys were in Alpha Phi Alpha so that's how I got involved with Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity because of guys I knew from back home.

It was almost like college got in the way of my social life. That got me over socially. It was like I majored in fraternity life, and college got in the way...After every class, I walked all the way to the card room, and that's where all the Black kids would play cards and then walk all the way back to go to class. The third year, we moved over on campus...

Bob: So what was your course load per semester?

Dr. Blue: We were on the quarter system. So I had 3 quarters, and I had a 2.88 the first quarter.

Bob: No way.

Dr. Blue: But especially in music, we had the good fortune to take music theory that you usually don't get 'til you get to college because we had to take music theory; and I had had 2 years of that with Smitty. So I just kicked my feet up.

Bob: So academically, you didn't have a problem on the segway from high school to college?

Dr. Blue: Except the academics, because first of all I resisted and didn't like English, and they didn't relate to music. I had to still take those things that I didn't see any use for, like western civilization...and I was in music. So at that time, I didn't think those things made sense so I didn't put much effort into it. But still I was able to make 2.88...

Bob: What about 1.66 my first quarter...

Dr. Blue: I got there my junior year. My first quarter, I made a 1.9.

Bob: Then I was starting to come around. The next year I got... and just stayed off probation. I got it up to 2.0... but if you had 2.88 going in that means you're one smart sucker....

Dr. Blue: In that junior year, I got 2.0 the first quarter, a 1.9 the second quarter, and I got a 2.1 the last quarter...

Bob: So what were you doing?

Dr. Blue: It was all socializing, all frat by then, all the ladies... In 4 years' time, I was in music education so that means I had fulfilled all the music and education requirements... I had 23 hours each semester, but I only got credit for 21 hours because I was taking a class where I met 3 days but only got 1 credit. So I was loaded down... It was way overboard...

Bob: And you were still working part-time?

Dr. Blue: Yeah...

Bob: How many hours did you work?

Dr. Blue: I did 16 hours, two 4 hour days during the week and 8 hours on Saturday. And the other half is I hated it.

Bob: Let me make this politely and politically correct. Some of us can do everything, and some of us can't do anything. I remember taking 21 hours and working 40-50 hours per week.

Dr. Blue: That was way too much...

Bob: How can you say that when you did it? And then we have people who can't get out the bed. ...I remember I didn't get off until 8 o'clock in the morning...I did that for 5 years and going to school...And you know whatever we do here is anonymous, When people read about the things that you did and the 6 degrees, what you did in school, and so on...why is it they can't get off the dime and do something? That's what bothers me...As you counsel kids, I want you to think how much does stereotype threat and how much does racism absolutely sit on kids' education about what their future goals would be, specifically Black males.

Bob: Now, going back to UC, so did you have any administration issues your first year?

Dr. Blue: No, none. My biggest struggle was to try to survive socially. There were only a handful of Blacks there, but we had each other, kinda like at Withrow. I had no issues with teachers other than they didn't care. They let you know they didn't want you there. I just sat quietly in the class and responded and participated when I had to. It didn't make any sense to complain because they wouldn't do anything anyway.

Bob: What about your sophomore year?

Dr. Blue: Sophomore year was pretty much the same. First of all, they didn't admit a lot of Blacks at the conservatory. We had three Blacks in one class my freshman year, an African-American lady was a piano major from New York, and me and Fred, and we were from Withrow. He was a piano major, and I was a voice major.

Bob: What year was that?

Dr. Blue: We started in the fall of 64. We had the largest Black population, three Blacks in one freshman class, and that had never happened before. Me and Fred were the only ones that finished, and we were from Withrow. The young lady left us to go get married back in New York.

Bob: No administration issues? No arguments from teachers?

Dr. Blue: No. I knew that was a lost cause.

Bob: Did you ever go to Black Student Union?

Dr. Blue: It was just getting started. With those 23 hours, I didn't have time for that... I really wasn't on campus... I ended my second quarter in March, and I was offered a job to come and teach music that Monday. I only had one class remaining, so I went to the Dean and told him I had a job offer, and he waived that class. So I graduated early and started teaching that Monday... By the time they were up and running, I was gone. I wish I had. When I went back as a resident advisor, by 1972, the BSU was going real strong, but I didn't get involved....

Bob: Getting back to your first year of teaching, tell me about your segway to teach. What was that? How was that?

Dr. Blue: That was relatively easy. The hardest part was all the drawbacks at UC.

Bob: How were you treated?

Dr. Blue: Feeling like you were ostracized and feeling like I didn't belong.

Bob: That's what I thought. Now you are in Cincinnati Public Schools. What school was that?

Dr. Blue: My first school was Beasley Elementary, and I went there the end of March to the end of the school year... most of the population was white Appalachian and poor Blacks. That was my best experience. I loved those kids. Despite their backgrounds, they excelled because of high

expectations. I set high expectations, and I got what I wanted; and I didn't take no bull. That was a great experience. I wanted to stay there, but unfortunately, they moved me the next year to a full-time 4-6 position at Washburn Elementary... Then when I got there I wanted to stay there, but after one year they moved me up to senior high music into choral music. They kept me moving up. At that time, choral positions didn't open up because people kept them ...

Bob: Like Smitty.

Dr. Blue: Yeah... until they retired...I wanted high school, but I didn't know if I was ready for it.

Bob: What school was that?

Dr. Blue: Hughes... So reluctantly I went on and accepted it. Of course, when I got there, I loved that. I preferred teaching in inner city schools, so I could give back what I did not get... If they think you're half-way good, they would move you out to a white school. I did get caught up in that when I left the system to become a resident adviser and go to grad school for a couple of years at UC and came back. And when you come back you have to go where they send you. So they made me go out, between Shipley and Midway, and that was the first year of staff integration where they sent Black teachers to white schools ...

Bob: How long was your drive?

Dr. Blue: About a good 45 minutes in the morning... So I got caught up in that.

Bob: You were like being bussed as a teacher...

Dr. Blue: Yeah...but if I had stayed there instead of going back to grad school for a second time, I could have insisted that they keep me in the inner city because I wanted to serve us...

Bob: So in that, did you literally butt heads with any of administration about what you were trying to do, not when you came back but when they were moving you around?

Dr. Blue: No, actually it was always a good thing. They were promoting me each time...

Bob: Promoting in your form of reference...

Dr. Blue: in my field...

Bob: in your field in the Black community...but as you excelled, they moved you to a white community...

Dr. Blue: And they got me to do that because I left and came back in...

Bob: And a 45-minute drive...

Dr. Blue: Exactly. And it was quite different out there with a white principal. They weren't used to Black or minority teachers... always looking in your door to see what you were doing...listening at your door...

Bob: Did you ever talk to the principal about that?

Dr. Blue: No. I had dealt with that at Withrow. I already knew that game.

Dr. Blue: But the worst experience I had was when they moved me in the fall of 1974 to Midway every other day. At Midway, when I came back one weekend, in big chalk they wrote go home nigger, outside my music room. You would think the janitors or custodians would go and remove it immediately, but they let it stay up for 3 months.

Bob: Really?

Bob: So why didn't you take it down yourself?

Dr. Blue: I wanted to see how long they were going to leave it there.

Bob: So where was Midway?

Dr. Blue: You swing up Queens City, past Ferguson... and you up a block to a little street called Midway to the elementary school.

Bob: Oh, it was an elementary school?

Dr. Blue: Yes.

Bob: And it was predominately white...

Dr. Blue: Oh yeah, maybe one or two kids in each grade... That was their effort. Once they see that you know your stuff... I implemented a lot of things that I did at the other school. Once they see that you know what you are doing... At the end of that year, the same principal who treated me and all Black teachers like dirt... always scrutinizing us and asking us questions.

Bob: How many teachers were there?

Dr. Blue: It was about three of us.

Bob: Three out of how many totals?

Dr. Blue: The staff was about 30 something. But I did so much with the kids and shows, at the end of the year he begged me to stay. I thought is this the same guy. I told him I had another opportunity. I was going into counseling. Then they offered me a counseling position. I was so glad to get out of there. It wasn't much better, but it was better than there.

Bob: Did you experience any racism?

Dr. Blue: I didn't feel anything...

Bob: You know they had sundown laws...

Dr. Blue: Oh yeah, it was still on their books... My school was fine then. The principal was fine.

They just hadn't worked with any of us before.

Bob: Everything was still segregated... Do you remember any of the teacher names?

Dr. Blue: Ralph McGee was one... Rosalind Gant was one.

Bob: Why does that sound familiar...

Dr. Blue: Ralph McGee taught in intermediate with me. He taught science and phys ed in intermediate. Rosalind was in primary.

Bob: Where did she go?

Dr. Blue: She went to UC...

Bob: You and I overlapped there...I graduated in 1969...

Dr. Blue: I didn't know you were even there at UC.

Bob: I'm the guy that got sued by UC, the Black Student Union...The thing that pissed me off is they wouldn't give me a student loan. I only wanted a \$900 loan.

Dr. Blue: She left in 66.

Bob: She may have left in 66. I started in 65. ... I had worked for years doing toilets and decided I didn't want to do that for the rest of my life...

Dr. Blue: That was good motivation.

Bob: So let's hop back to graduate school... You were a graduate resident assistant.

Dr. Blue: Well, before that. Remember the Viet Nam War was raging. I left school early to get a teaching position, but after June came around in 1968, the pressure was I could go back to school and be safe. So, I said I better be safe. That prompted me to go back to UC... and I just stayed there to work on my masters. I had never thought of going back to grad school a second time.

Bob: So that got you a deferment?

Dr. Blue: Yes. So, in 1970 I got my first master's degree in music. I had no intention of going to grad school... There were a few more Blacks. So I didn't get a chance to know any of them.

Bob: Were there any issues then?

Dr. Blue: No, I just did what I had to do... get in and get out so I could get to work. At the end of 70, they had the Kent State thing, and classes were given pass/fail. So I wish I had taken a full load, but I only had one class.

Bob: So now you have your first masters...

Dr. Blue: I went back, and I had these large choir groups. We took choirs all around... I did so much counseling, so I decided to go take some counseling courses. I got my counseling certification in '74. I came out of UC, and they made me go to Midway.

Bob: So you did the counseling...

Dr. Blue: At the fall of '75, I started as a counselor at Walden Hills.

Bob: Well, that was a primo school.

Dr. Blue: Hated it. The parents were prima donnas. The kids were prima donnas. It was that kind of arrogant attitude that I despised, that elitist attitude. Took me three years to get out of there...

Bob: Racially, how was it?

Dr. Blue: Racially, it was ok. As a staff member, I saw some things...

Bob: Like what?

Dr. Blue: I had this service organization. There were three counselors... 150 kids a piece. You couldn't do any extra college guidance to get them started, and I wanted to do some things that were done to me. So I wanted to take them on a field trip to Indiana College, and they gave me the blues. The principal told me I couldn't do it.

Bob: In this school, was this a more elite group?

Dr. Blue: No. We just had 150 kids... And the sheer amount of work... they had this history...

You had to go through the grades of each kid, 150 sheets... It was an unfair work load.

Bob: Why was it structured that way?

Dr. Blue: They claimed it took up so much of their time so they moved 10th grade down to 9th grade. Have you ever heard of such?

Bob: It's called gerrymandering.

Dr. Blue: It seemed to me that they didn't want me to learn anything about counseling...college education.

Bob: Everything to take the wind out of your promotion.

Dr. Blue: It took me three years to get me out of there.

Bob: It's the premier school in Ohio. I had two nieces that went there. It is a prestigious school, but they were holding you back.

Dr. Blue: At least that's what I felt. Yeah... on the contrary, I loved the kids. It's never about the kids... It's the parents...the system...

Bob: You've influenced more kids than you know.... You've got those stories. With all this that you've done, you probably have an army of kids who want to thank you.

Dr. Blue: One day, I had a case load, and I was pulled over by a police officer... I thought oh no. I got out and asked what did I do. He said I just want to thank you for being such a great role model at Akin. I said thank you officer.

Bob: So where are we in your career?

Dr. Blue: At Walden Hills. I finally got out of there in 3 years. Actually, I went back to Withrow...

Bob: What year was that?

Dr. Blue: This was the fall of 1968. When I went there, it was dark. I actually... I was thrilled to see Black kids... in Honor Society. I was in 7th Heaven.

Bob: So what was your experience like?

Dr. Blue: It was wonderful. At the same time, I was doing vocational counseling and choreography for various groups for school shows. But I was only there one year. In the fall, I was at Akin.

Bob: So what was that like?

Dr. Blue: Akin was great, but they had some racial problems...

Bob: So were there a lot if fights?

Dr. Blue: Yeah.

Bob: Did you experience any racism?

Dr. Blue: No. At that time, they were having a lot of cutbacks... so I got cut out as a counselor.

At the end of '82, I had taken a lot of administration courses, but I was able to pick up a part-

time VT job. I did some counseling, but I basically monitored attendance. I did that was 15

years. I went into three years in administration, and I hated it. There were 12-16-hour work

days... Everybody else was making their money and going home. I didn't aspire being a

principal because it was too political... You were promoted on your politics and who you know.

I started that in May of '85. I went in as a VT, visiting teacher. At that time, there was only an

AP, and they needed me there as an AP.

Bob: My wife was an assistant principal, and she agrees with the long days...

Dr. Blue: ... I had to go full time for a couple of years to do that... 12 and more hours, on

campus for a certain number of hours. I was doing this PhD solely so when I retired, I could

teach in college. But when I finished in 2000, I didn't want to do nothing. I started traveling...

Bob: You're teaching to the choir.

Dr. Blue: That's why I left administration...

Bob: Did you ever get married?

Dr. Blue: No, only dated. In April of 1990, I was ready to take my comps. My dad died suddenly

in August; and he had been my mom's caregiver, and she was on dialysis. So I had to post phone

it... I started writing the research... That was a real challenge. I was her caregiver all the way

until she died in '97. So I didn't have time to get married... I wasn't going to clubs... I have a motto I don't date nobody I work with.

Bob: So now you are working...

Dr. Blue: I am working with packages. Whatever package comes in, I have to when you grow up?inspect them, only things that are opened. So rather than inspecting people, I am inspecting packages...

Bob: So you are 71?

Dr. Blue: 70.

Bob: So I don't see you doing this for three years, so what do you plan on doing

Dr. Blue: I've been thinking on getting out of this cold weather. I took this relocation tour to Panama... I just can't take this cold weather anymore.

Bob: I don't know how you have been here this long.

Dr. Blue: I've been traveling around... and I like Panama. They can do more things with their money... I was traveling abroad a lot and thought about doing some writing, but I just got burned out.

Bob: Did you ever get involved with the law, a felony or anything? You know I have to ask my Black males.

Dr. Blue: Oh no, only speeding tickets... parking tickets. I remember when I got a new Eldorado.

Bob: That was a drug car.

Dr. Blue: I got stopped three times in one night. That was just profiling.

Bob: That was an accurate profile. A guy that I knew had an Eldorado, and he got stopped four times a day. So I knew you got stopped.

Appendix U: Mr. Green's First Interview

Bob: January 17, 2017

Bob: Tell me about your experiences growing up, and you can start with where you lived in Walnut Hills next to the garage or also you lived in Athens, Alabama.

Mr. Green: Alright sometimes people ask me. It is kind of a typical story growing up the first 10 years of my life in Athens, Alabama, uh pre-integration and uh going to an all-Black elementary school and growing up with my grandfather. My mother died early of cancer so uh growing up with my grandmother and grandfather in Athens. When I was 10, my mother died, and my father remarried and moved us all to Cincinnati, Ohio. And then started school in Cincinnati. We moved to really Evanston, right next to Walnut Hills, Hewett Avenue and started in the eighth grade at Withrow High School.

Now Hewett Avenue, where we walked to school every day, was about 2 miles from Withrow So no school bus for us, but it was still a nice walk. But at the top of Hewett was the Hewett Avenue Bus Barn of the Cincinnati Transit Company there. It was a private-owned school bus company like most of them were in those days. I passed by the bus company a lot getting into trouble going through the bus yard, pulling the streetcar poles off the wires... you know a bunch of kids... At that point, I was infatuated with streetcars and buses. Didn't know it when later when I thoroughly sought out the opportunity to work for the bus company in Cincinnati. People said that was crazy. Here's a guy with a college degree, and you want to work for the bus company. There were more jobs than just being a bus driver. I found out later. So that was my first foray with mass transit.

But growing up in Evanston was kind of a Black middle-class community in those days in the late 50s or early 60s. Everybody was rich you know, but a lot of my friends were growing up from the West End or downtown, which was considered the hood or the ghetto in those days, but

I really don't think it was that much different from them growing up or us growing up.

Remember we were still trying ...

Bob: Did you get down there very often to do anything?

Mr. Green: No we really didn't. You live in Evanston in Walnut Hills, so that was your life. You saw your friends, parents. My parents were both at that time school teachers. My father became a school teacher, late in life. He worked at a number of jobs when we moved from Alabama. Well, he was always in Cincinnati because my mother was in the hospital a lot at Meharry, in Nashville and that was the only hospital in those days for Black people who had cancer because hospitals were still segregated.

He was...It was hard for a Black man to get a job back then in the 40s and 50s so he worked in Cincinnati for the post office. He also was a craftsman at a part-time job at a company called AD Welding Company... and he worked with leather goods and purses, and handbags, and everything...wallets so he did a lot of stuff.

Bob: Did you say he was a teacher...he had a degree?

Mr. Green: He went back to school... he went to school at Tallega and a masters at University of Cincinnati and taught Math and Science for 5th and 6th graders in downtown Cincinnati. He worked for Hemberly Elementary School... downtown probably on Central.... My stepmother went to Wash Park, which was also downtown in the West End, teaching second grade. They were both teachers and really influenced me and my brother an awful lot. When I moved to Cincinnati, I picked up 2 stepbrothers and a stepsister...my dad remarried. They also influenced me a lot in terms of being good role models and a lot older, good folks.

Bob: What did they do?

Mr. Green: One of them went on to city college. He became a medical technician, got a masters, and worked for Proctor and Gamble most of his life. He passed on now. He had a lung disease.

Another brother worked for the transportation business as well, but he was at the Orlando Airport... He was a manager at the Orlando Airport still today. One sister still lives in Detroit. She is retired and worked for the city of Detroit, but she worked for city government there.

Bob: So in your reconstituted household you had how many brothers and sisters?

Mr. Green: I had 2 step-brothers, one step-sister, and one real brother. My real brother... I'd say he had the brains in the family, and I got the charm in the family. He went to MIT and has been in the whole computer technology field for about 30 plus years now, where he designs integrated circuits.

Bob: So what's his name?

Mr. Green: Christopher... and I am Mr. Green, and my mother's name was Ruth, both Biblical names.

Bob: So Christopher Green was his name.

Mr. Green: Christopher Green... he's a MIT engineer, University of Michigan with a masters in electrical engineering. He did quite well. He worked for one company, called ... Devices for 30 plus years in the management side with numerous stock options ... so he's a legitimate millionaire, but I am broke.

Bob: You have lots of company. You're being interviewed by a beach bum so you're in good company. I have lived by the ocean for over 30 years.

Mr. Green: What's the name?

Bob: I'm right by the ocean... right now in the Venice area and before that in Playa del Rey. So I'm a beach bum.

Bob: What do you remember about your K-12 ... when you went to school in Athens...

Mr. Green: Good point... good point...

Bob: ... and then transferred to Cincinnati, 8th grade and on ... what kind of experiences, negative and positive?

Mr. Green: Small southern town, Athens had about 8,000 people. My granddaddy was the main Black man in the town in the 40s and 50s. He was the bail bondsman, owned a funeral home, and a café. He was the conduit between Black people and white people. I was a little Black bourgeoisie boy in a small southern town. We had the big white house. When I go back, it really wasn't... Kindergarten, my real mother was a teacher, taught me how to read and write when I was 4 years old. When I got to first grade... this was Alabama you know, they said they wanted to put me up in second school grade. Later on skipped school.

For some reason I went back to Cincinnati in third grade. And I went to Samuel Acheson for one year... if Samuel Acheson may be torn down now. And uh, I think my mother really got sick at that point, and we moved back to Alabama, and my grandmother typically raised us. Growing up 4th, 5th, and 6th grade there...

Bob: What was that like?

Mr. Green: It was a lot of fun. We didn't know it was a segregated South, at eight, nine, ten years old. My puppy, who was called Fireplug, ran the streets wild. . Mr. Malone who had a horse-drawn carriage. We'd jump on the back of it and ride. My friends... down the street was a white family. We walked to an elementary school... and the wood was so rotten, and I actually cut myself. The separate but equal was not that. ... The teachers were great. Some were racist.

At 6th grade, I was sent to camp in Massachusetts at one of these camps called Camp Atwater, in the literature it was a camp for Black middle class. That summer my mother died. At that

point, we went back, and my mom had already been buried. They knew it would be too hard...

Instead of us staying with my father because he couldn't take care of two boys, my brother went to stay with my aunt. I was sent to a private school called Mather Academy at 11 in the 7th grade. There was a house mother. I got into trouble for things.

Bob: For what?

Mr. Green: I got busted for breaking and entering at a young age. I did not take good care of myself. I had 13 cavities. I had poor grades. I only got good grades in religion. I loved the Bible.

Bob: You did good in what you loved.

Mr. Green: I refer to it today as being sent to a school as a detention center of young children. If you look at that literature, you will see that ... From that point, my father remarried, and that saved me....and my brother came from South Carolina. This was in Camden, South Carolina.

Bob: When you were going through this basic rebellion, did anybody try to counsel you?

Mr. Green: Yes, there was a woman house mother who tried to help me, and I had 2 female cousins who tried to help me but there were no real males there to counsel me. The school took care of me, no record of it...no doubt about that. And then that was my life there. You see pictures today of me on Mother's Day, I was one of the few kids with a white flower, and of course I would cry.

Bob: Of course, you would cry because that's what it was like.

Bob: So now you are in Cincinnati, and you are at Withrow in 8th grade with me, what was that like?

Mr. Green: Eighth grade was kind of rough. Had about a C+. It was in the times of WestSide Story. I had a leather jacket... kinda like a gang thing, but we didn't do nothing. It was just cool. In 9th grade, running track was my thing. I ran around with athletes, the jocks.... You remember

Billy Green, Chuck Williams...the jocks... Paul Williams... that kinda helped me. I really don't remember high school. My better experiences were more in college, at U of C. Skipping that grade kinda put me out socially because I was younger and was put in with students who were older.

Bob: Were there any incidents in high school?

Mr. Green: No, not really. A lot of teachers were disappointed that I didn't work harder... I was always going to summer school because I was failing some classes.

Bob: You're probably preaching to the choir. You were in some of the classes with me, and I always thought you were kinda smart. I knew where I stood.

Mr. Green: It's ironic, I kinda liked Math, and later on I focused on Math in my undergraduate studies.

Bob: What was your experience at Withrow like? If you could think of your experience in one sentence...what would it be?

Mr. Green: It was I had fun. I thought I was shy, and I wasn't out there socially. So I sort of... uh...under-performed...but had a good time.

Bob: But I don't think your peers perceived you that way. You were in some of my classes. I always thought of you as a better-looking smart guy, and that's why all the girls were falling over you. I put you in the group with Albert Pleasant.

Mr. Green: Remember, I never had any hard-core girlfriends....

Bob: So you didn't have any incidents... negative experiences at high school?

Mr. Green: No, I knew I was part of the jock world.

Bob: Baseball kept me in school. Track kept you in school.

Mr. Green: I didn't have any anxiety about high school. Track influenced me. I knew I could do better, but I didn't. Because of my grades, my father wouldn't let me play basketball ...or football until my senior year, which really hurt me. But I quit basketball when my friend was cut... that was crazy.

Bob: I remember when we went into the tunnel to see who was cut. ... I would always make it to the second cut. But I loved baseball.

Mr. Green: Did you play after high school?

Bob: No, I never did because I got pregnant.

Mr. Green: Oh ok.

Bob: Who were some of your major influences who influenced you to go on to college?

Mr. Green: There was a Math teacher, Wayland. Of course, it was the athletes, a group I wanted to be a part of...the athletes... the jocks. It was the girls... And Curtis... who seemed to be cool, and I liked that.

Bob: Do you know Arthur or Albert...?

Mr. Green: My wife went to Taft, so she used to go out with Albert.

Bob: So she graduated in what year?

Bob: So she knew Ralph Canady?

Mr. Green: Probably.

Bob: I was supposed to go to Taft, but I lived on Mound Street, and I moved out to Cummingsville.

Bob: Now you're at U of C...what was that like?

Mr. Green: I didn't know much about college. I was like... well I guess I will go to college and see what this stuff is all about... I wish I had known about HBCUs. But I didn't because if I did I

probably would have opted to go there. With my grades... I had to go to city college. Freshman year, I went to business college. I didn't have a major...took the basic classes and stuff like that. Gradewise, I did poorly.

Then I pledged Kappa Alpha Psi as a freshman. In freshman year, I probably majored in bid whist and ... After the first year, I talked to the Dean and received a letter that said Mr. Green we don't think you are serious about school, so I dropped out of school and went to work for Kroger unloading trucks and mopping floors, and decided I didn't want to do that for the rest of my life. And the next year I went back and had about a C+ average and graduated at the bottom of my class. The years were memorable...

I actually played football...in New Orleans and played with some guys who went on to play pro... like Mike Turner who went to play for Dayton and later for Cincinnati. It was a dropout issue. The freshman year, I didn't do well academically, but I grew up socially. I majored in accounting... My sophomore, junior year got involved in different aspects of college like... did some theater...played football for a couple of years...

My senior year, I met Jane, and she motivated me to be a better student. One year I almost made the Dean's list. I thought I was in the hippie crowd. 67... that was the year of revolutions... from the Kennedy assassination to Nixon and Viet Nam...the hippie crowd. They closed the campus down.

Bob: During that period where there any problems, issues with teachers, counselors, administration...?

Mr. Green: Nothing to my knowledge that was real dramatic. I think I was still more observant as opposed to just watching and learning...

Bob: Did any teachers stand out? When I was at UC, and I was in the finance department, I kinda think of some professors. I remember I had a German teacher, and what I learned in his class was one thing, but when I felt about him and the way he approached me was another thing. Yeah, it was Welnick. And I still have that finance book.

Mr. Green: Ok. I had an economics teacher, and I had a history professor in 63. I was in his class when the assassination of Kennedy happened. My history teacher asked me “With the assassination of President Kennedy, as an African American, how do you feel”? I didn’t know how I was feeling... It was a survey of the class. I actually had a hard time answering that question. I remember that incident. And I had an economics teacher, and he got me thinking about graduate school later on in life economics after college. He asked me a question, and I answered a question “it all depends on whether this or this happens.” He liked that answer so much that he later told me you should consider going to grad school.

Bob: It had to do with analyzing the question and critical thinking.

Mr. Green: ... It’s those types of incidents ...My adviser was good. I learned a lot about accounting. She had the graduate seminar. ...And I wrote a paper on the image of the accountant. I graduated as an accounting major.

Bob: Anything else...

Mr. Green: I remember getting more seriously involved with jazz... Curtis...Arthur Cromwell... I met a guy named John Young, out in Ohio... he was in accounting too. He influenced me too... After he graduated, he started a business and went back to Africa.... So he approached me... selling paintings and drawings in artwork from Africa. So I got my license as an art dealer in 67 or 68. They were batiks from Africa.... But it got me in the art world. Since then I have been interested in the arts.

Bob: That was your senior year at UC when you got interested in jazz...?

Mr. Green: I remember going to this concert there... with this young pianist jumping...

Bob: I was there that day too. That was Keith Jarrett.

Mr. Green: Were you there? I remember ... yeah with Keith Jarrett...one summer when I was there.

Bob: That was in the auditorium.

Mr. Green: We were there at the same thing.

Mr. Green: I remember my father was into jazz. I had an uncle, who died early of alcoholism... my father's brother. We'd listen to Count Basie... He'd play 1 o'clock jump... I remember doing Shop Around as a senior in high school.

Bob: My brother did the same thing with me. I was 15 or 16 years old, maybe even 14. I remember listening to Coleman Hawkins, Duke Ellington... Chico Hamilton and the Conquistadors... definitely all the Miles Davis and Coltrane... Those things stick with you. It's like your buses, you might not have them in your frontal lobe, but the buses were always there in the back.

Mr. Green: I like that story... with the buses everyday.... And the streetcars were there.

Bob: So now you graduated from your undergraduate, so what was your masters in?

Mr. Green: Business as well...management, called qualitative analysis or math... a forerunner to Computer science. That started in the 70s with the Bill Gates.

Bob: So what year was that?

Mr. Green: Back in the late 70s.... After college, undergrad school, it was Stouffer's Foods. I was the first Black management trainee. I was trained in the management process... I must have been so good and that in about 6 months, Uncle Sam asked me to work for him... they had the

draft. Later they had the lottery. I was number 1 so I would have been drafted anyway. So I was 6 months out. So April of '69, still Viet Nam still going strong at that point. So I got drafted to go to training at Ft. Campbell. I was in Military Intelligence School in Atlanta. I wasn't an agent, but military intelligence at that time. In 90 days, I had orders to go to Viet Nam... then 120 days... so I spent 20 months in Atlanta, Georgia from 1969 to 71 in Atlanta. That wasn't bad duty at all. I was married. And the other parts were influential... After I got out of the army, we went to Europe for about 4 ½ months. Then we ran out of money.

Bob: So what countries did you go to?

Mr. Green: We went to 15 countries... Great Britain, Scotland, England, Germany, Portugal, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Italy. We went over on a military flight there and back... round trip only \$200 apiece. ... and a Euro rail pass... So when we came back to America, I thought what am I going to do... go to school on the GI bill.

Bob: What was your one or two thing takeaways from your trip?

Mr. Green: We did a lot of the tourist stuff. We met a lot of people. And you realize even though they speak different languages... and you realize you can interact with anyone from anywhere. No one is any smarter or dumber than anyone else. ...And you can see the older buildings...

Bob: Did you go into the buildings...like Notre Dame?

Mr. Green: Um-huh... the older cities... the history... countries that have been around thousands of years...art... the Rembrandt, Michelangelo...sculptures, the ceiling... It had to be hand guided by God. You are awestruck. What we also did was follow jazz festivals. We went to Montreux. We hung out with Aretha Franklin background singers. Roy Ayres was performing. I remember seeing Les McCann perform... and seeing artists who are no longer with us. We were there...being looked at curiously as Black folk... and wanting to get our opinions, talk to us,

who wanted me to know they loved the Motown music. That was such an education. It was about the art... And everything was positive because they didn't see us. The Western Europe and art that is still standing. How individuals treated you... They wanted to know. They only knew from news stories. They wanted to know stories. It wasn't college, but it was education....

Bob: So when you came back, what did you do?

Mr. Green: Moved back to Cincinnati.GI Bill paid for it. I got a partial scholarship from Cincinnati and was outstanding, grade-wise... business fraternity... I was more aware.

Bob: Do you remember your GPA?

Mr. Green: 3.75.... Graduate school, you need to be serious. Business school... grad school... so you're supposed to be serious. In general management... I got interested in the Math side. Then when you graduate, you really got to get a job. I applied to 40 companies...

Bob: How many?

Mr. Green: 40...because I said I just don't want a job, I want a profession. I want do something exciting. something fun. I applied to Playboy, every kind of transportation firm... looking for something fun. I got a ton of rejection letters. Ultimately, I went to a transportation company. I said I like to talk to someone about a job and was informed the city was going to hire a firm to beef up their transportation. So I went into that firm looking for a job. And he introduced to another Black person who worked for the company. They were looking for 10 people...He came in and talked to the mayor. And he was a Harvard graduate as well. So he knew to be successful in the urban community, they needed to have people who looked like them to be successful. They were reaching out to these graduate schools. He knew what he was doing. That company became number 1 for a long time. We were very successful. We had that understanding. He recruited people. I recruited people. We had that understanding.

We ended up starting our own company.

Bob: A ripple effect.

Mr. Green: Other brothers wanted to work for other companies. If I had gone into a different path... I interviewed the Company, H.R. Burroughs which ended up being Heward Packard... it was kinda interesting. EDP... Electronic Data Processing...

With both those companies, I would had to wear a pin-striped suit...and I didn't want to do that. But I ended up doing that anyway, so I would have had more money. But I ended up working for a small company called ATE Management, but I got exposed to so much sooner. They said we need a person In Tulsa. Then they said we need someone to run the company in Indiana, and I was the boss in 78. We ran 35 buses...no service on Sundays. I knew I wanted more. Then I was asked to go to New Orleans. He was moving up to a bigger business. His role was to advise the mayor.

Bob: So all of this was with the same company?

Mr. Green: Yes. Same company...But here all sorts of stuff. They said Paul we need someone in Tulsa. Then Paul we need someone in Indiana, South Bend. It was a small town, but you were the boss, and this was my first time. They were being subsidized. So the city wanted to monitor, to make sure the finances were right. I had been in business for almost 10 years... My role was to monitor their performance ... So, he asked would I be interested to work for the mayor of New Orleans...

Bob: All of this was for the same company?

Mr. Green: Same company. I worked for a legendary mayor, Ernest Dutch Morial... major player in southern politics. He said "In politics... you have to commit, and that meant ...You are a politician. You work for me, the mayor. ...You have to commit to me." ... those words of

wisdom. That means when a new administration comes in...that's it... Some of New Orleans was still a little shady, but not corrupted.... Kinda like Mayor Jackson in Atlanta... ran the airports, the transit system ... The son became mayor later. But still...

My pastor was a clerk to Thurgood Marshall, Lawyer in '54, and Coleman, another lawyer was transportation secretary under Nixon, and Morial was a clerk as well... Black lawyers out of the south... Houston...

Bob: He was the architect.... Houston taught, mentored Thurgood Marshall. So then Morial clerked....

Mr. Green: So it was good to work for Morial, Danny Dutch, not the son. Now the son is head of the National Urban League. So, in New Orleans the city knew they had to buy the buses from the private company... and I helped navigate it. I stayed there so we had operations for the transit system... and I ran operations.

Bob: How many buses were there?

Mr. Green: about 400 or so. much more in South Bend... in Tulsa I had about 100... the street cars were included... in New Orleans. Even though they were historic streetcars, they functioned as transportation taking people back and forth to work. That was in early 81. That's when Marty died in 81... The streetcars were in New Orleans. In that summer, I lived in the French Quarter and hung out in a club, after hours shutdown from 2 to 5... We were there to 84, but I always desired to go to the west coast, specifically to San Francisco. It wasn't easy, so I had to strategize. But New Orleans was having a difficult time because of gas and oil and hospitality... It took me about a year, but I got a good job for the city of San Francisco as a city employee. I was as a deputy operations officer....

Bob: What year was that?

Mr. Green: '84... and I found a fraternity brother... It took about a year... civil service exams... That network is strong. ...and I worked in the Feinstein administration. She was mayor then.... Then she won the election after Mosconi was killed. I was there for 4 years. There was a guy I worked for... and that was number 1 in San Francisco, but he went to Philadelphia, but he got chased out from Philadelphia by the unions... The mayor took him back. I was the next candidate for the job.

Bob: So what year was that?

Mr. Green: That was in 87 or late 80s... I was up for the top job, and people were protesting, especially the Black community that they were putting this guy in over me. And I was accused of orchestrating this media company.

Bob: What year was this?

Mr. Green: That was in 87 or late 80s

Bob: Was it Feinstein that came to you?

Mr. Green: No, it was the one after Feinstein, Agnos. Well I was interim. Feinstein told the existing mayor to keep him...let him come back.

Bob: So that's what I am talking about. So that's when you should have been the number 1 guy?

Bob: What was the name of the mayor?

Mr. Green: Art Agnos... The other one before him was Bill ... Before he was there, it was Harold... He was busted for fired for being in the back seat in a city vehicle with a young boy.... That was my boss. But my point is you can be as gay as you want to be in San Francisco... so he was fired. ... but AD was coming back so I knew my tenure there would not be long.

Bob: So how did you and Jane internalize this? She was there with you right?

Mr. Green: She knew it was tough on me.... But we lasted for another year. So then my friend called me and said we have Seattle on call do want you to come. I said no I want to stay on the west coast. He said Seattle is on the west coast. I said oh ok so we went to Seattle. It was the best move of my life professionally.

Bob: So what was your title?

Mr. Green: Director of Transit.

Bob: How many buses was that?

Mr. Green: 1,000 buses and about 2,500 people. So it was fun.

Mr. Green: In San Francisco, of course we had the cable cars...

Bob: So what year was that?

Mr. Green: From 84 to 88 ...Union Street... Fillmore Street. Got in trouble there...good trouble.

Bob: So how long were you in Seattle?

Mr. Green: Seattle... 88...We had 2 things... waste treatment and the buses, Metro. I ran the bus side from 88 to 96. For 14 years I was there. In the county I made an appointee. He went on to become governor... Gary Locke became secretary of commerce and became an appointee as an ambassador to China under Clinton. But New Orleans was having a rough time because of gas and oil and hospitality. It took me about a year, but I got a job for the city of San Francisco as a deputy. I worked for 2 bigtime politicians.

Bob: So were there any disappointments like there were in San Francisco?

Mr. Green: So I just survived. I survived 2 terms...one term with Gary and one term with Ron.

In 2002, I decided to go my own way. One issue, I was going after a position. It was the typical trashy stuff... labor issues. When I went in, first Black executive there, and there were issues...how do you deal with that? It was Seattle being Seattle. There were some issues with

dealing with Black bus drivers being overly disciplined versus white. We would bring in a consultant ... get more Black folks involved. But still, people say here's what Paul brought to us for diversity. We had managers... Black men, Black women, Latino women, one Asian...

Bob: It's fallen back to what it was.

Mr. Green: It is a lack of diversity...

Bob: It's no heterogeneous, not homogeneous...

Mr. Green: That's exactly right.

Bob: This is our first interview. We will be doing follow-up interviews, maybe on Skype... or something.

Bob: So now you are retiring...

Mr. Green: Well, before that... in Seattle, I was part of a team. We hired consultants... there was a person out of Michigan. We took over 2 years to put all her employees through this process... a cultural change process... what behaviors we will accept and not accept, our goals, mission, our values. So everybody knew what our cultural... was based on our values. Everybody bought into it. Some people left. But we became the top company in the company. Then we lost an election. The people lied and cheated. We merged with the County government, and their culture was totally opposite... and all the union info we took. Then we got a regional company who...

Bob: So they are predominately white?

Mr. Green: Yes. They consider themselves very liberal. ... founded by a company

Bob: So what made you decide to create your own business in retirement?

Mr. Green: I wanted to do that.... It cost a lot of money. It's not just the leadership... It was 400 or large scale or revival. We did that in the mid '90s.

Bob: I know what you are talking about... We ran almost 20,000 people through there, and that is when TJ Maxx bought Marshalls, and Marshalls was like your Seattle county. And TJ Maxx was very inclusive because the owner was Italian, and he had been discriminated against all his life. He believed sensitivity to diversity is an asset... It made a difference in how Marshalls is today.

Mr. Green: I remembered seeing that sales in Macy's were down, but there was one bright spot this Christmas... Marshalls and TJ Maxx.

Bob: It is because of businesses like TJ Maxx and Marshalls. I ran as many as 10 of his stores... in San Jose and San Leandro and LA. So when I went into San Francisco... it was like that. Businesses need to reflect your community.

Mr. Green: I just wanted to call my own shots... I wanted to do some things that I wanted to do. It was around the area of technology. So I became a consultant/evangelist... In diversity, I've been involved with agencies and organizations, minority contracts, jobs and contracts for us.

Bob: So do you have anything about that to send to me about that?

Mr. Green: Yes, here's an article. We had an annual meeting, but I will send it to you... about organizations and agencies. I have been active in Black organizations. On the technology side, my next foray will be with an Eastern European Jewish guy.

Appendix V: Mr. Gray's First Interview

Bob: March 7, 2017

Bob: Tell me about your early life experiences and growing up, where you lived, what your family was like, and from there to elementary school, middle school, and high school.

Mr. Gray: I had 2 brothers and 2 sisters. I grew up in Gary Small Farms, which was a part of Black Oak. Black Oak was in Ross Township. It was like the country. There was no city water. There were cesspools. A lot of uneducated Blacks people moved there from Mississippi.

Bob: When you were in elementary school, what was that experience like? What kind of teachers did you have? Were they Black, White...? Did you have any issues in school?

Mr. Gray: I went to Black Oak Elementary School. I didn't have any issues in school. I just didn't like it. The teachers were alright. All my teachers were white. I loved playing sports and was a good athlete. Next I went to Black Oak Middle School which was next to my high school, Calumet High School. Basketball was really why I went to school.

Bob: I bet that's right.

Bob: Were you tall for your age?

Mr. Gray: I was about 6'2".

Bob: That's tall, and you were a teenager, right? And you had some skills.

Mr. Gray: I was a great athlete. I helped them win the Gary Basketball Sectionals.

Bob: Oh excellent. We're not done with school yet. What about grades? What about in elementary school, did you make honor roll and stuff? What was your attendance like?

Mr. Gray: I did ok in school. I went to school but just didn't like it. I didn't have anyone to help with my school work. My mom was always working. In fact, I dropped out to work and help take care of the family.

Bob: Well my mom had a similar situation. Yep.

Bob: You said earlier there were 8 kids in the house? So they weren't all brothers and sisters?

Mr. Gray: I lived with my grandmother and 7 of my cousins.

Bob: Oh, so you were their cousin, so those were your grandma's kids, and you were the cousin.

So that was still your family. How long did you live with them?

Mr. Gray: Yeah, I was their cousin. My grandmother raised us. I lived with them until I got grown and left.

Bob: How old were you?

Mr. Gray: Before I started school.

Bob: So you were really a young boy. So who did you go live with after that?

Mr. Gray: I stayed there even after I started working at U.S. Steel. I dropped out of school, but I went back to play basketball. I kept working while taking the home study LaSalle Course to finish and get my diploma.

Bob: Oh yeah, the school wanted you back to play basketball. So that was really your draw to go back and finish your education.

Mr. Gray: Yes.

Bob: So what made you decide to leave your grandmother's house?

Mr. Gray: It was time to go.

Bob: Ok. So you mentioned a brother I haven't heard about before. How many natural brothers and sisters did you have?

Mr. Gray: Two brothers and two sisters. I was the oldest, and my mom sent me to live with my grandmother.

Bob: So you were one too many. You and I have a lot in common. My brothers thought I was one too many too.

Bob: You mentioned about walking from Gary to Crown Point. Why did you do that?

Mr. Gray:

Bob: No way! How do you walk from Gary, Indiana to Crown Point? Oh, my Lord! Oh, my Lord!

Bob: So you were like 14 or 15 years old then?

Mr. Gray:

Bob: What kind of jobs... I was going to ask... but you got there. What kind of jobs did you have when you were under 18?

Mr. Gray: I worked for the sanitation department and rode on a garbage truck.

Bob: You have any idea what they were paying?

Mr. Gray: \$13.

Bob: \$13 a day for an 8-hour day?

Mr. Gray:

Bob: That sounds more like it because I worked for Manpower, and all I got was \$1.04 an hour.

Bob: That's like being rich. So now what happened with your 2 natural brothers and 2 sisters? What did they do?

Mr. Gray: All of them graduated from high school. One of my brothers got in trouble and went to prison.

Bob: Oh no.

Mr. Gray: One was a chef. One of my sisters ...I don't know what she's doing. She had some mental issues. My other sister was a nurse.

Bob: Gotcha. Ok.

Bob: So did any of them graduate from school or go on to college?

Mr. Gray: All of them graduated from high school. One of my brothers went to school in the navy and became a gourmet chef. One of my sisters got her nursing degree and went back to school to further her education.

Bob: What was the Navy brother's name?

Mr. Gray: La Sean.

Bob: LaSean, and your other brother?

Mr. Gray: Jordan.

Bob: Jordan. What about your sisters? What did they do with their lives? Did they graduate? What did they do for occupations later on?

Mr. Gray: Dianne had some problems. I don't know what she's doing. My sister Tisa went to school to be a nurse. She did go back to school. She lived with me and Brenda for about a year while she was taking some online classes and went back to Houston for another job in the medical field. They all live in Houston, Texas. I hear from them when they need something.

Bob: We all have relatives like that. When you look back in your middle school, what did you like or didn't like? Did you have any problems with teachers?

Mr. Gray: I really didn't have any problems with teachers. All I cared about was sports and basketball.

Bob: We know how you felt about sports. How did you feel about school?

Mr. Gray: It was ok. I just wanted to work to make some money.

Bob: Right. So what other jobs did you do other than sanitation?

Bob: So, you were a driver and bodyguard for Mayor Richard Hatcher?

Bob: What year was that and how did it come about?

Bob: So let's go back to high school, in 10th, 11th, and 12th grade. Did you make good grades?

Bob: Oh, that's right...to play basketball.

Mr. Gray: I didn't really have anyone to help me. My mom didn't finish school. She dropped out in 8th grade.

Bob: Neither did my mom.

Mr. Gray: My mom had to work to support the family.

Bob: Yeah. We have a lot in common. My dad went to the 8th grade. He could read and write.

My mom had to do like you did. She had to drop out in 3rd grade to help make some money.

Bob: That's very well put.

Bob: You were 17 years old... how old were you when you were a senior?

Mr. Gray: 17.

Bob: What did you want to be when you were grew up?

Mr. Gray: I wanted to work in the mill.

Bob: Oh, my goodness. You said that in 8th grade?

Bob: Now in the mill you had to be able to read and write or have a high school education? What was that requirement?

Bob: So how was it that you didn't go off to the war?

Bob: So, you graduated and got to walk with your peers? So you kinda graduated on time in some way.

Mr. Gray: No. I was 19 years old when I finished.

Bob: Oh, you were 19 when you actually graduated.

Mr. Gray: Yes.

Bob: So when you were working during that gap in there that was almost two years before you went back to high school?

Bob: So, did they want you to come back and play basketball? Or did you want to get your diploma? Or was family trying to get you to go back? How did that work?

Bob: Ok. I gotta look into that. You're teaching me something. At 22... Go ahead.

Bob: Back in the day when I was going to school, I didn't know that kind of stuff was going on.

Bob: Oh my God. And all that was because they wanted you to play basketball. So did you guys win any championships or anything?

Bob: What year would you win those sectionals?

Bob: No. What year?

Bob: Those are the years I was a junior or senior in college. Of course, I'm older than you. Was that in Gary sectionals?

Bob: So there's probably some newspaper articles. I'll look some up.

Bob: So going back to school, the buses wouldn't pick up Blacks?

Mr. Gray: No so we would walk 4-5 miles to school.

Bob: I don't quite understand this. Why wouldn't the buses pick up Blacks?

Mr. Gray: We would stand at bus stop, and they would pass us up. So we had to walk.

Bob: Ok. So the buses that wouldn't pick you up were the Calumet buses?

Mr. Gray: Yes, they were Calumet buses.

Bob: And they had white kids on it, and you were going the same way. So the Calumet buses wouldn't pick up Black kids in Merrillville?

Mr. Gray: No. we lived in the Gary Small Farms.

Bob: From the Gary Small farms? What the hell is Gary Small farms? Help a brother out.

Mr. Gray: Gary had 7 neighborhoods. They had Mexican and Italian, Greeks, Polish, and so on... East side, west side, like Chicago. Tolleston, Brunswick... They called them communities.

They didn't have Merrillville then. It was just Gary and south to Crown Point. You couldn't go much more north because of the Lake. One section of Gary used to be East Gary. Then they changed the name to Lake Station when Gary elected a Black mayor, Mayor Hatcher. Small Farms was really called Oak Meadows.

Bob: What was your elementary school again?

Mr. Gray: Black Oak.

Bob: But that was where you weren't supposed to go?

Mr. Gray: Yeah.

Bob: So the buses didn't pick you up from Black Oak either?

Mr. Gray: The buses went in a circle, but they would pass us up. We had to walk through the neighborhood. You couldn't run and leave the girls. It was dangerous.

Bob: What was the danger?

Mr. Gray: Well, the Black kids had to walk in the wintertime. We had to walk in the street and the snow. We had to watch out for the motorcycle gang. They were called the Invaders.

Bob: They were grown men? They were like klansmen or something?

Mr. Gray: They would wait until the Black kids came home and chase us.

Bob: They would wait until the Black kids came home; and they would chase the girls too?

Mr. Gray: Yes.

Bob: This was in the 60's? So this really sounds like something in the deep south.

Bob: So now you've gone to lying.

Bob: When you were talking to me that night, you were schooling me that night. Now you're reschooling me. I sound like Kingfish now. You're reschooling me now Andy.

Bob: When did they stop the busing thing?

Mr. Gray: About '65 or '66. There was this Black guy. He was a councilman, but he was uneducated. One day he jumped on the bus and beat up the driver, who was the owner. That's how he made the buses stop.

Bob: This was the same bus when you went to high school?

Mr. Gray: No.

Bob: So this was the same bus company?

Mr. Gray: Yeah.

Bob: You remember the name of the councilman?

Mr. Gray: Coopwood.

Bob: I'm going to look him up. He seems like my kind of guy.

Mr. Gray: He was the precinct committeeman for the Small Farms until he died. He retired in '80 something.

Bob: He's my hero.

Mr. Gray: He'd walk in your house, and he'd eat beans and cornbread.

Bob: He's like a preacher. That's great.

Bob: You got a picture in your cap and gown and all that?

Mr. Gray: No because I took the Home study class.

Bob: Ok. Home study. So you got a diploma?

Mr. Gray: Yes.

Bob: Ok. Can you take a picture of your diploma? Can you make a copy for me? Oh my goodness me.

Bob: So you didn't have any problems in high school except for the fact that they didn't want you in high school except to play basketball.

Bob: Oh yeah.

Bob: What part of the city did you have to walk those 4 or 5 miles to? Does it have a name?

Mr. Gray: Black Oak.

Bob: Ok. Black Oak. I've heard of that.

Bob: So those were areas where Blacks didn't live?

Mr. Gray: They were mostly white then.

Bob: All white.

Mr. Gray: And they would throw eggs at us.

Bob: Right. All white, and they would throw eggs.

Mr. Gray: And throw rocks.

Bob: And throw rocks.

Bob: So back then you had year books? We're talking about Calumet, right?

Mr. Gray: Yes.

Bob: I can look up Calumet yearbooks. So did they call you names too?

Mr. Gray: Oh yeah.

Bob: Like what?

Mr. Gray:

Bob: Been there. Done that. I had to threaten my first supervisor.

Bob: Give me an example.

Bob: Oh my goodness me. You didn't have any electricity in the house with the 8 kids? Mr.

Gray, that's how we had it in Hazard, Kentucky. Did you have a coal stove too?

Bob: Get the hell out of here.

Bob: Here's what you gotta understand. You can't say that because that's exactly what we did in Hazard because the track was next to the house because my dad as a coalminer; and the whistle would blow at 6 o'clock, and he was in the coal mine. The trains were staged literally 6 feet from the edge of the house because the coal, like you say, would fall off the coal bin, and we would take them and break them off as we needed them. I'll be a son-of-a-gun.

Bob: Well, that's how it was for us too. What you're saying sounds like Hazard, Kentucky. We knew that was a country town, but this being a part of Gary, I'm surprised. Even in Cincinnati, we had an outhouse until I was 12 years old, in the city. We had a slop jar we had to take down 3 floors.

Bob: So now you're going to LaSalle School. You get your diploma. You're going to the steel mill. You have 3 birthdays. When you finally submit your application, what did they say to you, and how did they welcome you?

Bob: Right. Ok Ok.

Mr. Gray: ... and that's how we started changing things, especially in my unit. When I started I was curious about everything? They wouldn't train you. You had to sneak and see what they were doing. Man, I thank God. I went through that place and set so many records as a Negro. They came down from Pennsylvania just to meet me. They came in there, and they saw me operate. They said is this the guy? They said yeah this is the guy. They said is this the guy who set those records? One supervisor said we don't even have any Blacks on our lines. My white supervisor said yeah that's why you don't have any records. At that time the younger generation, my age, went to school and could read and write. They were just afraid because they had this mentality that white was right. Black is wrong. So they would never put you on a job if ... so we hurried up and trained up because I started training them.

Bob: You started when you were 18. So that was after you got your diploma from LaSalle?

Mr. Gray: I was still going to LaSalle when they hired me in the mill. The reason why they hired me is because I was in private school. Even though it was a home study course, they still hired me.

Bob: How long did it take you to where... remember you told me how you had to sneak and learn how to do that...How long did it take, how many years, and how many different jobs did it take you to get to that point?

Mr. Gray: I started like everybody else in labor. I started getting in pretty good with the older white guys. They would say son go get me this. Go get me that. I would listen to their conversations to see what they were doing. How I tricked them was one night this Black guy was secretly showing me some things. He knew I wouldn't bust him out. His name was Dean Barnes, and he told me you think you can operate this machine. I said yeah. He said what I'm going to do is I'm going to report off. I said ok, when? He said I don't know. He said not only will I let you run this unit, I am going to report off at the last minute when they can't find anybody; and you demand that they let you have this job.

When they did that, they opened up that door. I've been the operator, supervisor, union foreman... I've been doing all that, taking calls from ISSA, and training them. They were afraid to let it out; and after a while when HR saw how I operated, they said damn let's let him do it. Some of my own people started saying now he's got uppity because I was training folk. And I went through all that.

Bob: Before we get to that, so when was the first time that you showed them how to roll that steel faster than anyone else had ever done? How did that go down?

Mr. Gray: I think it was 1976. They were afraid. White folks were afraid too because they had never seen anything run that fast before. They were afraid of it, but I have never been afraid of no equipment. I haven't never been afraid of no car. So, when they gave me the opportunity, I went for it. I went for it. They didn't know I could run it. So, I got the credit. I thank God. That's how I ended up setting those records.

Bob: They were running the rolls at how many feet, and you expanded it to what?

Mr. Gray: I was running it at 1750 feet a minute.

Bob: And they were usually running at before you showed them...?

Mr. Gray: 800 a minute. They didn't know. They never had nobody to teach them how to run that equipment like that, and I was young anyway; and speed was my thing. So that's what started it.

Bob: So what did you do to get them to literally double that speed?

Mr. Gray: First of all, I had them believe in themselves. If it breaks, they had to be able to fix it. If it doesn't break, look at what you can achieve by doing this. After about 2 years of doing this, I found out about this equipment grinding. You got to get a rhythm, and you can hear this rhythm like a heart, and you hear this humming, back up. You know it's supposed to sound like this. I should do this 24 hours 7 days a week. Now if it makes a different sound, you should be intelligent enough and knowledgeable enough to know something is wrong. After a while, you should learn what each sound means. They would say ask John what's is wrong with this because I had figured out the sounds. Once I figured out those sounds, they would come ask me. I would go and listen to the sound. I would say man you got to change that. They said why. I'd say man that's getting ready to go out. They would say how do you know that? I'd say that

sound. You don't just start grabbing and turning these levers. You got to know what you're turning. Once I figured that out, I was all over that place.

Bob: So how did you get in these competitions where you were the fastest roller in the country? Was that part of the union? Was that part of the mill? How does that come about?

Mr. Gray: The union was always for the working guy. If you could do anything to help the union look good, you make the company look good. So the union would set it up. The company would sign off tooth and nail. They said let's let John do this. Let's John do that. Every time it was a success, they'd pat themselves on the back. They would let other people come in from other plants and watch me run it with my group. They said they never dreamed they could do something like that, but we did it.

Bob: Did they write it up in a union paper or national paper?

Mr. Gray: They sent us to the Star Plaza one day for a meeting, and we explained what we were doing in different plants. They sent us to Concord, California, and we were talking to people at their plant, their management. They said it works like this in our plant in California. They said this in California, and that won't work out here. I said sometimes it gets 40 degrees below 0 with the wind chill factor. They said why are you so optimistic? I said I'm not being optimistic. I'm being realistic. I said this stuff is in Gary Works, it cannot work. An engineer got out his calculator and said if it gets 18 degrees, it's not going to work. . This would save them \$7 million. Guess what? They're still spinning. I figured out a way to make it work, and I showed every operator how to make it work.

Bob: So what did you do?

Mr. Gray: Don't stop it. They needed to slow it down, so you won't have to stop it. That's why they call it one continuous pickle. They were starting it up and stopping it. They didn't know

how to operate it right. You let it run. They are watering it to this very day. We won so many records at Gary Works. They made Gary Works the flagship of U.S. Steel.

Bob: That's because of you.

Mr. Gray: That's because of the talent that we had.

Bob: That's because of you. You were the coach. You were like Obama. You lead from behind.

So do you have any articles or letters of recommendation to verify that this happened? Send photocopies of these that you can send to me?

Mr. Gray: Yeah.

Bob: What were the titles of the various jobs that you had?

Mr. Gray: It started with an inspector. I was an inspector of steel.

Bob: Was this at 18 years old?

Mr. Gray: Yeah. Brenda was an inspector.

Bob: What did the inspector do? It sounds like a real responsible job.

Mr. Gray: It is. Every defect on car, refrigerator, all that stuff that's made of steel...You have to have an eye for it and catch it, or you'll have thousands of tons of defective steel that would be no good.

Bob: So you're looking at a roll of steel or as it rolls?

Mr. Gray: As it rolls.

Bob: So your job and Brenda's job was steel inspector looking at...

Mr. Gray: She worked in the lab looking at samples at how water and acid affects it.

Mr. Gray: You got to know if you have acid residue. If the water isn't washing that acid off, you can end up wrapping that acid up in that coil. Your car will start rusting from inside out. If

you're in the auto or appliance industry, you'd be wondering why this stuff is happening. You got to know what's happening or be out of business.

Bob: So you did that job for how long?

Mr. Gray: About 10.

Bob: From 18 to 28 so what was your next job?

Mr. Gray: Shearman.

Bob: So what does a spearman do?

Mr. Gray: Trims the steel and has the whole operation as his crew under the unit.

Bob: So that was your first supervisory role?

Mr. Gray: Yeah.

Bob: What was the size of your crew?

Mr. Gray: 8 people now and but was 12.

Bob: When you took over it was 12?

Mr. Gray: Yeah.

Bob: Over efficiency it decreased the number of people, but when you took it over as a 28-year-old man, you supervised 12 people.

Bob: So how long did you work on that job?

Mr. Gray: Until I retired.

Bob: You kept that job almost 18 years?

Mr. Gray: About 22 years.

Bob: You were a spearman while you were training your men to be the best in the country?

Mr. Gray: In the world.

Bob: Do you have pictures or writings of it?

Mr. Gray: Matter of fact, we got coffee cups of the records.

Bob: Did any of them go on and be shear men themselves?

Mr. Gray: A couple of them. I was the first one to start training women to operate that equipment. I call them shear persons. They are still operating it.

Bob: Super job, what was your starting salary?

Mr. Gray: \$2.88 an hour.

Bob: Your first supervisory job, what was your salary?

Mr. Gray: When I first started, it was \$6500 a year.

Bob: I told you I was only making \$4000 a year. I was like Brenda in the lab with a white coat making \$4000 a year.

Mr. Gray: But I worked a lot of overtime.

Bob: So when you retired you were making \$100,000+.

Mr. Gray: \$150,000+.

Bob: That's why it's so important to have someone like you who took your high school diploma to the nth degree. But a lot of it was what's in you.

Mr. Gray: It's what you think you are capable of doing... It's what's in me. You can achieve anything.

Bob: Who did you get your work ethic from?

Mr. Gray: My mom.

Bob: But she didn't live with you?

Mr. Gray: No, but she worked all the time. Cleaning people's houses... and some of everything.

Bob: How is your retirement package?

Mr. Gray: Pretty damn good. About \$25,000 every 6 months.

Bob: You already put in the time.

Mr. Gray: Right. You already worked for it.

Bob: And it's a blessing.

Bob: You have training classes in the mill?

Mr. Gray: I'll do it for the union if they call me. I won't do it for the company, but if the union is in a jam, they'll call me. They'll say Mr. Gray what do you think. In fact, I can do it over the phone.

Bob: So when they call you what is it about?

Mr. Gray: Something that an engineer can't figure out, and that's what they get paid for. We haven't had a major problem in a while. Right before I retired, they had a problem. I was working midnights. They had a problem since 10 o'clock that morning. The mill was down. I got in there at 10 that night. They said Mr. Gray we have to pick your brain. I said how long it has it been down. They said 10 o'clock. They had a problem, and they couldn't figure it out. They had scratches on the steel, and they kept changing roll after roll. They said we change this we change that. I said that's not the problem...I said I gotta look inside the tank. I said now look in there and tell me what you don't see. He said Mr. Gray what am I looking for. I said the granite is supposed to be on that brick. That's why you have those scratches. They couldn't go home until that unit was running. I said go down to my office, sit there until I call you...and let me do what I do. Don't come back until I call you because when I do what I do we won't be following standard operating procedure, and everybody would be fired... They couldn't figure it out how I put the granite back under that strip...I told them I can't tell you. They pay me to think. They don't pay me to do anything anymore, and I be thinking my butt off.

Bob: Your homework assignment is I need a resume. I'll start one with my notes, and you bless it. I need any articles, copies of your trophies, cups... We want everybody to know.

Appendix W: Dr. Red's First Interview

Bob: February 1, 2017

Bob: So start at the beginning with your childhood, your family, K-12, college, and da da da, jobs and all that...kinda like your biography.

Dr. Red: Oh sh-. My childhood was somewhat normal. I was disciplined heavily. Spankings were definitely a part of my daily routine. I think I got a whipping every day at 5 o'clock when my dad came home.

Bob: So you lived with your mom and your dad?

Dr. Red: Yes.

Bob: Where?

Dr. Red: In New York.

Bob: What part of New York?

Dr. Red: Brooklyn. We moved around a lot, but most of my time was in Brooklyn, rough city. I had to walk to school a lot. I used to get a spanking, oddly enough, because the earliest I remember was in 3rd grade. I had to walk about 10 blocks to school in the morning, and in the afternoon, I would have jumped by these kids. It would be about 10 of them on my route.

So sometimes I would not go home right after school because the kids would be outside. So, I'd try to wait, and we'd play punch ball with the kids in the school parking lot. Then I'd get home trying to avoid my a- whipping. I would tell my parents I'm getting jumped. That's why I'm not coming home on time. I don't know if they didn't care. They were like so what, get your a-home. Third grade was interesting because it was the first time I was expelled from school. It was my first interaction with racism at school.

Bob: What were you expelled for?

Dr. Red: There were these white boys who used to make this song like this long patty cake song that would say at the end slap this nigger as fast as you can. They used to hit me, and this went on for about a week or two. I didn't know what a n- was at that point. I asked my parents what's does nigger mean. They said why are you asking. So I told them these white made up this song that said at the end slap that n- as fast as you can, and they explained what a n- was. At this point, you'd think your parents would say so they're saying slap that nigger and go to the school and talk to somebody. Nope, didn't happen. So the next day I went to school. I went to the boys, and I said will you sing that song for me? When they got to the part that said slap that nigger, I punched both of them.

So that was my first introduction. So after that my parents said so you want to get expelled and be fighting. So instead of them understanding why I did it, they sent to this roughest school in all of New York. They sent me to a school in the Bronx called Essex Street School. It was like a thug school...It was like thug university where you like if you wanted to learn how to f- people up, that was where you went. I think I lasted about a week or two at that school.

Bob: So, what were the administrators and the teachers? What race were they at this thug school?

Dr. Red: White.

Bob: What about the students?

Dr. Red: Black and Latino. There was no discipline in that school, and that was the thing. So we would be in class. Throwing things at each other, fighting. The only reason my parents took me out was I think they realized it was getting worse. I was fighting every day. The day they took me out of that school was when there was another kid. He was like twice my size. I think he was left behind two or three times. He was huge. We were in class. I think it was math class. The desks were set up like all around the room. So it was like a big open circle. Everything in the

middle was huge. The class was huge. The teacher was up teaching, and all of a sudden, this dude picked up this desk and pushed it all the way across the room and slams it into me. It hit my desk. I don't know if I had to catch my breath or what. So the teacher hit the button. Principal and security came in. He was expelled, and my parents came and got me, and I never went back.

Bob: This was in 3rd grade?

Dr. Red: This was in 3rd grade. After that, they sent me to a Black Catholic School.

Bob: Oh yeah, everyone needs one of those.

Dr. Red: It was called Queen of All Saints. That's where I was at until I graduated from 8th grade. It was a little better. It was mostly Black, some Latino, a couple of white students. We had to wear uniforms. It was gray pants, white shirts, and burgundy ties...

Bob: You had to wear ties?

Dr. Red: Yeah. We had to go to mass once a week.

Bob: So were your parents Catholic?

Dr. Red: Not at all. In fact, my parents weren't religious at all. We didn't go to church at all... maybe twice a year. It wasn't like my parents prayed over our food. My mom does now, but when I was growing up, didn't happen.

Bob: Well now you're at the catholic school, something changed there that you weren't getting suspended...

Dr. Red: I was still getting suspended.

Bob: Oh, talk to me.

Dr. Red: My parents were always having to come up to the school. It was usually like if you got in a fight, they always called these parent conferences where your parents had to come up immediately, or you would get suspended. My mom didn't work. My dad was the provider. So

my mom had to come to the school once a week. My family was like don't let people disrespect you. They should talk to you with respect. You're not going to talk to me any kind of way.

Bob: What kind of comments were they saying that you knew were disrespectful?

Dr. Red: Like shut your mouth. Sit down. Instead of saying, will you please sit down or be quiet.

Bob: Any slurs?

Dr. Red: No.

Bob: From the teachers? From the administrators?

Dr. Red: I didn't get any slurs until Western University.

Bob: Ok so we have a lot of traveling to go until we get to Western University. How many times were you suspended when you were at the catholic school?

Dr. Red: Until 8th grade, about 15 or 20.

Bob: You might go down in the hall of fame...

Dr. Red: Up until 3rd grade I had never been suspended. Then that incident happened, and I got expelled.

Bob: You got company. I didn't get suspended, but they retained me and said I was retarded. But they may have been right. They were just ahead of the game. So third grade is the grade. So now you're going into junior high school?

Dr. Red: So we moved after I graduated to a school in North Carolina. I went to a school that was mixed, about 50/50. It was mostly white. There were 30 % Black, 15% Latino, and 5% Asian. It was a little different because I didn't know anybody. I really didn't want to move there. My dad got a better job. Life style was better, how we lived. It was hard moving because I didn't have any friends. I really didn't play sports, so it was hard fitting in. It was nice, but moving

from a cosmopolitan city with transportation. It was crazy because I had to walk about 5 miles to get to a bus. How was I able to get around? I was totally dependent on my parents.

Bob: How old were you then?

Dr. Red: About 13.

Bob: Were you in the boonies?

Dr. Red: It was in the suburbs, but there was not a main transit system. So it didn't come where we were living. We lived in an apartment, but the bus was nowhere near us. So it was a little difficult. In that school I got suspended once or twice for fights because it was mostly because the culture was different. In New York, if anybody said anything about my mother I was ready to fight. It was automatic, but in North Carolina, it was like playing the dozens. But I noticed when other people talked about their mothers, nobody fought. So I wondered am I the wrong person. I started to ask questions. If someone said your momma so fat. I would say you want to fight, and they would start laughing at me. I guess it was like funny.

So, this is why I didn't get suspended as much because the culture was different. I learned if somebody came at me with your momma, I would come back with your momma joke. I guess 8th grade was when you got into girls. I first had sex in 8th grade. It was horrible because me and my buddy ran a train on this girl on the steps in this project. It was on the 13th floor. It was like crazy. But then in 9th grade it was like woo woo. This is when I think I started to change. I wanted the Nikes, the Jordan's...It wasn't like I hadn't been into them before, but my mom wouldn't get them for me. They would get me shoes from Marshalls.

Bob: Tell your parents I love them because this is where my retirement check comes from.

Dr. Red: Yep so I wasn't really a bad student, but I wasn't a good student either. I would do enough to get a C. I never did my homework.

Bob: Did you ever make honor roll in K-12?

Dr. Red: No, never. But if it was Math, I got A's. I always got an A in gym. But I always got a C or D in Social Studies and English and all that. The funny thing is I never was tracked. We didn't have tracks in K-8. Essex Street may have been tracked. I don't know because I wasn't there that long. I got to back up. After I got kicked out of Essex, my parents tried to send me to another white school called Friends.

I remember on my first day I went on an interview. I was the only Black kid. I said looking around, and I said f this. I'm not going here. My parents said I acted a fool. I don't remember acting a fool. I just remember walking around and s-. Going back to 9th grade, I wanted to get into sports. I got into clothes. I never got school clothes. I only got clothes when I got holes in them. It was like I never got nice stuff.

Bob: So did you ever get a job so you could pay for your own clothes?

Dr. Red: I did. So 10th grade came. I turned 16, and I got my first job at Wendy's. No, it was at a grocery store. I experienced racism in 3rd grade, didn't get much of it in between because I was mostly around Black kids. In the 9th grade wasn't too bad, but 10th grade was when I moved to a mostly white school, about 70%. It was a little racist because it was mostly trailer folks. So 10th grade was when it started to come back.

When I got this job at the grocery store, it was in July. I had only been there two weeks. I was the only Black guy again. I was a stocker, a day-time stocker. I was working with some other guy, and he was always complaining about the store. They always called me to get the carts. I would say isn't that the bagger's job, but all the baggers were white. All the white guys and girls were in the front, and the Black guys were in the back. So I would say man I'm not going to get these carts. It's too hot outside. Even then I was pushing back. It was racist. So sometimes they

wanted me to get the carts, I'd be missing... Every time they ask me to go get the carts. That's racist.

Bob: Did you say that to them or think it...?

Dr. Red: I don't remember to be honest. One day, it happened. They called me in the office. They said you're not fitting in. I said what do you mean? He said you're just fitting in. I said is it because I'm not white. He said I'm not saying that at all. Then I had to be a N- then. I said f you m-fers. F this! F you! Customers were in there. I just said f- it. I figured I could walk to work to get another job, so I got a job at Wendy's, and they gave me a bunch of hours. There were other Blacks and Latinos there. I was there for about 4 years.

I worked at some other places in between. That was where I got my activism started to build because I was getting money to buy clothes... I still didn't get Jordans. Or my parents would say we're going to Marshalls, and I'd take the money they were going to give to me and I'd put my own money on it at Foot Locker, so I would get a \$60 pair of sneakers.

Bob: So what town in North Carolina?

Dr. Red: Charlotte.

Bob: You know, you're feeling yourself basically because when you walked out of that grocery store you were like...

Dr. Red: I was always an a-hole.

Bob: But you were an a-hole by virtue of trying to figure out your environment. That's the default.

Dr. Red: I was finding my space, but I was still angry.

Bob: But this is where the angry Black man comes from. Well, you were evolving. You noticed that you were different and that you had a different attitude; and you decided I'm not going to

put up with this s- anymore. Did that make you stronger? Did that make you go in a different direction? Did it make you more focused?

Dr. Red: It didn't hit me at that point to be honest. I think I started into this activist role at Wendy's. I learned how to be a cashier. I learned how to work the grill. I was a runner. I was doing everything. I had been working about 1 ½ years. I was 16 or 17, and there were older people who worked who were 25 or 28. I don't know if minimum wage changed or anything. I think I was making \$6.50, but I found out that other people who were hired were getting \$7.50 or \$8.00. So once I found out, I got everybody to walk out until we got paid the same as the people did. So we asked for a raise. We said you are hiring people who don't know anything, and they're making \$7.50 and \$8.00, and we're still making \$6.50, and we know everything. They said oh no we're not giving you a raise. So, we quit. We all walked out. It lasted for a 3 day.

Bob: What was the racial makeup of the people?

Dr. Red: There were Blacks and whites. Then three days went by. They called us back to work. They made me a trainer. I was like 17 and making \$11 an hour. I said s- I'm making \$200 a week oh s-.

That is when I really started feeling myself. This new manager came and said Red I need you to take out trash. I said Red don't take out trash. He said you're going to take out the trash. I said no I don't. Nobody asked me to do that because everybody knew I didn't like getting dirty. If my uniform got dirty, I'd go home and change. So, he said if you don't take out the trash, you gotta go home. I said obviously you don't know who I am. So I said you want me to go home? I'll go home. So I did. The next day the manager of the store called me back and said we need you to come in. I said it wasn't like I cussed him out or anything. They brought me back in. After that he was cool. The funny thing is he was a Que.

Bob: What?

Dr. Red: And I always admired Ques; but we never talked about it because he was trying to be a d- to me, and he got put in his place. He was like 30 something, and I was 16. So after that we got close. Sometimes I talk to him, and I say remember that time when you tried to fire me for not taking out that trash.

Bob: So he was a brother. So he was on his power trip, and he called you on it.

Dr. Red: But I was on one too. It's when I look back, I should have called somebody...That was when I started to feel myself. My masculinity started to come out. I was still angry. It was like that battle of masculinity. He was the big dog. Even though he was my manager, he wasn't going to talk to me like I'm everybody else because I'm special.

Bob: He was really trying to pull rank. He can be HNIC, but not know his place.

Dr. Red: I liked working there. I wasn't making a super amount of money. It was like I mean something. I have value. I was at that point. I was in sports.

Bob: Oh, now you're into sports?

Dr. Red: Yeah, 10th grade was when I first started in sports.

Bob: What was your first sport?

Dr. Red: I was in AE basketball and track. It was easy running track. Practice wasn't hard; and we practiced with the girls. When we traveled, we met more girls. Track was like the perfect sport for me. On our team, there were only 10 boys because nobody wanted to run track, and on the girl's team there were 50. They'd be in those shorts, and we'd be on the bus; and all kinds of stuff would be going down. So I was in a good space. I had a job. That's when I started to come into my own at that point. I was like getting popular. Popularity was my thing. Still was getting in fights.

Bob: Really?

Dr. Red: Disrespect...I had like a little crew. Say they would try pick on a little guy, we'd jump in. That was the mentality we had. I was smoking weed...

Bob: What grade was this in?

Dr. Red: 10th, 11th, and 12th grade. Then I met these guys. Chris was from Cali, and Phillip was from Detroit, from the Midwest, maybe St. Louis. These were the guys who could get weed and liquor. They'd steal MD 20/20, Boone's Farm or shit like that.

Bob: Did you get screwdrivers?

Dr. Red: We didn't do hardware.

Bob: No, screwdrivers was a drink that girls liked.

Dr. Red: We didn't do it for girls. We stole it to get drunk. We were stealing condoms. That's when my criminal life started. I started stealing sh-. We never got arrested for it. We did it like 2 or 3 times a week. We'd go in there and got 2 bottles to drink on Friday.

Bob: Did you put it in your locker?

Dr. Red: We took it to school, but we didn't drink during the day. If there was a dance, we took it to school and go into the dance drunk.

Bob: You're preaching to the choir. I sold mine out of my locker for 25 cents a hit.

Dr. Red: I knew I couldn't get caught. If they got caught, their parents were used to it. Chris had been in juvy I don't know how many times. It was funny because we were all friends, and we lived close to each other. So we'd all get together and find ways to get places. Chris and Phillip would say let's jump on the Coke truck and ride the truck until we get to the bus stop, and we'd take the bus to wherever we wanted to go. I would say that's f-ing crazy, but I wasn't going to be

a b- so I'd have to do what they were doing. They had this adventurous thing. At that point I wasn't accident prone, but as I got older, I started to have accidents.

Bob: So did you ever fall off?

Dr. Red: No, I'd hang on for dear life...

Bob: Like a death grip.

Dr. Red: Then twelfth grade came, and first time I got arrested. We went to the mall, and it was 10 or 12 of us. It was the last day of school, half day of school. At the time, the mall was getting into this racist s-. These groups of 10 are fighting each other... they didn't want you to be at the mall if it was more than 3 of you. So you had to separate. That day, I had about \$1200 in my pocket...Somebody drove. Security guards came up to us and told us we had to separate. They said it's more than 3 of y'all.... Then some other people were walking by, about 5 or 6 of them so I said why the f- don't you talk to them and tell them to separate. They said they were going to tell them after you. I said if you're not going to tell them separate, f- you. He said oh you're a problem so we're going to ban you. I said ok. I pulled out my money and said you're mad because you don't have as much money as me. F- you. So they called the police over there. So they banned me. Nobody else spoke up. Everybody else left. He said he was going to ban me from the mall. While I was walking down the stairs, the security guard kept bumping me up the stairs. I said what the f- is your problem? Stop touching me. I told the police officer you don't see him bumping me? So the white police officer, Black security guard ...

Bob: Oh, that's a good dynamic.

Dr. Red: I said what the hell. What the f-. He kept bucking up against me. So they get me in the room to ban me. It was me, 3 security guards, and a policeman. I guess they were going to take my picture or whatever. The security guard was trying to take me on...I said you know that it's

punk m-fers like you is why Blacks are in jail right now. The security guard looked at the police officer and said I want him arrested. He just called me a m-fer in front of all y'all. I'm sitting there thinking m-fer is a crime? So the police officer f-ing puts me in handcuffs. I had just turned 18 a week before that.

Bob: So now you're an adult.

Dr. Red: I said what the f- am I being arrested for. They put me in the car. I was in the back-kicking s-. I tried to bust out the windows. I said f- you. F-you just as reality set in. They took me to jail. I had my chain on. I had my bracelet and \$1200 in my pocket. They put in a cell and didn't take nothing from me. It's 3 dudes in the cell, one dude in his drawers and two other dudes; and they're grown men. I'm like oh s-. I'm in here with murderers and sh-. I had heard all these jail stories. I thought they're gonna rape me in here. Oh s-. The room was like up to that board and stopped right here.

Bob: It was a tight space.

Dr. Red: Yeah. It was a real tight space. They had two beds in there. The dude in his drawers was sleep on one bunk. Another guy was sitting on the other one, and one guy was standing in there. I was standing up. I thought what the f- about to happen. I got \$1200 in my pocket... what's about to happen. But the guy with the drawers on, they were big as s-. I didn't know if my partner was losing them or what.

Bob: This sounded like some Eddie Murphy s-.

Dr. Red: Like some 48-hour s-. We started talking about why we were in there. Then it got realer because this one dude said man they say I killed some m-fer... I said oh F-. Oh s- I'm in here with murderers and s-.

So, I called my momma. I was in this cell that had a phone. They say you can only make one phone call, but you can make as many phone calls as you want; but you can't call the same number more than once or twice. The f-ed up thing is it says where you are before the call comes in. It said, "You have a call from an inmate at...." And I said oh s-. She said what the f- is going on so I told her I got arrested by the law, and she said call your dad...click. I said oh sh-. I didn't want to talk to him. He had this rotten tooth in the back that he never took out, and his breath stinks. The guy said you're not getting out until your parents come. I said I'm 18. They said you're still a juvenile. So when you get out, there's a 3-hour window. So he was pissed.

I didn't even know what my charges were. They got me a lawyer. They gave me a court date on graduation day. I was thinking I'm not going to graduate. This f-er charged me from trespassing. They were in the process of kicking me out. My dad just didn't believe racism... he knew it happened to him, but he didn't think it happened to anybody else. My dad was like just walk away. I said what you mean just walk away. He just didn't want to hear it. He was driving 15 miles per hour all the way. We lived about 30 miles away from the police station; and he's talking all the way. It was so cold, and his breath was stinking. I opened up the window. He said close that window. I said your breath is stinking.

Bob: You didn't tell him that?

Dr. Red: Yes. So, I was on punishment the whole summer. He was like I could only go to work. So they got me a lawyer, and I got off. I learned I had to handle my anger in another way. I had to start cussing people out intelligently. So I started learning how to do that, but I also feel it was racist. I don't know why they said disorderly conduct.

Bob: But you know police put the highest charge down to see if it will stick.

Dr. Red: But my dad didn't care. He was like f- it. You're in trouble. Funny, my mom was so nonchalant about everything. That summer, I think my parents started to rift because my mom was tired of taking me to work. She was like your dad is punishing me too because I gotta run you a- all around. My brother was like 3 or 5 and my sister was 8 or 9, and my cousin was there too. He was like 2 years older than me so I got him a job at Wendy's. My mom is like f- it. Y'all need to get your f-ing licenses. I'm tired of running you guys all around. So I got my license.

My dad was on a business trip for about a week. When he came back, he found out. He was livid. My dad was like a control freak. My dad wanted me to turn it in. He was calling the DOV. The insurance people said they couldn't take it off until I turned in my license. I said f- this. That sh's mine now. Anything to control you, he'd do. It was like a light bulb went off. He thought I can use this license thing to my advantage. He would do some sh- like I couldn't use the car unless I cut the grass, and I hated cutting grass because we had a giant yard. We had one of those push mowers. It would take about 3 hours. He wanted me to use a bag, and it would take me longer... It took 3 or 4 hours, and sometimes I would take two days. Sometimes I couldn't even use the car because he wouldn't let me on any other day. It always had to be only on Saturday. I hated that sh-.

This is when I needed to start to get independent. That was the rough part. So to get into college, my dad said I couldn't apply anywhere or I'm not paying for anywhere that we don't visit. Again, I'm thinking about the breath stinking, and he wasn't flying. He was driving.

Bob: Why?

Dr. Red: Because he's cheap.

Bob: How could he go on business?

Dr. Red: He would do his business trips like that, but he wasn't doing it for me or us. He said we're going on this college tour, and I said can I go by myself? He said I'm gonna take you. I said f-, f- this. I was like I'm not going in a car for 1 ½ hours. They had this program for architects at Tuskegee. They had this program was at Tuskegee for 2 years and then you transfer to Georgia Tech for 2 years. My thing was always a degree and what's the ratio of men to women. I think Tuskegee was 8 to one. He said you're not going unless we visit. So I looked on the map, and it was like 6 hours away. I said f- that. I looked into making multiple trips, but I said f- it.

We went to A&T in Greensboro, North Carolina, Central in Wiley, and Carolina. We went to all these places in one day. I said cool because I couldn't be in the car that long with him. So we went to Central, and I said I like this. This is where I'm going to go. It was like 6 to 1. Then a couple of weeks go by. He said the only thing I'm paying for is A&T. I said what? He said if you don't go to A&T, I'm not paying for it. I said f-. A&T was like 3 to 1. I said I thought you had a choice in the decision. He said you do have a choice, go to A&T or you pay for your own. So I said anything to get out of this f-ing house because I need to get away from these people. Before that I only had 2 choices, go to college or go to France to learn to be a chef.

Bob: Where did that come from?

Dr. Red: I was like I like to eat. I don't want to cook. I thought well I could get away from these folks for 2 years, I really didn't know how to speak French. I took French in high school. I spoke a little bit of it, but I wasn't fluent... And I didn't want to go by myself. So I went to A&T that fall, and that first semester I got pretty decent grades. I got 3.1. I said this isn't bad, but I was partying hard like 3 or 4 days a week, before class, and I would be getting high and going to bed at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning and had to write these papers high. When I was writing it

sounded pretty good I said that s- sounded nice. Then I'd get it back, and it said D+. Because I was high, I was always doing stuff like the Emancipation Proclamation was like a great turning point in U.S. history...cheeseburger. That was my paper. I said sh-. So I learned that lesson. I couldn't write a paper and get high anymore.

Bob: So your freshman year sounds like it was going pretty good. Was it semester or trimester?

Dr. Red: Semester.

Bob: So how did you do 2nd semester?

Dr. Red: I was on probation. I had about 1.1.

Bob: Mine was 1.16666.

Dr. Red: I was going to class some time. Before 10 I didn't go. The other classes I was there to holler at girls. My whole life was trying to f-. That was it. The first semester I was buying books. The next semester I'm going to be like everybody else in the class and borrow books. My parents were still giving me money for books, but I used that to buy liquor, and I didn't have a car... People were like buying new things... like Gucci sweaters...

Bob: And you weren't working?

Dr. Red: Yeah because my parents wouldn't let me to work. Every weekend I was calling home for money. I was in architecture, so I always had all these projects. I had to print them out on special paper. I had to get another T-square, and my other one broke or some s- like that. At one point my parents were like why you keep calling for money. We're paying for tuition. I didn't like English or history, so I was like I'm not doing that work. So my parents were paying for my apartment and tuition. What I didn't realize was that my dad had gotten me a loan, and I didn't even know it. He had me sign this piece of paper, but I didn't know it was a student loan. The only reason I was going to A&T was because he was paying for it.

Bob: You dad was a VP in a bank so he's a pretty smart guy.

Dr. Red: That summer, I got some mail. I opened this sh-. It said student loan, \$7 grand. I said what the f-. ...what's this sh-? I said dad you said you were paying for my schooling. He said you think I'm going to pay for all this? I said oh s-. This m-fer. I know what I'm going to do. First semester I stayed in the dorm. Second semester, I waited until the last day of first semester and cancelled my dorm room. It was \$4500. The first thing I had to do was get off probation. I had become so popular. So I had a friend who worked at Sears. When the trucks came in, we'd have a car parked next to it. We had 20 video cameras. Everybody knew us because we would go around and videotape people. So that's how I got things. Like the next year I got an apartment.

Bob: So you didn't have a car yet?

Dr. Red: Well, I didn't need one because my friends had cars, and my apartment was right across from campus. So it was too much money. I got a refund from my dorm room. Everybody was getting refunds for tattoos and s-, and I decided I was going to get a car. I only had the car for one summer. I got my refund, and it was \$5 grand. I was selling weed. I went to a car auction. I only paid \$525. The only f-ed up thing about it was the heat or the air had to be on. It was one or the other. The only f-ed thing about it is my parents got my bank statement. My parents said you are not going to school. They said why do you have \$6000 in your account. I said oh s-. They called me on my dorm room phone. They said you must have cancelled your classes. I told them I cancelled my door room so that's why that money is in there. He said you doing all this you can pay for your schooling. I said f- it. I don't care.

They also found out I bought a car. He said where you gonna park it? Remember I told you he was controlling. So he was pissed more so because it was one less thing he could control me for. I took my car home and parked it up the street. He said you can't use my car. I said I don't care.

Bob: Now he knows he's losing control. How old were you? 19 or 20?

Dr. Red: 19. So one day he saw me driving by in my car. He said what the f-! He said you gotta get rid of that car. I said why. I'm paying for the car. I pay for the insurance. He was like you gotta get rid of the car. I said ok. I just took the tag off the car. I didn't get rid of it. I just kept it. Something went wrong on it. That year I got an apartment. So that car sat there for about 8 months. I got a credit card, and I started building credit. I was paying for my schooling at this point. I wasn't going home. I started f-ing up again. My second semester I didn't even go to class. I didn't sign up for classes. I started working at Bo-Jangles and Wendy's at the university. I was still partying. . I traded my car in and got another car that was way too expensive...

Bob: What kind of car?

Dr. Red: A Plymouth Breeze...

Bob: What's that?

Dr. Red: Like a Dodge Stratus. My car note was about 400. My insurance was like 100 or 150. I was like making \$7 an hour. I had a roommate and was paying about 300 or 400 for rent, and it was about 1000. I had too much debt.

Bob: You went from 0 debt to too much debt.

Dr. Red: Um hm. My parents realized I was spiraling in debt. They said I had too much debt. They paid off my car and paid my rent. I still had my apartment. I was going to school again. I ended up selling my car to Car Max. I owed about \$14 grand. They gave me about half, but I couldn't pay for all the repairs. I took that money and got more weed. I went to the auction, and I got a Cadillac. It was white with blue interior.

Bob: You were going to college...

Dr. Red: I was styling and profiling at that time. Those were the good times. We were picking up girls. We were like we're having a porn party.

Bob: You said they railroaded you into going back to college, what do you mean?

Dr. Red: They paid for everything. They said let's get him back in school. They said they wanted to make it easy for me. They paid my rent and car. I was doing good that year. My parents said it was too expensive, and I needed to go back to the dorm. My girlfriend wanted me to get an apartment with her. We ended up breaking up. I had to go back to that dorm because my parents made me. That was a fun year. I said f-. My freshman year I was working at Manpower. I gotta switch gears. So the third year school was about to start. My parents got a new car and gave me one of their cars. Two days before school starts, I had a grease fire at my house, and I burned my hand.

Bob: What were you cooking?

Dr. Red: I wasn't cooking anything. My roommate was cooking. There was the pot boiling. I wondered what is that smell? The handle was hot so I jerked the pot, and oil splashed up on me. As soon as the oil got to the bottom of pan, my hand caught on fire. First thing I thought about was water. I put the fire out on my couch, knuckles all black. Every time I put water on it, it felt good, but when I stopped it hurt so bad. I said I think I have to go to the hospital.

Bob: You had third degree burns.

Dr. Red: I had to go to the hospital.

Bob: You're lucky that it didn't do more damage.

Dr. Red: I didn't want to tell my parents, but I didn't want to hear you should have stayed in the dorm... I didn't want to hear that s-. But I had to tell my parents. I told them 2 or 3 weeks later. My hands were burned, and my face was burned too because the oil splashed on my face. I had

all these spots that scabbed up the next day. I said OMG I'll never have sex again...I couldn't go to school. So I just used the money I saved to pay rent. For about 3 months, I got broke. Then I moved out my apartment and went home. I got a job as a manager at Champ's because I had college experience. I hated that job. My boss and I clashed like s-. I worked for Wells Fargo for 4 years. I hated it.

Bob: Doing what?

Dr. Red: I worked in online wages.

Bob: And this was before you graduated?

Dr. Red: Yeah, went to business sales, and I made good money because it was on commission. I was a go-getter.

Bob: What were you selling?

Dr. Red: Business, checking services, auto pay, and payroll services...shit like that. So I'd make my cap the first month. My boss would be like I see you sold them this but not this... I said I was going to that the next quarter. He said you can't do that. I said what's the motivation for me to do it if I don't get commission. My boss was like double warning. My boss was always f-ing up my a-, and a lady was sitting across from me. She was 60. She kept answering the phone and double calling doing customer service. I said why are you doing this. She said I gotta keep my job. I can't be like you. I've got to work. I was like f-. I was still selling weed, and I started selling cocaine. So I was 23. I was making money, but I was blowing it. I was buying clothes, Gucci shoes, and paying for drinks for everybody. I said I can't be like this woman. I gotta save my money. I look at this woman, and she doesn't want to be here. I don't want to be like her, I gotta get my sh- together. I said I'm going back to school. So I stopped buying s- and started saving money the next year. So the next year came, and I quit in June. I went on a nice vacation. Went

to Jamaica for 4 weeks, started my undergrad in 2005, went back to school for 2 years, graduated in '07. I got straight A's the last two years. I ended up taking classes I had flunked before...so the other classes didn't end up in my GPA. I ended up graduating with a 3.1.

Bob: Oh, that's great! Why can't I get those transcripts?

Dr. Red: No because I flunked those first two years.

Bob: I want them. It's flavor, but that's ok. I'll work around it.

Dr. Red: I'm going to take them to the grave with me. This is when I started to get this leadership. I was still cussing people out. I met this professor my last year. He went to University of Michigan. He was an over-achiever. He was valedictorian in high school. He was magna cum laude. He played baseball. He was 25 or some s-. He showed me how to do research. I was like oh d-.

Bob: This is when you were a senior?

Dr. Red: Yes. I realized my first semester of my senior year that if you had a degree in psychology, sociology, or art, you had to go to grad school to make some money. I said f-, I got to go to school. I looked up all the schools, and all the deadlines were gone; and I had to take the GRE. I found one school. It was Western University. It was until February 1st. I told my friend. He said I know somebody at Western University. I said oh s-. He said I'm going to call her. He got on the phone. He said I have a grad student who wants to go to grad school, and he's thinking about applying. She said we'll admit him, and we'll give him money. I said oh sh-. That s-works.

Bob: You're kidding?

Dr. Red: I took the GRE two weeks later with no prep. I got 1100. I almost got a perfect score in Math, but my verbal is where I f-ed up.

Bob: You're kidding. I had to take 6 months to study for that sucker. The first time I didn't pass it.

Dr. Red: I got 794 in Math but only 400 in Math. So that Math score got me in. I was like president of the psychology club...My first semester I had all this racist s- going on with instructors saying things to me at conferences... I was at Western University. They were like you don't belong here.

Bob: What department was this?

Dr. Red: Educational Psychology. It all started when I was in class, a development class, and the topic is if someone can't recognize it, is it a lack of intelligence?... So, they had this colorful thing with all the colors on it. So, they said if this person doesn't know what the color is, is it a lack of intelligence? Everybody in the class said yes. I said no, only person who said no. We had discussed this during my undergrad, and it was like taking into cultural factors. So the instructor said explain it. I said if they are color blind, they might not ... they might see blue and looks like red to them not because of a lack of intelligence. They might just have a disability. This white guy stood up and said well the way you people dress, I thought you all were color-blind. At first, I looked at the instructor, and she put her head down. I had like a split second to realize what my reaction was going to be. My pc said ignore it, but my n- side said f- him up. I had to think really quickly. So something came to my head, and I thought they're paying for my education. I said, "If you say some shit like that again, I'm going to f- you up." He said say what? I said if you say some sh- like that again, I'm going to f- you up, and this is your last f-ing warning. I thought they're going to put me out for threatening. Professor didn't even address the s- or anything. She just said next slide.

Later he apologized. He said he was making a joke. He never said anything else, but the teacher is who did. So next time I had to go to a conference. The woman I talked to paid for everything. I had a hotel by myself. I had a car. Everything was paid for. I get to the conference. No Black people, all white. I was like oh sh-. Where the Black people at? I said who am I going to talk to. The second day, poster day, I was walking to the posters, and I saw this Black dude. I said oh sh. He saw me. He said oh s-. We started talking. I was like don't be no Uncle Tom. He said I was thinking the same about you. So, I linked up with him. It ended up that the instructor from the class from New Mexico State and 8 students ended up at the bar with us. My instructor was drunk, slurring and s-. We were at the table, same guy from the class... out of nowhere she goes and said you've done nothing to show me that you belong in the program. I don't know why they let you people in. Out of nowhere. We weren't even talking about f-ing school. People looking at me like what you gonna do. I just said she's drunk. Shut the f- up. That made it kinda weird. So everybody said we gotta go.

Dr. Red: Funny thing is, got back to class. She never said anything crazy to me after that. She never spoke to me even though I was in her class. She gave me an A so I said f-it. Never took another class from her. At that point I was like I gotta get out of here. I said these m-fers are racist as hell.

Bob: Wait a minute. You haven't done your thesis yet. So talk to me about your second year.

Dr. Red: That was my first semester. I was trying to transfer to another master's program.

Bob: You did that too? Because when I had the problem I was trying to go to LA to go to USC...

Dr. Red: This was first semester. I got into University of Chicago. They only wanted to pay me \$1100 for a GA, and my rent would be \$900 so that's a studio. That's no f-ing money. I was getting \$1600 and had a studio and paying \$550, and that included cable; and I didn't have a car

payment at the time because I had the Cadillac. Second semester went ok. I was getting A's... it was just the other bullshit. I was taking stats. I guess they were trying to put me in my place. Only person of color in my class... one Asian, but I don't count them because they don't treat them like us. I had this professor who had this habit of putting stuff up. He was just reading off his notes. He was messing up numbers. He'd put up a 9, and it should be a 4, and you'd have to change all the numbers. It was a problem trying to learn it. So it wasn't f-ing me up that much because I knew it. I was the stat man. He did everything by hand. He wrote some formula on the board. He started to do the calculation. I said that formula is wrong. He said what page are you on? I said I don't have a book. I said it should be $x/2-1$... He said can somebody look it up. They did, and I was right. Every time he would write a formula on the board, after that, he would turn around and say Mr. Red is that right the entire semester. I thought he was trying to give me praise, but I didn't know what the f- I was talking about. I guess he was trying to be sarcastic. At the end of the semester, you turn in all your assignments together for your portfolio, and you submit that, and that was 60% of your grade. It's like 10 points each week. I had had 10, 10, 10 each week. I got a 94 on my final exam so I knew I had an A. All collectively will be the grade. Grades get posted. I got B-.

So I had to take it over. So I emailed him. So he gave me my portfolio back. He gave me a 71 on my portfolio. I had all 10's. He's like that's your grade. See you next semester. I was like what? I went to the dean of another department, and she said you have to go to your department. The faculty had to get together and go through the packet. He claims I didn't write an accepted alternate on week 3 or 7, and so it dropped my grade by 30%. So if I knew that wasn't correct I could have corrected it, but he gave me a 10. They said if you change these things, we'll change the grade. So they changed the grade. It was like some bs. So I kept trying to change schools, but

I was like I gotta get out of here. Then I'm having trouble. I'm having trouble with my thesis. People said don't do anything on Black people because it won't pass. They don't want to see research on Black people.

Dr. Red: I had to switch mine. I just changed it from Black people to men versus women, but they found another way to hang me up. I finally had a date set for my defense. About 2 weeks before my defense, I get an email from the department chair saying he wants to meet with me in person the next day. Then I get a text message from my chair saying to hold off on your defense because you might not be in school anymore. The next day he said there was some copywritten material on my computer. Now mind you the laptop isn't password protected. Other people can use it. I don't even use it. Other people have access to the room. He said where did it come from? Other people use it. Come to find out it was a f-ing song downloaded on my computer. They said do you know what Livewire is. I said yes. He said you didn't do it. I said I don't even know who the singer is. They said they were going to an investigation. I asked my office mates about it. They said no they didn't talk to us. I said this s- is fishy. They came back the next day with passwords, and I said I don't need this computer. I just need my office. I got my own laptop. So he emails me and said it's ok. You can go ahead with your defense. I said what happened. We ruled you out. You're not going to give me an apology. He said if we give you an apology, it will just prolong this. I said this m-fer. I was wondering how I would get this m-fer back. I passed my defense. They had already given me a GA for the next year. I said I gotta find another PhD program to get into. I went to that lady for a recommendation letter. I didn't apply for graduation. I didn't turn my paperwork until August, so I could get paid for a GA. So they said why didn't you register? I said some things.

Bob: PhD in Ed Psych.

Dr. Red: So they let me stay as GA. She said I'll only give you a recommendation letter if you apply for the PhD program here. So I opened up one to see what she said about me. It said he could benefit from writing classes. I said what the f-. I opened up all of them. Everybody said the same thing. I opened up the Western letter, it was a glowing letter. If we let him go all the scholarly work, he attempted here would be lost to Western University. I said what the f-. So I didn't have a choice. The n- side said go cuss this b- out. But I thought this b- could f- me up. So instead I put all the letters I opened and put them in her box. I went to Teaching and Learning Department. So basically, I told them what happened. I said I'm not treated fairly. I think I'm being set up to fail, and I really want to get my PhD. I believe your department will allow me to do the research I want to do, teach and do what I want to do. I want to study stereotype threat, so I think this will be a better fit, and they let me in the following semester. I guess they worked out the GA with Ed Psych.

Bob: What year?

Dr. Red: 2010. I started my PhD spring of 2011. They gave me a GA the next year. That master's program was preparing me for...

Bob: The Marine Corps.

Dr. Red: It taught me how to deal with racism, politics, and s- around getting a degree. The classes weren't hard. It was dealing with these f-ing personalities.

Bob: I know that experience. You're in teaching and learning. How did it take you to get your PhD?

Dr. Red: 4 years... 9 semesters.

Bob: How did that go?

Dr. Red: It was very different. There were inequities, but they weren't directed toward me until I got on the doctoral studies committee. You didn't get feedback on classes and stuff, so it was hard to gauge how you were doing; but I was getting A's so I said f- it... When I got on the doc studies committee it was like when I was viewed as a threat. They wanted me on there. You're representing the student's voice. I didn't want to do it because I knew they were going to kick me off. They would be like we have a problem with plagiarism... dada da da, or students can't write, and I don't know what to do. I said students aren't getting feedback. If the students are getting A's, they don't know. If they got more feedback, that will help. You've got to do more. ... It would happen every meeting. It was only once a month. The drawing point for them was when we had this colloquium. They were like let's break up into sessions, and students will present their research. I said I don't like that. So I met with some students. They kinda figured it out. All the students were complaining about the faculty, and all the faculty was complaining about the students; but nobody was talking to each other. I said let's do a discussion about what we can do to make the program better. On the green, let's put everything all the things the program is doing well. On the pink, let's do everything that needs to have improvements. On the yellow how do you think we can implement to make the program better. If you have any complaints, now is the time to air it out. So over and over, it was like why don't we have faculty of color, how to deal with faculty making inappropriate comments ... so the person who is over the colloquium took it personally, and he answers by saying we're actively accepting applications from qualified candidates. So, people started asking questions like are you actively going to specific conferences like where Black people are to actively recruit. He said no. So they were like why aren't you doing it.

So after a week or two, they have another meeting. They can't take Red another year. They decide they want to go to voting candidates in for the doc committee. I lost by 2 f-ing votes. This girl won. I hadn't even heard of her. I didn't even know she was in our program. I asked for a recount. So, they sent out an email that one of the candidates wanted a revote. They said the emails were sent to specific people, but they can't say the votes were changed because they didn't grant administrative access.

Bob: What did the doc studies hope to do?

Dr. Red: Everything is discussed, the student handbook. Like they just lowered the number of credits. Everything is discussed there before it goes out to the entire faculty. It is like an umbrella...

Bob: Was that for everybody?

Dr. Red: No. It was just our department.

Bob: Now you're working on your dissertation...

Dr. Red: At that point, I did my comps.

Bob: How did your comps go?

Dr. Red: My comps went smooth. I chose my committee. I said my outside person isn't going to f- me. So I said who do I trust that has faculty status... I selected my person, and he agreed. I didn't have any other issues. The only other thing is I know I did things in my dissertation that I know that other people didn't have to do. Part of that reason is because I am Black. It was like you have to be better. You have to be twice as good to get the same job and make some money... I kinda get that part. But I saw other people's dissertations that looked weak. I think part of it was the Black thing, because if you're Black, they're going to question everything; but if you just answer everything ahead of time you will have less problems which I hate accepting that.

Bob: Did you push back?

Dr. Red: Yeah, but at the end of the day, do you want a PhD or go home. So I have friends who say they want me to do this. I say do you want a PhD or not. So I just f-ing did it. I didn't want to do it, but... My comps... I was kind of nervous, but my proposal I was way more confident. It made me a better writer. At least I got something out of it even though the process was not fair.

Bob: So now what do you want be when you grow up? What are you doing here?

Dr. Red: Looking for a faculty job.

Bob: What are you doing here now?

Dr. Red: I am supposed to be designing courses that are being taught online. I thought they would be student-centered course development to make our students would get the same learning experiences as face-to-face, but many of our faculty don't want to do that. They feel that doing it that way is more work for them. Most of my job is convincing faculty to do things a different way...

Bob: So you're trying to write curriculum for T & L...

Dr. Red: Geology, engineering, architecture, anything that on campus.

Bob: That's a broad assignment.

Dr. Red: Most of them are PhD or EdD, but some only have masters. They just have to send their class over here. They are getting paid to convert their classes. They are getting money for it, but it doesn't help the students if they are still doing things the same way. Even research says that most online courses are instructor-centered. So students aren't getting that rich dialog, that rich content... They don't have the opportunity to interact with each other. They're not doing video lecture. They're not doing audio lecture.

Bob: So how are they doing online without the video lecture?

Dr. Red: Your discussion is like based on reading. It is like write a 2-page summary of what you've learned this week. There's not a lot of interaction between instructor and student.

Bob: You only have to video lecture one time. So when something changes, you can amend video lectures.

Dr. Red: Too much work. They don't want to do it because it's too much for them.

Dr. Red: The only reason is I'm here is because our program didn't set me up to get a faculty job. So for multicultural, there are very few jobs being offered. The other issue is I don't have a teaching license. In fact, almost everybody in our program doesn't have teaching licenses. So that's not built in. I couldn't teach at all in some states because they require a teaching license. So if you don't have a teaching license you can't teach anywhere...

Bob: You can't get a teaching license where you are?

Dr. Red: No. I'd have to take the classes. I'd have to take the Praxis. I'd have to stop to do student teaching.

Bob: Not with a substitute teaching certificate.

Dr. Red: No. That's not teaching certification. I almost quit the PhD program to do another program, but I was told not to. I'd be ok. I got my PhD in 2015, and it is now 2017. I've had interviews, a lot of phone interviews on Skype. I was offered one faculty job, but they cancelled the position during the negotiation period. I had another offer. I was going to be an emergency hire. I was the only candidate, but they decided to open it up because somebody was retiring; and when they opened it up I didn't get an interview....

Bob: But you taught classes...

Dr. Red: It doesn't matter. The only thing people care about is teaching licenses and publications, and that's it. I have 3 publications. Only one of them is in a peer review journal. So

that was one thing I was also told not to worry about because you'll get a job; but when I look at other people, I see the weakness. Now I'm all about service. I thought it was all about servicing people that was the most important thing, but all people care about is publications.

Bob: When you were working with others in your office, did they all have teaching licenses?

Dr. Red: Yes. One of them went to teaching. The first guy went into teaching. He was in social studies or science. He had a teaching license. The second girl was a kindergarten teacher before so she went to a faculty role. The third girl had a teaching license too in secondary, but she had difficulty too, but the university ended up hiring her in an administrative role.

Bob: So now you want to be a professor?

Dr. Red: Yes. So I'm preparing myself now to reapply.

Bob: So you're going back to school?

Dr. Red: No. I'm not doing that. I'm like f- that because I would have to quit and do student-teaching. I just don't get it. I'm just doing more publications. So, I have a lot of things under review now to get me over that hump. I have some interviews now, so I don't know what they are going to say when we get to that point. I just don't get it.

Bob: My wife has a teaching license, and she knows some people.

Dr. Red: You have to take more tests than you do here.

Bob: When I get back, I'm going to ask her. I know she knows some people and all that. So whatever I get from her I'll email you, and maybe she has some insight to help you so you don't reinvent the wheel.

Dr. Red: It's crazy. I have a PhD in teaching. I am qualified to teach teachers how to teach but I can't teach the kids. So it's crazy. I can teach you to be a kindergarten teacher, but I can't be one.

Appendix X: Mr. Black's First Interview

Bob: January 18, 2017

Bob: My first research question is how, if at all, does educational attainment play a role in African American male employment opportunities and my second research question is how, if at all, do educational experiences of African American males shape their employment experiences. So with that in mind, tell me about your experiences growing up... your earliest memories and then go forward, in the beginning.

Mr. Black: Wow. My earliest memories go back to probably to... I remember living in the west end of Cincinnati, Ohio, and I was born in Cincinnati. I just remember us being a family where mother and father worked all the time as much as they could, and we were fortunate enough ... At that time, we were 3 children. We were fortunate enough to have a great grandmother who lived with us, and she kind of took care of things when my mother and father were working. We moved a couple of times and ended on York Street in Cincinnati, and I remember going to kindergarten for the first time...

Bob: Really?

Mr. Black: At Emberley School

Bob: What was the name of it?

Mr. Black: Emberley on Freeman Avenue and how much I hated going into that classroom... didn't want to take my coat off. The teacher tried to make me feel comfortable, but I wasn't having it. Finally, I guess I adjusted through the coming weeks... mainly I guess I was a shy person back then and always wanted to go wherever my older brother was. He was in the first grade, and I wanted to go to his class, but obviously I couldn't.

Bob: What is his name?

Mr. Black: His name is Shaw, but everybody called him Skip.

Mr. Black: You know, we had the typical West End life style. Go to school every day, go out and eat, eat, and play. Didn't have TV then. We just came in the house and did whatever we had to do and get up and do it all the same way the next day. Every Sunday...walked to church. We went to Revelations Baptist Church. We'd walk from York Street down there.

Bob: Where was that located?

Mr. Black: It was located on John Street, across from Wade Street Park. That's what we needed. Some people would call it a routine existence, but we had a lot of fun. We did a lot of crazy things, risky things...

Bob: Such as?

Mr. Black: Well, there used to be a, and there still is, a tunnel there that was supposed to be a subway that runs underneath Central Parkway. We found a screen that was primed and cut, and we found a way to climb down in there...and we found that and walked the whole tunnel with torches that we made because we couldn't get flashlights. We walked the whole tunnel and looked up and couldn't get out when we got to the end, but we could see through the screen that we were downtown. It ran from out by Ludlow to downtown. So we played down there a lot. Saw a lot of storage items that had to do with construction and all of that. So that was one thing that we liked to do. Another thing that we liked to do was go around the hills in Cincinnati.... My brother and I with some of our friends from the neighborhood would walk the hills, Billy Goat Hill... Some of them had apple trees, and we'd go up and get green apples. And usually if we ran across anybody, a fight would ensue.

Bob: What do you mean if you ran into anybody?

Mr. Black: Any white boys because there was a line of demarcation that Blacks would stay on one side, and whites on the other. But we ran across the line many times, but we ran in numbers,

so we didn't have a problem. One time my brother and I and one other friend were walking up Vine Street to Mulberry, and we were already across the line. And we were confronted by a group of white young boys, and a fight ensued. My brother got his tooth broken. A guy had hit my brother in the mouth. I had to call my father, and he came back with about 10 or 15 guys... But this was in the early to mid '50s, and it was bad, as far as Black-white...

Bob: Your line of demarcation was Vine Street, but my line of demarcation was Mound Street... We lived close to you, and we would go up to Christ Hill. We had the same kind of fights. So you had to go in numbers...

Bob: We know that was bad... What was elementary school like? You got past not wanting to take your coat off. What happened after that?

Mr. Black: School began to grow on me I guess... I went to that school up until 4th grade... And then we moved to Avondale or to Ridgeway. And I went to Columbian Elementary School for the latter part of 4th and midway to the 6th ... again typical lifestyle...

Bob: Any problems with the school?

Mr. Black: No, but it was then that I had problems with teachers.

Bob: So what were the problems like?

Mr. Black: We had a gym teacher named Mr. Mann. He was real strict ...hard-core. And I remember one day I did something bad. He told me he was going to swat me. You know back then they gave you swats, and I refused to let him do it, and I was in 6th grade.

Mr. Black: I refused to let him do it. We argued, and I pulled away so they sent me home. I lived down on Harby then...So that began my career of belligerence... getting back at the teachers.

Other than that, that was the only incident in elementary...

Bob: Did they take any administrative action against you?

Mr. Black: Eventually they did because they refused to let me come back. We moved from Ridgeway to Harby and from Harby to Aktenberry ... and I wanted to finish out the year at Columbian, but they wouldn't let me... When I was at Ridgeway, I got into trying to make some money ... I was 10 or 11. I wanted to make some money. My father got me a wagon. We couldn't afford a bike. I'd go down Kroger on Reading Road and haul groceries, and I'd make my money from that... I used to sell newspapers downtown... I would go down to this brewery..... Red Top. So, I was always looking for a way to make money. My parents didn't have a lot of money. So I wanted certain things. So I found many different ways of making money at a very early age. So we moved over on Agbury Street. ...went to Ach and then went to Hughes from 7th to 8th grade, and then they wouldn't allow to stay there because I didn't live there so I had to go to Withrow.

Bob: Did you have any problems at Hughes?

Mr. Black: Not really... got into a couple of fights, but no teacher problems.

Mr. Black: So when I got to Withrow all that changed.

Bob: Talk to me.

Mr. Black: I went there in the 9th grade. I really didn't want to go to Withrow, but they made me so I guess I went there angry. I was in the junior high building because back then junior high went to 9th grade... I was still looking for jobs...working after school, grocery stores, had paper routes... before and after school, working at car washes on the weekend, and I just got to a point that that's what I wanted to do because I wanted to buy my own clothes... School wasn't a priority for me. So I was belligerent and undisciplined. I remember Mr. Hawkins, our class teacher... I got into it with him because he wanted to swat me too, and I wasn't taking that. And he and I actually got into a fight.

Bob: No way! So what was the outcome of that one?

Mr. Black: I remember having this real nice shirt that I bought. It was a dark blue shirt. It buttoned down the front with a paisley print. I bought it myself with my own money. He tore my shirt. We were tousling. He said I broke his watch. But until some other students came and intervened, it was a scrap. Neither one of us really got hurt... I guess that was the beginning of my next 2 or 3 years... I just didn't want to go to school. I flunked in the 9th grade. All I wanted to do was play basketball and work... So they held me back in the 9th, and I went back that second year in the 9th. Still got in trouble. Didn't go to school. Took some jobs, where I would get up and go to the job and not to the school. Parents didn't even know it. Eventually they said you've got to go. While that was going on, I was getting into other trouble with the law. We used to go down on Montgomery Road. There was a car dealership there, Atlas Motors, across from the cemetery. We used to go there on Saturday and walked through the lot, looked at the cars and everything, and then on Saturday night we would go take the car that we wanted. We knew how to open them up with a coat hanger ... So we took the car that we wanted, drove around all night Saturday and Sunday, and took it back Sunday night. Then the next night we'd go back and do the same thing all over again.

Bob: Did you ever get caught?

Mr. Black: ... We finally got caught. They took us up to 2020.

Bob: Oh, I heard about it.

Dr. Black: Judge Schwartz.

Bob: I definitely heard about Judge Schwartz.

Mr. Black: Judge Schwartz. They put us in there, me and my friend Thomas Brown. I was in there about 10 days and went in front of him, and I was belligerent and disrespectful. He didn't like it because I wouldn't call him sir. So he said send this kid back.

Bob: Send him back to the hole...

Mr. Black: Yes. He said for this kid to learn some respect, I may send him to Boys school... for 5 years. That's what they called it then. I would be 21 years old. I was 15 then. That would be 6 years that I would be incarcerated. My mother, my father, and the minister where they went to church got together and went up to the judge along with... Now here was the interesting thing, my probation officer, Mr. Crispin, and he was actually the nephew of the minister where my mother and father went to church. He actually caught me and arrested me with handcuffs and everything. They put us really in detention, and when we got out we knew ... that eventually they would call us back and trial us about the cars. So we said if they let us out, we're gonna run away from home. They let us out. Brown and I got these 2 bicycles..... So then one night real late we struck out. Guess where we were going to ride our bikes to?

Bob: Try me...

Mr. Black: To St. Louis.

Bob: No way!

Mr. Black: We had it all planned out with bats and everything. Cause his father lived there...

Crazy stuff man! We left. We were gone for about 3 days. Everybody was looking for us.

Everyone was looking for us. We finally circled around and came back. They were all waiting for us. We could see cop cars riding around the neighborhood. We hid out at Hoffman School by the playground.

Bob: Next to my mom's house...

Mr. Black: Yeah right there. But Brown's mother came up there because word got out where we were. His mother came and got him. My mother and father came and got me. It was at night. Brown's mother took him up to juvenile that night. My mother took me the next morning. That's when old Schwartz was ticked off. So back to that point. The probation officer and the minister of my parents went to asking ... You know he had already said he was going to send me away. He went and talked to them to see if I could get sent down to my aunt's house in Winston Salem, North Carolina. Apparently, they negotiated it and called my aunt, and she said yes. They came up to 2020 with a suitcase. They wouldn't let me go see my friends or nothing. Took me up to the Greyhound Bus Station...

Bob: The first thing smoking...

Mr. Black: Greyhound Bus Station, right down there on 5th Street. Put me on a bus. They said I couldn't come back to the state for a year. I was 15, just turned 16... and the 16th birthday we were running away somewhere out on River Road...

Bob: So right then, what were you thinking?

Mr. Black: It's funny man. I was not thinking about any consequences of what I had done. I wasn't thinking about the future... I said I'd get a job. Jobs were easy to get back then. I said I'll get a job. I don't have to worry about finishing high school... When they let me go to North Carolina, I can tell you that I went to not thinking at all about the future to getting my life straight. To go off from Cincinnati to Winston Salem, from going to school at Withrow High School that had about 2000 or more students, mostly white, going to Paisley High School in Winston Salem with about 225 students in Winston Salem, all Black because it was still segregated. It saved my life.

Bob: When you think about the school in Winston Salem, did they have, in your opinion as a student, the same resources that Withrow had?

Mr. Black: Absolutely not. I was taking courses. They wouldn't put me in 11th where I belonged. I had to take this test. They said if you pass this test we will put you in 10th. I was taking courses that were so easy because I had already had them at Withrow. Matter of fact, I had taken Spanish for 3 years, and the Spanish teacher in North Carolina asked me to take her place when she wasn't there.

Bob: You're kidding. And you're the kid who just got kicked out of school to a student teaching a class.

Mr. Black: This was her first year teaching a foreign language, and she found out that I knew it pretty well. All the kids were impressed. They thought I was a kind of a Spanish superstar.

Bob: What did that do for your confidence?

Mr. Black: It caused me, of course, to be more confident, and it drew out things from me that I could have done in a lesser extent in Cincinnati... I was on the Student Council... Only thing I did in Cincinnati was basketball...I was the head of the Spanish Club, Science Club... I was in that. I was on the honor roll.

Bob: So when was the first year you were on the honor roll?

Mr. Black: 10th

Bob: So you, like me, you flunked every course in 9th grade, and now you were in a different environment and on the honor roll ...

Mr. Black: I really didn't like school, and I didn't like to be there, so I wasn't there. Going down to Winston Salem was like a scene change. It was atomic. There wasn't any trouble to get into really. Here's one thing I remember most that helped me with my thinking. When I was in

Cincinnati, I never thought about the future, going to college. When I got down to Winston Salem, the students never asked are you going to college. They always asked me where are you going. You were going somewhere. The people owned their own homes. I was in my aunt's house, and they owned their own home. They had pianos in every house. I had never seen anything like that. That had a huge impact on me.

Mr. Black: So we hooked up and formed this group and traveled to different events around the state of North Carolina, a jazz group... and that was a very encouraging experience. One of the guys ended up singing the lead with the Drifters and from there he went to sing with the Coasters. I came back from North Carolina at the end of my junior year and went back to Withrow. I remember the principal asking me "Are you the same guy in the 9th grade who gave us all that trouble? ... We were in an assembly, and he asked me, He said are you the same guy? I said I could always do the work. I just didn't like it. I remember my senior I was in the top 10, when I graduated I was in the top 10 in my class at Withrow. I graduated and went back to North Carolina, North Carolina Central. I sang in the choir. Guess who sang with me?

Bob: Who?

Mr. Black: Maynard Jackson...mayor of Atlanta. He sang amazing... He was a first-year law student, and I was a freshman. But after my first semester, I got 5 A's and 1 B... My second semester, I didn't go to class. I took a class in Real Ology. I didn't go to class, so I dropped out... I finished the year, and my aunt was paying for me to go. My parents couldn't afford it. So I dropped out and came back to Cincinnati in 1964. Went to work at the post office, first big job...made \$2.40 an hour. Got drafted in 65... chose to go into the Navy to keep from going to the Army. So I went down and enlisted with the Navy Reserves. Got a year's deferment. Kept working but finally had to go into the Navy, went to boot camp in 1966...Went into the

Caribbean. Didn't have to go Viet Nam, which I didn't want to go. Got out the navy, about 2 years later went back to the post office. And then got tired of it and said I can't spend the rest of my life doing this.

Bob: What kind of work did you do in the Navy?

Mr. Black: Oh man, that was an experience too. Back then, the Navy was the last of the services to come around to everyone having the same opportunity. The Navy was stuck in tradition...

Bob: What tradition?

Mr. Black: This Black-White thing... I was on a ship with 750 sailors, and only 50 were Black. When you are a sailor on a ship, the captain's word is like God's word. Immediately the first day I was almost 20...no 21. I walked up... one of these guys yelled out at me...everybody was in formation. He yelled out, "Where you been boy?" I lashed out. I said "Who you calling...I am 21 years old. I am a man." From that day forward, it was a rough ride. I got in so much trouble. I did some time in the brig. First time, they put me on restriction for 30 days. Next time I had to go to the brig for 2 weeks. It was always something man because in the Navy was all about tradition. I don't know how to characterize it, but it was very uncomfortable being there because of the way they talked to you. Had I gone in there at 17 maybe I would have been more compliant, but I was 21...everything else was going on in the country. When I went down to the Reserve office in Cincinnati, I was tested. They told me I would be in administration and office personnel. When I walked on the ship to present my folder to the CO, he didn't look at it. He just said deck force... He didn't even open that folder. And that made me mad. Even though I was qualified to do some other stuff...But I did that first. I worked at the bakery next. We made bread every night for everybody, 750 loaves of bread and pastry every night... But the good thing about it was that I worked at night, and I could sleep during the day when all other work was being done... Then I

got a job in the laundry, which was very good duty. You do your work and you're off. You washed and pressed everything in the morning, and if you finished by noon, we were through for the rest of the day. So, I got an apartment off base, me and a friend of mine; and that was nice because I worked there until the balance of my time in the Navy, and I didn't have to spend the night on the ship... It was bad. They even offered me a dishonorable discharge. They called me up to the captain's office and said we'll let you go, and they said we know you don't want to be here. So I refused it. I told them I wanted an honorable discharge. And when I think about it, that was God-ordained because had I taken that, I would be in big trouble today as far as the VA and the veteran benefits... So that was one good decision that I made. Then I searched for another job...got sent into a management training program ...

Bob: Where?

Mr. Black: For Provident. They would start me out a Branch Manager in Provident. They would put me in different branches. About one year of college, and they put me out as an Assistant Branch Manager. I was the only one. They would put me at different branches. I was at Northside, at the Kroger, at the Madisonville branch.... When I look back, they were showcasing because I was the only one with a desk by the window...

Bob: So did you have any problems there?

Mr. Black: No, not at all. They were really nice. They were really helpful. ... As I look back, it was all about having at least one.

Bob: At this point, who was an influence for you? You got 1 year under your belt and got an A in Real Ology...

Mr. Black: A+Bob: So, who was an influence at this point?

Mr. Black: I'll take you back a few years. When I was in North Carolina, the influence came from my teachers. They would not let the students fail. They would say you're not going to come in here and not do your work. I had some excellent teachers in Winston Salem. One was my Math teacher. She lived across the street. She is still alive. She still teaches Algebra. If I needed some help, I would just go over to her house, across the street. We were like a family really. Even though it was a segregated society, you go to the theater... you sat in the balcony... Because of that, it gave me a greater appreciation for education.

Mr. Black: Miss Matthews, my Spanish teacher, my Science teacher... I would say all of them...I enjoyed it. They were all Black. We didn't have any White teachers.

Bob: Do you remember the name of that school?

Mr. Black: Paisley. It is still there. Before that time, I didn't care about education.

Bob: In Winston Salem?

Mr. Black: Yes. Winston Salem. They have a website, alumni website...

Bob: So, you've been the Provident guy who figured out what you wanted to be in life when you grow up. So, what made you go back to school.

Mr. Black: Another irony... I stayed in banking until about 68-72, 4 years. I kept in contact with my old probation officer. I called him one day and told him I want to get out of this banking business. I don't like it. So he told me to go to... and give you that counseling job.

Mr. Black: From that point on I worked as a counselor. I had found my niche. I worked with high school dropouts who were outcasts. They were from Longview, and they were on my casebook because I had an opportunity to help somebody. I see students now who were 15 or 16 years old, and they say you got me my first job. Then the Board asked Mr. Crispin if they could hire me

away from him. He told me he thought it as a good opportunity, so I was hired as at the Board to be a Vocational Counselor at Taft High School.

Bob: When... what was your title?

Mr. Black: Counselor. My job for the Board was Vocational Counselor. Prior to that, they were high-risk students. One of them... lived over in Cummingsville ... I used to do home visits. He made a couple of sexual advances, and I used to talk to his mother.... One time I met with him, and I wrote in my last dictation that he needed to be hospitalized right now. So I went to talk with my supervisor and emphasized to her verbally that this guy needed help right now. He worked as a caretaker for an elderly couple in White Oak. They didn't give him any intervention. Shortly, after I submitted my notes, after 2 weeks, he killed these people... He took care of these people. This was 1974...

Bob: There are too many cases like that. There's a case in LA like this now...I know that had to hurt you.

Mr. Black: This really didn't have to happen...

Bob: Was this a catalyst to make you do something else?

Mr. Black: Not really. I wasn't a professional. I really didn't know about diagnosis... had another kid... white kid... He broke out one night, and when I got home, he was by my house in the driveway. It probably wasn't the wisest thing. I let him stay for a couple of days before I took him back, but I told him that I had to take him back... I talked with him to calm him down... I'm assuming things worked out alright.

Bob: What you did reminds me of the movie... What About Bob? You should watch it... The psychiatrist, that's you, and Bob is your patient...

Bob: Now, so you're on your way to UC...

Mr. Black: Not yet. I worked for the Board of Ed. I stayed there for 3 years. They had a layoff. They cut my position. So I called Andrew Crispin again, my old probation officer. He gave me a job as a training director where I would write training contracts... That was in late '76 or '77.... No, I had gone back to UC... I went in and took 1 course around '75 and got back in full time. I went 16 straight quarters and graduated magna cum laude. They gave me a scholarship in Economics...to get a degree in management...MAI or something like that. I went 1 year but it dealt with labor law and economics... man I was so burnt out, doing 16 quarters. I didn't finish. I dropped out, so I didn't finish. I was still working for Crispin when I finished my degree. I never forget Barbara Jordan was our commencement speaker...

Bob: At UC?

Mr. Black: UC... between '78 to '84, I worked at CEEDA.

Mr. Black: In 1984, this guy named Jay Tolbert talked to Crispin again... a white guy. He ran a program called Institute for Justice.... I talked to Crispin, and even though I had to take a cut in pay, I took that job because it provided another opportunity for me to learn more how to contract, how to do budgets, and write proposals... So, I took that job for a couple years and ran a training program for at-risk guys ...

Bob: From where?

Mr. Black: Around Cincinnati. These were bad boys. I had to develop work with them...

Bob: What was your actual title?

Mr. Black: I was a Director for National Support at Work Program ... Then when Reagan got elected, he came in and cut all that stuff, and that was the end of that job... I lost my program. At that point, I did little things on the side. I wrote proposals and developed programs and that lasted until 1982.

Bob: Could you just send me a copy of one of your programs?

Mr. Black: I have some more stuff that I wrote. I will have to scan it because it is not digitized...

Bob: You can fax it to me... those are things that show the work that you've done in your life.

That's just excellent.

Mr. Black: I did some consulting work for a marketing firm in Chicago... going to events... all around the country, and that was part-time. And then I got a job running a Head-Start Program in Cincinnati. That was in '82. I stayed there until the end of '84, and the head of the marketing firm in Chicago called and asked me to come work for her full-time. She wanted me to start a public-sector division of her marketing firm. Harold Washington was mayor.

Mr. Black: So I went up there, ran the department for her, managed to bring in some decent profits, and I learned a lot about the private sector market. I stayed there for about 5 years.

Bob: What prompted you to go back to Cincinnati?

Mr. Black: The company moved to Winston-Salem, so I came back to Cincinnati.

Bob: So, Winston Salem is where you went to grade school, and the company was moving to Winston Salem?

Mr. Black: But I didn't think it was a good thing for me at that time because she had to down-size. She was from there, so I thought it was best to go to Cincinnati where I knew folks.

Mr. Black: I got a contract with AT&T to train their at-risk employees... 10 year program, all up and down the coast... In the interim, I worked for Lucy Green. In '92 or so, I went back to work for Henry Crispin again.

Bob: All roads lead to Crispin.

Mr. Black: I give him all kind of credit.

Bob: He was your mentor. Don't you realize that's a story... a story within a story...

Mr. Black: Yes, it is. He's still in Cincinnati.

Bob: Do you think he would talk to me?

Mr. Black: Sure, I'll call him...

Bob: what would be wonderful. So if he has 10 or 15 minutes to talk to me... That's called member-checking.

Bob: Ask him if he was related to Nick Crispin because Nick lived up the street from you and me.

Mr. Black: Nick was the cousin.

Bob: You're kidding.

Mr. Black: The minister... that was Nick's father.

Bob: They lived on Madison Road. We came from a community. We were a community within a community.

Mr. Black: Nick went down to Abileen Christian. You know he died at an early age.

Bob: I got a note from June Brown when he died.

Mr. Black: He played basketball with us.

Bob: It was in the back of the church, in the parking lot, and then we'd break up to watch Huckleberry Hound...

Bob: So now we're up to '93...

Mr. Black: I did consulting work and wrote proposals. I was still working for Chris. That's when I started the Black Chamber of Congress. Got this building for us in '98. They were going to close a bank... people were marching... So, I went to talk to the CEO of that bank. I asked him about the building... We took the building. It's an asset, something that Black people owned.

Bob: That was visionary.

Mr. Black: And proactive and looking at something through a different lens.

Mr. Black: Let's be smart about this. They're taking the business out. They are not taking the building out. We ended up getting that building, and it is still there. I still can't understand that?

Mr. Black: This building is in our neighborhood where Horace Center is and the hotel.

Bob: I submit humbly that people didn't know Horace was ... I will submit that the building be named Dr. Black Building. The building should be named after you. So where are we?

Mr. Black: 1995... all over ... South Carolina, Nashville...

Bob: Where is it again?

Mr. Black: Right on the corner on Lincoln and Gilbert, across from the Harriet Beecher Stowe Building....

Mr. Black: Based on what I had learned and came to know that everything is run by and through economics, so I began to push that. I wrote a column that I submitted to the Cincinnati Herald. The paper asked me to do a weekly column. I had already worked for the Chamber, for Henry Crispin a little bit doing some consulting work, and I worked for AT&T. And they asked me to work for the Herald... I would go in the evenings and edited... That how I became a syndicated columnist. The national organizations started picking up my column. That was in '93.

Bob: The way I found that out was I picked up my local Las Vegas paper in 2004 or 2005... At that point, I made a point to myself when I get to this point that you would be like the silver tuna. I've been stalking you for 12 years... and here we are sitting here 12 years later.

Mr. Black: I told my wife I don't think I've seen Cookie since 1969....

Bob: I had to get out of Dodge. They put me in jail... What's his name was killed...

Mr. Black: Fred Hampton

Bob: Yeah...was killed in Chicago that same weekend...

Mr. Black: I taught economics at UC.

Bob: As an adjunct...

Mr. Black: Yes.

Bob: Do you have a syllabus?

Bob: When you were searching for contracts, did somebody turn you down... did you face any kind of racism?

Mr. Black: Not really... The only thing that had a tinge of racism was when I went down to Oakridge, Tennessee, by the nuclear plant. They wanted some employee training... to do a presentation. Among the 4 of us, 3 Black guys and one white guy, we had 80 years of experience. When we got back home they told us no. They never gave us a reason that made any sense...they were in their own little section. That's the only time...I figured we had that deal. It was with Martin Marietta that we didn't get. That made me think why...

Bob: So that was the only time that you didn't get the contract?

Mr. Black: Yeah, and that was around '94, '93, '94... We did quality work. We had experience. And it goes back to my jumping from place to place; and it was only to learn more and be more valuable in the marketplace.

Bob: So, tell me about the first book.

Mr. Black: I wrote a book called Economic Empowerment or Economic Enslavement – We Have a Choice. It came from some of the writings I had done with the newspapers...Put that book out in '97. People really loved it. I published it myself, printed it, formatted it...I had a guy in Cincinnati named Sam Thomas to bind it for me. I sold them as I went around and gave speeches. So, I always had books to sell. That was my first book that I wrote on economics. Then Blackonomics... That was my 2nd one on that topic. Since that one, I wrote 8 of them

altogether. So, I just kind of found my niche. In the '60s, I was an angry young Black man because of what was going on in the south. I used to just write things and put them away. It made me feel better, a cathartic kind of thing. I just gravitated to writing. I don't know where I got it. I never took a class in journalism. My mother said I probably got it from my father because he was always writing little notes even though he didn't graduate from high school.

Bob: Your dad didn't graduate from high school?

Mr. Black: No.

Bob: What grade did he go to?

Mr. Black: 8th

Bob: What about your mom?

Mr. Black: Yes. She graduated from high school, but she didn't go any further.

Mr. Black: But my father really wasn't an educated man.

Bob: Where did he go to school?

Mr. Black: A little town outside Winston Salem...

Mr. Black: No, he didn't graduate... He met my mother and got married... I guess innate or just liking for being able to express myself.

Bob: Part of it is the way your career and foundation dealt with writing field notes, contracts, counseling, being organized... You took your feelings, and you weren't talking about a subject anymore, you were talking about a concept ...and you wrote books.

Mr. Black: I taught at Cincinnati Christian, and I taught public speaking over there. I said you never know what you are going to do. You might not even do what you were taught to do.

Mr. Black: We have to have the right perspective on education. It is highly important. You never stop learning. My writing and advocacy...comes from a place inside me... things I learned on the job...So I gravitated to it...

Bob: Without you knowing it at the time, you were increasing your body of knowledge. You could do many things.

Bob: Did you ever worked on commission?

Mr. Black: No. Never wanted to, stayed away from it. Had some opportunities...but didn't really want to do that. I dabbled in a couple online network things, but I didn't want to...

Bob: Are you satisfied with your career, the way it has turned out, or if you were to do something differently, what would it be?

Mr. Black: I am satisfied. I have helped people...I have helped many people provide for their families. Sometimes I caught flack. What I would have done differently is maybe taken a more serious track or a more profit-oriented track.

Bob: I ran a lot of businesses, but I wasn't in it for the profit. I was in it because I was having fun. I always tell my children do what's fun for you. Don't chase the dollars. How many kids you have?

Mr. Black: One.

Bob: What school?

Mr. Black: Howard... She may go back to grad school. She wants to work right now. She may go back later.

Bob: Your wife's name is?

Mr. Black: Sylvia.

Bob: Your daughter's name?

Mr. Black: Kiah.

Bob: Have you ever been convicted of a felony?

Mr. Black: No.

Bob: Close, but no cigar. Like me...

Mr. Black: Several of my best friends were killed at an early age and didn't finish high school... and I wonder why not me... One of my best friends got shot.

Bob: Who was that?

Mr. Black: ...Brown... Thomas Brown. And I ironically, I was supposed to be with him that day.

Bob: Remember we used to walk down Montgomery Road... One of the boys found a gun, and I don't know why he did it but he put it to his head and shot himself. What was his name? It was '61 or '62... it hurt me so bad.

Mr. Black: That's what happened when Brown got killed.

Bob: Another one got killed, and he was going to be a store manager of A&P. His name was Billy Evans. He lived right on the corner. He had bad times after his divorce, became an alcoholic, lived on welfare, and got stabbed in Eaton Park. He had just picked up some money from my mom to go pick up his check, but for the Grace of God... My wife says I have favor.

Mr. Black: That's right. God has a plan for you.

Bob: We will do a follow-up, probably on Skype...

Appendix Y: Mr. Tan's First Interview

Bob: April 28, 2017

Bob: So start at the beginning ...when were you born?

Mr. Tan: I was born Oct. 30, 1966 in the city of Los Angeles, California to Henry and Willie Mae Tan. Henry is my father. He is still alive. He is 87 years old. My mom is deceased. She passed away at 66 in the year of 2002. I have 3 sisters and 2 brothers.

Bob: And they're still alive?

Mr. Tan: All alive. All doing well.

Bob: So tell me about your experiences when you grew up. What the house was like growing up with 6 kids. Start in the beginning.

Mr. Tan: I lived in South Central Los Angeles. I lived at 1216 E. 65th Street with both parents. Both were working parents. All my brothers and sisters lived under the same roof. My dad was a truck driver. He drove big rigs for over 48 years before retiring. My mom was an RN at the time that she passed in 2002. She worked for Kaiser Permanente as an RN at the Cadillac facility. My dad, Henry Tan retired at 75 years of age. Working was the foundation of him.

My oldest sister Evelyn works as a manager at a law firm at San Pedro, California. My middle sister, one year older than me, Felicia is a manager, graduate from UCLA; and the only job she ever held was working at UCLA. My baby sister Tina is a graduate from Cal State LA. She's a deputy sheriff for LA County. She's been on the force for 22 years. At this point in time, she's a background investigator for LA County Sheriffs.

My brother, who lives in Oceanside, is a coordinator for the western region for a top 3 law firm. He has his family in Oceanside, California. Me myself, I work and attend Los Angeles Trade Tech. I'm employed by the Emotion Program here on campus. I've been here 3 years. I left a job

of 21 years as a manager for a department at Gibson, Dunn, and Crutcher, which is a top 3 tier law firm in downtown Los Angeles.

I have one son, 23 years of age who's attending Cal State LA who should be finishing school this semester. My son's name is Christopher Peacock. My oldest god-daughter is Helen. She attends Trade Tech at this moment, and there's Arianna who is the sister of Helen and attends Trade Tech. When she left high school, she attended UCLA. She had a 4.3 grade point average, but it was a little challenging for her. So she rethought everything, and she came to Trade Tech to have better success at getting back into a 4 year program.

Bob: That was every good about your vision of your family. Tell me about your neighborhood and grade school experience. What was that like? Tell me about your influences. Did you go to pre-school?

Mr. Tan: Yes.

Bob. Good. Ok. Start there from pre-school to 6th grade.

Mr. Tan: I attended pre-school at Mira Monte Elementary School. It was the preschool attached to that school. I attended there and advanced to the kindergarten level. So, I went from kindergarten on to 6th grade, which was located in South Central LA. It was a very nice atmosphere back then. One person who led us through was Mr. Ewing. He was a faculty member, and he became administrator. He knew my mom because he had my mom when she attended. Mr. Ewing wouldn't let you get away with anything. He used to come over to the house. It was so awkward.

Bob: Was he the principal?

Mr. Tan: He was actually the Vice-Principal at the end of his career. The principal at that time was Mr. Capallerro. He actually left there, but Mr. Ewing remained there many years after.

Bob: During your kindergarten through 6th grade, did you have any issues? Were you ever in trouble? Did you have teachers who were supportive other than Mr. Ewing?

Mr. Tan: There were many of them that were supportive. At that time, the staff was a great staff. We had a lot of teachers who took a personal stake in the individuals. There were times I got into trouble just because I was a boy, but you didn't get away with it.

Bob: Like what? What did you do?

Mr. Tan: Probably chasing little girls thinking you're going to get away with something. Act out in class. Played around when you shouldn't be playing, and then of course you got sent to the office. At that time we had the paddle.

Bob: Corporal punishment.

Mr. Tan: Corporal punishment. He knew my parents so close. He didn't have to get permission to do the swap because he had that personal relationship.

Bob: What was the composition of administrators and teachers at the school?

Mr. Tan: At that time, Mr. Capallero was light-skinned, but I don't know his nationality. The majority of the staff was Black, at least about 75-80% was Black, and female.

Bob: So you never got suspended?

Mr. Tan: No, the suspension was you went to Mr. Ewing. He was the disciplinarian on that campus.

Bob: Alright. Did you have any awards? Did you participate in anything?

Mr. Tan: I was actually a pretty good student in elementary school. There were individual recognition awards, but there was no honor roll award. The honor roll came in junior high school, what we call middle school today. I had much recognition. I was a very studious student only because my sister only being one year older than me. We were going to school together, and she was the very disciplined to the tee educated student. You couldn't come through the

front door of the home without her rushing first to show her report card. So yours better be decent. Mom and dad knew it was coming.

Bob: When you were in grades 1-6, what was your average grade?

Mr. Tan: Majority Bs with some As, way above average.

Bob: But your sister?

Mr. Tan: My sister was valedictorian of middle school and high school. So that tells the story.

Bob: Oh so you had to go behind that?

Mr. Tan: Yes. I had to go behind that.

Bob: Ok. We will try to get your transcripts from LAUSD. So let's hop up to 7-9th.

Mr. Tan: I went to Thomas A. Edison Junior High School as it was called then, but it is called Thomas A. Edison Middle School today. In the 7th and 8th grades, they were really promising grades. I was president of honor society of which my sister was a member. I was active in the California Cadet Corp. I held the rank of first lieutenant, S-4 position, which was the supply position.

Bob: That was ROTC?

Mr. Tan: That was the middle school version of the ROTC. Our battalion was over 200 students. It was directed by Captain Dekard. We took many awards in the LAU southern section competitions against Carver, Breithart, Bethune, and the immediate high schools in the area. Those competitions took place in the parking lot of the sports arena. Mostly it was drilling, whether our battalion was composed correctly, and we were fully uniformed. The more ribbons you had on your uniform the more accomplished you were.

Going through high school, in 7th and 8th grade. I had a high GPA. In 9th grade, I started to notice women. You become an item on campus. Things started to decline. My GPA was above 3.0 but not like 7th and 8th grade. Once again it was having the presence of the administrators because of

my mom. On that campus was Mr. Morgan. He was the dean. My mom had him as a teacher. My uncle, her brother, my auntie, her sister, had him as a teacher. So once again you couldn't get away with anything. I lived on South Hooper. Our street ran directly into the middle school. It was one little community. So once again Mr. Morgan didn't have to get permission to use the rod of correction. You were forced to do the right thing.

Bob: What year was this?

Mr. Tan: 1980. Majority of the faculty was Black. The administrator was Dr. O'Sullivan, who is Irish. He still works for the district today. He was very close to all of us. I went to Cal State LA. No, I was in high school. I went back to work for him part-time in the after-school program. So I knew Dr. O'Sullivan very well. Still know him very well. He took care of us. We were his little family. So junior high was very promising. It was adventurous.

Bob: What kind of honor roll?

Mr. Tan: It wasn't the principal honor because you had to have a 4.00, but I had 3.5 so I was on that honor roll. Going into 9th grade, it kind of dipped. Once again, I had my sister right there. She was running home with hers, and I had to follow behind her.

Bob: What were your best subjects?

Mr. Tan: Science. Enjoyed it very much, even today. Math was competitive, but not overwhelming. English, just took it in stride. Did what I had to do to get a B or an A.

Bob: What about history?

Mr. Tan: Loved it very much. Can very well remember the history course with Ms. Cole. She was an extremely good teacher.

Bob: Was the teacher white or Black?

Mr. Tan: She was Black.

Bob: You didn't have a suspension in elementary school or in middle school. You got paddled. Did you have any issues in middle school?

Mr. Tan: No, I was probably sent out of class, but once again to Mr. Morgan. He had his special ones. He oversaw you and made sure you were good.

Bob: What do you mean his special ones?

Mr. Tan: The ones he had those special connections with, and that was a large student body. To speak on the fabric of it, he took care of his Blackness. He cared about us. Just recently he passed away.

Bob: How old was he?

Mr. Tan: He was 89.

Bob: I'll take that.

Mr. Tan: It made Facebook all over because we have a Facebook page of people who went to Edison, and we follow each other.

Mr. Tan: Yeah, about a year ago he passed away.

Bob: So now we're going into high school.

Mr. Tan: High School was an adventure. I went to John Fremont High School which was on 76th and San Pedro. I was in the CIP Program which was the magnet program. It was the College Incentive Program. It was directed by Ms. Coleman. In that program were about 110-120 students. In that 110-120 students, we all had 6 classes together; but there were different grade levels. All 10th, 11th, and 12th grade were together all day. Your day from beginning to end was with your same cohort, and that was the most enjoyable thing. We were the L7s. We were the squares. We walked around with about 15 books, and everybody talked about us. We hung together. We had lunch and recess together. You always had everybody in their own little group.

Bob: South Central, Magnet Program, CIP Program...

Mr. Tan: You had the regular schoolers who went to John Fremont, the magnet school, the CIP Program, and the PWT, Permit with Transfer Program, those people who chose to go to Hamilton, Palisades, or on down the line. I chose not to be bussed, so I went to Fremont through the program with my sister. She was a year ahead.

Bob: She was a trailblazer.

Mr. Tan: So she led. I followed. That was a very enriched program. I also played baseball and football. Once again, I had that jock mentality. Sometimes I got my foot in the puddle but got pulled out by people who cared about you.

Bob: What's the foot in the puddle?

Mr. Tan: Foot in the puddle means doing something you not supposed to do. Athlete not going to class. Knowing you gotta keep that C average or you become ineligible. Hanging out on the baseball field chilling. Running after the girls. When I went to Fremont, I was about 260 pounds. In 10th and 11th grade, I shed all that weight. I was down to 170 something. I became active. I lost all that weight. All of a sudden, I'm handsome. I had found my identity. No drugs. I never smoked or never drank in my life, and now I'm 50. Had a baby.

Bob: How were you able to stay out of gangs?

Mr. Tan: Gangs were not an option. My parents are very much disciplinarians. They didn't tolerate all that nonsense. Not so much my dad. It was my mom. You didn't come through her front door with any mess.

Bob: Where you lived was core gang territory. How did your parents protect you when you had to walk to school?

Mr. Tan: Those were the 80s. In my neighborhood, you had the Florensia 13s and the East Coast Crips. Majority of the Crips were Black, and they were in my neighborhood. My family was so respected that we were able to walk the streets, and no one would bother us. When I got in high

school, my oldest brother was a working man. My oldest brother earned respect by knocking you out. If you had a problem, you went to Lawrence. We were from 65th Street. My oldest brother is 66 now, about 10 years older than me. My youngest brother is 47. So we didn't have a problem.

Bob: I know where you grew up, and it's gang infested. I know people are getting killed in that area. I'm trying to find out how you came out of there unscathed.

Mr. Tan: I will give the credit to my brother because he didn't gangbang, but he would play basketball with the East Side Crips all day on Saturday. You don't mess with mine. They would play basketball. So you have all these people who take care of you. It's like you're my brother.

Bob: Did a gang approach you?

Mr. Tan: Black Rick. He came back wrong to me one day, and I was in high school. He tried to start an altercation. But it got stopped before it got started because East Coast jumped in and stopped it, and when I got home I told Lawrence. Next thing I know Lawrence went out the door. I don't know what happened. He took care of it. So you had these protectors. They had Florence on one end and East Coast on the other end. Florence wouldn't mess with you because they knew you knew so and so. I was just Lawrence brother, and they called me Tan. They still call me Tan today. Nobody knows our first names.

Bob: So now you're back in high school. You're playing football. You're playing baseball. You're chasing women. You're not smoking weed or drinking, but you were skipping class. Did you get suspended?

Mr. Tan: No. Ms. Smith, the principal, she loved us. We had so much love. You had the deans. You had Jones and the school police. They called the school police resident officers.

Bob: So when did the school police come in?

Mr. Tan: Resident Officers showed up in '81. In Middle School we had Mike Wiley and a Hispanic officer. They had guns. They were LAUSD police officers.

Bob: Were there a lot of fights in high school?

Mr. Tan: No.

Bob: What about middle school?

Mr. Tan: There two officers on campus. Mike Wiley and Pac Man, a Hispanic. I knew him well. So they kept the peace. They wore regular clothes, and you had the patrolling officers who wore uniforms and badges.

Bob: Were there any fights in elementary school?

Mr. Tan: No.

Bob: What about middle school?

Mr. Tan: Yeah because you had the gang bangers from the outside who tried to come inside and chastise the students on campus, but it was nothing major. The most frequent fight would be food fights in the canteen area. You might catch a fight once a week, but nothing big time. I remember one fight outside the campus when the East Coast and Florencia tied up, and you had so many officers and sheriffs on campus.

Bob: What year was that?

Mr. Tan: In '83. They were throwing them in the car, stacking. It was a very obscene moment.

Bob: So people were getting shot around campus?

Mr. Tan: Not getting shot at that time. They would go head to head. People would go head up, with a chain or something. The guns came in the 90s. Most of the gang fighting was head up. The worst thing a gang member could do would be in the wrong territory. Cross the rack, they called it, across Slauson Avenue.

Bob: Now you're in high school. You have the angels. You've used up all the angels.

Mr. Tan: Today, you can't find one.

Bob: What were your grades like?

Mr. Tan: In high school probably, strong C to a B.

Bob: Just enough to play.

Mr. Tan: Just enough.

Bob: What did you play?

Mr. Tan: Defensive end in football and first base in baseball.

Bob: Could you hit good?

Mr. Tan: Pretty good. I didn't do as well as some of them. Kevin Monk and I shared first base, Kevin went to the Dodgers Farm Club. David Foucher went to Cincinnati Bengals. We played on the same team. Kirk Watkins went to college.

Bob: So you did 3 years in both?

Mr. Tan: 3 years in football and only 2 years in baseball.

Bob: Did you keep any letters?

Mr. Tan: They're in storage.

Bob: Take some pics and send them to me on email or text me. I played baseball. I played third base, and I pitched. I was scouted by the Cincinnati Reds in 62 and 63.

Mr. Tan: I liked baseball the best, more than football.

Bob: Other than the principal, who saved your butt, what teachers influenced you positively or negatively?

Mr. Tan: I would say Mr. Neberball. He was my math teacher. I went from algebra to trig with Mr. Neberball. He's a white teacher, but he cared about us. If we excelled in his class, he took us on weekend adventures. I went once with him to the Grand Canyon. He's an awkward teacher. He doesn't watch TV. He was the statistician for the games. He had his Fremont letterman jacket on and his hat. He was phenomenal. If you talk to anyone, they will talk about Mr. Neberball. He's still there teaching today.

Bob: I'm going to look him up. I am going to triangulate and let him talk about when he knew you.

Mr. Tan: Bruce Hill was the football and baseball coach. You had Mr. Dixon who has passed away. Bruce Hill is still living. He's not with LAUSD now, but he was our guy. He was the football coach for me and also for my youngest brother.

Bob: Give me those two contact numbers. It would only be 15 minutes.

Mr. Tan: Ok.

Bob: So now you've got a girlfriend getting ready to go to the prom?

Mr. Tan: Well, this is the funny part. I had lost all this weight, so I had an option for 3 dates for the prom. The person I went with was Nancy Brown, a basketball player. I don't know what happened to her.

Bob: You're like my son now. He took this beautiful girl to the prom but didn't keep in contact with her.

Tan: Nancy was beautiful.

Bob: So you're in high school. Did you have any fights?

Mr. Tan: I did have one off the baseball field. Swans decided they wanted to take our equipment. They were actually Bloods. You never went into the garden, the International Garden. They would take it upon themselves to steal our equipment. The Swans would be in that area. They would come over the fence. They were Black, but they were Bloods. I had another fight when I came out the locker room. I had a 34 waist and a bicep that would kill you. I was really big. One time this guy came and chose me out of a bunch of people. I wouldn't even call it a fight. I remember that fight, but I don't remember any other fights. I can count the fights on my hand.

Bob: So do you know about him?

Mr. Tan: No, all I know is he was very stupid coming at me like that.

Bob: Now you've graduated.

Mr. Tan: Yeah, but I almost didn't graduate on time. It was at graduation practice, and I was like big man on campus. They said if we call you, you have a problem. They called me. Everybody was shocked. The problem was a book, *To Kill A Mockingbird*.

Bob: My son had the same book. My son said dad I returned that book.

Mr. Tan: I said are you serious? They said you produce that book or pay for it, or I could not walk. I found it on the top book of the closet so obviously it was not read. I turned it in.

Bob: That almost held my son up when he had to get a transcript for a course he had taken. Now, you didn't rob any convenient stores.

Mr. Tan: No robberies. We didn't believe we would get in trouble. Nobody wanted to eat on campus. If you know about Fremont, there's this place to go to call Del Taco. They made these garbage burritos with everything unhealthy with pickles, and you'd sneak back up to campus and eat it. The thing that would get you caught up is the line would be down the street. Even if your order is paid for. They made the athletes go to the end of the line. And Bell and Jones, they were brothers, would escort you back to campus.

Now you've talked about bikes. My brother and the running back for his team stole a moped. At that time, I was assistant coach on the football team. The two officers told me they knew they did it but to tell them to get it back. I went and talked to them. They sat it back by the auditorium door. All they wanted was for the moped to pop up. That was the love we had.

Bob: It's almost like Leave It to Beaver.

Mr. Tan: It was the relationships we had. Even when Jones retired and became an investigator, he became friends with my uncle from working together. They were just good people.

Bob: You were living in Compton?

Mr. Tan: I was living in South Central LA between Central Avenue and Hooper Avenue and Florence Avenue.

Bob: What you're describing, it sounds idyllic, like Leave It To Beaver or Father Knows Best.

Mr. Tan: I like that. To be honest there was a lot of idealness, normality in this area. Our street, 65th Street, from corner to corner, was 99% Black, older people from Gage Avenue to Friendship. It was the safest street. No one came and played havoc. You just mind your business. You played baseball in the street. The gangbangers like Tiger, T-Tiger, Butter, and Shadow came on the block, and we'd play tackle football with the gang bangers.

Bob: Tackle? No shoulder pads.

Mr. Tan: No pads, with gang members.

Bob: We couldn't afford shoulder pads.

Mr. Tan: And we didn't have them. You played baseball in the street. You played football from light pole to light pole. You even had Saturday games. To be honest, I never really worried about the gangs. If I wanted to walk up to Florence Avenue and Douglas to the hamburger stand or the taco stand, they didn't bother us.

Bob: So when did you discover you were Black or ran into racism? When did you first run into racism?

Mr. Tan: You didn't have a mindset of white people unless you were working. You knew it was you and the Hispanics. Whether you believe it or not, the Hispanics were more like your brother. They knew Tan wasn't about gang banging. So they didn't mess with me. After I graduated from high school, I worked for LAUSD. I worked for the resident officers.

Bob: When did run into any kind of racism in school? Treated or called out of your name...

Mr. Tan: In the mall or Huntington Park, which was Hispanic or on the streets of South Central. They might call you n- but they would take off when you came near them. I never had a racism altercation physically where I would go blow to blow.

Bob: You think it was majority Black?

Mr. Tan: Having the same people, like Mr. Adams. He was at the district for 15 years, a PE teacher at Edison. He had all of us.

Bob: Was he Black?

Mr. Tan: He was Blacker than Black.

Bob: Was he a marine?

Mr. Tan: He may have been. He was a Pac 10 referee. He was so disciplined. He touched so many people.

Bob: I'm going to look him up.

Mr. Tan: He was at Edson Middle School. He got me into officiating one year in high school football.

Bob: I did baseball 2 years. I got knocked out twice.

Mr. Tan: I remember I was starting a game against LA High, but Kevin had to go in for me. With Kevin Monk, it was my turn to bat. The cat threw a curveball, and it didn't curve; and it broke his nose. He went to the minor leagues. It was against LA High. They had a short fence.

Bob: My son played against LA High. A friend of the family had a new Mercedes, and a kid hit the ball and broke his windshield.

Mr. Tan: I could never hit that fence. I wanted to.

Bob: Whenever you see Floyd Mayweather you see the guy with the short beard in the ring?

That's the guy whose car was hit.

Bob: Why didn't you go straight into college?

Mr. Tan: Lisa is a manager at UCLA. Mr. Tan: As I said I had all these jobs at LAUSD. I applied to Cal State LA and was accepted, but I went to El Camino. Being at LAUSD and El Camino, I had so many jobs and making so much money that I was ok. I had 5 assignments. I was a teacher aide and running 3 programs after school. I was getting paid by Boy Scouts of America, Sugar Ray Foundation, and Youth Services, which is called Youth's Best now. I took a couple of classes at ELCO, but I wasn't serious about it. Lisa, my sister went on to UCLA.

Bob: When did you totally drop out of college?

Mr. Tan: A year later. I was running 3 after school programs from 84 to 92. The program started phasing out. I worked for the campus police. I filled out reports. I was kicking gang bangers butts too. Wiley and Jones had guns, but they were calling me to assist them. The only reason why I left LAUSD was a gang banger came on campus. I had to chase him and laid hands on him. We had to make an arrest, but we didn't. The momma came up and wanted to file charges. Dr. O'Sullivan said stop it. Mr. Tan works for me; therefore, anything he did was with my blessing. So nothing was done. So Dr. O'Sullivan decided to leave so I said Tan you need to get out of here. Now Mr. Lopez, the dean, you started to see the campus changing. Now it is majority Hispanic. The faculty is complaining. People are retiring. I gotta go. I see it changing before my eyes. So I left and went to work for a brokerage firm in Westwood. I ran Cycle Training. We're selling natural gas and oil in Oppenheimer Tower on Wilshire. We had 4 floors. Was it legal? I doubt it. Everything is done over the phone. I was in control of the cold cards. We bought them in bulk. I was the most important person because I had the key.

Bob: Where did you get the cards?

Mr. Tan: We bought them. I was on salary, no commission. I got paid straight salary.

Bob: They had a draw?

Mr. Tan: They had a draw. They wanted those cards. I had to lock up the cards. One day I left my office and didn't lock my door. This white guy, one of the new brokers went in and helped himself. Someone tells me. I went to his cubicle and asked him why did you go in my area and take the cards? He said I needed them. I said you know you're not permitted in there. He got belligerent. Let me paint the picture for you. We're on the 10th floor of the Oppenheimer Tower. He thought how is this Black guy telling me what to do. I was staring racism in the face. Somehow, we got tied up. I smashed him into the tempered glass. I got him penned up, and I was talking more mess. I'm bigger than him. Johnny Glick, one of the top brokers there, the million-dollar man, said he's not worth it. I'm hot. We became very close. That's my man now, and I'm his guy. That was the closest discrimination I felt in the workplace.

Bob: What happened to the guy?

Mr. Tan: He was terminated. Joe Fye, the CEO, fired him. I worked for Remington Securities. I worked under one of the smaller sectors under the umbrella. I was there 4 years in '99.

Bob: '99 was right at the Enron deal. You were selling fluff.

Mr. Tan: Yeah. Dave Bryant was very witty and very cool. He loved some Black women. In fact, both Daves took care of us.

Bob: What was the composition?

Mr. Tan: All white.

Bob: It was like reverse plantation.

Mr. Tan: Exactly. I got it Bob. You're exactly right. On each floor there was a HNIC. Mike was over all the chauffeurs. The company had all the cars for clients and administrators. Dave Bryant's brother, Joe Bryant, was on drugs and ran the San Diego office. We were charged to go down, all Black, to bring him back to LA. So we went with a U-Haul, a Porsche, and a Mercedes. All Black. We rolled. Dave and Dave took care of us. A year after I left, the

government shut them down. I left because I was going from Westwood to South Central. I got a job at Gibson, Dunn, and Crutcher, which is on 3rd and Grand in the Wells Fargo tower. They own all the floors except the 54th floor.

Bob: What are they?

Mr. Tan: They were a law firm, an international law firm.

Bob: What did you do for them?

Mr. Tan: I started as a copy clerk and worked my way up to manager.

Bob: Manager of what?

Mr. Tan: Manager of two departments, the mailroom and repo department.

Bob: So the lawyers had a repo department?

Mr. Tan: Repo department meaning reproduction department.

Bob: Oh I thought you were talking about auto repo.

Mr. Tan: The reproduction room was as big as the village. We had about 20 machines.

Everything was in-house. We're talking cases, you name it, case files. It is one of the top 3 international law firms nationwide. They actually defended Bush in the Bush versus Gore. The attorney general came from our firm. He was a partner there. He got elected as attorney general into the son's administration. The Supreme Court Justice that just passed away worked with us. The one that started with a S. His name is weird.

Bob: Scalia.

Mr. Tan: Scalia was a partner in the DC office. I met him several times when he came up to LA.

Bob: You didn't hit him?

Mr. Tan: No. When they messed over Gore I got mad. But I needed a paycheck.

Bob: His little partner Thomas is so bad. I got into fights with my family about him.

Mr. Tan: Yeah, Thomas is a piece of work. I worked for them from 2001 to 2009; and at that time in 2009 they had downsized.

Bob: And you were manager of two departments?

Mr. Tan: Yes, two departments. I worked the second shift.

Bob: What hours did you work?

Mr. Tan: I worked from 5 until everything was finished.

Bob: I worked that shift.

Mr. Tan: I loved it because I was able to care for my son.

Bob: How old was your son?

Mr. Tan: I was that dad who went to all the meetings and raise my son. His mom worked days, and I worked nights. So the only persons who ever cared for my son were my parents. So she was able to pick him up at 5, and I'd be a work. In the daytime I'd be at home so when we needed someone to attend those meetings we were ok. So it worked out well. Believe me I did not lay that foundation. I gotta give it to my parents. If it had not been for them we would be in the same pot as everybody else wondering about childcare, how much does this cost....

Bob: Your dad owned your home?

Mr. Tan: Yes. My dad still owns his home.

Bob: So how many years did you work the law firm?

Mr. Tan: From 2001 to 2009.

Bob: So what did you do after 2009?

Mr. Tan: I went to Los Angeles Trade Tech.

Bob: You've been here the whole time?

Mr. Tan: Yes.

Bob: So what have you been doing since you've been here?

Mr. Tan: When I got here, I went into the Process Technology Program.

Bob: What's that?

Mr. Tan: Process Technology is the baby of Chem Tech, and process basically is what goes on in refineries and all the manufacturing industry things...

Bob: Like in the oil industry.

Mr. Tan: Like the oil industry. How process technology came up, in the oil refinery they used to have people go out and check the valves and readjust the tanks like chemists or engineers who got paid \$100 an hour. So we have people doing these jobs that don't call for such a pay, but we gotta pay them. Why not create something that will be able to handle that but have a decent pay. So they made the process technology technician position that pays \$30 to \$40 an hour.

Bob: So is that a teaching position?

Mr. Tan: No. That's a learning position, but it's a position that takes care of the oil refineries.

Bob: When you got in that program, you were a student?

Mr. Tan: Yes.

Bob: Who was teaching that?

Mr. Tan: Many teachers. There were a series of classes you have to go through. You have to take 46 units and get a certificate of achievement. Then you get an AA.

Bob: What were their credentials?

Mr. Tan: Either they retired from the industry ...

Bob: Not necessarily with a degree?

Mr. Tan: Not a degree, or they are in the industry. The majority are instructors. They are not engineer professors.

Bob: How much are they getting paid an hour?

Mr. Tan: About \$80 an hour.

Bob: How many hours a week?

Mr. Tan: A class would be about 6 hours a week making \$500 a week as an adjunct.

Bob: You're an adjunct making \$500 a week?

Mr. Tan: Exactly... Within those courses you have to take physics ...going into the technical side. Which almost emulates Chem Tech, the granddaddy which has been here for over 50 years, which is the chemistry side of it, the lab. You would be outside adjusting the valves....

Bob: You went into a trade to retrain for a position at a refinery like the one in Torrance. In the process you would learn how to maintain the machinery to maintain production levels. What job titles would it prepare you for?

Mr. Tan: The title is like the title of the course. They call it Process Plant Technician. The course is Process Plant Technology.

Bob: When you get a chance, send me the syllabus for that.

Mr. Tan: Absolutely.

Bob: Is any of that safety oriented?

Mr. Tan: It's safety oriented because in one of the courses you would learn the PPE, how to protect the equipment. You are secure to a certain extent, but the contaminants are toxic. Of course you know about the plant in Torrance, the explosions, the fumes. It's a job that pays a great salary, but it's very hazardous. With that being said, my mindset was make a lot of money. You can make 6 digits and not really realize it especially with the overtime. If you don't like overtime, you might as well not go into that industry. You might do a 12 hour shift and be off 4 hours. They call you, and you have to go back. That plant in Torrance grosses \$98 billion a year. That's your average refinery. You got Exxon. You got Chevron, and you got Tesoro. They make beaucoup money. So paying \$40 an hour plus overtime for manpower is nothing, but they need the manpower. You're not working all the time, but you need to be there. They need you.

Bob: So how far along are you?

Mr. Tan: Actually, I finished all the program. I'm going for the AA. My focus was process technology, but in 2014 I found out I had diabetes type 2. So health concerns got my attention. Even though I've completed all those courses, and that's great. Now after visiting with our program counselor, Dr. Jeremy Johnson, I've kinda made a switch. My mindset isn't being in that industry anymore. Not that I've wasted my time because I will obtain that and keep that. Now I'm looking at a transfer to Cal Tech LA to go into Social Work/Sociology and to look at counseling.

Bob: So we're going to get your AA and whatever transferable credits from there, matriculate to a 4 year university, and go into Social Work.

Mr. Tan: Yes.

Bob: Makes sense to me.

Mr. Tan: Yes. It's safer. According to others that I respect their opinions, Dr. Smith, Dr. Johnson, Dean Jackson, Dr. Cole, and all those other doctors. They said Tan you have a niche for counseling. I had to sit back and reflect on it and figure if it's true. Come to find out, I do like working with people.

Bob: Because you've told me your story now, you're getting ready to do something for the second time, and you don't even realize it. Remember when you had to lose weight because you wanted to play sports, and you lost weight. You're going to do it again because you have to.

Mr. Tan: It's funny you say that. My AIC is 5.6610. In November and December, it went up to 10.2. The doctor said in January you're going down a road you don't want to see. At that time, I was 313 pounds. Today as I sit before you, I am 284 pounds.

Bob: Are you back in the gym?

Mr. Tan: Back in the gym.

Bob: How many steps?

Mr. Tan: Making 8900 steps, even when I'm not even trying. I'm walking the Rose Bowl on the weekend.

Bob: My wife said it too. When we leave here we're to have lunch and going down to the beach to get our 5,000 steps.

Mr. Tan: Oh. Alright.

Bob: Already I have 3000 steps without even trying. You're 6 feet.

Mr. Tan: 6'2".

Bob: You gotta get down to at least 220.

Mr. Tan: I've changed my diet.

Bob: You gotta give up pork. The diabetes and high blood pressure could cause you to have a stroke. You're on stroke watch. I know your doctor has told you that. You have a blood pressure machine at home?

Mr. Tan: Yes.

Bob: Take it once a week. You have to give up all pork because it is cured in salt, and salt spikes your pressure.

Mr. Tan: Yeah.

Bob: Give up sugary drinks.

Mr. Tan: Already there.

Bob: Drink as water as you can. Are you on Metoprolol?

Mr. Tan: For diabetes? Or the one that starts with L.

Bob: Losartan is potassium. For high blood pressure, you need either a beta blocker or a channel blocker. I would recommend Diltiazem. It's called a cocktail. You can't just take potassium to

get rid of high blood pressure. When you take your high blood pressure, what readings do you get?

Tan: Oh... my sister does it for me.

Bob: Do it yourself.

Mr. Tan: She loves it.

References

- 4President.org. (2014). *Richard Nixon for president 1968 campaign brochures: The Nixon stand*. Retrieved from <http://www.4president.org/brochures/1968/nixon1968brochure.htm>
- Acs, G., Braswell, S. E., & Turner, M. A. (2013). *The Moynihan report revisited*. Retrieved from <http://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/412839-TheMoynihan-Report-Revisited.PDF>
- Ahmad, M. (1978). On the Black student movement 1960-70. *The Black Scholar*, 9(8/9), 2-11.
- Allen, W. R., & Jewell, J. O. (1995). African American education since “An American Dilemma”. *Daedalus*, 124(1), 77-100.
- Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, 396 U. S. 1218. (1969). Retrieved from <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=us&vol=396=1218>
- Alexander, M., (2012). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New Press, New York
- Archives.gov. (2016). *Charters freedom: Declaration of independence*. Retrieved from http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html
- Astor, M., Caron, C., & Victor, D. (2017, August 13). A guide to the Charlottesville aftermath. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/charlottesville-virginia-overview.html>
- Banks, J. A. (1981). *Stages of ethnicity: Implications for curriculum reform*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Baskerville, J. D. (2001). *African American migration*. Retrieved from <http://www.uni.edu/historyofblackhawkcounty/peopimmigrants/AfricanAmericanmigration/>

- Beck, L., & Muia, J. A. (1980) A portrait of a tragedy: Research findings on the dropout. *High School Journal*, 64(2), 65-72.
- Beckett, K., & Sasson, T. (2004). *The politics of injustice: Crime and punishment in America* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bell Jr., D. A., (1973) Racism in American Courts: Cause for Black Disruption or Despair, 61 Cal. L. Rev. 165 (1973). Retrieved from <http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/californialawreview/vol61/iss1/4>
- Berea College. (1999). *Charles digital archive: Lynching statistics*. Retrieved from <http://www.chesnuttarchive.org/classroom/lynchingstat.html>
- Bump, P. (2014, March 25). Here is when each generation begins and ends, according to facts. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/03/here-is-when-each-generation-begins-and-ends-according-to-facts/359589/>
- Caton, M. T. (2012). Black male perspectives on their educational experiences in high school. *Urban Education*, 47(6), 1055-1085.
- Caucasian [Def.1]. (n.d.). In *Oxford Dictionary Online*. Retrieved July 26, 2016 from http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/Caucasian
- Center for Community College Student Engagement, (2014). *Aspirations to achievement: Men of color and community colleges*. Retrieved from https://www.ccsse.org/docs/MoC_Special_Report.pdf
- Christensen, S. (2016). *The great migration (1915-1960)*. Retrieved from <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/great-migration-1915-1960>
- Chubbuck, S. M. (2004). Whiteness enacted, whiteness disrupted: The complexity of personal congruence. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(2), 301-333. doi: 10.3102/00028312041002301

- Cervantes, L. F. (1965). Family background, primary school, relationships and high dropout. [Electronic version]. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 27(2), 218-222.
- Constitutional Rights Foundation. (2014). *A brief history of Jim Crow*. Retrieved from <http://www.crf-usa.org/lack-history-month/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow>
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1988). Race, reform, and retrenchment: Transformation and legitimization in antidiscrimination law. *Harvard Law Review*, 101(7), 1331.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA; Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cross, W. E. (1971). Discovering the black referent: The psychology of black liberation. In V. J. Dixon & B. G. Foster (Eds.), *Beyond black and white: An alternate America* (pp. 95-110). Boston, MA: Little World.
- Cross, T. (2001). *News and views: The racial insult built into national merit scholarship program*. Retrieved from <https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-494170371.html>
- Detroit African American History Project. (DAAHP). (2015). *The civil rights history project: Survey of collections and repositories*. Retrieved from http://www.loc.gov/folklife/civilrights/survey/view_collection.php?coll_id=2955
- Darensbourg, A., Perez, E., & Blake, J. (2010). Overrepresentation of African American males in exclusionary discipline: The role of school-based mental health professionals in dismantling the school to prison pipeline. *Journal of African American Males In Education*, 1(3), 196-211.

- Davis, J. W., Bauman, K. J., & US Census, B. (2013). *School Enrollment in the United States: 2011. Population Characteristics*. Current Population Reports. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/p20-564.pdf>
- DeCuir, J. T., & Dixson, A. D. (2004). "So when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there": Using Critical Race Theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher*, 33(5), 26-31. Doi: 10.3102/0013189x033005026
- Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: a plea for narrative. *Michigan Law Review*, 872411-2441.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Defendingjustice.org. (2014). *Conservative agendas and campaigns: The rise of the modern "tough on crime movement."* Retrieved from <http://www.publiceye.org/defendingjustice/pdfs/chapters/toughcrime.pdf>
- Detroit African American History Project. (DAAHP). (2015). *The civil rights history project: Survey of collections and repositories*. Retrieved from http://www.loc.gov/folklife/civilrights/survey/view_collection.php?coll_id=2955
- DiMento, J. F. C., Van Hengel, D., & Ryan, S. (1996, Fall). Century freeway: Design by court decree. *Access Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.accessmagazine.org/fall-1996/the-century-freeway-design-by-court-decree/>
- Dixson, A. (2007, July). *What is critical race theory in education?* Paper presented at The Metropolitan Center for Urban Education at New York University. Retrieved from <http://steinhardt.nyu.edu.metrocenter.olde/programs/TACD/Summer%20Institute/SummerInstitute2007/powerpoints/CriticalRaceTheoryandEducation.pdf>

- Drug Policy Alliance. (2014). *A brief history of the drug war*. Retrieved from <http://www.drugpolicy.org/new-solutions-drug-policy/brief-history>
- Dubois, W.E. B, (1903). *The talented tenth*. Teaching American history.org. Retrieved from <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-talented-tenth/m>
- Ekstrom, R., Goertz, M., Pollack, J., & Rock, D. (1986). Who drops out of high school and why? Findings from a national study. [Electronic version] *Teachers College Record*, 87(3) 356373.
- eLearners.com. (2016). *How to request your college transcripts*. Retrieved from <http://elearners.com/colleges/how-to-request-your-transcripts>
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Federal Highway Administration. (2015). *Highway history: The Black migration*. Retrieved from www.fhwa.dot.gov/highwayhistory/road/s10.cfm
- Fairclough, A. (2004). The Costs of Brown: Black Teacher and School Integration. *Journal Of American History*, 91(1), 43-55.
- Fowler, D. (2011). School discipline feeds the “pipeline to prison.” *Phi Delta Kappa*, 93(2), 14-19. Doi: 10.1177/003172171109300204
- Frazier, E. F. (1950). Problems and needs of Negro children and youth resulting from family disorganization. *Journal of Negro Education*, 19(3), 269-277. doi:10.2307/2966484
- Gans, H. J. (2011). The Moynihan report and its aftermaths: A critical analysis. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 8(2), 315-327.
- Gardner-Kitt, D. (2005). *Black student achievement: The influence of racial identity, ethnicity, perception of school climate, and self-reported behavior* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Pennsylvania State University, PA.
- Green, N., (2013, February 10). Legacies of overtown. *Miami Herald*. Retrieved from

- <http://www.miamiherald.com/latest-news/article1947109.html>
- Greenlee, S., (1969). *The Spook who sat by the door*. United Kingdom. London, UK: Allison & Busby; New York: USA: Richard W. Baron Publishing Co.
- Grier, S., (2013, January 13). The street sweeper-Be the best at what you do. *Life Improvement Motivation*. Retrieved from <http://samgrier.com/6/the-street-sweeper-be-the-best-at-what-you-do/>
- Halsey III, A. (2016, March 29). A crusade to defeat the legacy of highways through poor neighborhoods. *The Washington Post, Transportation*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/trafficandcommuting/defeating-the-legacy-of-highways-rammed-through-poor-neighborhoods/2016/03/28/ffcfb5ae-f2a1-11e5-a61f-e9c95c06edca_story.html?utm_term=.97a77040cc2
- Hammond, L. D. (2007). Race, inequality, and educational accountability: the irony of no child left behind. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 10(3) 245-260. Doi: 10.1080/13613320701503207
- Harris, C. I. (1993). Whiteness as Property. *Harvard Law Review*, 106(8), 1707-1791.
- Hasberry, A. (2013). *Black teachers, white schools: A qualitative multiple case study on their experiences of racial tokenism and development of professional black identities*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.unlv.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1431454121?accountid=3611>
- Heitzeg, N. A. (2009). *Education or incarceration: Zero tolerance policies and the school to prison pipeline*. Forum on Public Policy. Retrieved from eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ870076.pdf
- Herriges, D., (2017). The History of urban of urban freeways: Who counts? Retrieved from

<https://www.strongtowns.org/journal/2017/2/20/the-history-of-urban-freeways-who-counts>

Heywood, J. S., & Fang, T. (2006). Immigration, ethnic wage differentials and output pay in Canada. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 48(1), 109-130. Doi: 10.1111/j.14678543.20009.00740.x

Heywood, J. S., & O'Halloran, P. L. (2005). Racial Earnings Differentials and Performance Pay. *Journal of Human Resources*, 40(2), 435-452. doi:10.3368/jhr.XL.2.435

Heywood, J. S., & Parent, D. (2009). Performance pay and the White-Black wage gap. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 30(2), 249-290. doi: 10:1086/663355

Highway History. (2016). *The road to civil rights: The Black migration*. Retrieved from <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/highwayhistory/road/s10.cfm>

History.com. (2015). *Black codes*. Retrieved from <http://www.history.com/topics/blackhistory/black-codes>

History of Labor Unions. (2016). *Race in history of labor unions*. Retrieved from <http://www.shoop.com/history-labor-unions/race.html>

Hope, E. C., Skoog, A. B., & Jagers, R. J. (2014). "It'll never be the White kids, it'll always be us": Black high school students' evolving critical analysis of racial discrimination and inequity in schools. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 30(1), 82-112. doi: 10.1177/0743558414550688

Horsford, S. D. (2007). *Vestiges of desegregation: Black superintendent reflections on the complex legacy of Brown v. Board of Education*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Dissertations & Theses database. (Order No. 3261080).

- Hucks, D., & Carothers, S. C. (2014). *New visions of collective achievement: The cross-generational schooling experiences of African American males*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Johnson, J. H., Jr, Farrell, W. C., Jr, & Stoloff, J. A. (1998). The declining social and economic fortunes of African American males: A critical assessment of four perspectives. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 25(4), 17-40. doi: 10.1007/s12114-998-1009-5
- Johnson, L., (1965). *Commencement address at Howard University*
The Constitution: A reader, pp.765-772. Retrieved from
cdn.constitutionreader.com/files/pdf/constitution/ch122.pdf
- Kahn, R., & Cannell, C. (1957). *The dynamics of interviewing: Theory, technique and cases*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kaplan, D. S., Peck, B. M., & Kaplan, H. (1997). Decomposing the academic failure dropout relationship: A longitudinal analysis. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 90(6), 331-343. doi:10.1080/00220671.1997.10544591
- Keel, P. (2014). *Drug Law Timeline*. Retrieved from
http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/history/drug_law_timeline.htm
- Kolchin, P. (1993). *American slavery: 1619-1877*. New York, NY: Hill and Wang.
- Kutsick, K., & Jackson, L. (1988). Self-efficacy in minority youth: A group technique. *Psychology in the Schools*, 25(2), 183-186.
- Ladner, J. A. (1973). *The death of White sociology: Essays on race and culture*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press.
- Ladson- Billings, G. & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward critical race theory in education. *Teacher's College Record*, 97(1), 48-62.

- Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is Critical Race Theory and what is it doing in a nice field like education? In L. Parker, D. Deyhle, & S. A. Villenas (Eds.) *Race is...race is not Critical Race Theory and qualitative studies in education* (pp. 7-30). Boulder CO: Westview Press.
- Langhorne, M. (2000). The African American community: Circumventing compulsory education system. *Beverly Hills Bar Association Journal*, 33, 12-19.
- LAUSD Records Request. (2016). *General Information*. Retrieved from <http://lausd.scrborder.com>
- LeCompte, M. D., Preissle, J., & Tesch, R. (1993). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- LeCompte, M. D. (2000). Analyzing qualitative data. *Theory Into Practice*, 39(3), 146-154.
- Library of Congress. (2014.). *African American odyssey: The Booker T. Washington era*. Retrieved from <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aahtml/aopart6b.html>
- Lynn, M. (2005). Reflecting Black: maintaining a politics of opposition in graduate school. In Brown, M. C. & Land, R. R. (Eds.). *The Politics of Curricular Change: Race, Hegemony & Power in Education*. NY: Peter Lang Publishing Group
- Lynn, M., Jennings, M. E., & Hughes, S. (2013). Critical race pedagogy 2.0: Lessons from Derrick Bell. *Race, Ethnicity & Education*, 16(4), 603-628.
doi:10.1080/13613324.2013.817776
- Mario, C., & Turner, D. (2010, December 21). *Shocking: Nearly 1 in 4 high school graduates pass military entrance exam*. Retrieved from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/12/21/highs-school-grads-fail-militaryexam>
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1999). *Designing qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Matsuda, M., Lawrence, C., Delgado, R., & Crenshaw, K. (Eds.) (1993). *Words that wound: Critical race theory, assaultive speech and the first amendment*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- McCaul, E. J., Donaldson, G. A., Jr., Coladarci, T., & Davis, W. E. (1992). Consequences of dropping out of school: Findings from high school and beyond. *Journal of Educational Research*, 85(4), 198-207.
- McGonagle, K., Schoeni, R., Sastry, N., & Freedman, V. (2013). The panel study of income dynamics: Overview, recent innovations, and potential for life course research. *Longitudinal Life Course Studies*, 3(2) 188.
- McGhie, T. E. (2015). *Forecasting the school-to-prison pipeline: A generative case study of early childhood literacy experiences of Black male youth*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Nevada Las Vegas, NV.
- McGirt, E., (2016, January 22). Why race and culture matter in the c-suite. *Fortune Magazine*. Retrieved from fortune.com/black-executives-men-c-suite/
- Merriam, S. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Moynihan, D. P. (1965, March). *The Negro family: The case for national action*. Retrieved from <http://web.stanford.edu/~mrosenfe/Moynihan%27s%20The%20Negro%20Family.pdf>
- National Humanities Center. (2010). *Freedom's story: The Civil Rights Movement*. Retrieved from <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/freedom/1917beyond/essays/crm.htm>
- NAACP. (2005). *Interrupting the school to prison pipeline*. Washington DC: The Association.

- NAACP. (2014). *NAACP legal history: Charles Hamilton Houston*. Retrieved from <http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-legal-history-charles-hamilton-houston>
- NAACP. (2014.). *NAACP legal history*. Retrieved from <http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacplegal-history>
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2013). *Percentage of persons 25 to 29 years old with selected levels of educational attainment by race/ethnicity and sex. Selected years 1920 through 2013*. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tablesdt13_104.2asp
- National Center for Educational Statistics (2015). *Table 306.10: The fall enrollment in degree granting postsecondary institutions, by level of enrollment, sex, attendance status, and race/ethnicity of student: Selected years, 1976 through 2014*. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d15/tables/dt15_306.10.asp?current=yes
- National Urban League, (2017). *Protect our progress: State of Black America 2017*. Retrieved from <http://nul.iamempowered.com/content/national-urban-leagues-state-black-america-urges-%E2%80%9Cprotect-our-progress%E2%80%9D-%E2%80%9Cmain-street>
- New Jersey State Library. (2016). *Unit 7: The reconstruction era, 1865-1877*. Retrieved from http://www.njstatelib.org/research_library/new_resources/dig
- New York Times. (1994, May 17). *Haldeman diary shows Nixon was wary of Blacks and Jews*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/05/18/us/haldeman-diary-shows-nixonwary-of-blacks-and-jews>
- Nichols, A., & Evans-Bell, D., A look at black student success. *The Education Trust*. Retrieved <https://edtrust.org/resource/blackstudentsuccess/from>

- O'Reilly, B., (2014, November 12). *Talking points: Mistreating Black Americans*. Retrieved from <http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2014/11/12/bill-oreilly-mistreating-blackamericans/>
- Nunn, K. (2002). Race, crime and the pool of surplus criminality: Or why the “war on drugs” was a “war on blacks”. *The Journal of Gender, Race & Justice*, 2, 381-445.
- Palmer, R. T., & Maramba, D. C. (2011). African American Male Achievement: Using a Tenet of Critical Theory to Explain the African American Male Achievement Disparity. *Education and Urban Society*, 43(4), 431-450.
- Patterson, J. T. (2010). *The Moynihan report and America's struggle over black family life; from LBJ to Obama*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Peer Resources. (2015). *What is youth participatory action research?* Retrieved from <http://www.peerresources.org/curriculum/what-is-youth-led-research/>
- PEW Research Center, (2012). *The rise of residential segregation by income*. Retrieved from www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/08/01/the-rise-of-residential-segregation-by-income
- PEW Research Center. (2013). *Black unemployment rate is consistently twice that of whites*. Retrieved from <http://pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/08/21>
- Quarles.org. (2014). *The interpretivist paradigm*. Retrieved from <http://www.qualres.org/HomeInte-3516.html>
- Racism [Def.1]. (n.d.). In *Oxford Dictionary Online*. Retrieved July 26, 2016 from http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/racism
- Rainwater, L. (1966). *Crucible of identity-The Negro lower class family*. Retrieved from <http://eric.ed.gov/?q=Crucible+identity--The+Lower-Class+Family+&id=ED012731>
- Raper, A. F., (1933). *The tragedy of lynching*. New York: Negro Universities Press.

- Relativism [Def 1]. (2003) In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Retrieved on July 26, 2016 from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/relativism/>
- Rubenstein, E. S., (2016). *The color of crime, 2016 revised edition*. Retrieved from <https://www.ucrdatatool.gov/Search/Crime/State/RunCrimeStatebyState.cfm>
- Ryan, W. (1971). *Blaming the victim*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Schmoke, K. L. (2007). Guest editorial: Dark cloud over education: A personal perspective on the drug war. *Journal of Negro Education*, 76(2), 93-102.
- Schreiber, D. (1964). *The school dropout: Collection of papers presented at the 1962 symposium on school dropouts*. National Education Association, Washington, D.C. Retrieved from ERIC Document Reproduction Service, Document No. ED029914.
- Schiraldi, V. & Zidenberg, J. (2002, September 1). *Cellblock or Classrooms? The funding of higher education, corrections, and its impact on African American men*. Retrieved from <http://www.justicepolicy.org/corc.htm>
- Segal, D. R., & Segal, M. W. (2005). Army recruitment goals endangered as percent of African American enlistees' declines. In M. Morgan (Series Ed.), *Population Reference Bureau* doi: 10.1007/978-0-230-62371-2_5. Retrieved from <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2005/ArmyRecruitmentGoalsEndangeredasPercentofAfricanAmericanEnlisteesDeclines.aspx>
- Skiba, R. J. (2001). *Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice*. (Policy Research Report # SRS2). Retrieved from <http://eric.ed.gov/?=Zero+tolerance%2c+zero+evidence%3a+An+analysis+of+school+disciplinary+practice&id=ED469537>
- Small, D. (2001). The war on drugs is a war on racial justice. *Social Research*, 68(3), 896-903.
- Stake, R. E. (2013). *Multiple case study analysis*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

- Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 23.
- Staples, R. E. (1969). Research on the Negro family: A source for family practitioners. *Family Coordinator*, 18(3), 202-209.
- Staples, R. (1971). Towards a sociology of the Black family: A theoretical and methodological assessment. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 33(1), 119-138.
- Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(5), 797-811.
doi:10.1037/0022-3514.69.5.797
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air. *American Psychologist*, 52(6), 613-629.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1997). *Grounded theory in practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- The Bridge. (2014). *Legal theory: Critical theory: Critical legal studies movement*. Retrieved from <https://cyber.law.harvard.edu/bridge/CriticalTheory/critical2.htm>
- Theokas, C. (2010). Shut out of the military: Today's high school education doesn't mean you're ready for today's Army. *The Education Trust*. Retrieved from 1k9gl1yevnfp2lpq1dhrqe17.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/.../ASVAB_4.pdf
- Thomas, C. W. (1971). *Boys no more: A psychologist's view of community*. Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press.
- Togut, T. D. (2011). The gestalt of the school-to-prison pipeline: The duality of overrepresentation of minorities in special education and racial disparity in school discipline on minorities. *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy and Law*, 20(1), 163-181.

- Toldson, I. A. (2011). *Breaking barriers 2: Plotting the path away from juvenile detention and toward academic success for school age African American males*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc.
- Turner, C, (2016). *BlackPast.Blog: Project 100,000 (1966-1971)*. Retrieved from <http://www.blackpast.org/gah/project-100-000-1966-1971>
- UCIrvine Office of Equal Opportunity and Diversity. (2010). *A brief history of affirmative action*. Retrieved from <http://www.oeod.uci.edu/aa.html>
- UNLV Office of Research Integrity. (2013). *Human subjects*. Retrieved from <http://www.unlv.edu/research/ori-hsr>
- University of Cincinnati, Office of Institutional Research. (2015). *Retention and graduation*. Retrieved from https://www.uc.edu/provost/about-us/profile/institutional_research.html
- University of Nevada Las Vegas, (2014). *Student retention and graduation*. UNLV data warehouse. Retrieved from <https://ir.unlv.edu/IAP/Reports/Content/RetentionProgressionGraduationTrends.aspx>
- University of Michigan. (2007). *Equity in elementary and secondary education: race, gender, and national origin issues*. Retrieved from <https://www.google.com/#q=equity+in+elementary+and+secondary+education:+race%2C+gender%2C+and+national+origin+issues>
- University of Sheffield. (2014). *Chapter 7: Research design*. Retrieved from https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.204486!/file/7ResearchDesign.pdf
- University of Southampton (2016). *What is my paradigm?* Retrieved from http://www.erm.ecs.soton.ac.uk/theme2/what_is_your_paradigm.html

- U.S. Census Bureau. (2014). *Current Population Survey: Table A-3. The Population 6 to 17 Years Old Enrolled Below Modal Grade: 1971 to 2014*. Retrieved from www.census.gov/hhes/school/data/cps/historical/TableA-3.xls
- U. S. Census Bureau (2016). *Quick Facts selected: United States: Schedule V2016 population estimates*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045216>
- U.S. Department of Education. (2016). *The state of racial diversity in the educator workforce*. Retrieved from <https://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/highered/racial-diversity/state-racialdiversity-workforce.pdf>
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2015). *2015 Poverty guidelines*. Retrieved from <http://aspe.hhs.gov/2015-poverty-guidelines>
- U.S. Department of Labor. (2012). *The African American labor force in the recovery*. Retrieved from https://www.dol.gov/_sec/media/reports/BlackLaborForce/BlackLaborForce.pdf
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2016). *Economic news release: Table A-2. Employment status of the civilian population by race, sex, and age*. Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empstat.t02.htm>
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of labor statistics. (2016). *Labor force statistics from the current population survey: Household data not seasonally adjusted quarterly averages*. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/web/empstat/cpsee_e16.htm
- U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. (1963). *Uniform crime reporting statistics: Violent crime*, Retrieved from <https://www.ucrdatatool.gov/Search/Crime/State/RunCrimeStatebyState.cfm>
- U. S. News and World Report, (2017). *Education: Best high schools*. Retrieved from <https://www.usnews.com/education/best-high-schools/ohio/districts/cincinnati-public-schools/walnut-hills-high-school-15134>

- Vulliamy, E. (2011, July 23). Nixon's 'war on drugs' began 40 years ago, and is still raging. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://theguardian.com/society/2011/jul/24/war-on-drugs-40years>
- Walker, R. P., (2010). *Re-Entry African American Male High School Dropouts through the Lens of Critical Race Theory with Content Analysis of Case Studies*. (Unpublished thesis). University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Las Vegas, Nevada.
- Wehlage, G. G., & Rutter, R. A. (1986). Dropping out: How much do schools contribute to the problem? *Teachers College Record*, 87(3), 374-92.
- West, H. C. & U.S. Department of Justice (2010). *Bureau of justice statistics: Prison inmates at midyear 2009*-. Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/pim09st.pdf>
- Wilson, V., & Economic Policy Institute. (2015, Dec. 17). *Black unemployment is significantly higher than white unemployment regardless of educational attainment*. Retrieved from <http://www.epi.org/publication/black-unemployment-educational-attainment/>
- Woodson, C. G. (1919). *The education of the Negro prior to 1861: A history of the education of the colored people of the United States from the beginning of slavery to the Civil War* (2nd ed.) New York, NY: Arno Press.
- Woodson, C. G. (1933). *The mis-education of the Negro*. Washington, D. C. Tribeca Books
- Yaffe, D. (2012). ETS Policy Notes. *Middle school matters: Improving the life course of black boys*. Retrieved from <https://www.ets.org/Media/Research/pdf/PICPNV20n4.pdf>
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A Critical Race Theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 69-91.
doi:10.1080/1361332052000341006

Curriculum Vitae

Robert Paul Walker, Sr.

3250 Town Center, Unit 2029, Las Vegas, NV 89135

10634 Valparaiso St # 16, Los Angeles, California 90034

310.384.8438

labob35@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

Bachelor of Business Administration, Economics, 1969

University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio

Master of Science, Educational Psychology, 2010

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Thesis Title: *Re-Entry African American Male High School Dropouts Through the Lens of Critical Race Theory with Content Analysis of the Case Studies*

Doctor of Philosophy, Educational Leadership Workforce Development, 2017 (anticipated)

University of Nevada Las Vegas

Dissertation Title: *An Educational Leadership/Workforce Development Qualitative Study Examining the Relationship Between African American Male Education and Employment Opportunities Through the Lens of Critical Race Theory and in the Context of the 1965 Moynihan Report*

RECENT HONORS AND AWARDS

Presidential Ambassador, 2011-2012

Office of the President (Dr. Neal Smatresk)

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Scholastic Achievement Award, Alliance of Professionals of African Heritage, Annually, 2005-

2017 University of Nevada, Las Vegas

REFEREED SCHOLARLY PRESENTATIONS

Graduate and Professional Student Research Forum, 2010

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

*A Comparative Analysis of Workforce Education in the United States and France as they
Struggle to Engage Immigrant Youth* (Presenter)

National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME), 2010

Las Vegas, Nevada

*Re-Entry African American Male High School Dropouts through the Lens of Critical Race
Theory with Content Analysis of Case Studies* (Presenter)

Nevada Association of Career and Technical Education (NACTE), 20South Lake Tahoe, Nevada

I'm Not What Others Think: Countering Stereotype Threat (Co-Presenter with Dr. Clifford
McClain)

National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME), 2015

*Black Male Education and Employment Opportunities Through the Lenses of Critical Race
Theory and Stereotype Threat* (Presenter)

UNIVERSITY TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Nevada Las Vegas

Public Administration (PUA) 385-1001: Leadership and the Role of Conflict

Focus: mediation tactics and conflict resolution in effective leadership skills development

OTHER RELEVANT RECENT EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

Academic Success Supervisor

Desert Rose Adult High School

Clark County School District Las Vegas, NV

Secured job placements for unemployed students, clothing and housing for homeless students, tutoring for students in academic need.

Nevada Parole and Rehabilitation Specialist

Nevada Department of Corrections Las Vegas, NV

Screened newly released prisoners to ensure their readiness for Adult Basic and Continuing Education as adjudicated by the courts.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Member, Board of Advisors, James A. Foshay Learning Center, Academy of Finance

Member, Association for Career and Technical Education (ACTE)

Member, Association for Career and Technical Education Research (ACTER)

Member, American Educational Research Association (AERA)

Member, National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME)

References Available Upon Request