

THE EFFECTS OF DESEGREGATION AND RESEGREGATION ON THE SCHOOL
MUSIC PROGRAMS OF RICHMOND AND COLUMBIA COUNTIES, GEORGIA

by

Kathleen Nicole Fallin

(Under the Direction of Mary Leglar)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of the processes of integration, desegregation, and resegregation on middle and high school music education programs in Columbia and Richmond Counties from 1950 to 2000. The focus of the research was on the participant's experiences during the period of desegregating and resegregating schools. Of particular interest were factors influencing the end quality of music education for students, and the ironies which occurred as a consequence of the processes.

This study used an interview research design as well as a questionnaire specifically designed to construct a profile of the school systems' music programs. Using a guided process, 34 former and current music teachers who taught between 1950 and 2000, as well as seven subjects who were students at the time of desegregation, were interviewed. The sampling procedure involved identifying and contacting every living and locatable music teacher who had taught in the two school systems from 1950 through 2000.

Five primary factors were identified by the participants as affecting the quality of music education during the processes of desegregation and resegregation: ethnocentric behaviors, the teacher, socioeconomic, philosophy of music education, and busing.

The following conclusions are evident from the findings: a) there were gains for all music education students in Richmond and Columbia Counties as a consequence of desegregated schools, particularly for Black students who had increased access to better resources, improved teaching, and increased participation rates in GMEA events; b) there were losses for some students and teachers, including teaching reassignments and white flight from the public schools; c) teacher quality played an important role in determining the quality of the music education experience for students following desegregation; d) statistically significant inequalities of resources and results still persist in the music education of public school students, especially between school systems and in some cases within; e) there are a number of students who still are not receiving the same music education in the public schools had they been born into more fortunate socioeconomic circumstances.

INDEX WORDS: Music education; desegregation; resegregation; ethnocentrism;
socioeconomics; philosophy of education; parental support; the teacher

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DEDICATION

This dedication is to the many family members and friends who have encouraged me through the years to continue on with this endeavor.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

On May 17, 1954, at 12:52 P. M., the Supreme Court of the United States of America announced a ruling that profoundly affected nearly every aspect of American life in the six decades since. In the case of *Oliver Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, et al.* (1954), the court overturned previous rulings upholding the “separate but equal” doctrine established by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and extended to schools in *Cumming v. Board of Education of Richmond County* (1899). The consequences of the *Brown* ruling are still felt to this day in many settings of life: work, education, and recreation.

Need for the Study

A great deal of debate and research surrounded the 50th anniversary of the *Brown v. Board* (1954) decision and the resulting attempts to desegregate the nation’s school systems— attempts that often entailed forced busing (particularly of African American children), the closing of schools with longstanding traditions in the community, and the opening of new schools (Dent, 1997). There have been many studies of the overall effects of desegregation in communities across the nation (Coleman, 1973; Thomas & Brown, 1982; P. A. Edwards, 1993; Patterson, 2001; Cashin, 2004). Numerous studies describe the effects of integration on test scores and other measures of academic achievement (Cook, 1984; Ferguson, 2004; Crain & Mahard, 1978; St. John, 1975; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2003). More recently, a large number of studies, books, and journals have examined the effects of resegregation on school systems

around the country as well. Little research, however, has been done on the effects of integration on music education programs and the students who participated in them (M. S. Edwards, 2003).

The need to understand the effects of *Brown v. Board* has acquired a new urgency in recent years. Data from the 2010 Federal Census indicate that the white majority will become a minority sometime during the 21st century. Partly as a result of changing housing patterns and partly as a result of several important Supreme Court decisions, fewer children nationwide are attending racially mixed schools (Frankenberg & Lee, 2002). Levels of integration were increasing throughout the 1980s, but schools began to resegregate through the 1990s (Orfield & Gordon, 2001). The current climate of nostalgia from both the white and black communities for neighborhood schools may also lead the nation further down the road toward segregated schools again (Orfield & Eaton, 1996; Shircliffe, 2001). No matter what the outcome is, it will be important to understand what was gained and lost with the establishment of desegregated schools, in the quality and equality of education, and the lives of students and communities, in order to guide us toward better decisions in the future.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of the processes of integration, desegregation, and resegregation on middle and high school music education programs in Columbia and Richmond Counties from 1950 to 2000. Orienting questions were:

- 1) What effects on the quality and type of music education experiences for students resulted as a consequence of desegregation in Richmond and Columbia Counties?
- 2) What ironies occurred or resulted for both teachers and students within the music education system as a result of desegregation?

- 3) How has resegregation affected the quality and type of music education experiences for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties?

This time frame was selected to encompass two important periods: that of the *Brown v. Board* decision and subsequent efforts to integrate schools, which extended approximately until the early 1980s; and the resegregation that took place during the last two decades of the 20th century. The geographical area of the study was chosen because (1) in the pre-*Brown* era, the schools were completely segregated by law, and therefore integration represented a radical change; (2) subsequent resegregation patterns are clear and undeniable; (3) Richmond County was the source of the *Cumming v. Board* case previously cited, which lends the area a certain historical interest; and (4) Richmond and Columbia County secondary schools have generally maintained active music programs throughout the period under study.

A historical profile was constructed and additional data was collected on the state of music education programs in schools of Richmond and Columbia Counties from the 1950's through 2000. Specifically, the following questions were considered:

- 1) What was the percentage of black and white students over the time period for each school being studied?
- 2) How did the percentages of black and white students in a school compare to percentages of black and white students participating in that school's band and choir?
- 3) What effect did the race of the teacher appear to have on post-desegregation participation of black and white students?

- 4) How has the racial makeup of the schools changed, and how did this change affect the music programs?
- 5) How did the desegregation of schools affect the following aspects of individual school music education programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties: budget, instruments, facilities, festival attendance, teacher retention and quality, traditions, musical performances, and support for the program from parents, school administrations, and the community?
- 6) When and to what degree were teachers reassigned to achieve racial balance among school faculties, and what impact did this have on teacher retention and attitudes?
- 7) How was the process of desegregating schools accomplished? Were schools closed, redesignated, or retained, and what effects can be seen on the music programs as a result?
- 8) What were the effects of desegregation on the rate of minority student participation in GMEA-sponsored events?

Delimitations of the Study

This study attempted to examine all middle and high schools and their curricular music programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties from 1950 to 2000. Elementary school music programs were not examined. Private and parochial school programs, which were commonly established or saw increased enrollment as a result of Brown and integration were only considered for their effects on public high school music programs.

Definition of Terms and Abbreviations

CC	Columbia County
CC-HBHS	Columbia County historically black high school, that is, one that had been a segregated black school prior to desegregation
CC-HBMS	Columbia County historically black middle school, that is, one that had been a segregated black school prior to desegregation
CC-HWHS	Columbia County historically white high school, that is, one that had been a segregated white school prior to desegregation
CC-HWMS	Columbia County historically white middle school, that is, one that had been a segregated white school prior to desegregation
District Ten	As defined by GMEA and the Georgia High School Sports League, an area encompassing the following Georgia counties: Burke, Columbia, Glascock, Greene, Hancock, Jefferson, Lincoln, McDuffie, Ogelthorpe, Richmond, Taliaferro, Warren, Washington, and Wilkes
Festival	A noncompetitive event in which school music groups perform for ratings and evaluations
GMEA	Georgia Music Educators Association
GTEA	Georgia Teachers Education Association
HBCU	Historically black college or university, that is, one that had been a segregated black college or university prior to the desegregation era
HBHS	Historically black high school, that is, one that had been a segregated black school prior to desegregation
HWHS	Historically white high school, that is, one that had been a segregated white school prior to desegregation
MENC	Music Educators National Conference

RC	Richmond County
RC-HBHS	Richmond County historically black high school, that is, one that had been a segregated black school prior to desegregation
RC-HBMS	Richmond County historically black middle school, that is, one that had been a segregated black school prior to desegregation
WRST	Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test

CHAPTER 2

Review of Related Literature

This chapter will review the literature that sets the context for the study, namely, that which relates to the general effects desegregation had on schools and students from 1950 to the 2000. The following databases in the GALILEO Website at UGA Libraries were used: Academic Search Premier (at EBSCO host), EBSCO Electronic Journals Service, and ERIC. Also utilized were GIL, the online UGA library catalog system to find related books, the Amazon book database to find additional new books on related topics, and the GOOGLE search engine to search for the web for web documents.

Much research and writing has been done on *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), desegregation, the civil rights movement, the effects of race, culture and socioeconomic status on achievement gaps, equal rights in the areas of race, gender and sexuality. A history of African American education in the South from the end of the Civil War to 1935 was written by James D. Anderson (1988). Other histories of early African American education include Bullock (1970), Ballard (1973), and Du Bois (1973). A description of the sequence of events leading to the desegregation of Richmond County, Georgia, schools from 1963 to 1972 was provided by Parrish in 1992. General histories of the desegregation of the nation's schools include Kluger (2004) and Armor (1995).

To understand the problems created for African American students in the desegregation era, it is important to consider the many social as well as educational traditions that existed prior

to the movement of children to desegregated schools. After slavery, the African American community believed that literacy and formal education was a means to achieve liberation and freedom (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1980; Butchart, 2006; Edwards, 2010). Even before the Civil War, black slaves operated secret schools, such as the one in Savannah, Georgia, run by Mrs. Deveaux as early as 1833 (Woodson, 1919; Bullock, 1970; Anderson, 1988). By the time the Freedman's Bureau and other northern white agencies arrived in the South to provide schooling for the newly emancipated slaves, blacks had already established many schools on their own, some with hundreds of students in attendance (Butchart, 1980; Jones, 1980; Morris, 1981). Thousands of schools were established by former slaves with the help of northern industrialists, religious organizations, and the Freedman's Bureau (Williams, 2005; Butchart, 1980). Even after the Freedman's Bureau disappeared, the African American community was intent on educating its youth and "uplifting the race." Although there was some support for trade schools which followed the Hampton Model developed by Samuel Armstrong at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia and later endorsed by Booker T. Washington (Anderson, 1988), the majority of African Americans preferred schools with a classical, liberal arts curriculum as advocated by W. E. B. Du Bois. The black community was intent on educating future leaders of the race that could lead them "out of Babylon," rather than unskilled, illiterate, workers destined to be subservient to the white race (Sherer, 1977; Watson, 2001).

According to Anderson (1988), the African American community made great sacrifices when it came to educating their children. Entire communities pooled resources and volunteered land, labor, and financial support in the interest of creating schools of their own design. Anderson notes the research of Richard R. Wright on this subject: "Wright documented the large

amounts of property and labor contributed by southern blacks to the construction of schoolhouses . . . he discovered that many schoolhouses reported as public domain were paid for in large part by blacks through voluntary contributions” (Anderson, 1988, p. 156). So successful was this effort that the white elite came to realize that if blacks continued to become educated while poor whites remained illiterate, the concept of whites’ mental and moral superiority would be threatened. This, probably, is one of the greatest contributing factors to the increasing support for universal public education in the South.

As school boards were established in America, separate schools for blacks and whites became the norm, in the North primarily due to housing patterns and in the South by law. Even so, blacks were often denied access to white schools early on even in the North. One of the earliest court cases to recognize separate schooling for blacks and whites was the case of *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1850) in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in which a black student was prevented from attending the public school nearest her home because it was an all-white school.

The establishment of public schooling and local school boards had the effect of stripping away the autonomy of African American schooling. African Americans turned over control of their school buildings, curriculum, and faculty to the white local school boards under the promise that they would receive financial support in exchange, but that promise was seldom, if ever, fulfilled even though the implication of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537, 1896) was that there would be separate but equal schools. Local school boards collected taxes for the support of schools, but black schools typically received little or none of that money. When faced with a shortage of money, school boards would sometimes abolish the black school instead of underfunding the white and black schools. These are the conditions that led to *Cummings v. Richmond* in 1898. In that case the Supreme Court allowed the Richmond County School Board

to convert the black Ware High School into an elementary school for blacks. The court limited its decision to whether the school board could close the black high school until a new one could be built which would provide equal treatment for the blacks of Richmond County. Unfortunately, no black high school was built for over 40 years.

Further compounding the differences in funding education for blacks and whites is the segregation of communities across the nation. Since local property taxes are used in most communities to fund schools, school systems with predominantly black student populations are not funded as well as school systems with predominantly white student populations.

At the beginning of the 20th century, two ideals about the proper education of blacks were competing: the classical curriculum that Du Bois advocated and the Hampton Model advocated by Washington (Anderson, 1988). Since the dominant class and race in America had no interest in seeing cheap labor disappear, and they certainly did not want to be threatened by a rising black intellectual elite, the money and politics went to the support of the Hampton Model. This model, coupled with compulsory public education laws and the inherently unequal “separate but equal” doctrine, handicapped the education of most blacks until changes began to occur after *Brown I*. This is not to say that no African Americans received classically oriented liberal arts educations or that good schools for African Americans didn’t exist until after the passage of *Brown I*—in fact, many supposedly Hampton Model schools were including classical subjects (Sherer, 1977; Anderson, 1988)—but rigorous liberal arts curricula remained the exception and not the rule.

Many schooling traditions existed in African American culture at the advent of desegregation. The family and home played an important role in educating youth. Books often

were viewed as prized commodities in the home and reading was encouraged. The total community was involved in education, and many segregated black schools required their teachers to live in the school community. Students knew their teachers outside of the school setting, and teachers took an active interest in their students. The educational philosophy of “uplifting the race” permeated the schooling efforts of the African American community and its schools. Not every African American segregated school was exemplary, although many achieved excellence under austere conditions. Many factors—community values and traditions; socio-economic status, availability and quality of local jobs and local economy; geographic stability; quality of the teaching and administrative staff; traditions and culture of the individual school; degree of parental support, influence, and control; influx of immigrants with its inevitable clash of cultures and ideals—all combined to produce schools, black and white, red, yellow or brown, that succeeded and failed (Walker, 1996; Jones-Wilson, 1996).

One problem in examining schooling, whether in a segregated or desegregated environment, is to determine which of a multitude of variables might have served as the cause or effect of whatever results are being revealed. Furthermore, there is some disagreement as to what constitutes success. There have been many studies on the effects of desegregation since 1954, and not all have reached the same conclusions (Cushman, 2004; Weinberg, 1970; Wise, 1977). Certain factors, however, constantly emerge: attitude of the teacher and quality of the teaching; leadership and support of the administration; education level and socioeconomic status of the parent(s); involvement of the family, extended family and community; the school’s culture of learning; opportunities for, and the degree of involvement in, extracurricular activities (Morris and Morris, 2002). According to Morris and Morris, graduates of a segregated black high school, Trenholm High School, cited three major reasons why Trenholm was a good school: “qualified,

dedicated and caring teachers; the range of school programs and activities; and parental and community support and involvement. With desegregation, these three critical elements were eliminated or threatened in the lives of African American school children in Tusculum and in other towns and cities throughout the country” (Morris & Morris, 2002, p. 11).

Despite severely austere conditions, many pre-*Brown* segregated black schools were staffed by teachers who cared deeply for their students with most teaching staffs consisting entirely of African Americans who lived in the community in which they taught (Walker, 2000). In the case of Trenholm High School, the community had really grown up around the school. Many Trenholm graduates had attended college and returned to live and work in the community; some even taught at their alma mater (Morris et al., 2002). Most black communities preferred black teachers in their segregated schools (Foster, 1997, p. xxxi). Many African Americans were divided even on the issue of desegregated schools (Myrdal, 1944; Dubois, 1973). There are numerous references in the literature about black, segregated schools that achieved high academic standards and had a rich cultural and extracurricular life (Walker, 1996; Jones-Wilson, 1996).

Foster (1997) felt that one reason that African Americans preferred African American teachers for their children is that they understood the culture and needs of the children and were more caring about them. Foster interviewed a number of black teachers about effective teaching practices and in one interview Ruby Middleton Forsythe observed: “It is impossible to discipline or teach black children unless the children believe you care about them. You’ve got to be positive and determined” (Foster, 1997, p. 31). She said that in desegregated schools, white teachers did not take the time to correct black children or to discipline them; rather, they would just suspend them and send them home. Forsythe argued that teachers must earn the affection of

their students before they can discipline effectively. In describing white teachers' approach to black students Leroy Lovelace stated, "White teachers tend to give up too easily on the kids. They take the kids' resistance as not wanting to learn. But as soon as the teachers stop pushing, the students say that the teachers didn't care because if they had they would have kept on pushing them" (Foster, 1997, p. 48). In another interview by Foster, Lorraine Lawrence said that "teachers . . . have to be concerned with more than teaching their subject matter. They have to help students see their potential, see beyond their current situation to the possibilities that are out in the world, which, because of their inexperience, students may be unable to see" (Foster, 1997, p. 96). The Trenholm High School students studied by Morris and Morris (2002) summarized the characteristics of a good teacher: "Their favorite teachers maintained orderly classrooms, were fair, were competent in their subject areas, made practical applications of subject matter, had high expectations of students, and made learning fun. . . . [They] served as advisors for clubs, coaches for athletic events, and sponsors of social activities that were planned by the school . . . [and] worked cooperatively [with parents and administrators] to establish school related and community organizations that often provided civic, social, recreational, and leadership opportunities" (p. 32).

According to some recent studies, extracurricular and after school programs have a positive effect on students. Posner and Vandell found that "formal after school programs are one way to alleviate some of the negative effects of urban poverty on children. The after-school programs provided children with experiences and activities that enhanced their development" (Posner & Vandell, 1994, p. 445). Research has shown that participation in after school programs is associated with higher grades and test scores, especially for low income students." Research also suggests that "improved attitudes towards school, higher expectations of school

achievement, better work habits, and higher attendance rates, especially for low income students . . . significantly lower involvement in risky behaviors, including a lower incidence of drinking, smoking, using drugs, having sex, and becoming involved in violence, as well as increased positive behaviors . . . and increased parent involvement” (Miller, 2001, pp. 6–12). Miller believes that research has shown that achievement gaps can be only partially explained by in-school experiences. For instance, middle class children are often involved in organized after-school activities which are “developmentally supportive” (Miller, p. 7) such as music lessons, scouting, church-related activities, and recreational sports leagues. Most of these activities are part of a developed and cohesive community culture. These are the kinds of activities and opportunities that African American children were often denied when bused out of their neighborhood schools to white schools across town.

The benefits of family, extended family and community involvement in a child’s education has been researched a great deal in the search for solutions to low academic achievement in low socioeconomic and minority groups (Jeynes, 2011). Parental involvement was a frequent casualty of busing since it removed the school that a child attended from easy access for a number of African American families.

What did African American students find and experience when bused to predominantly white schools? First of all, they were usually stripped of all their school pride and sense of belonging. White students were not often bused to black schools, and white schools were not often closed. Even when a new building was built for a consolidated, integrated school, the old mascot, colors, and name from the previous white school were often retained; the old black school building, with all of its history and traditions, was frequently unused or even razed. All kinds of symbols of pride and identity were often lost forever. In the Charlotte-Mecklenburg

system, the closing of black high schools meant the loss of the West Charlotte High School Band (“Race and Desegregation: West Charlotte High School,” 1998). In Asheville, North Carolina, the closing of Stephens-Lee High School meant the loss of the Stephens-Lee Marching Band (“Race and Desegregation: Asheville’s Stephens-Lee High School, 1998). In Tampa, Florida, the closing of Blake High School meant the loss of all the traditions and organizations associated with that historically black high school (Tilove, 2004). As black students were dispersed to various other formerly white high schools, they often felt alien and unwelcome in their new surroundings (Patterson, 2001). They often endured long bus rides, which recent studies have indicated have a detrimental effect on student achievement, weight, and physical fitness (Lu & Tweeten, 1973; Zars, 1998). The long bus rides also prevented many of them from participating in extracurricular activities such as bands, clubs, associations, and cheerleading.

African American students were likely to find few of their former teachers at their new schools. In fact, administrators and teachers were frequently dismissed or demoted when black schools were closed (Cecelski, 1994). A report released in 1970, *The Status of School Desegregation in the South—1970*, described “widespread discriminatory dismissal and demotion of black principals and teachers, and violations of legal requirements for racial assignment of staff” (Johnson, n.d.). Fancher reported that as many as “5,000 black principals and teachers in Southern schools have been either dismissed or replaced by less qualified whites” (Fancher, 1970, p. 4). The effects on the African American community were both psychological and economic. The loss of jobs and resulting relocation of teachers and administrators weakened the middle class in many black communities, and the loss of positive community role models for young African American males is still being felt. African American students often found that their new white teachers were racist and uncaring about black students. Betsy Fancher quoted

one black high school student: “They treat us like dogs. Integration won’t work. It hasn’t and it won’t. You ought to hear my principal call me a nigger” (Fancher, 1970, p. 1).

Often, the African American student’s sense of racial pride suffered as well. Many in the black community lament the fact that with desegregation, black children were no longer taught to be proud of themselves and their race. Anna Julia Cooper, “a famous black educator of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, said she was opposed to desegregation because she feared that black children would no longer be taught racial pride as they had been in segregated schools” (Foster, 1997, p. xxxiii). Some recent studies supported a return to an Afrocentric curriculum, particularly schools with a majority black enrollment (Jayes & Williams, 1989; Lomotey, 1990; Watkins, 1993; Murrell, 2002).

Studies of self-esteem among African American students in desegregated settings reveal conflicting results. St. John (1975) surveyed 25 studies that attempted to measure the self-esteem of African American students in desegregated schools. Citing numerous problems with sample size, and the failure to control for other variables, she nonetheless summarized the studies and “found little support for the assumption that desegregation of public schools automatically raises black self esteem” (St. John, 1975, p. 52). This would tend to support the comments of black teachers on the experiences of their black students in white schools. One black teacher in the Charlotte school system decided to retire after witnessing the effects of academic tracking and prejudice after desegregation: “My students had lost all desire to learn. They’d just say, ‘why bother?’ They felt, ‘what’s the point?’ A lot of them were getting militant. We lost our best minds to militancy. The majority were failing. They’d been defeated before they could start” (Fancher, 1970, p. 33). However, Crain (1978) found that African American adults “who had

attended integrated schools were more likely to live in integrated neighborhoods, to indicate a sense of control over their environment, and to call themselves happy” (p. 55).

Tracking has been described by some as a way of circumventing desegregation (Oakes, 1985). Schools may have been desegregated, but classrooms weren't. Except for an occasional exceptionally bright black student, most classrooms were either all white or all black. Studies which have examined the effects of tracking on African American school children include Goodlad (1990), Oakes (1990), and Rist (1978). Tracking has even been used to place a disproportionate number of African American students into Special Education classes (Mercer, 1973). White students and teachers viewed any black student who did well academically as unusual, as if to say that academic achievement isn't normal for someone of the black race. This is indicative of the low expectations that white teachers often had of black students. Fancher (1970) interviewed one black female student who integrated under the freedom of choice option offered in Beaufort, South Carolina, before court ordered desegregation. She complained of not being able to participate in activities and discussions as well as a sensing a loss of identity which caused her to quit trying:

I was spat on, hit with an ink well, with spit balls. I got to the point where I didn't consider some of those I went to school with human. You could see some of the blacks pretending they had great rapport, but I never saw that, I never saw true communication between human beings. The other students were like machines being controlled by a master switch. They were like puppets on a string, products of their environment, hostile. There was one teacher, one English teacher who was truthful and honest, one human being in my four years. That whole school was strange. In history, for instance, the way they talked about the whole Civil War scene and the role of black people. And whenever

you brought up Vietnam or the black Panthers, anything relevant, they'd say let's not get too involved. I'm not interested in black schools or white schools; I want a better education, an education relevant to students in the 20th century. I copped out. I used to make lousy grades, but they never discussed anything I wanted to discuss, anything controversial and contemporary. I was completely alienated for four years (Fancher, 1970, p. 11).

Some African American students became resentful of their peers in the advanced classes and began making fun of the black students in those classes. They accused them of trying to “act white,” and an entire subculture was born that advocated resistance to the whites by refusing to study and achieve in school. This phenomenon was first identified in a study by Signithia Fordham and John U. Ogbu in their 1986 study (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986). Other studies have indicated that it may not be limited to African Americans but also exists in the Hispanic community. Romo and Falbo identified Hispanic students who were discouraged from high academic achievement when their friends teasingly referred to them as “schoolboys” or “nerds” (Romo & Falbo, 1996, p. 22). The theory behind this concept is known as oppositional culture theory and it attempts to explain the academic underperformance of minority groups on their perception of schooling as an extension of the dominant social group. However, other writers have argued that oppositional culture theory is rooted in the idea of White Supremacy, and that the effects that are attributed to oppositional culture theory and more specifically, not wanting to be perceived as acting white are actually the result of students simply wanting to reject “the marginalization of their group and their culture” (Lundy, 2003, p. 460). As Prudence Carter put it, “resistance to acting white for many African American students is about maintaining cultural identity, not about embracing or rejecting the dominant standards of achievement” (Carter, 2005, p. 53).

In desegregated schools, particularly at first, black students were denied leadership roles in virtually every school organization. In the better segregated schools, such as Trenholm High School, young African Americans were active participants in a very diverse range of activities, including:

...marching band, concert band, and the school chorus. School clubs and organizations included the student council, National Honor Society, National Homemakers of America, Boy and Girl Scouts, the Literary and Drama Club, Trade and Industrial Club, and Y-teens. Students also developed their speaking skills before audiences during weekly assemblies, spring play performances, and oratorical contests and debates. Whether a part of the school day or after school, these activities were led by teachers from the school with the support and active participation of family and other community members.

(Morris et al., 2002, p. 53).

The post-desegregation movement among whites from urban to suburban school districts and from public to private schools (Caldas, Growe, & Bankston, 2002), “white flight,” has had far-reaching consequences. White enrollment losses offset as much as one-third of the gains in desegregation within some districts and increased segregation between districts (Reber, 2005, p. 559). Furthermore, the white students that remained were likely to be from the low socioeconomic class (Patterson, 2001). School boards frequently found that middle and upper class parents who no longer had children enrolled in public schools were very unlikely to approve needed bond referendums. The financial problems were often exacerbated by the fact that when large numbers of white faculty from the public schools moved to teach in the private schools, they often took a great deal of public school equipment with them (Fancher, 1970). White flight thus minimized the positive effects of costly desegregation plans. Some studies concluded that the real gains in achievement from integration had more to do with the mixing of socioeconomic

class than with race (Coleman, 1973; Caldas & Bankston, 1997). More recent studies suggest socioeconomic desegregation as a way to move forward in equalizing the quality of schooling for all races and ethnic groups (Plank, 2000, Rothstein, 2004).

Further development of the white movement to suburbs and neighboring school districts has recently been termed resegregation. Many studies have demonstrated that much of the segregation that exists now is between school districts and not within (Clotfelter, 1999; Clotfelter, 2000). Much of this segregation appears to be due to residential segregation across county and school district lines (Rivkin, 1994). This appears to be the case between Richmond and Columbia County school systems. Since the early 1970s, Columbia County has experienced exponential growth in its predominantly white population, while Richmond County has increasingly become predominantly black and experienced a much slower population growth.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of the processes of integration, desegregation, and resegregation on middle and high school music education programs in Columbia and Richmond Counties from 1950 to 2000. This chapter presents how this study was conducted in order to discover these effects. Here the study population, study design, data collection instruments and procedures for collecting and analyzing the data, and personal subjective biases and assumptions are described.

Description of Study Subjects

Selected administrators, music faculty and key students were identified through examination of historical documents to include high school yearbooks, school and personal scrapbooks, local school board histories, the Augusta Chronicle Digital Archives, and informal discussions with current music teachers who were familiar with local history. The list of prospective participants was numbered and each name assigned a tabbed place in a binder. During the process of locating each of the potential subjects, some were identified as having passed away, some as having moved out of the local area, and some could not be located. The subjects that could be located and who were teaching band, choir or orchestra in Richmond and Columbia County public schools from 1950 to 2000, were sent a packet containing a study consent form and a copy of the study questionnaire.

A total of 46 study participants either returned a questionnaire or agreed to an interview. Of the 46 participants, 41 were interviewed and 5 agreed to complete a questionnaire only. Of those 41 participants interviewed, 25 also completed questionnaires, 11 declined or failed to return the questionnaire, and five were interviewed as former students only and not asked to complete a questionnaire. Two of the participants were current teachers as well as former students. They were able to provide a unique perspective to the research and were interviewed from the perspective of teacher as well as former student. There were a total of 30 participants that completed questionnaires. Seven had taught in Columbia County and 23 in Richmond County. The reason for the large difference is the size and history of the two school systems which makes a much larger pool of current and former Richmond County music teachers. Richmond County is a larger system with nine high schools currently while Columbia County has five high schools, three of which were built since 1988. In 1970, Richmond County had eight high schools and Columbia County had two.

Each participant signed a consent form which promised confidentiality and formed a contract between the participant and the researcher. Consequently, only the most general information may be revealed about the participants who are simply identified by number. Table 1 lists the study participants' demographic information at the time of their interview/questionnaire response. It also indicates which participants either returned a questionnaire and interviewed or only did one of the two and which one they did.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Subject Number	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Subject Taught	Interview(I)/Questionnaire(Q)
1	Male	Over 60	Black	Band	Q
2	Female	45-60	White	Chorus	I Q
3	Male	45-60	Black	Former Student	I N/A
4	Male	Over 60	Black	Band	I Q
5	Male	45-60	White	Band	I Q
6	Male	45-60	Black	Band	I
7	Male	35-45	White	Orchestra	I Q
8	Female	Over 60	White	Orchestra/Admin	I Q
9	Female	35-45	White	Band	Q
10	Male	Over 60	Black	Band	I Q
11	Male	Over 60	Black	Band	I Q
12	Female	35-45	White	Band/Elementary Music	I Q
13	Male	35-45	Black	Band	I
14	Male	25-35	Black	Band/Administrator	I Q
15	Male	Over 60	White	Band	I Q
16	Female	25-35	White	Band	I Q
17	Male	45-60	White	Band	I Q
18	Male	45-60	White	Chorus	Q
19	Female	35-45	White	Orchestra	I
20	Female	35-45	White	Band	I
21	Female	25-35	White	Band	I Q
22	Male	25-35	White	Band/Chorus	I
23	Male	45-60	White	Band	Q
24	Male	45-60	White	Band/Administrator	I Q
25	Male	45-60	Black	Band/Chorus	I
26	Female	45-60	White	Band/Administrator	I Q
27	Male	Over 60	White	Band	I Q
28	Male	35-45	White	Band	I Q
29	Male	45-60	Black	Band	Q
30	Female	45-60	White	Chorus	I
31	Male	45-60	Hispanic	Band	I Q
32	Male	45-60	White	Band	I Q
33	Male	45-60	White	Former Student	I N/A
34	Female	Over 60	Black	Chorus	I
35	Male	45-60	White	Former Student	I N/A
36	Male	45-60	White	Former Student	I N/A
37	Female	Over 60	Black	Chorus	I Q
38	Female	45-60	Black	Band	I Q
39	Male	35-45	Black	Former Student	I N/A
40	Male	45-60	White	Band/Former Student	I Q
41	Male	Over 60	White	Band	I
42	Male	35-45	Black	Band/Former Student	I Q
43	Male	35-45	White	Band/Chorus	I
44	Male	45-60	White	Band	I
45	Male	45-60	White	Band/Chorus	I Q
46	Female	45-60	White	Band	I Q

Data Collection Procedures

Questionnaire

A questionnaire was developed to help construct a profiles of the music education programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties. It was designed to provide answers to some of the specific questions on page three. The questionnaire was tested on several peers and after revisions, a copy of the questionnaire containing 52 questions, a cover letter, and a stamped return envelope were mailed to all of the identified music educators to gather information on school music programs during the time being studied. One of the questions on the questionnaire was “Would you consent to an interview for the purposes of this study?” A period of three weeks was allotted for the return of the questionnaires. After that time period, a reminder postcard was mailed to all subjects who failed to respond. Any subjects who hadn’t responded at the end of two weeks were mailed another questionnaire, cover letter, and stamped return envelope and were called if possible.

Interviews

Participants for the interview were selected based on the responses to the questionnaire and other historical research. Former students from the period being studied were selected for interview from names that came up through the interviews with former teachers as well as examination of historical documents to include photos, yearbooks, newspaper articles and programs from contests and performances. Interviews were open-ended to allow flexibility in responding to the interviewee’s comments but guided by a prepared list of questions based on questionnaire responses and research questions. A minimum of 30 faculty and 5 student interviews were to be conducted. A time limit of 45 minutes for the interview was attempted but

in some cases in order to allow for deeper exploration of themes the interviews ran longer. Data collection from interviews was in the form of digital audio recordings, notes taken during the interview, reflection following the interview, transcription of the interview tapes and content analysis.

The recordings were made on a pocket sized Olympus Digital Voice Recorder. Initially, each interview was transcribed using the Dragon Naturally Speaking Software. An attempt was made to have the software transcribe the interviews directly from the recordings but the software lacked the refinement needed to discern various vocal inflections, voice types, and regional accents. Therefore, in order to utilize this program the software had to be trained it to recognize the researcher's voice patterns. Then, as each interview tape was listened to, the words were repeated from the recording into a microphone which the software then transcribed into text. After the first pass through the recording, several more reviews of the recording were necessary to correct the errors produced by the software due to unrecognized words and pronunciation. Time markers were inserted throughout the text at one minute intervals, set in brackets and highlighted with red text. This was to allow easy location of any part of the interview if a segment of the interview needed to be referenced again. The repeated listening of each interview resulted in a global feel for the content of the interviews as the transcriptions progressed which aided in the initial coding processes and helped to focus additional interviews. Once the transcriptions were completely finished, the text was formatted with line numbers down the left hand side, and a one and one-half inch margin on the right hand side of each page. A paper copy of each transcript was then printed and filed in a master binder along with each participant's questionnaire response sheets and their respective IRB permission forms.

On the first reading of the interview transcripts, paper copies were used in order to pencil in coded themes and to write memos along the right hand margin. The first two transcriptions utilized a micro analytical approach as described by Corbin and Strauss in *Basics of Qualitative Research* (1998). After the first two transcriptions were micro-coded, they were reread looking for larger themes. After completing the initial reading and coding of each transcript, the coding data was entered into an Excel spread sheet. Next the transcripts were reread in their digital format along side of the paper copies in order to confirm the previous coding and to refine and further analyze the underlying themes. Sometimes after additional reflection, codes were changed or modified. Some coded themes were even combined and the list of themes and codes gathered prior to this research, and those identified in the first readings, often evolved into better defined and more broadly inclusive themes as well as some that had not been envisioned. In the digital transcription, the text which corresponded to each coded theme or idea was highlighted. Each code was indicated by inserting a text box in the right hand margin and along with the code name. The colors used for highlighting (yellow and green) were used alternately and corresponded to the color of the text box to make it easy to match codes with their corresponding text. Text boxes shaded in light blue were utilized to write memos, comments and observations along the right hand margin. For each identified appearance of a coded theme, the participant number and text line numbers of the transcription were logged into the spread sheet. The number of the participant or interviewee (S) followed by the specific lines of text (L) from the transcription into the spread sheet using the format “S-xx; L xx-xx” was logged into the Excel spreadsheet. This process allowed the quick ascertainment of how frequently each of the coded themes appeared, gave a handy tabulation of the number of occurrences and provided a reference to the specific transcription and lines of text that was the source of that entry. In the spread sheet,

exemplary examples of each particular coded theme were highlighted in bold red print. This allowed for easy retrieval of those specific examples in order to digitally cut and paste them into the body of this paper.

After finishing the coding of all of the digital copies of the transcripts and all code occurrences were tabulated, the excerpts for each code from all the transcripts were collected into a Word Document in which the codes were arranged alphabetically and the quoted excerpts were arranged sequentially by participant number under the applicable code.

Examination of Records

The initial process of reviewing the literature produced ideas about what might have taken place in Richmond and Columbia Counties during the process of integration, desegregation and resegregation over the time span from the middle 1960's through the present time. Further readings of Parrish (1992) and Cashin (1985) provided background into the history of the school systems but little information on the specific histories of the music programs of the various schools within Richmond and Columbia Counties. That information was gained through an extensive search of local newspapers and school yearbooks. The primary newspaper source was the Augusta Chronicle Archives which date back to the 1800's. Keyword searches were conducted of the digital archives and turned up an wealth of information which revealed the names and a somewhat sketchy history of music programs, particularly the band programs of Richmond County from about 1948 through the late 1980's. After the 1980's the Chronicle tended to run fewer articles about local events and human interest stories. Timelines of the directors and music teachers at each of the public schools began to form and further gaps were filled in by examining the yearbooks at local schools. Where possible, the pages from each

available yearbook that contained photographs and information related to the school's bands and choirs of that year were scanned and stored for later study. Additionally, some yearbooks were examined in their entirety to compile a crude estimate of the school and music ensemble racial demographics. This presented a problem because of photographic quality, and it is not always immediately obvious from appearances what a person's ethnic background is, even when their last name is known. Nonetheless, best guess's were made in order to compare to actual demographic data later uncovered, and to draw some correlations between estimated demographics on the basis of photographs, and published demographics in archived materials. An additional problem encountered was that many yearbooks were missing, and in some cases most. Additional yearbooks were located in local used bookstores, antique stores and on E-bay.

Treatment of Data

The total number of usable responses were recorded and tabulated concerning each item from the questionnaire. The Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test was chosen to analyze the data in the appropriate tables to determine statistical significance. Other tests such as the simple t-test were considered but ruled out due to the small sample size of Columbia County teachers ($n=7$). Comments from the respondents were also compiled and coded.

Interviews were transcribed and analyzed for meanings through the processes of condensation, categorization, narrative, interpretation, and *ad hoc* analysis as described by Kvale (1996, pg. 181-192).

Final conclusions were drawn concerning the following questions stated earlier:

- 1) What effects on the quality and type of music educations experiences for students resulted as a consequence of desegregation in Richmond and Columbia Counties?

- 2) What ironies occurred or resulted for both teachers and students within the music education system as a result of desegregation?

- 3) How has resegregation effected the quality and type of music education experiences for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties?

CHAPTER 4

Findings Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of the processes of integration, desegregation, and eventual resegregation on high school music education programs in Columbia and Richmond Counties from 1950 to 2000. The research questions guiding the study were:

- 1) What effects on the quality and type of music education experiences for students resulted as a consequence of desegregation in Richmond and Columbia Counties?
- 2) What ironies occurred or resulted for both teachers and students within the music education system as a result of desegregation?
- 3) How has resegregation effected the quality and type of music education experiences for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties?

This was a qualitative study utilizing both interviews and questionnaires as the primary data gathering tools. The criteria for selecting study participants were: teaching band, choir or orchestra in Richmond and Columbia County public schools from 1950 to 2000, and were still alive and locatable. In the initial identification of study participants, all current band, chorus, and orchestra teachers in both Richmond and Columbia Counties as well as many former teachers that were still living and could be located were identified. Using this list, 75 packets containing letters of introduction explaining the study and purpose, a consent form, and a questionnaire were mailed. Thirty of these questionnaires were eventually returned and through additional

efforts, 41 participants agreed to interviews. This number also included 7 former students who had attended school in one of the two counties during the early 1970's.

An attempt was made to insure that both current and former choral and instrumental teachers were included from both counties as well as current and former orchestra teachers from Richmond County. Columbia County has never had a string program in the public schools. Both genders are represented by the participants as well as the White, Black and Hispanic ethnic groups.

Part of the research for this study involved constructing a timeline of the major desegregation events in Richmond and Columbia Counties from the early 1960's through the 1970's which may be found in Appendix F. It also involved identifying the history and development of the music education programs of the two counties, particularly Richmond County where school music programs were in existence as early as 1899. A brief history of Richmond County School music programs may be found in Appendix G.

The three research questions formed the basis for the fifty-two question teacher questionnaire, the eight question student questionnaire and the five primary questions asked during the structured interview process. During the interview, the interviewer attempted to insure that each interviewee was given an opportunity to respond to five questions along with ten additional supporting questions which were designed to elicit expanded responses to the primary questions. The Teacher Questionnaire may be found in Appendix A, the Student Interview Guide may be found in Appendix B and the Teacher Interview Guide may be found in Appendix C.

Questionnaire Findings

The questionnaires and introductory letters requesting participation in the study that were sent to 75 potential participants yielded 30 returned questionnaires. The data from the questionnaire provides a descriptive comparison of the school music programs of the two eastern Georgia counties that were the subject of this study. This data also helps to provide validity to the interview findings since with the questionnaire, the respondent had as much time as they needed to think about responses before writing them down. In the following discussions of the findings of each question from the teacher questionnaire, the names of schools are omitted as often as possible and an acronym representing the county and the predominant historical ethnic composition of the student body is used in order to further protect the identity of the study participants.

Question 1. How would you describe the (band / choir / orchestra – circle one), its students and the community at the schools listed above?

The “open” nature of this question allowed for any response that the teacher felt most represented the school and teaching situation. The codes which appeared in the responses to question one for Columbia County teachers were: ensemble enrollment and demographics, socioeconomic factors and community and parental support. The codes for Richmond County teachers were busing and its consequences, curriculum as related to comprehensiveness and marching band style, discipline, ensemble enrollment and demographics, middle class flight, multiculturalism, neighborhood schools, private schools, socioeconomic factors, and support from parents, community and school administration.

For Columbia County, the comments related to ensemble enrollment and demographics described a situation in which the schools seem to model desegregated schools. One teacher responded that “The students who participate represent a good percentage of the student body” and another states “Demographics were probably about 60% white and 40% black and students were from middle to lower income families.” Comments from Richmond County teachers describe a situation in which the ensemble demographics have changed over the past sixty years and were not always representative of the school body. One teacher stated “The RC-HWHS band students were from lower economic families. Although the school had many middle class families they don’t seem to flock to the band program.” It will be seen later that this reflects the important role that ethnocentrism often plays in determining which students participate in school musical ensembles.

Socioeconomic factors were mentioned by both Columbia and Richmond County teachers. The comments from Columbia County teachers describe an upper middle class community with an abundance of resources. Study participant 23 stated: “Most students were above average in motivation, intelligence and achievement. The majority were from two parent families. Parents were generally well-educated and held professional jobs.” Subject 24 stated “large band program; highly motivated students; affluent community” and Subject 28 wrote “young community, great kids, exceptional program and huge.” Richmond County teachers described a situation which dramatically changed from the late 1960’s through the early 2000’s. Teachers from the late 1960’s and early 1970’s, the period just before and just after court ordered desegregation, described a variety of socioeconomic conditions depending on the school at which they taught. Glenn Hills High School, the newer school built in 1966, integrated earlier than the other historically white schools because of its large military population. It was described

as a “New school – good middle class neighborhood, mixed racial, some military students. Growing band program” in the 1968-1969 school year. The students of Laney High School, one of the two historically black high school’s were described as “basic, average, urban inner-city people. The socio-economic range is low to middle class.” One of the middle schools, East Augusta, was described as “small band program; low student interest; severe poverty.” A more rural middle school was also described as serving a low socioeconomic community, “Mostly good students some discipline problems, especially with some 16 and 17 year old 8th and 9th graders. Low income community, almost all black.” This was in contrast to Westside High School, a school which opened in 1970 in a middle class, predominantly white neighborhood and was described as having “a growing band program; motivated students; upper middle class community.” A later teacher at that same school reported “middle to upper class at beginning of my time there, changed to lower to middle class. Discipline good at the beginning, deteriorated at the end. Parental support good at the beginning, low support at the end.” An orchestra teacher stated, “Through the years the students and community ranged from solid middle class to a slow decline in most cases to a lower class.” These responses illustrate the demographic shift which occurred in Richmond County from 1970 until the present and is documented in Table 48.

One school, located in the midst of one of the most affluent communities in Augusta, also served a largely low socioeconomic community:

...is in the residential part of Augusta, but school population does not reflect the upscale surrounding. Students are bused from many parts of the county as far away as Fort Gordon. There was a wide range of socio-economic levels making it more difficult. Students also fed into four different high schools making it hard to work with high schools.

This respondent also alluded to another problem which faced many Richmond County music teachers as a consequence of court ordered busing: developing and growing strong feeder programs for the high school ensembles when the middle schools that feed a high school program send its graduates to two or more different high schools.

Comments concerning support in the two counties also provided a contrast. Comments by Columbia county music teachers indicated a great deal of parental, community and administrative support, “The parents, community, and administration support the program.” Another stated, “the band programs were large with as much parental involvement as I wanted. The high school booster club was the greatest. They would take care of anything that I needed.”

Richmond County music directors faced varying amounts of support. One teacher had issues with how a building principal allocated the music budget:

At RC-HWHS the principal is more inclined to help the chorus than the band. Last year we were allotted \$4000.00, and the chorus received 3100 of it for sound equipment. The principal wanted to use the money on something she could use.

This comment is illustrative of a number of issues, one being the small amount of money given Richmond County school music teachers to run a music program. This particular band director was left with 900 dollars to run a band program for an entire school year and the chorus teacher's share of the budget was spent on sound equipment. Parental support also varied widely in Richmond County. One director stated:

The community is a problem, PTA meetings often have only 2 or 3 parents show up. The only time parents show up for PTA is when there are band or choir concerts and these

were the parents of the kids who were performing. There were no parental support groups for band or choir.

Two additional directors commented, “Some parental support but not a lot.” and, “We did not have much parental involvement.” A Richmond County orchestra director commented:

Unfortunately the decline over the past years in student enrollment, student lack of interest/practice, and parental involvement, especially in the middle and upper grades has shown itself not only in the music program but across other areas of the curriculum as well.

Interestingly, one white band director who was reassigned as a consequence of court ordered desegregation to what had been a HBMS without a music program was met with enthusiastic response at first. He stated that the “interest level of the students (very high). Parents and community were very supportive of the band program.”

Other factors were mentioned by only the Richmond County teachers. A strong African American middle class is alluded to when one teacher commented on how one of the historically black high schools had changed:

The RC-HBHS program is loved by the community, but there is a small enrollment to support a huge program as was in prior years. I think the diluting of the strong black population in the inner-city affects both of these programs significantly. The only students left are those from government subsidized neighborhoods with very few economic resources and with little self esteem and only a few people with aspirations of moving further up the economic ladder.

There are many potential reasons for the apparent flight of the black middle class but one that is frequently cited is the destructive effects busing had on many African American communities. Like white families, those African American families with the resources to relocate to a neighboring county where the schools were zoned in a more community based manner and not in response to court orders, did so.

Question 2. Were there any band or music booster clubs at the schools you taught at? Please describe them in terms of size, helpfulness, typical responsibilities and activities, problems.

This question sought to clarify the existence and functions of booster clubs as well as any differences over time in the level of support music education programs receive within and between the two counties. The question was directed at band, chorus and orchestra teachers. There were no booster clubs at the middle schools or previously junior high schools in either county. There has never been a string program in the public schools of Columbia County so there is no data concerning string programs in Columbia County.

The band programs at all but one of the Columbia County High Schools have had very large and constant booster programs. Comments concerning the quality of these programs range from “the boosters are an integral part of the band program” to “large group, over 150 members; assisted w/all areas of program – chaperone, fundraising, PR, concessions at football games, compensated extra staff that the school system did not support; no problems.” Another director stated:

...we had a large booster club (220 plus members). They took care of almost everything and allowed me to teach. They handled all the financial duties, I never touched any money. The only problem was we occasionally had a power hungry parent.

The band program at the high school in Columbia County which serves a more socioeconomically depressed community had a smaller booster club but the director stated that it was no less supportive of the program:

The meetings usually consisted of a small group of parents (10 to 15 average), but many parents helped in various booster activities. The booster club helped raise funds for uniforms, music, some instruments and repairs, awards, G.M.E.A. activities, and trips.

The comments and data on Richmond County music booster clubs present a different picture at times. At one of the historically black high schools a former director stated:

...had a band boosters club organized around 1994 or 1995. Their membership was averaged about 25 to 30 members. They were very supportive and main responsibility was to raise money and help supervise students.

Another director who taught later at the same school stated:

The high school had a booster club that had very few parents but a few motivated former band members. They worked pretty good but with limited resources in the community it was really hard to generate the funds needed to sustain an excellent program.

The band director at one of the HWHS's in Richmond County stated:

...had a band booster club, but it consisted of the same 8 to 10 people that did everything. Parents were very active during the football season. I think because they wanted to get into the games free, but I didn't see many in concert season. Very rarely would they help with festivals or concert set-up. Parents didn't help much with fundraisers but wanted to vote on how to spend the booster club money that the students and I had raised.

At one of the other high schools in Richmond County, three different former directors also commented on the small size of the booster club and the difficulty in getting a larger group of parents to support the program. It is worth pointing out however that in all of the Richmond County programs, the size of the ensembles were much smaller than those in Columbia County so the pool of parents to draw from was correspondingly much smaller.

Even at the Richmond County magnet school for the arts, directors had some difficulty in generating enough parental support for a booster club, “No, tried to start one, ran about three years and then fizzled out.”

Question 3. How often did you hold after-school rehearsals in preparation for performances?.

This question sought to uncover any differences in the frequency of after school rehearsals between the two counties. The response totals and corresponding percentages are shown in Table 2. The findings of the Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test (WRST) on band director responses from both counties are shown in Table 3 and indicate that the responses for the band directors of Columbia and Richmond Counties are not significantly different at the $p=.05$ level of significance even though some directors indicated problems. The WRST applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a z-score of 1.107, a one-sided $p = .134$, and a two sided $p = .268$; again indicating no significant difference at the $p=.05$ level.

One note of explanation concerning the string program in Richmond County: all string players in the county were, combined in the spring for a large group performance and the rehearsals were held after school in one central location prior to the final spring performance. Rehearsals for the other typical yearly performance at each individual school’s holiday PTA meeting were held during regular class time.

Table 2

Frequency of After School Rehearsals

After School	Never		Seldom		1 to 2 / Week		3 to 4 /Week		Daily	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band					3	43	4	57		
RC Band	3	13.5	1	4.5	10	45.5	7	32	1	4.5
RC Chorus			2	67	1	33				
RC Orchestra							2	100		

The WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses are equal. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

WRST - Frequency of After School Rehearsals for RC and CC Band Directors

	Sample (n)	Mean (M)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (T)
Columbia County	7	3.571	125.0	97.000
Richmond County	22	3.091	310.0	57.000

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = 1.019$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .154$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .308$.

Question 4. How often did you hold before-school rehearsals?

Table 4

Frequency of Before School Rehearsals

Before School	Never		Seldom		1 to 2 / Week		3 to 4 /Week		Daily	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band	5	71.4	1	14.3					1	14.3
RC Band	18	82	4	18						
RC Chorus			3	100						
RC Orchestra	2	100								

The WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses are equal. The results, shown in Table 5, indicate that the responses for band directors are not significantly different at the $p=.05$ level of significance using the two sided P-value. The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a z-score of 0.256, a one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .399, and a two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .798; again indicating no significance at the $p=.05$ level of significance on the two sided test.

Table 5

WRST - Frequency of Before School Rehearsals for RC and CC Band Directors

	Sample (<i>n</i>)	Mean (<i>M</i>)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (<i>T</i>)
Columbia County	7	1.714	115.0	87.000
Richmond County	22	1.182	320.0	67.000

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = .510$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .305$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .610$.

Comments concerning question four indicate that the one director in Columbia County that had daily rehearsals before school was referring to the jazz band which met throughout the year in the mornings before school. This is noteworthy since it implies that a parent of every member of the jazz band was able to get their child to a rehearsal before school in the mornings. This can be contrasted to comments from a Richmond County director concerning before school rehearsals which indicated that transportation was a problem, "I tried to have them, but it didn't work out because the kids couldn't get there."

Question 5. Were these rehearsals mandatory?

This question sought to identify the policy concerning outside of school rehearsals as well as comments which might indicate areas or schools in which students had difficulty attending these rehearsals and why. The responses to this question are shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Mandatory Before or After Rehearsals

Mandatory	Yes		No		No Answer	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band	7	100				
RC Band	16	73	4	18	2	9
RC Chorus	2	66.66	1	33.33		
RC Orchestra	2	100				

One hundred percent of the Columbia County directors responding indicated their before and after school rehearsals were mandatory with no additional comments. Only seventy-four percent of all the combined Richmond County directors responses indicated a mandatory outside of school rehearsal policy. Several comments were made which gave some indications as to why. One reason directors indicated was that they were unable to enforce the attendance policy. Two comments to this effect were “I tried to make them mandatory but if I did not allow exceptions I could not have a performing group” and “Not able to enforce attendance.” Another reason one director gave for not having a mandatory attendance policy was “school released at 2:30 and most parents could not pick-up until 5:00.”

Question 6. Did you have trouble with students not being able to attend before or after school rehearsals?

This question sought to expand on the data that the results from question five provided. It asked directors if they had trouble with students attending before and after school rehearsals and why.

Table 7

Trouble with Students Attending Before or After School Rehearsals

Mandatory	Yes		No		No Answer	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band	4	57	3	43		
RC Band	18	82	4	18		
RC Chorus	2	66.66	1	33.33		
RC Orchestra	2	100				

The WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses are equal. The results are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

WRST - Trouble with Attendance at Rehearsals for RC and CC Band Directors

	Sample (<i>n</i>)	Mean (<i>M</i>)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (<i>T</i>)
Columbia County	7	1.429	124.0	96.000
Richmond County	22	1.182	311.0	58.000

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = 0.968$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .166$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .333$.

The results indicate that the responses for band directors are not significantly different at the $p=.05$ level of significance. The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a z-score of 0.980, a one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .164, and a two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .327; again indicating no significant difference ($p > .05$). A t-test was also performed on the above data and indicated no statistical difference with a two-tailed p-value of 0.1969 ($p > .05$).

Two of the four Columbia County respondents indicating that they had problems with students making after school rehearsals considered the problem to be insignificant. Some of the reasons they cited were doctor's appointments, social conflicts, sports and transportation issues. Richmond County directors cited a number of reasons for students having problems making after school rehearsals to include poor attitude, baby sitting siblings, other school activities and work. Transportation was the reason cited by 62% of the Richmond County respondents as the reason students had trouble making after school rehearsals. This was an important factor in Richmond County where following desegregation, students were often bused long distances. Lower

socioeconomics also played a negative roll in students having access to other means of transportation. One director stated “Yes, but mainly because of the demographics of the school. Many students only means of transportation is the school bus system.”

Question 7. How often was transportation an issue in students’ ability to attend rehearsals or performances held outside of the school day?

The results of the WRST in Table 10 indicate that the responses for band directors approaches significance the one-sided test ($p = .054$) but not using the two sided test ($p = .108$). Even though it appears in Table 9 that more Richmond County band directors indicated transportation as an issue in students making after school than Columbia County band directors, the difference was not found to be statistically significant enough to reject the null hypothesis.

The WRST applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a mean of 2.571 for Columbia County music teachers, a mean of 3.296 for Richmond County music teachers, a z-score of 1.746. The one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .040 ($p < .05$), indicated that the group of all Richmond County music teachers had more trouble than Columbia County teachers but the two sided test ($p = .798$) does not allow rejection of the null hypothesis. There was no significant difference between the level of difficulty Columbia and Richmond County teachers had with student transportation to outside of the school day rehearsals.

The only two comments concerning this question was from a Richmond County director, “Yes, deadbeat parents” and a string teacher, “Sometimes, and now more and more often.”

Table 9

Student Transportation as an Issue in Before or After School Rehearsals

Before School	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Often		Always	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band			5	71.4			2	28.6		
RC Band	1	4.5	3	13.6	10	45.5	5	22.8	3	13.6
RC Chorus					2	66.6			1	33.3
RC Orchestra					2	100				

Table 10

WRST – Student transportation issues for RC and CC Band Directors

	Sample (n)	Mean (M)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (T)
Columbia County	7	2.571	73.5	45.500
Richmond County	22	3.273	361.5	108.500

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = 1.605$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .054$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .108$.

Question 8. How would you rate parental support for the following activities?

Question eight asked a series of questions designed to determine the level of parental support for some of the various activities that surround a school instrumental music program. The activities examined were parental support for evening concerts (Tables 11 & 12), festival performances Tables 13& 14), before and after school rehearsals (Tables 15 & 16), booster organizations (Tables 17 & 18), football game performances (Tables 19 & 20), parades Tables 21 & 22), and fundraisers (Tables 23 & 24).

Table 11

Parental Support for Evening Concerts

Support Level	None		Some		Average		Very Good		Excellent	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band					1	14.3	2	28.6	4	57.1
RC Band	1	4.5	8	36.5	4	18	7	32	2	9
RC Chorus					1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3
RC Orchestra							2	100		

The WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses indicate the same level of parental support in both counties. The results in Table 12 indicate that the

responses for band directors is significant at the $p=.01$ level on both the one-sided and two-sided tests. According to the responses given by Richmond and Columbia County music teachers participating in this study, there is a statistically significant difference in the level of parental support for evening concerts between Columbia and Richmond Counties. Columbia County music teachers have significantly more parental support.

Table 12

WRST – Parental Support for Evening Concerts

	Sample (n)	Mean (M)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (T)
Columbia County	7	4.429	156	128
Richmond County	22	3.045	278	26

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = 2.599$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .005$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .009$.

The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a mean of 4.429 for Columbia County music teachers, a mean of 3.222 for Richmond County music teachers, and a z-score of 2.428. The findings of the one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .008, indicated that the group of all Richmond County music teachers had significantly less parental support than Columbia County teachers at the $p=.01$ level. The findings of the two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .015 ($p < .05$), allows the researcher to reject the null hypothesis that there was no difference in the parental support of all Richmond County music teachers compared to all Columbia County teachers.

Table 13

Parental Support for Festival Performances

Support Level	None		Some		Average		Very Good		Excellent	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band			3	42.9	1	14.3	1	14.3	2	28.6
RC Band	4	18	7	32	6	27.2	3	13.6	2	9
RC Chorus					1	33.3	2	66.6		
RC Orchestra					1	50	1	50		

The WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses in order to test the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses concerning parental support for band festival performances were equal. The findings in Table 14 indicate that the level of parental support for festival performances in Richmond and Columbia Counties is not significantly different ($p > .05$) for both the one sided and two- sided tests. This is interesting since it seemed to be a frequent complaint of Richmond County teachers in the interviews. The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a mean of 3.286 for Columbia County music teachers and 2.815 for Richmond County music teachers, and a z-score of 0.724. The one-sided P-value of .235, indicated that the group of all Richmond County music teachers did not have significantly less parental support for festival performances than Columbia County teachers ($p > .05$). The two-sided P-value .469. indicates that the null

hypothesis (H_0), that Richmond and Columbia County music teacher responses concerning the level of parental support for festival performances are equal, cannot be rejected.

Table 14

WRST – Parental Support for Band Festival Performances

	Sample (n)	Mean (M)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (T)
Columbia County	7	3.286	125	97
Richmond County	22	2.636	310	57

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = 1.019$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .155$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .308$.

Table 15

Parental Support for Before/After School Rehearsals

Support Level	None		Some		Average		Very Good		Excellent	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band			1	14.2			3	42.9	3	42.9
RC Band	3	13.6	6	27.2	7	32	5	22.7	1	4.5
RC Chorus					2	66.6	1	33.3		
RC Orchestra					1	50	1	50		

Table 16 presents the findings of the WRST which was utilized to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses concerning parental support for before and after school band rehearsals were equal.

Table 16

WRST – Parental Support for Before/After School Band Rehearsals

	Sample (n)	Mean (M)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (T)
Columbia County	7	4.143	154	126
Richmond County	22	2.773	281	28

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = 2.497$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .006$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .013$.

The results indicate that the responses for band directors is significant at the $p=.01$ level for the one-sided test and significant at $p=.05$ for the two- sided test. There is a statistically significant difference in the level of parental support for before and after school rehearsals between Columbia and Richmond Counties. Columbia County music teachers have significantly more parental support for such rehearsals and the null hypothesis that there is no difference can be safely rejected. The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a mean of 4.143 for Columbia County music teachers, a mean of 2.889 for Richmond County music teachers, and a z-score of 2.492. The one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .006, indicated that the group of all Richmond County music teachers had significantly less parental support for before and after school rehearsals than Columbia County

teachers at the $p=.01$ level. The two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .013, rejects the null hypothesis that there was no difference in the parental support for before and after school rehearsals for all Richmond County music teachers compared to all Columbia County teachers at the $p=.05$ level.

Table 17

Parental Support for Booster Organizations

Support Level	None		Some		Average		Very Good		Excellent	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band					2	33.3	1	16.7	3	50
RC Band	5	27.8	8	44.4			3	16.7	2	11.1
RC Chorus	1	33.3					2	66.6		
RC Orchestra							2	100		

Note: One participant from Columbia County and four from Richmond County either gave no answer or chose N/A because their respective schools did not have booster organizations.

In the analysis of the data from Table 17, the No Answer or N/A responses were not counted since in those particular programs there were no booster organizations even though some Richmond County directors indicated in the interviews they had no booster organization because there was not adequate parental support for one.

Table 18 presents the findings when the WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses concerning parental support for band booster organizations were equal.

Table 18

WRST – Parental Support for Band Booster Organizations

	Sample (n)	Mean (M)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (T)
Columbia County	6	4.167	112.5	91.500
Richmond County	18	2.389	187.5	16.500

Note: Expectation of $T = 54.000$, Variance of $T = 225.000$, $Z = 2.500$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .006$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .012$.

The results indicate that the difference in responses for band directors of Columbia and Richmond Counties concerning parental support for booster organizations is significant for both the one-sided test ($p < .01$) and the two-sided test ($p < .05$). The analysis indicates that there is significantly less support for band booster organizations in Richmond County than in Columbia County and the null hypothesis that there is no difference at all may be safely rejected. The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a mean of 4.167 for Columbia County music teachers, a mean of 2.652 for Richmond County music teachers, and a z-score of 2.180. The one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .015 was significant at the $p=.05$ level and indicated that the group of all Richmond County music teachers had less support for booster organizations than the group of all music teachers in Columbia County. The two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .029 is significant at the $p=.05$ level and allows one

to reject the null hypothesis that there was no difference in the parental support for booster organizations for all Richmond County music teachers compared to all Columbia County teachers.

The No Answer or N/A responses were not counted in the analysis of the data in Table 19 since in those particular programs the musical ensemble was not used to support school football games.

Table 19

Parental Support for Football Game Performances

Support Level	None		Some		Average		Very Good		Excellent	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band					2	28.6	2	28.6	3	42.8
RC Band			2	10	5	25	9	45	4	20
RC Chorus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RC Orchestra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: All of the surveyed Richmond County chorus and orchestra teachers answered N/A to this questions as did two Richmond County band directors.

The WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses and to test the null hypothesis (H_0) that the responses concerning

parental support for band football game performances from each county were equal. The findings are shown in Table 20.

Table 20

WRST – Parental Support for Band Football Game Performances

	Sample (<i>n</i>)	Mean (<i>M</i>)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (<i>T</i>)
Columbia County	7	4.143	114	86
Richmond County	20	3.750	264	54

Note: Expectation of $T = 70.000$, Variance of $T = 326.667$, $Z = 0.885$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .188$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .376$.

The findings indicate that there is no significant difference ($p > .05$) in the level of parental support for football games performances by school bands in Richmond and Columbia Counties.

The part of Question 8 dealing with parental support for parades was designed to further examine parental support for events outside of the school day and which were located away from the school. In most cases, the Richmond County School Board provided buses for the students to be transported to and from the parade. Often, the Columbia County band parents were expected to provide transportation to the parade site for their students. Table 21 presents the findings pertaining to parental support for parades.

Table 21

Parental Support for Parades

Support Level	None		Some		Average		Very Good		Excellent	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band	1	16.6	1	16.6	1	16.6	3	50	1	16.6
RC Band			3	18.7	4	25	6	37.5	3	18.7
RC Chorus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RC Orchestra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: In the analysis of the data in Table 21, the No Answer or N/A responses were not counted since in those particular programs the musical ensembles did not participate in parades.

The WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses concerning parental support for parades were equal. The findings are shown in Table 22 and indicate that the null hypothesis (H_0) cannot be rejected ($p > .05$). Based on the responses of Richmond and Columbia band directors, there is no significant difference in parental support for student participation in parades in Richmond and Columbia County band programs. Other factors may need to be examined in order to gain a deeper understanding of this issue such as timeliness of parents in picking up their children after the parade, regardless of location.

Table 22

WRST – Parental Support for Parades (Band)

	Sample (<i>n</i>)	Mean (<i>M</i>)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (<i>T</i>)
Columbia County	6	3.500	71.0	50.0
Richmond County	18	3.562	182.0	46.0

Note: Expectation of $T = 48.000$, Variance of $T = 184.000$, $Z = 0.147$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .441$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .883$.

Table 23

Parental Support for Fundraisers

Support Level	None		Some		Average		Very Good		Excellent	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band					1	14.2	3	42.9	3	42.9
RC Band	6	27.3	7	31.8	4	18.2	3	13.6	2	9.1
RC Chorus					1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3
RC Orchestra					1	50	1	50		

The WRST was used to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that their responses concerning parental support for band fundraisers were equal. The findings are shown in Table 24.

Table 24

WRST – Parental Support for Band Fundraisers

	Sample (n)	Mean (M)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (T)
Columbia County	7	4.286	161.5	133.5
Richmond County	22	2.455	273.5	20.500

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = 2.880$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .002$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .004$.

The results indicate a very significant level of difference in the responses of the band directors of Columbia and Richmond Counties concerning fundraisers. The one-sided P-value for Richmond < Columbia is .002 ($p < .01$). The WRST indicates that there is significantly less support for band fundraisers Richmond County than in Columbia County. The two-sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond is .004 which allows one to safely reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference at all.

The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a mean of 4.286 for Columbia County music teachers, a mean of 2.704 for Richmond County music teachers, and a z-score of 2.662. The one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .004 was significant at the $p = .01$ level and indicated that the group of all Richmond County music teachers had less support for fundraisers than the group of all music teachers in Columbia County. The

two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .008 is significant at the $p=.01$ level and allows one to safely reject the null hypothesis that there was no difference in the parental support for fundraisers for all Richmond County music teachers compared to all Columbia County teachers.

Question 9. How often did your classes meet?

Question nine asked about the frequency of the teachers class meetings to help determine if the teachers were getting the classroom time they needed to deliver the curriculum.

Table 25

Frequency of Class Meetings

Frequency	Every Day		Every Other Day		2 Days or Less/Week	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band	7	100				
RC Band	17	77.3	5	22.7		
RC Chorus	3	100				
RC Orchestra	2	100				

Note: Three teachers indicated that they were on block schedule which explains three of the five responses indicating rehearsals every other day.

Question 10. How many periods or classes a day did you teach?

Table 26 presents the data from this question. There appears to be more uniformity in the Columbia County responses however some of the Richmond County teachers who responded

had retired whereas all of the Columbia County teachers were still teaching. The apparent lack of uniformity in Richmond County teacher responses may be a function of different scheduling requirements and standards for the participant teachers who were teaching in the late 1950's and 1960's. The only comment concerning question 10 was made by a Columbia County teacher, "included travel to middle schools". This illustrates one major difference between the two counties in the level of support they give their high school music teachers in working with middle school feeder programs and teachers. Columbia County band directors in particular have this ability scheduled into their teaching load whereas Richmond County teachers do not. Furthermore, it serves to illustrate the difficulty in making such arrangements when as a consequence of busing the high schools are fed by more than one middle school. Often in Richmond County, the graduating students of a middle school are divided into as many as three different high schools as a result of zoning imposed by the federal court in order to achieve some semblance of desegregation. The Richmond County teacher who taught only two periods a day was also teaching biology while at that school. This was done because the band student load for that teacher couldn't justify a full day of teaching so they had to teach in a secondary area. A similar situation existed at the two HBHS's in Richmond County during the late 1950's and early 1960's when the band directors weren't certified music educators but held their certification in another field and taught band either as an extracurricular activity or to fill the void of that school having no band teacher position.

Table 26

Periods Taught per Day

Periods per Day	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CC Band					5	2	
RC Band		1	5	3	7	6	
RC Chorus					3		
RC Orchestra						1	1

Question 11. How much daily planning time were you allotted in minutes?

This was an open-ended question in which the respondents wrote in their answer. There were a wide range of times given and they are tabulated in Table 27.

Table 28 presents the findings of the WSRT to compare Columbia County band director responses concerning daily planning time to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that there is no difference in planning time for band directors in the two counties. The findings of the WRST indicate no significant level of difference ($p > .05$ for both one sided and two sided tests) in responses for band directors of Columbia and Richmond Counties concerning daily planning time. However the means (M) reveal an average difference of over 16 minutes with Richmond County band directors receiving the most. The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a mean of 58.571 daily planning minutes for Columbia County music teachers, a mean of 70.962 daily planning minutes for Richmond

County music teachers, and a z-score of -1.145. The one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .126 was not significant ($p > .05$) and the two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .252 was not significant ($p > .05$) therefore the null hypothesis (H_0) that the daily planning time for all Richmond County music teachers was equal to all Columbia County teachers cannot be rejected.

Table 27

Daily Planning Time

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Don't Recall		1		
None				1
30 minutes				1
45 minutes	1	1		
50 minutes	1	5		
55 minutes	3	1	1	
60 minutes	1	3		
80 minutes			1	
90 minutes	1	9		
100 minutes			1	
120 minutes		2		

Table 28

WRST – Planning Time for Band Directors

	Sample (<i>n</i>)	Mean (<i>M</i>)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (<i>T</i>)
Columbia County	7	58.571	74.5	46.500
Richmond County	21	75.238	331.5	100.500

Note: Expectation of $T = 73.500$, Variance of $T = 355.250$, $Z = 1.433$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .076$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .153$.

Question 12. Please describe your extra duties.

Table 29

Extra Duties

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band		Band	Choir String
AM Hall Duty	2		1	2
Breakfast/Lunch Duty	3		11	1
Bus Duty	3		12	2
Faculty Committees	2		1	
Ticket Booth (Athletic events)	1			
Auditorium manager				1
Booster Club Liaison				1
In classroom supervising students	1			
Inventory Control				1
Homeroom			2	
In School Suspension			2	
Lead Teacher				1 2
Department Chair			1	1
Fine Arts Coordinator				1
None			1	
No answer			1	

The only two additional comments in response to this question came from Richmond County teachers: “when I was department chair I was supposed to have two planning periods but I didn’t” and “connections teachers seemed to be abused, ALSO had to co-teach during planning time”.

Question 13. Were lesson plans required?

Question thirteen sought to identify the types of accountability system that was in place for teachers in regards to teaching standards as well as to identify any differences between Richmond and Columbia County. The findings in Tables 30 and 31 indicate that most schools had a system of accountability for supervising the content and standards of teachers’ lesson plans. These data do not speak to the quality of that supervision.

Table 30

Required Lesson Plans?

Required Plans?	Yes		No	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band	6	85.7	1	14.3
RC Band	21	95.5	1	4.5
RC Chorus	3	100		
RC Orchestra	1	50	1	50

Table 31

Who Looked at Lesson Plans?

Response	Team Leader	Fine Arts Chair	Assistant Principal	Principal	Unknown	Not Required
CC Band		3	2		1	1
RC Band	1	2	14	5		
RC Chorus			3			
RC Orchestra		1				1

Question 14. Approximately how much money did you receive from the school board each year to run your music program?

This question sought to identify differences between schools and school systems with the level of funding for the music curricula. The question was open ended which allowed the respondent to closely approximate the average annual funding they received from the school board while teaching during the period in question. Table 32 shows that most of the Richmond County responses cluster around the lower end of the spectrum of dollar amounts while the Columbia County responses cluster around the upper end. To determine if the differences are significant, a WRST was performed on the data and the findings are shown in Table 33.

Table 32

Annual School Budgets

	Columbia County	Richmond County		
	Band	Band	Choir	String
No answer		1		1
Not Sure				1
\$900 - \$1500		3	1	
\$1500		2		
\$2000		1	1	
\$2500	1	2		
\$3000	1	4	1	
\$4000		3		
\$5000	1	4		
\$10,000 – \$12,000	2			
\$15,000 - \$20,000	2			
“Enough”		1		

When the response allowed a range as the choice, the lowest value was used as the value for the WRST computations in order to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the null hypothesis (H_0) that there was no difference in Richmond and Columbia County budgets. The findings are presented in Table 33.

Table 33

WRST – Budgets for Columbia and Richmond County Band Directors

	Sample (n)	Mean (M)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (T)
Columbia County	7	\$8642.857	138	110
Richmond County	19	\$2984.211	213	23

Note: Expectation of $T = 66.500$, Variance of $T = 299.250$, $Z = 2.515$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .006$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .012$.

The findings in Table 33 indicate a very significant level of difference in budgets for band directors of Columbia and Richmond Counties. The one-sided P-value for Richmond < Columbia is .006 ($p < .01$). The findings indicate that Richmond County budgets are significantly less than Columbia County budgets. The two-sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond is .012 ($p < .05$) which allows one to safely reject the null hypothesis (H_0) that there is no difference at all and state there is a significant difference in the two county band budgets. The same test applied to all responses from both counties resulted in a mean of \$8642.857 for Columbia County music teachers, a mean of \$2872.727 for Richmond County music teachers, and a z-score of 2.676. The one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .004 ($p < .01$) indicated that the group of all Richmond County music teachers had significantly smaller budgets than the group of all music teachers in Columbia County. The two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .007 ($p < .01$) allows one to safely reject the null hypothesis that there was no difference in annual budgets for all Richmond County music teachers compared to all Columbia County teachers.

There was only one comment from a Richmond County teacher and former Fine Arts Coordinator which stated: “\$35,000. This was the entire Fine Arts Department Budget, inclusive of band, orchestra, chorus, elementary music, visual arts, drama, and piano.” This amount was to be split between every elementary, middle and high school music, chorus, band, art, and drama program for the entire Richmond County.

Question 15. How would you rate your budget?

Question fifteen sought to determine director perceptions of annual budget adequacy and differences, if any, between Richmond and Columbia County directors.

Table 34

Perceptions of Budget Adequacy

Adequacy	Not Adequate		Met Most Needs		Adequate	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
CC Band	2	14.3	4	57.1	1	14.3
RC Band	14	63.6	7	31.8	1	4.6
RC Chorus			3	100		
RC Orchestra	2	100				

The findings of the WRST on Richmond and Columbia County band director perceptions of budget adequacy are found in Table 35.

Table 35

WRST – Richmond and Columbia County Band Director Perceptions

	Sample (<i>n</i>)	Mean (<i>M</i>)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (<i>T</i>)
Columbia County	7	1.857	133.5	105.500
Richmond County	22	1.409	301.500	48.500

Note: Expectation of $T = 77.000$, Variance of $T = 385.000$, $Z = 1.452$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .073$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .146$.

The findings indicate that the null hypothesis (H_0), there is no difference in Richmond and Columbia County band directors perceptions of budget adequacy, cannot be rejected.

Question 16. How was your budget amount determined?

This question sought to further identify any budgetary issues with the music programs in the two respective counties and to provide additional points of comparison. The Columbia County teachers responded with statements such as, “I submitted what I needed for approval” or, “I submitted an itemized budget each year” and, “Needs of the program, number of students in the program, number of classes offered” which indicated that the amount of each teacher’s budget was determined primarily by the needs of the program and influenced by the enrollment numbers. The Richmond County teachers seemed to say that the primary factor was enrollment numbers. Not one single teacher mentioned ‘needs of the program’ as a factor in determining their budgets. Typical comments from Richmond County teachers included, “By the amount of students in the program” and “Class size at twenty day enrollment.”

Furthermore, the budget was determined by the total number of music students enrolled in the choir and band teachers classes and then the total allocation by the school board to that school is divided between choir and band according to how the principal thinks it should be. This frequently means that the band and choir receive half of that school’s allocation regardless of needs and enrollment, or that the money is allocated according to the principal’s desires, “The amount of my budget came from the board of education but the principal decided what amount would go to the chorus and band.”

Question 18. Chronic or typical unfulfilled needs?

This was an open ended question in which the respondents could list any item they considered important. Since each teacher could list more than one item, and some listed none, the results were simply tabulated in Table 37.

Table 37

Chronic Needs of the Music Program

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Accessories				1
Computer /Technology	1			
Facilities	1			
Large Instruments	3	12		1
Music	1	3	1	
Repairs	1	5		
Risers			1	
Strings				1
Supplies		1		
Uniforms		1		
Everything				1
None	2	4	1	

The only comment from Columbia County teachers accompanying the answers to question eighteen was: “Most needs of the program were met - some quickly - some took several years”. Richmond County teachers had a few more things to say about their chronic unfulfilled needs. Over fifty-four percent of the Richmond County band directors stated that larger instruments were a chronic need not met by the school board budget allocation. One Richmond County teacher stated of the things they couldn’t afford: “Valve oil, reeds, new instruments. Budget was so small we couldn’t buy large instruments or that was our budget.” Regarding music, one teacher stated “I spent personal funds for music; the 200 dollars didn’t go far.” Finally, one Richmond County string teacher responded “Never enough funds to meet the existing needs.”

Question 19. Fund raising: types & how many each year?

This question sought to gain insight into the type and amount of community support available to music education programs in Richmond and Columbia counties.

Table 38

Number of Fundraisers per Year

	Columbia County	Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir String
No answer		1	1
None		4	1
One	1	5	1
Two	1	3	
Three (or more)	3	5	
Four (or more)		3	
Five (or more)	1	1	
Seven	1		
Many		2	2

There was only one comment from Columbia County teachers, “students were assessed a \$40 fee OR could raise \$40 through the sale of candy.” Richmond County teachers had the following comments to make:

Raffled a VW car and some car washes, only when there was a need, never an annual thing...Did none, PTA created problems with embezzlement. Choir tried but the kids cheated and resulted in a debacle...None, students and or parents do not participate... Donuts, pizza cards, coupon books, pamphlet order forms. About one every three years.

Table 39 lists the variety of responses received from Question 19 concerning the types of fundraisers a group conducted each year.

Table 39

Types of Annual Fundraisers

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Adopt-a-Singer			1	
Annual fruit sale	6	6		2
Assessed band members a yearly fee	1			1
Bake Sale		1		
Calendar Sale		1		
Candy Sale	2	5		1
Car Wash	2	5		2

Table continues

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Catalog Sales		2	1	
CD/Audio/Video Sales			1	1
Christmas Ornaments				1
Coca-Cola Sale	1			1
Concessions	3	1		
Coupon Books			1	
Donut Sales			1	2
Fish Fries		3		
Magazine Sales	1			
Performance Ticket Sales	1		1	
Pictures				2
Pizza, Cookie Dough, Cake	3		1	
Raffles	2	1		1
Rock-a-thons	1			
Selling snacks at band functions and rehearsals		1		
Silent Auctions	1			
Spaghetti Dinners	2	1		
Talent Shows		1		
T-shirt sales				1
None		2	2	

Question 20. How much money did you typically raise for your program each year?

Table 40

Yearly Amount of Money Raised Through Fundraising Efforts

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
No answer		3		
“Enough”		1		
None		5	1	
\$500 to \$1,000		3	1	
\$1,000 to \$2,000		5		
\$2,000 to \$3,000		1		
\$3,000 to \$4,000		1		
\$500 to \$5000				1
\$4,000 to \$5,000	1	1		
\$2000 to \$8000				1
\$5,000 to \$10,000	2	3	1	
\$10,000 to \$20,000	1			
\$20,000 to \$30,000	1			
\$30,000 to \$40,000	1			
\$40,000 to \$50,000	1			

The WRST on the yearly fundraising amounts of Richmond and Columbia County music teachers is shown in Table 41. The lowest value of each value range was used as the value for

computations in order to compare Columbia County band director responses to Richmond County band director responses under the hypothesis that there is no difference in their responses.

Table 41

WRST – Richmond and Columbia Band Director Yearly Fundraising Amounts

	Sample (<i>n</i>)	Mean (<i>M</i>)	Rank Sum	Test Statistic (<i>T</i>)
Columbia County	7	\$16285.714	154.5	126.500
Richmond County	19	\$1605.263	296.5	6.500

Note: Expectation of $T = 66.500$, Variance of $T = 299.250$, $Z = 3.468$, one-sided (Richmond < Columbia) $p = .000$, two sided (Columbia \neq Richmond) $p = .001$.

The findings indicate a very significant level of difference in responses for band directors of Columbia and Richmond Counties concerning yearly fundraising amounts. The one-sided P-value for Richmond < Columbia is .000 ($p < .001$) and indicate that Richmond County fundraising amounts are significantly less than Columbia County fundraising amounts. The two-sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond is .001 ($p < .01$) which allows rejection of the null hypothesis (H_0) which states there is no difference between Richmond and Columbia County band fundraising results and state there is a significant difference between the yearly fundraising amounts in Richmond and Columbia Counties. Changing all the amounts used for the computations to the upper limits does not changes the significance results for either test at all.

The same test applied to all responses and using the lowest values for Columbia County and the highest values for Richmond County still yielded means of \$16,285.714 for Columbia

County and \$6812.5 for Richmond County and a z-score of 2.858. The one-sided P-value for Richmond County < Columbia County of .002 was significant ($p < .01$) and indicates that the group of all Richmond County music teachers had significantly lower fundraising results than the group of all music teachers in Columbia County. The two sided P-value for Columbia \neq Richmond of .004 is significant ($p < .01$) and allows one to safely reject the null hypothesis (H_0) that there was no difference in annual fundraising results for all Richmond County music teachers compared to all Columbia County teachers.

Question 21. Do you have any memorabilia (scrapbooks, photos, yearbooks, recordings, videos, programs, teaching materials and old lesson plans, teacher handbooks and curriculum guides, newspaper clippings) that you would be willing to share with me for reference?

Most directors responded with a yes and consequently provided additional sources of information in constructing the history of the various school music programs around Richmond and Columbia Counties.

Question 22. What types of community performances did you perform in a typical year?

Table 42

Types of Community Performances

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
None		2	1	
Arts Festivals				2
Basketball Games		2		
Christmas Tree Lighting	1			1
Church Events		1		
Civic and Fraternal			2	1
College Events		1		

Table continues

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Community Functions		1		
Fall Concert	5			
Football Games	3	7		
Holiday Concert	5			
Jazz Concert		1		
Mall Concert	2	2		
Nursing Home/Hospital	1	6		1
Other School Events		1		
Parades	4	12		
Recruiting Concerts		3	1	
Special Olympics		2		
Spring Concert	5	9		
Winter Concert	4	9		

Question 23. What types of festivals and contests did you take your ensembles to each year?

Table 43

Types of Festivals and Contests

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
None		1		
GMEA LGPE	7	22	2	2
GMEA Jazz Festival	3	6	-	-
Marching	2	4	-	-
Parades	1		-	-
Solo and Ensemble	3	5		
University Festivals	1			1
Non-GMEA Concert	1	1		1
Festivals				
All County Choral	-	-	1	-
Festival				
GMEA All State			1	2
Governors Honors				1

Question 24. Would you describe the community performances in terms of about how many each year, type of ensemble, who you played for, and typical places the ensembles played?

Columbia County Teachers replied with descriptions of four types of performances; the marching band in the annual Evans Christmas Parade and at football games, the concert band (usually in a gym or cafeteria), jazz band and chamber group performances. Richmond County teachers responded with descriptions of a much larger variety and number of performances and venues. Concert band performances occurred at Arts in the Heart of Augusta, the Augusta Chamber of Commerce, Augusta Mall Christmas Concert, local hospital and nursing home performances, professional groups, at other schools, the Augusta Youth Development Center, and store sponsoring projects. The marching bands performed at such venues as football games, mall opening ceremonies, the annual Paine College Parade, the annual Augusta Christmas Parade and numerous other Christmas Parades, the annual Josey/Laney Homecoming Parade, and the annual Battle of the Bands. For chorus teachers, typical performances were held at churches, Paine College, hospitals, museums, and the usual fall, winter and spring concerts which were sometimes held at places other than the school since no auditorium was available at Laney and Josey high schools (the historically black high schools). One chorus teacher stated “About 5 – 10 performances a years at churches, Augusta Museum, MCG, Paine College, Augusta State.” The Richmond County String teachers utilized an All County String Orchestra Concert each spring in which they combined their small individual ensembles into several large ensembles as their primary performance venue. Individual schools featured their small ensembles at their respective school Holiday PTA meetings as well as small chamber groups which performed for a large number of dinner functions in the local community: “County-wide level was 15 to 20 performances each year for string quartets and string ensembles – many dinner music

performances.” Other comments from Richmond County teachers show that there was a great deal of emphasis on marching band performances and considerably less on concert band. One director stated that his ensembles performed “over forty times per year.” Another director said: “Butler usually did about 15 parades (marching band), 5 nursing homes and three concerts (concert and jazz bands)” per year. A director from the 1970’s and 1980’s stated: “High School marching: 20, concert: 4, jazz: 5”.

Question 25. Do you remember the names of any of your student leaders, drum majors, band presidents?

This question sought to uncover the names of former students who would make good candidates for the interview phase of the study. The answers were overwhelmingly yes and provided a rich source of names for the current and future study.

Question 26. What types of festivals did your ensembles attend and where?

Columbia County teachers responded with a list of events they ensembles and students had attended that included local as well as national and international festival venues: GMEA Jazz Band Festival (85.7%), Large Group Performance Evaluations (100%), and Solo and Ensemble (100%); GMEA All State (71.4%), festivals in other states such as South Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Texas and California; and international events in Netherlands and London, England. One director specifically attended one marching festival in Georgia and South Carolina each year. Richmond County teachers reported that their ensembles or students attended the local All County Band (100%), GMEA LGPE (100%), GMEA Solo and Ensemble (13.6 %), events, GMEA Jazz Band Festival (18.2%), GMEA All State (4.5%), non-GMEA concert festivals in Georgia and South Carolina, and marching festivals in Georgia, South Carolina and Florida.

Questions twenty-seven through fifty-two were to be answered only by those teachers who were teaching in Richmond or Columbia Counties at the time of court ordered desegregation in 1972.

Question 27. Classes you were teaching at the time?

All of the respondents indicated that they were teaching only classes in their field at the time of desegregation. One of the Richmond County choir directors was teaching in Richmond County prior to desegregation but moved out of state and returned three years after desegregation had been implemented in Richmond County so she declined to answer the questions in this section as well.

Question 28. How did desegregation affect the budget for your classes/program?

All of the respondents indicated either no effect or they weren't teaching at the time. There were two comments from Richmond County teachers which accompanied this question. The first comment was by a band teacher who was teaching before desegregation occurred: "There was no yearly budget, if instruments were damaged or in need of repair, if music was needed, it was done by the administrative staff." The second comment was by a string teacher teaching at the time: "The county-wide orchestra budget was 100 dollars. I remember begging my principal for mimeograph paper to copy my string arrangements for their schools."

Question 29. How did desegregation affect the condition and source for instruments for your classes and programs?

This question sought insight into whether the overall condition of musical instruments and equipment improved as a consequence of changed funding for some schools following

desegregation. Table 44 shows that three respondents indicated no effect, one indicated very little effect and two indicated that the condition of musical instruments improved. The three that indicated very little or improved were teaching in Richmond County Schools at the time.

Table 44

Effect of Desegregation on Instrument Source and Condition

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
No Effect	2	-	-	1
Very Little	-	1	-	-
Improved	-	2	-	-
No Answer	-	1	1	-
N/A or not teaching then	5	18	2	1

Comments on this question came from several Richmond County teachers teaching at the time. One band director noted “Had [to buy] more small instruments at Sand Bar, clarinet, trumpet, etc.” A string teacher said “We had one string bass and one cello; students had to rent to buy to participate in the program.” This seems to be an issue later on in the band programs in Richmond County as well. As more and more students of lower socio-economic backgrounds enrolled in the music programs, teachers found themselves having to use their limited budgets for smaller instruments which in more affluent communities the student’s parents would provide.

Question 30. How did desegregation affect the quality and source for music for your classes / program?

Table 45

Effect of Desegregation on Quality and Source of Music

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
No effect	2	-	-	-
Very Little	-	1	-	-
Improved	-	1	-	-
Lowered quality	-	1	-	1
No answer	-	1	1	-
N/A or not teaching then	5	18	2	1

Again, the only two comments resulting from this question came from Richmond County teachers. One white teacher who was involuntarily assigned to a formerly segregated African American school band program stated: "... didn't have adequate library. Had to spend the allotted 200 dollars right away then used personal funds to build." This teacher is one of the ones that were involuntarily "demoted" from a high school program to a middle school or junior high and floating elementary program when court ordered integration/desegregation of faculties was imposed. This teacher (S-15) was assigned to what had been a previously all black school,

and the library there was woefully inadequate when S-15 arrived. This may be related to many factors, most obvious the long term inadequate funding for black schools in the county, then once the funding was leveled the quality of the teacher who was there affected the quality of the library holdings and perhaps more relevant is where a teacher had to spend the money, like S-15, who likely had to focus on providing even the most basic instruments to kids because of the overall socio-economic setting of the community. It doesn't appear that S-15 was as strong on developing the music library because the high in which S-15 was placed to this day has an inadequate library as well. The other teacher commenting on question thirty stated: "I did not permit desegregation to affect the quality of the music. The students had to rise to the level I demanded or drop out." Although admirable from one viewpoint, the implication is that the "new" students to the program, black students, lowered the quality of the music program and it does say something about the teacher's unwillingness to work with some students.

Question 31. How did desegregation affect the condition and source of funding uniforms your program?

The answers to question 31 are tabulated in Table 46 and reveal very little. Columbia County teachers made no comments concerning this question. One thing to note is that in Columbia County, the school board does not provide uniforms. The school band or choral booster clubs are expected to raise the money for the purchase and maintenance of uniforms. This is contrasted to Richmond County where the school board provided the uniforms after desegregation occurred. One Richmond County teacher made the following observation concerning uniforms: "This change came in the mid-seventies when uniforms were ordered for the entire county." Since court mandated desegregation through busing happened in 1972 in Richmond County, it is apparent that the school board had to come up with an equitable solution

to the problem that uniforms presented each music program. The solution was to place all of the high schools on a rotating systems of funding so that every seven to eight years, new uniforms were purchased by the school board for one particular high school band and chorus. There were issues that arose with this system involving accountability which some respondents discussed in the interviews.

Table 46

Effect of Desegregation on Uniform Source and Funding

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
No effect	2	1		1
Very Little				
Improved		1		
Lowered quality				
No answer		2	1	
N/A or not teaching then	5	18	2	1

Question 32. How did desegregation affect the condition and adequacy of your facilities?

Comments from Richmond County teachers included “No effect, “I invariably taught in cafeterias and in gyms. Sometimes I was able to use the band or choral room if schedules did not

conflict” and “Had good rehearsal facilities at all schools except Segoo – had to use old shop room.” Most teachers felt that there was little improvement to facilities as a result of desegregation in Richmond County. This is not saying that facilities were totally adequate. Several situations still exist in 2012 where choral teachers are teaching on a stage in the auditorium or band directors are sharing the rooms originally intended for practice rooms with the school office who uses them as storage rooms. Several high school band rooms in Richmond County are only large enough for a band of forty to fifty students with percussion and may also have low ceilings as well. Table 47 reveals that very little change to facilities occurred immediately following desegregation for most Richmond and Columbia County schools.

Table 47

Effects of Desegregation on School Facilities

	Columbia County	Richmond County		
	Band	Band	Choir	String
No effect	2	2		1
Very Little		1		
Improved				
Lowered quality				
No answer		1	1	
N/A or not teaching then	5	18	2	1

Question 33. What festivals did members of your ensemble attend and perform at before desegregation?

Table 48

Festivals Attended Before Desegregation

	Columbia County	Richmond County		
	Band	Band	Choir	String
GMEA Large Group Festival	2	3		1
GMEA Solo and Ensemble	2	1		1
GMEA District Honors Band	2	2		1
GMEA All-State	2	1		1
GTEA Large Group Festival At Fort Valley State College		1		
No answer		-	1	
N/A or not teaching then	5	17	2	1

Question 34. What festivals did members of your ensemble attend and perform at after desegregation was implemented?

In addition to the festivals listed in Table 49, one African American band director continued to take bands to the GTEA Festival held at Fort Valley State each year. String teachers began taking their students to clinic, workshops and festivals outside of the Richmond County area. These included: Columbus State University workshops, Disney World, Opryland, Six Flags over Georgia, University of Georgia String Workshops, and Universal Studios in Orlando Florida.

Table 49

Festivals Attended After Desegregation

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band		Band	Choir String
GMEA Large Group Festival	2		4	1
GMEA Solo and Ensemble	2		4	1
GMEA District Honors Band	2		2	1
GMEA All-State	2		3	1
GTEA Large Group Festival				
At Fort Valley State College				
No answer				1
N/A or not teaching then	5		17	2 1

In addition to the festivals listed in Table 49, one African American band director continued to take bands to the GTEA Festival held at Fort Valley State each year. String teachers began taking their students to clinic, workshops and festivals outside of the Richmond County area. These included: Columbus State University workshops, Disney World, Opryland, Six Flags over Georgia, University of Georgia String Workshops, and Universal Studios in Orlando Florida.

Question 35. Did your student participation in GMEA events decrease ____, stay about the same ____, or increase ____ as a result of desegregation?

Table 50 shows an increase in attendance at GMEA events for two Richmond County music teachers teaching at the time of desegregation. This is evidence of a change for students that could be viewed as positive and some teachers talked about this in their interviews. What isn't revealed in Table 50 is the race of the teacher and their corresponding answer. One white teacher that was reassigned to a HBMS from a HWHS indicated a decrease in his/her student participation in GMEA events while both black teachers indicated an increased rate of participation for their students.

Table 50

Student Participation in GMEA Events

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Decrease		1		
Stay the Same	2	1		1
Increase		2		
No answer			1	
N/A or not teaching then	5	18	2	1

Question 36. How did the size of your performing ensembles change with the implementation of desegregation?

Table 51

Changes in Ensemble Size

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Smaller	-	-	-	1
Stay the Same	2	5	-	-
Larger	-	-	-	-
No answer	-	-	1	-
N/A or not teaching then	5	17	2	1

Question 37. How were you affected professionally by the desegregation of schools?

The answers to question 37 are tabulated in Table 52. Some of the black Richmond County teacher comments to question 37 described how they were now afforded opportunities for professional development, "...attending music clinics / workshops, some at the University of Georgia." One black teacher stated that "Helped me, I was finally able to show my ability."

Table 52

Professional Effects Due to Desegregation

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
No effect	2	1		
More professional development		1		
Standardized Curriculum		1		
Increased teaching load		-		1
No answer		2	1	
N/A or not teaching then	5	17	2	1

Pertaining to formerly black segregated schools one white string teacher commented, “Required to add formerly all-black schools that were trying to integrate at first.” The significance here is that students in those historically black schools did not have the same access to a string program in the public schools that white students in formerly all white schools had had. While the school board increased the teaching load of those string teachers by adding additional schools to be covered, they did increase the number of faculty: “I had to teach in several formerly all-black schools. Fortunately we gained a couple of new teachers.” However, they didn’t increase the budgetary resources available in order provide the necessary

instrumentation to those additional schools. A second comment by this teacher shed some insight into how white parents reacted to the forced busing of their students into previously African American schools and neighborhoods: “White students who were bused to the black schools were enrolled [by their parents] in private schools or were home schooled. I recall Levi White Elementary had less than 30 students who attended regularly that school year. The [formerly] all white schools were crowded with both blacks and whites.”

Question 38. How do you feel desegregation affected the overall quality of your program?

Table 53

Desegregation Effects on Quality of Program

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Decreased		1		
No Change	2	3		1
Increased		1		
No answer			1	
N/A	5	17	2	1

For Richmond County teachers, the one teacher that indicated their program increased in quality as a consequence of desegregating schools was black, and one teacher which indicated a decrease in quality was white.

Question 39. How do you feel desegregation affected community support for your program?

Table 54

Effects on Level of Community Support

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Decreased				
No Change	1	5		1
Increased	1			
No answer			1	
N/A	5	17	2	1

Question 40. Did you make adjustments in your selection of literature as a result of desegregation?

Table 55

Adjustments to Literature Due to Desegregation

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Yes	1	2		
No	1	2		1
No answer		1	1	
N/A	5	17	2	1

The responses to question 40 that indicated adjustments to repertoire came from both black and white teachers. The white teacher was one that had been reassigned from a historically white school to a historically black school and indicated that he/she had to lower the level of literature his/her ensembles performed whereas the black teacher that had been reassigned to a historically white school indicated that he/she raised the level of repertoire his/her ensembles performed.

Question 41. When busing began, and students were moved to different schools, are you aware of any students that chose not to be in band or chorus in their new school?

Only one Richmond County teacher answered yes, the rest said no. The Richmond County teacher stated, “Elementary schools – my replacement did not teach at the feeder elementary schools.” This teacher had been moved from a formerly white high school and its feeder programs to a group of formerly segregated African American middle and elementary schools and the African American teacher which had been at those formerly all African American elementary and middle schools was promoted to the former segregated white high school and its feeder programs. One string teacher replied that as a consequence of desegregating schools, ““They remained in orchestra if they attended desegregated schools.” The implication here and confirmed in other parts of the questionnaire was that at the time of desegregation, those white string students who lived in areas that were zoned for busing to formerly African American schools were as a whole, withdrawn from public schools and enrolled in private schools.

Question 42. Were any band or choir directors moved to different schools as a result of desegregation?

All Columbia County teachers answered no. Three Richmond County band directors and one string teacher answered yes. Several Richmond County teachers commented on question forty-two. One former supervisor stated “They [the teachers] did not like the transfers. After one year, they were pretty much switched back because of the problems of adjustment.” Another former Richmond County teacher said, “Some felt a sense of disparity being moved from high school to junior high or middle school.” The notice given for these transfers was very short as one teacher relayed in the questionnaires and others confirmed later in the interviews, “Surprise – we had two weeks’ notice – some refused to go.”

Question 43. Did any band or choir directors in Richmond or Columbia County lose their job as a result of the desegregation of schools?

Table 56

Loss of jobs as a consequence of desegregation

	Columbia County	Richmond County		
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Yes		2		
No	1	2		1
Unsure	1			
No answer		1	1	
N/A	5	17	2	1

Note: One former Richmond County teacher noted “Some quit.”

Question 44. Demographic (ethnic) make up of your school before desegregation.

Table 57

Teacher's perceived demographic makeup of schools before desegregation

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
White	2	3		1
Black		2		
No answer			1	
N/A	5	17	2	1

Question 45. How did desegregation affect the demographic makeup of your ensembles?

One Columbia County teacher noted that they saw a greater number of African American students entering Columbia County schools. This is anecdotal evidence of the almost immediate white and middle class flight that began from Richmond to Columbia County. One white Richmond County teacher reported being moved to a “To a new school which was 95% black and [in a] lower socio-economic area.” One former music teacher at the Richmond County magnet school, Davidson, stated that there wasn’t any change there “because ethnic balance is mandated in the audition process, my ensembles tend to mirror that of the school: 45% white, 45% black, 5% Asian, 5% other.” One Richmond County string teacher noted a change in the demographics of the string program, “Black students from the more affluent black community

joined the orchestra.” Although this is a positive development from the overall standpoint of improving access to fine arts programs for some African Americans, it still didn’t “level the playing field” for a large number of less affluent African Americans who couldn’t afford the cost of an instrument.

Question 46. What types of literature did you program in order to reflect the diversity of an integrated student body?

Of the two Columbia County teachers teaching then, one did not answer and the other stated: “I choose music based on its educational value and diversity of styles, NOT to reflect the ethnicity of the student.” Of the seven Richmond County teachers teaching then, one did not answer and one responded simply with “music.” Another teacher responded with “Literature was adequate but students of other races did not attend inner city schools.”, One said “During football season I let them choose the pop tunes.”, and only one actually listed the styles of music they tried to incorporate into the program. That list included rock, pop, country, classical, funky, blues and ballads. An African American choral teacher stated, “My literature is based on quality, and I rarely use ethnic issues to determine literature. I am as likely to program a Negro spiritual as I am a Newfoundland folk song.” Finally one string teacher said, “I primarily taught simplified arrangements of the classics for strings or I arranged them myself. I did not specifically program music.”

Question 47. Did the racial composition of your ensembles accurately reflect the racial composition of the schools you taught at?

Comments concerning this question were all from Richmond County teachers. One black teacher teaching in the early 1970’s at a high school opened in 1970 as a segregated white

school, said” Very few minorities took the advantage of being in band, after a few years things changed.” One interesting note here is that this teacher’s approach to performance repertoire for the marching band was to include a lot of rock and jazz into the programs and even included guitars, drum sets, vocalists and amplification on flatbed tractor trailers which were driven onto the field. Possibly marching style here overrode race of the director as a reason for black students not participating at first. Even though the director was black, the style was not the “show style” of the surrounding predominantly black High Schools and colleges such as Jackson State, Morris Brown, or Florida A&M. One string teacher commented regarding the string programs, “In the lower grades there was a racial balance at first. The high schools were almost all white because the blacks had never had an opportunity to learn to play a stringed instrument.”

Table 58

Reflection of School Body in Ensembles

	Columbia County	Richmond County		
	Band	Band	Choir	String
Yes	-	1	1	1
No	1	3	-	-
Unsure	-	-	-	-
No answer	1	1	-	-
N/A	5	17	2	1

Question 48. As schools became more desegregated, how did the change in racial diversity at your schools affect your ensembles?

Table 59

Desegregation Effects on Diversity of School Ensembles

	Columbia County		Richmond County	
	Band	Band	Choir	String
No Effect	1	2	-	-
Little change		2	-	-
Lowered Standards / Expectations		-	-	1
No answer	1	1	1	-
N/A or not teaching then	5	17	2	1

There were two comments from Richmond County teachers teaching at the time. The first described a situation in which a great deal of white flight had occurred, “There was very little or no change because students of other races did not attend school in the inner city; however, there was a little change in the racial diversity at a middle school in the mid 80’s.” A string teacher commented on the effects of desegregation on the quality of the program:

It gradually lowered the level because the black kids and the white kids became more in the middle. There were fewer really smart kids who wanted to be high achievers. They

were content to be middle of the road and wanted to do the least amount for the most part.

Question 49. What were the positive outcomes of desegregation for music education programs?

One Columbia County teacher responded that it had no effect. Another stated that “Students/teachers learned to work together for common goals.” Three of the five Richmond County teachers who were teaching at the time of desegregation cited positive effects that included increased understanding between races and greater opportunities, “Diversity, the races working together for the improvement of music education. Equal opportunities for all students.” And “More opportunities, i.e. solo and ensemble festival, local district band, Honors bands, All-State Bands.” A third teacher implied that the students took advantage of those increased opportunities, “The band took advantage, positive.” One white Richmond County band teacher did not feel that the process of desegregating schools had been properly planned or executed, “Had the board of education done the job of preparatory work, COULD have been very good.” This particular teacher had been ‘demoted’ from the high school to a middle and several elementary schools while an African American band director had been ‘promoted’ to the high school. One choral teacher stated that a desegregated school was very desirable and necessary to that school’s survival, “Given where and when we live, a varied ethnic mix is a very positive asset to a school. Our school could not survive without this mix.”

Question 50. What were the negative outcomes of desegregation for music education programs?

One Columbia County teacher responded that there were none while another stated “The thrusting of cultures upon one another created a back lash.” The Richmond County teacher were more specific as to negative outcomes, their response being influenced by their ethnic

perspective. A white teacher responded, “Some band directors were demoted, others were transferred to teach general music classes, some were appointed to positions with no voice.”

This is an interesting statement in view of the conventional ‘wisdom’ which assumes that only African American teachers suffered job losses and reassignments to position of lesser rank and stature as a result of desegregation. Another negative outcome cited by a Richmond County string teacher was that the quality of the string program and students went down, “The number of students making All-State, and Governors Honors Program decreased. Prior to desegregation we had students selected by audition for the National High School Orchestra” An African American perspective was summed up by one teacher who said the following:

Either you did it the ‘White Way’ or it was the wrong way, i.e. style, interpretation, dynamics, etc and choice of literature. Black students had to be twice as good as white kids – auditions weren’t fair. When a black director took his band to festival he/she had a strike against him or her just because of the color of the skin. The good old boy system always would come into play. You were judged before a note was played, just being black you were not supposed to play musically, i.e. tone. Black Marching bands are always frowned upon by the white band director; even today their concept is the only way to play/perform music.

The last two question of the questionnaire were open ended questions designed to cast a wide net for themes and ideas. The first was concerned with what occurred in music education programs of Richmond and Columbia Counties as a consequence of resegregating schools.

Question 51. During the 1980's, schools across the nation began to rapidly resegregate. If you were teaching during this time, would you reflect on some of the effects that movement had on your music programs, budgets, student participation, etc.

Table 60

Codes from Resegregation Effects on School Music Programs

Theme	Columbia County	Richmond County
No Effect	3	3
Cultural Norms and Values	1	
Curriculum: Improved		1
Ethnocentrism	1	4
Lowered Standards		1
Philosophy of Education	1	
Socioeconomic Factors		4
Support: Parental, Community, Administrative	1	1
Teacher Quality	1	

Several broad themes emerged from the responses of Columbia County teachers: no effect from resegregation, the role of cultural norms and values, effects of ethnocentrism, philosophy of education, support, and teacher quality. Richmond County teacher responses contained a number of broad themes as well: effects of ethnocentrism, improved curriculum, increased diversity and improved understanding, lowered standards, no effects, socioeconomic factors, and support.

Some teachers from both counties claimed no effects from resegregation of schools. The Columbia County teachers stated this in very broad terms when talking about their own programs and the programs of Columbia County schools: “Desegregation did not affect any of the programs that I taught in from 1983 to the time I retired in 2003.” Another Columbia County teacher stated: “There were no problems at the other three schools [1988 – 2006 in Columbia County] and did not have any effect on the band program.” The four Richmond County teachers saying they saw no effect explained their answers in very specific terms: “I did not see some of the effects because I worked with 97% Afro-American students in the inner city.” This teacher acknowledges that there were effects but they didn’t “see *some* of the effects” because he/she was *already* teaching in a virtually resegregated school. A second teacher said, “During that time I was teaching in a rural setting where segregation and desegregation had almost no effect.” Again, this teacher also acknowledges that there were effects from desegregation and resegregation, but that resegregation wasn’t occurring in the area of Richmond County in which they were teaching at the time. A third teacher said, “During my tenure at xxx from 1986 to 1998, the school maintained a 98% African American population, thus having no effects on the music program, budgets and student participation.” Finally a fourth Richmond County teacher wrote “The music programs at HBHS (1975 – 2001) were always supported very well. Therefore resegregation had no effect on the budgets, student participation, etc.” This statement came from a teacher at a historically black, Richmond County high school where after the first year of desegregation (1972), that school rapidly resegregated so that by 1975, the year that teacher started teaching, resegregation would have had very little additional effect in that school. These statements were made about schools in a supposedly desegregated school system, just three to fifteen years after the courts first mandated rezoning and busing. Another teacher said:

Since Richmond County was under the desegregation order, I can't say that I noticed any great change. HWHS was probably 70% white, 30% black from 1981 – 1989. HWMS was maybe 60% white, 40% black. Both of these schools reflected the county balance at the time. The “white” flight to Columbia County probably started around the mid-90's.

Regarding resegregation and its effects on Arts Programs in Richmond County, a teacher commented:

In the inner-city schools all the students were generally of one race. Everyone who could was moving to the suburbs. All that couldn't were not very supportive of the arts in terms of participation and work ethic. Sports seemed to draw all of the students' attention. With enrollments determining budgets, those who probably needed the most help received the least amount to work with.

Teachers from both counties also mentioned ethnocentric factors in their response to the question. One Columbia County teacher who had also taught in Richmond County during the early part of his/her career, noted that the ethnicity of the students that participated in a school's instrumental program was often influenced by the marching style of the band: “As stated before, the participation in the RC-HWHS band depended on the type of marching that was performed.” This teacher also pointed out that “the majority of the white students zoned for RC-HBHS went to Davidson Fine Arts School.” This phenomena will be discussed at greater length when the data from the interviews is presented but it is illustrative of the trend which is at the root of resegregation: white and middle class families in general began looking for other places to send their children in order to avoid either the formerly African American schools that their children were being bused to or the schools that a lot of the children of African American and low

socioeconomic families were being bused into and the resulting exposure to a culture which was not their own. Magnet schools, which were created at the beginning of the 1970's, were one of several options parents had to avoid busing their children into historically black schools or into schools which had rapidly resegregated due to white flight.

One African American Richmond County band director made a number of observations in which ethnocentrism appeared to play a major role during this time and they are further evidence of the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors which contributed to resegregation:

During the 1980's...If your band was 'white', you tended to receive more friends and support from the community. If you [the Director] were black, your band was basically black. If you were a 'white' director, the bands would have only a few, most times zero, black students. Black students didn't enjoy playing so called white people's music. In some situations white students wouldn't sign up for band because the makeup of the band, or the director, was black. Black band directors were judged by the standards that were set up by the white directors. In many situations white students would encourage their friends not to take band if the majority was black – black students would do the same by saying 'Why are you in that honkey band?'

These ethnocentric attitudes and the resulting behaviors and decisions were one of the basic premises behind the title of the book *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together In the Cafeteria?* (2003). Another teacher commented on the same phenomena, "Bands lost many white members as the desire to move more towards 'show' or traditional style marching program was voiced by the community."

Support was a topic mentioned by teachers from both Richmond and Columbia Counties. One teacher who had taught in both Richmond and Columbia Counties discussed the varying amount of support received while teaching at two Richmond and later one Columbia County schools. That teacher's first job was in a low socioeconomic neighborhood of Augusta in which the school body was predominantly African American, "had a majority black population with very poor equipment, minimal support from school administration and community." The following year found that same teacher at a high school in a majority white middle class neighborhood, "predominantly white; tremendous administrative and community support." Two years later that same teacher moved to Columbia County and described that school as "predominantly white; average administrative support; tremendous community support; excellent feeder programs." This was one of the first connections to emerge in this study between socioeconomics and the level of support a community is able to provide for school music programs. One positive comment concerning support came from a Richmond County string teacher, "The orchestra budget got a boost from the superintendent and we were able to buy music and a few instruments each year. We were able to loan more students instruments and retention grew quickly" This comment does point to the importance of adequate financial support for programs in low socio-economic settings in which there are a larger number of parents who cannot afford to rent or purchase an instrument for their child. Another type of support issue first uncovered by the questionnaire was that of support from the school administration concerning the guidance office scheduling music students into the appropriate classes. One Richmond County teacher remarked that as resegregation took place, "Lost help from guidance getting band students properly scheduled."

The topic of teacher quality was brought up by one Columbia County teacher. Later in the study as the interviews were conducted, transcribed and coded, this theme emerged as one of the most significant findings of this study. In this case, this teacher was describing the problems that existed for many of the music programs in Richmond County schools:

Beginning as a teacher in Columbia County (1975) desegregation had already been implemented. I saw some residual effects of desegregation as I began my career. I witnessed two real problems that still existed in the mid 70's. First, a handful of directors were ill-equipped to teach due to lack of classroom techniques, knowledge of pedagogy, ability to follow good rehearsal techniques and some real problems with reading more complicated rhythm requirements of contemporary band literature. Most of the ineffective teachers tried to teach by rote, failing to prepare their bands for performance, and then placing the blame on the kids, the community, equipment,, etc... I was teaching the same number of at risk kids and did not sympathize with their problems.

This same Columbia County teacher also brought up another theme which also emerged from the interview data as one of the most significant themes, philosophy of education. Furthermore, this teacher is one of the first to point out that a large number of Richmond County programs were more concerned with entertainment than education:

The second problem was due to a lack of philosophy and purpose. The poor quality programs existed for the purpose of entertainment. This approach to music, etc. sacrificed a life-long learning for a short term experience. The lack of higher order thinking skills in any classroom denies the students of their right to learn beyond the

present. An interesting comparison would be made by comparing the music in most black church choirs (learned by rote) to the music learned by predominantly white church choirs (learned by reading the music). I am not faulting either manner of preparing for worship. I simply want to point out the differing expectations of white and black students in the classrooms based on their musical experiences in their places of worship.

Another theme which was suggested by the data from question fifty-one was that of cultural values and norms and how they are factors which affect the quality of the music education experience for students in schools, resegregated or not. One teacher commented on the large Asian-Pacific population feeding one Columbia County school by stating, "Columbia County's schools were largely populated by white students with the Asians being the largest minority. The cultural values associated with these ethnic groups led to their success in school."

Question 52. On the basis of your experiences in public schools, what areas still need work to insure equal, high quality music education experiences and opportunities for all students regardless of race or socio-economic situation?

This question sought to gather ideas and suggestions from the respondents based on their personal experience of teaching in the schools being studied. As with the previous question, a large number of themes emerged from the data. Table 61 summarizes the themes and the number of respondents from each county mentioning that theme in their answer to question fifty-two.

Table 61

Codes from “What work remains to be done?”

Theme	Columbia County	Richmond County
Accountability	1	
Advocacy	1	
Curriculum: Arts as Core		4
Curriculum: Comprehensive/Quality		2
Curriculum: Elementary		2
Discipline		2
Money, Budgetary	3	
Multicultural Tolerance		2
Socioeconomic Factors		2
Support: Parental, Community, Administrative	2	6
Teacher Quality	2	4
Transportation	1	
Work Ethic	1	
No Answer		2

As seen from the data in Table 61, Columbia County teachers stressed money and budgetary solutions; then increased support from parents, community and administrations equally with improving teacher quality; and then holding teachers accountable, better arts and music education advocacy, providing transportation for students to before and after school rehearsals, and improving the work ethic of students as the most important factors to consider

going forward in order to provide equal, high quality music education experiences and opportunities for all students regardless of race or socio-economic situation. Richmond County teachers stressed most significantly increased support from parents, community and administrations; then improving curriculum; then improving teacher quality; and then solving budgetary, socioeconomic and discipline issues as the best ways to insure that schools provide equal, high quality music education experiences and opportunities for all students regardless of race or socio-economic situation.

It is interesting that the teachers from the more affluent county and the school system with the greater budgets for school music cited budget and money more often than any other factor and this theme wasn't even mentioned by Richmond County teachers. The comments ranged from "increase teacher salaries" to "More money for quality instruments". One teacher stated that money was one of two important variables: "The primary influence on the programs I led was parental involvement and funding from the BOE." Parental support and support in general was a major concern of teachers from both counties. One Columbia County teacher stated, "Community support and school board support are vital. Parental support is a must. I see in Columbia Co., a higher parental support system than in Richmond County." Richmond County teachers seemed to agree. They were very concerned with the need for improved support from parents, community and the school board. The comments from three Richmond County teachers are representative of what others also said concerning budgetary support. One described the role of the Board in assessing the needs of the schools, " I think that the Board of Education needs to be more involved in the schools – get out and see what kind of equipment the programs have." Another describes the lack of support in Richmond County for General Music classes:

While each county provides a basic supplement for band, there is none for general music.

Teachers are often expected to have duplicate programs at multiple schools. I have found that the principal's support is the best predictor of getting extra money for your program.

The third teacher described a perceived discrepancy between the budgetary support core subjects receive and the support bands receive:

From what I've seen over the past few years in education, the academic subjects are always given the proper tools i.e. math, language arts & science, but bands get whatever their limited budgets will support. I realize that band is expensive for school systems as well as parents, but it can help create a more productive and successful citizen if we could make an appropriate investment.

Another type of administrative support mentioned by Richmond County teachers was that of scheduling, particularly for teachers who float and must cover more than one school:

I would like to see equal music teacher representation across Richmond County at each middle and high school on a daily basis. Nine orchestra directors in Richmond County must meet the needs of all the students in grades 6 – 12, unlike it is in other metropolitan areas of Georgia. I also would like having the correct allotted time spent with students without having students pulled out of a scheduled class because of another subject taking more class time or other classroom interruptions.

Richmond County teachers were also concerned with scheduling within a single school as well. Two comments from Richmond County teachers concerning the scheduling of music classes were, "A need to offer more band classes (beginning, intermediate, and advanced) at the appropriate levels for students" and "More and wider variety of music offerings need to be

available – not everyone wants to perform but there are few options. Those that perform may wish to learn theory or history as well.”

Parental support was a major concern for Richmond County teachers, “Unfortunately the big issues are not under school control. Those issues are family support and involvement with the child and school, and an undervaluing of the importance of the arts in society.”

Compounding the issue of budgetary school board and administrative support is a phenomenon involving accountability and socioeconomics. One Richmond County teacher noted that in some schools, instruments are not properly cared for:

There are situations where students destroy instruments. Theft and vandalism have contributed to the loss of instruments. Couple this with students not being able to afford instruments, and the school struggles to keep a program.

This researcher visited every high school in Richmond County as part of the research process and noted that in many schools located in economically depressed areas, the band’s instrument inventory was in very poor condition and often missing a great deal of the necessary instrumentation for a comprehensive music program.

A very common theme among respondents from both counties was teacher quality. One Columbia County teacher simply stated “The quality of the teacher also plays a big role in the success of a program.” Other Columbia County teachers wrote “teachers who are more dedicated” and “insist that music teachers teach to high performance levels” as areas that still needed to be improved upon. Some Richmond County teachers were in agreement, “Teachers need to set high standards with themselves being a good model.” Another Richmond County teacher stated:

The biggest problem is finding highly qualified instructors of varied ethnic backgrounds.

In Richmond County the teacher ability level between whites and ethnic minority groups is pronounced. This situation will never provide high quality experiences to ethnic groups. Richmond County hiring practices appear to be more interested in ethnicity than in quality. Our school is sometimes told by system officials that an individual in a certain position must be of a certain ethnicity, for example. I would think thatthe quality of a prospective employee should carry more weight than ethnicity. ...we can do a much better job at providing quality educators in the schools. Again, this is a qualitative issue that implies that the quality of faculty should weigh more importantly than racial/ethnic issues.

One Richmond County teacher stated that some music education peers were looked at as nothing more than baby sitters by some administration and that part of the solution involves better preparation, accountability and effective, knowledgeable supervision:

Too many [music] teachers are ill-prepared for the job-market. They feel secure teaching music when principals evaluate them having no clue what to look for in music instruction and they can retain their jobs simply by baby-sitting.

Effective teaching was a major concern. A Columbia County teacher wrote: "Fire teachers who are teaching music by rote or who emphasize show over substance." Several Richmond County respondents also made reference to teachers who were teaching by rote instead of teaching music reading skills. One wrote:

I believe that a good band director teaches his students to read all types of music and to appreciate the art of music. Unfortunately, I have seen that not to be consistent in all

schools for all students. The reading of music does not seem to play an integral part in some schools.

The above quotation touches upon another theme Richmond County teachers mentioned; the quality of the curriculum. These concerns begin with the quality of the elementary music curriculum, “We must have quality elementary music for every child at least twice a week.” Another Richmond County teacher tied the need for improved elementary school music experiences to what those children of low socioeconomic backgrounds often don’t get at home:

I believe that students in inner-city schools are not exposed enough to music lessons at a very young age because of low incomes. I feel that getting more students involved in the Arts programs in the area would be very beneficial.

One Richmond County teacher suggested that fine arts teachers need to shoulder a greater responsibility for increasing awareness of the arts to their respective school communities:

It is a constant battle to advocate and defend the importance of music education for all students regardless of race or socio-economic status. Research already supports the benefits of music education and it is our job as music teachers to educate not only our students but administration, parents and the community about the benefits of music education.

A retired teacher stated “Increase the recognition that band i.e. the arts are important.” One Columbia County teaching pushing for stronger arts advocacy wrote “Treat music as an equal to math, science and other core subjects”, suggesting that even in Columbia County the arts aren’t seen as important to education as they should be.

Finally, it seems as if society still has a ways to go when it comes to eradicating racism and prejudices and increasing tolerance. One Richmond County band director wrote, “It starts with the band director. He or she must rid their minds of the racial or prejudices they have for minority students. Giving students equal opportunities and having diversity of opinion from all races.”

As the questionnaire data was being compiled and organized, it became apparent that a number of significant themes were emerging. The significance of those themes was confirmed in the interview findings. As the first interviews were transcribed and initially coded, the themes that came out of the questionnaires were further refined, clarified and reinforced. When the last interview was finished and the resulting data added to the compilation, a very rich picture emerged about the effects of desegregation and resegregation on the respective school music programs of Richmond and Columbia Counties.

Interview Findings

The first teacher interview question sought factors influencing the quality of music education experience that resulted from the desegregation of public schools in Richmond or Columbia County. The second teacher interview question sought evidence of how desegregation affected budgets, facilities, uniforms, music, instruments and travel for musical groups. The third teacher interview question sought unexpected and unintended consequences of desegregation on music programs in the two county area of study. The fourth question sought factors which influenced the quality and type of music education experiences for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties as a result of resegregation in the two counties being studied. The fifth question sought opinions based on firsthand experience about what could have been done

differently and what work still remains to be done in order to improve the music education experiences for public school students in Richmond and Columbia Counties.

The following table provides a numbered list of every coded factor or theme found in the study interviews (column A and B), the number of subjects that mentioned this code in their interview (Column C), the total number of times that code was mentioned including those by the same subject but in different contexts (Column D), and the total number of lines of text this code was being discussed throughout all of the participant interview transcriptions (Column E). This provides an overview of the significance of each code that came out of the interviews.

Table 62

List of Codes Identified in Interviews

A	B	C	D	E
Code #	Code	Number of Subjects Mentioning	Total Occurrences	Total Lines of Interview Text
1	Affirmative Action	3	3	28
2	AYP/NCLB	5	5	28
3	Busing and its consequences	10	11	99
4	Competition amongst schools	2	2	21
5	Compromises	2	2	8
6	Concrete vs. Abstract	1	1	3
7	Copyright Issues	1	1	4
8	Culture of Learning	8	15	111
9	Cultural Norms	13	19	161
10	Curriculum	32	90	829
	Curriculum – Antiquated	1	1	7
	Curriculum - Arts as Core	7	11	77
	Curriculum - Curricular vs. Extracurricular	1	1	5
	Curriculum - Elementary Music	5	8	99
	Curriculum - Marching Band Style	11	16	173
	Curriculum – Monocultural	1	1	5

	Curriculum – Multicultural	8	12	96
	Curriculum - Non-Standards/Standards Based	8	12	124
	Curriculum - Comprehensive / Quality	20	28	243
11	Desegregation: Negative Outcomes	32	78	674
	Desegregation: Negative Outcomes - Lowered Standards and Expectations	13	18	179
	Desegregation: Negative Outcomes - Playing field still not level	14	15	90
	Desegregation: Negative Outcomes - Unequal Resources (between schools and school systems)	14	23	207
	Desegregation: Negative Outcomes - Unfulfilled Promises of Brown vs. Board	16	22	198
12	Desegregation: Positive Outcomes	33	83	582
	Desegregation: Positive Outcomes - Challenged the teacher to improve their teaching	1	4	33
	Desegregation: Positive Outcomes - Dispelling Stereotypes	4	6	41
	Desegregation: Positive Outcomes - Improved Curriculum	4	6	49
	Desegregation: Positive Outcomes - Improved Resources	11	14	76
	Desegregation: Positive Outcomes - Increased Diversity and understanding of other races and cultures	18	24	204
	Desegregation: Positive Outcomes - Increased Opportunities for African American students	17	26	155
	Desegregation: Positive Outcomes - Raised Academic Standards for African American students	3	3	24
13	Discipline	14	27	299
14	Ethnocentrism	39	231	2305
	Ethnocentrism	20	27	238
	Ethnocentrism - Ensemble Demographics	2	3	30
	Ethnocentrism - Ensemble Enrollment and Demographics - Race of Teacher as a Factor	11	13	109

	Ethnocentrism - Ensemble Enrollment and Demographics - Marching and Music Style as a Factor	11	15	150
	Ethnocentrism - Ensemble Enrollment and Demographics - Unregistered Participants	1	1	38
	Ethnocentrism - How it manifests through resegregation (Middle Class and White Flight)	27	50	496
	Ethnocentrism - How it influences musical tastes and choices	20	44	523
	Ethnocentrism - People look for other schools and places of learning	13	17	159
	Ethnocentrism-Sense of Community/Community and Neighborhood Schools	10	15	186
	Ethnocentrism - Acting White	7	12	115
	Ethnocentrism - Black Segregationalism, Cronyism, and 'Preserving the Race	7	9	104
	Ethnocentrism - Popular Music - its influences	7	10	79
	Ethnocentrism - Pressure - Community, Parental, Peer	8	11	46
	Ethnocentrism - Making Music Elsewhere	4	4	32
15	Fearful Feelings	7	11	101
16	Gang related issues and activity	3	3	26
	GMEA Events (District and State Meetings, Festivals, Contests, etc.)	2	3	14
17	Meetings, Festivals, Contests, etc.)	2	3	14
18	Non-GMEA Sanctioned Events	1	1	4
	Self identity/Inferiority Complex / Self esteem / Self Image	3	4	37
19	Self identity/Inferiority Complex / Self esteem / Self Image	3	4	37
20	Inter-system comparisons	2	3	33
21	Losses	23	46	454
	Losses - Established Programs, Traditions and Schools (includes Cultural heritage)	13	15	131
	Losses - Ensemble Participation	10	11	130
	Losses - Faculty and Teacher Quality	1	1	8
	Losses - Jobs	2	3	30
	Losses - Leadership opportunities	2	2	35
	Losses - Parental Support	1	1	8
	Losses - Sense of Community	8	13	112

22	Magnet School Effects	9	13	150
23	Marching Band as Spirit of the School (representation of community culture)	2	2	16
24	Melting Pot	1	1	16
25	Meritocracy	2	2	96
26	Natural Selection	1	1	4
27	Nostalgia	2	3	17
28	Peer Tutoring	1	1	10
29	Philosophy of Education	29	73	898
	Philosophy of Education - Doctrine of Ethos	1	1	8
	Philosophy of Education - Education vs. Entertainment	29	53	628
	Philosophy of Education - General Education	3	5	96
	Philosophy of Education - Music Education	9	13	157
	Philosophy of Education - Testing and Its Effects on Music Programs	1	1	9
30	Play the "Race Card"	3	3	20
31	Preferential Treatment	1	1	7
32	Quotas	4	4	20
33	Racism	32	99	950
	Racism	4	7	76
	Racism-Colorblind	11	14	83
	Racism-Discrimination (including the feeling of being discriminated against)	8	11	181
	Racism-Learned	3	5	42
	Racism - Lingering Effects/Persistent	10	12	110
	Racism - Prejudice	16	19	158
	Racism -Resistance to Desegregation	3	5	50
	Racism-Stereotypes	15	26	250
34	Reappropriation	2	2	19
35	Recruiting technique	5	5	42
36	Scheduling	14	18	190
37	School Size (pros and cons)	1	1	17
38	Segregation	19	29	240
	Segregation	4	4	16
	Segregation - denied opportunities, unequal resources	16	24	219
	Segregation - unequal standards	1	1	5

39	Significant Experiences	1	1	9
40	Socioeconomic Factors	33	139	1425
	Socioeconomic Factors-Concentrated Poverty	5	6	82
	Socioeconomic Factors - Education level of parents	6	7	71
	Socioeconomic Factors-Entitlement Mentality	9	15	197
	Socioeconomic Factors-Home Factors	13	20	266
	Socioeconomic Factors-Kids Raising Kids	6	6	36
	Socioeconomic Factors-Resources / Affluence	29	74	685
	Socioeconomic Factors-As a factor in resegregation, particularly by social class	3	3	37
	Socioeconomic Factors-Respect for Instruments and Equipment	5	8	51
41	Students-Attrition	4	5	26
42	Success Factors	6	9	49
43	Support	38	149	1413
	Support-Administrative	31	79	753
	Support-Community	6	6	47
	Support-Parental	25	61	581
	Support-Political	3	3	32
44	The Teacher	39	195	1951
	Teacher Apathy	1	1	11
	Teacher Attrition	15	22	185
	Teacher Expectations	10	18	168
	Teacher Morale	3	5	35
	Teacher Preparation	7	11	189
	Teacher Quality	36	112	1136
	Teacher Quality – Rote Teaching / Learning	6	9	81
	Teacher Reassignments	13	17	146
45	Unearned rewards and recognition	1	1	8
46	Work Ethic	15	24	220

Notes: Total Number of Codes – 46, Total Number of Interviews – 41, Total Number of Lines of Coded Text – 13,335.

The next table lists the codes, ranked by number of participant interviews they appear in, most to least. This more concise, ordered format helps to reveal the most significant codes which emerged from the data but it doesn't reveal the entire picture. Some codes are closely inter-related and an argument could be made that they should be combined, such as *Desegregation: Negative Outcomes* and *Losses*. The distinction was preserved in order to explore how they are closely inter-related.

Table 63

Interview Codes in Order of Significance

Coded Theme	Number of Subjects Mentioning	Total Occurrences	Total Lines of Interview Text
Ethnocentrism	39	231	2305
The Teacher	39	195	1951
Support	38	149	1413
Socioeconomic Factors	33	139	1425
Desegregation: Positive Outcomes	33	83	582
Racism	32	99	950
Curriculum	32	90	829
Desegregation: Negative Outcomes	32	78	674
Philosophy of Education	29	73	898
Losses	23	46	454
Segregation	19	29	240
Work Ethic	15	24	220
Discipline	14	27	299
Scheduling	14	18	190
Cultural Norms	13	19	161
Busing and Its Consequences	10	11	99
Magnet School Effects	9	13	150
Culture of Learning	8	15	111
Fearful Feelings	7	11	101
Success Factors	6	9	49
Recruiting Technique	5	5	42
AYP/NCLB	5	5	28
Student Attrition	4	5	26
Quotas	4	4	20

table continues

Coded Theme	Number of Subjects Mentioning	Total Occurrences	Total Lines of Interview Text
Self identity/Inferiority Complex / Self esteem / Self Image	3	4	37
Affirmative Action	3	3	28
Gang related issues and activity	3	3	26
Play the "Race Card"	3	3	20
Inter-system comparisons	2	3	33
Nostalgia	2	3	17
GMEA Events (District and State Meetings, Festivals, Contests, etc.)	2	3	14
Competition amongst schools	2	2	21
Reappropriation	2	2	19
Marching Band as Spirit of the School (representation of community culture)	2	2	16
Compromises	2	2	8
School Size	1	1	17
Melting Pot	1	1	16
Peer Tutoring	1	1	10
Significant Experiences	1	1	9
Unearned Rewards and Recognition	1	1	8
Meritocracy	1	1	4
Natural Selection	1	1	4
Non-GMEA Sanctioned Events	1	1	4
Copyright Issues	1	1	4
Concrete vs. Abstract	1	1	3

The data from the interviews suggests that many of the factors influencing the success or failure of music education programs during the processes of desegregation and resegregation are common to both processes. Factors which appear to have influenced the quality of music education experience that resulted from the desegregation of public schools in Richmond or Columbia County were: the effects from ethnocentrism and the consequences of ethnocentric behaviors; the teacher: the teacher's attitudes, expectations, preparation for teaching, quality of methodology and pedagogy, morale; support from parents, communities and school administrations; various socioeconomic factors such as affluence of the home and community,

education level of the parents and other home factors; racism and prejudice in of their various manifestations; philosophy of education and type of curriculum; the initial and continued effects of busing and accountability. Many of the same factors appeared to have influenced the quality and type of music education programs even as schools resegregated. Furthermore, this list of themes is very similar in ranking and content to the themes identified in the questionnaire responses. For two reasons this provides some validity to the findings: there were some participants in the questionnaire that weren't part of the interviews and thus serve as an independent verification of many of the themes to emerge, and the respondents to the questionnaires had much more time to ponder their answers with questionnaire questions than they did interview with questions and this serves to confirm the validity of the findings when the data gained from both methodologies is very similar. What follows is a discussion of the findings supported by interview participant quotes.

Ethnocentrism

The effects from ethnocentrism and the consequences of ethnocentric behaviors was one of the most significant finding of the study. Ethnocentrism affects every person in many of the decisions made each day concerning how others are looked at and treated, and what aspects of culture are accepted as the 'norm'. Consequently, any study looking for the effects of desegregation and resegregation on school music programs is sure to encounter data and themes which relate to ethnocentrism and how one looks at one's own culture as opposed to that of other's. It is also closely related to racism and the prejudices that each of us hold regardless of our ethnicity, because it is part of the process of forming our own individual ethnic and cultural identity. Public school music education programs are placed into a center of controversy if for no other reason than their very nature: they deal with the teaching and dissemination of culture. An

early sociologist, John Mueller (1958) described this in the *Basic Concepts In Education: Yearbook for The Society for the Study of Education*.

Of course there is a natural proclivity of ethnocentrism in every field, i.e., the tacit assumption that one's "world" and culture is the norm compelling upon all intelligent creatures. In past centuries we have burned people's bodies to save their souls. Each religious, political, economic, and aesthetic doctrine, each nation, each occupation, tends to see the salvation of the rest of the world in the acceptance of its own tenets.

Ethnocentrism then, affected and created many of the consequences which resulted from integrating and desegregating schools, and eventually it was a main factor in schools resegregating (white and middle class flight). It created a number of dilemmas for music teachers when it came time to make decisions concerning curriculum. It contributed to the development of two almost "opposing" marching styles for school bands. It continues to influence the types and genres of music that children and even adults prefer listen to and if applicable, prefer to perform. Consequently it affects ensemble demographics – who enrolls in a music class based on a variety of factors to include the ethnicity of the teacher as well as the 'type' of music the class or ensemble performs. This effect is not only seen in the decisions a student makes but also in the decisions the student's parents make. It is the reason many parents and children look for other places to make music, especially when the predominant musical culture of the ensemble does not match their own. It is a major component of which philosophy of education a teacher adopts – one oriented more towards the pragmatic, performance and entertainment basis for music education or one oriented more towards the aesthetic and educational value of music education. It contributes to the sense of community, the proclivity of people to live in communities of other people who share the same cultural outlooks and a person's desire that

their child attend a school located and culturally rooted in their own cultural community. It is even a factor in the phenomenon known as ‘acting white’.

There were thirteen subcategories of ethnocentrism identified in the interview data. Ranked in order of frequency of occurrence, the major subcategories of ethnocentrism were how it: influenced participation decisions about school musical ensembles and musical tastes; manifested through resegregation (Middle Class and White Flight); influenced a sense of community, and community and neighborhood schools; caused people look for other schools and places of learning; affected ensemble enrollment and demographics; contributed to the phenomenon known as ‘acting white’, contributed to black segregationism; caused parental, community and peer pressures on the school and arts teachers; and influenced the decision to make music elsewhere besides school ensembles.

Ethnocentric behavior is a major part of everyday school life for students as well as teachers. The resulting behaviors were even the topic of a book (Tatum, 2003). One white teacher in Richmond County noted its existence with:

...but having been in this school zone for 20 years I’ve seen it change and we’ve gotten more African Americans here and the sad part to me is that the majority of the school really segregates itself. It’s like a lot of the African American kids they all stay together.

This phenomenon occurred even in the school musical ensembles. One Columbia County music teacher described how it manifested itself in bus seating: “When the kids sign up for buses, out of our six buses, we have the traditional black bus, at least predominantly black because that’s who they hang out with, too.” Even teachers felt the influence of ethnocentrism:

You know we go into the lunch room, and except for a handful of people, people automatically segregate, even teachers. Who are you drawn to, you're drawn to people that you consider are like you, and a group where you feel welcomed and included. So what's the first thing you see, you see skin color. People can't help it.

This same ethnocentric feeling applied to fine arts teachers as well. Cultural preferences play a major role in how many high school students choose a college, and consequently those students are taught along the line of whatever culture is dominant at that particular college. Following college, many teachers continue to teach as they have been taught, continue to congregate with other teachers with the same cultural perspective. This ethnocentric behavior by many music teachers continued on even after student bodies and faculties were desegregated.

When we would have meetings here, the black and white guys together, if they... you could tell the division because the black guys, when the meeting was over, the black guys would go to a place they called the Shoes. Now I've been in this town all these years and I still don't know where Shoes actually is. It's a club where they would go and drink after they had got off of work. That's every band directors meeting. They hung out with their peers. The white guys, I don't know where they went. I guess they went home.

In some cases even after desegregation, the African American band directors in Richmond County continued to attend the same festivals hosted by HBCU's as they had in segregated days instead of the now integrated GMEA festivals.

Yeah the black guys pretty much met with the college directors when we had our festivals. See even after we integrated, to some extent, band directors would still go to black colleges for festival. Colleges like Fort Valley State, Savannah State, they would

still go there to do their thing because the colleges would invite you and it was a tradition. They didn't have to worry about whether they could go because their principals were black any way. They came out of black schools, most of them. While we were at these festivals, they would have meetings like what you are talking about. We looked up to the directors of those college bands for direction, suggestions and everything. We would meet during that time. We would have our parades at that school, and you would do your concert thing, and this was some of the top band directors at that time in Georgia who are still in the business. We had that and you still had that situation which you did because no one thought this was going to go away because...you just...it wasn't going to just change, you couldn't just keep going.

Following desegregation, music students who were rezoned and bused to achieve desegregation often encountered many difficulties. One white band student that was bused to a HBHS wrote:

The one thing...I can remember being in the RC-HBHS band, the one thing that would just bother me to no end was people yelling "There's a white boy, look at the white boy." You couldn't help but be noticed, because you were there, you know because there was no way to miss you. I guess it could be the same way maybe at RC-HWHS too. When they had no minority students, there were no black students in band. I'm sure it was the same way at that end of the county too.

This researcher encountered a similar situation when visiting a predominantly (98%) African American school in Richmond County when asked by one student, "What are you doing here honky?" Ethnocentrism is so strong that even when an African American lives in a

predominantly white community he/she may tend to seek out other African Americans to socialize with. This seemed to be the case with one Richmond County African American music teacher who lived in a predominantly white Columbia County neighborhood and stated, “I look at this community here, it's a quiet community, there are a few African Americans up here and we get together and talk.”

There were a number of factors related to ethnocentrism which emerged in the data which appeared to influence student's decisions on whether to participate in a musical ensemble or not. These factors included the race of the director, musical repertoire and style of marching for marching bands, peer and parental pressure, the influence of ethnocentrism on musical taste and performance practice, the phenomenon known as ‘acting white’, and students finding places other than public schools to make music. Following those sections, findings are presented on how ethnocentrism played a role in the creation of a great many private and parochial schools in response to predominantly white parents looking for places other than desegregated schools to send their children. Finally, findings concerning ethnocentrism and its role in white and middle class flight into Columbia County are presented.

How Ethnocentrism Influences Participation Decisions - Race of the Teacher As A Factor

Race of the teacher was a major influence for both whites and blacks in the early days following desegregation as to whether a student participated in band or not.

I was the first black band director there. Oh, man. So what are you going to get? Black kids come in, wow, they came in and they came in. That was fine for, well it didn't disturb me or nothing, but as time went on, the white parents and kids started coming into

the band so the band's complexion started to become a band. You know a lot of kids started coming back to the band who were doing other things.

Here, this African American band director stated that the African American students came in but apparently the white students withdrew at first. The director later stated "the white parents and kids started coming into the band." A white former student of this band director confirmed this when he said:

...you know a lot of my white friends didn't know why I wanted to be in the band because there was a black band director. And so a lot of kids' parents I guess, maybe, thought that it wasn't a cool thing to do. Of course I just wanted to play; I just wanted to play music.

Fallin: So you're saying that there actually were kids that chose not to be in band because the director was black?

Uh huh, oh yes.

Fallin: Do you think they would have been in band if there had been a white band director there?

Right, even if he was ten times worse.

This same former student identified the issue of cultural differences between teachers and students as one possible irony that occurred as a consequence of desegregating schools, "I think one irony would be like how can a black band director teach white kids or vice versa? You know, it's kind of... how is that going to work?"

This example illustrates how race is both relevant and irrelevant when the teacher quality is excellent and multicultural. When he/she first got there the “black kids” rushed in, but he/she also retained and recruited additional white kids as well who had quit the program under the previous white band director. The returning white students who had quit under the preceding white director points to the fact that there are other factors at play in the enrollment statistics of a particular music program, such as competing activities for students’ time, but certainly one reason some students choose any activity is the quality of the experience offered in that particular situation. Still, the concept that race of the teacher plays a role is reinforced by the influx of “black kids”. Despite the efforts of this teacher to be inclusive and multicultural, it seems that simply his/her being black brought a larger percentage of black students into the band than the demographics of the school would indicate all other things being equal.

This is somewhat corroborated by another former white student who also noted that the race of the director influenced the demographics of that particular high school band program in Richmond County:

...in fact if you look at the average demographic of the school, there was probably a 10% black population at the high school at the time and I don't know these facts to be true I'm just going to guess and say, you know, but the band itself was probably more aggressively represented by blacks or minorities then in the average school population.

[Name omitted] was a black music instructor, a black band director.

This occurrence was not unique in Richmond County. A different former student had the same thing to say about yet another African American band director who had been moved to a different HWHS in Richmond County:

I don't know if they didn't like the band director or he wasn't doing what they thought he should do, or whatever. It was [Name omitted]. They just...almost all of them quit and they were anxious...I mean I talked to them, they were anxious to go over there, before all this started, and all of a sudden they didn't...I don't know whether it was because he was an African American band director or whether they just decided they were just going to do academic studies completely or... it just seemed really odd that all of the sudden...

How Ethnocentrism Influences Participation Decisions - Musical Repertoire and/or Style of Marching As A Factor

One of the reasons the race of the teacher frequently played a role in whether students chose to participate or not was the type of repertoire the ensemble performed and for marching bands, the style of marching the director taught:

...particularly if you're a high school white band director, a lot of black students were looking towards the show bands of Josey and Laney when I was there, which was more of a... geared towards Florida A. & M. type halftime shows and they wouldn't want to be in a band where a white band director was because they weren't going to be able to dance and things like that; and the white students didn't want to go in the schools where a black director was, particularly a predominantly black high school because they didn't want to get out on the field and dance too. So I... marching band played a big, big, part in the band programs in Richmond County when I was there. I think it still does though not near as much as it did when I was there.

Many of the directors interviewed mentioned the effect of marching and style of repertoire on participation rates of white and black students. An African American music teacher at one of the magnet schools in Richmond County stated:

For some reason, I don't envision most of the bands in Richmond County as being anything but all-black. Except, you know, in the middle school. And then by the time you get to the high school; the marching bands. I don't know if after middle school, many of the white kids either come to places like this, or if they move away. I would venture to say that's the reverse of what the black kids thought about the dance style show in that the white kids, and probably their parents, don't want them involved in a marching band because it's...because it's acting black and uh... But that's why I didn't, uh, didn't know because when I think about the bands in Richmond County, and especially high schools, I think that they're all-black or I think they have two or three white kids, maybe four or five at the most.

During the period of 1981 to 1990, one white middle school band director noted that the effects of marching and musical repertoire style on student retention not only affected the number of students continuing on into the high school program but also affected that teacher's relationship with the African American high school director of the high school his/her students fed into:

Because he...I would have ...I would have a hundred kids in my program; one hundred to one hundred and fifty kids in my program at RC-HWMS. They would leave and three would start with him. If, and after Davidson (the Richmond County Magnet School for the Fine Arts) opened up (1980) they would all go to Davidson and so he didn't like it

and he would make fun of me, and he would call me names, and he would say all kinds of...

In the following excerpt, the director alludes to the possibility of a multicultural approach to programming and marching style as a means of attracting both African American and White students into the program:

My suggestion to band directors is easier said than done. I don't even have marching band here. It would be some implementation of both of the aspects and then I think...I think more white kids might be likely to continue in the marching band at the high school.

This approach however is hard to implement and the traditions and history of a school are hard to overcome. Many music teachers have difficulty overcoming their own ethnocentric attitudes concerning what is good or bad music. Even when they are able to do so, they may face other obstacles. One African American band director in Richmond County came to a school which for thirty-one years (1969-2000) had been led by former African American band director who near the end of his career allowed the students to write the halftime shows based on tunes heard on the radio and to design their own 'show-style' halftime show. The band was a majority African American and this new director tried to incorporate a multicultural approach with corps style marching in order to make the band more inclusive. The African American students and community rebelled and went so far as to petition the school administration to have this band director fired and to vandalize his car. He left after one year. Another African American band director hired into the same school five years later, tried again to change the marching style of the school's band. He had this to say in response to the question "Do you think there are white

kids at RC-HWHS that were choosing not to be in band in the past because of the kind of music that the RC-HWHS band played?:

Yes I really do think so, yes. And because most of them were playing all the booty music or whatever, I mean that's what I'm trying to do as a band director; I'm trying to change that. I'm trying to get a more universal appeal to where the white kids want to come. It's like yes, _____ high school is about 60/40, 60% black 40% white, but when I ask some of the... most of the white kids, "Do you want to come and be in the band?" it was like no. I guess because, before I got there most of the kids that were there (in the band) were a bunch of 'thugs,' African American thugs, they just did a lot of whatever, you know crazy stuff, and the kids lost the value of wanting to be in band because they didn't see any value in being in band. So yes I get all of the... most of the kids that are thug 'wanna be's' want to be in the band because they just want to beat on the drum. I'm like well that's not what it's all about.

These issues concerning the marching and musical style of a marching band weren't always restricted to ethnicity. In some cases, they also had their root in middle class values and culture, regardless of ethnicity. One band director noted:

For white students, I think a lot of the kids once they get to the high school program and deal with marching band (in Richmond County), because so many of the programs here have gone show style rather than corps style, and many of them got hard-core show style; many of them feel uncomfortable, both with the music and the dance and movements that go along with it. I think many of the parents also feel very

uncomfortable with it. Some of the black parents are also feeling uncomfortable and pulling some their kids out.

All of the preceding comments concerning the effects of teacher's race and choice of musical and marching style on music programs following school desegregation came from Richmond County teachers. The only Columbia County teacher comments which dealt with this issue came from three teachers. The first, a white who was also a former student at one of the HBHS's in Richmond County the year following desegregation, describes his experience as a white student at a HBHS in Richmond County:

It was very marching band oriented, which all the inner-city schools were. No concert band really to speak of at all. It was...you know...the practice schedule was next to ridiculous; they would practice till seven or seven-thirty at night. It was just not something that most of them wanted to do, and I was included, I mean, I didn't stay long. I found a way out.

This former student also commented on how busing, along with ethnocentrism, affected both races and their participation rates in Richmond County music programs:

Well, it really...it ran some students out of the programs. You know, depending on which way they had to go, of course it went both ways too...They were busing in both directions so a lot of the minority students didn't want to participate in RC-HWHS or Richmond or those type of band programs. So it went in both directions. I think that played into it, you know where they were taken out of their cultural security...

A second Columbia County teacher interview in which the theme of ethnocentrism appeared had also taught in Richmond County as well as Redan, Georgia before that. This

teacher personally witnessed the effects that the culture of a demographically changing community can have on two separate school band programs. He observed how important marching band is for many high school aged students:

Well, I think speaking from what we had, it was hard to bring those kids in from (Richmond) County who were pumped up about marching band because we didn't have it, but it was because of the style of marching that they did, which I think is directly related to some of the changes that went on. When I was at Redan, we went from corps style within five years, from corps style to show band, because of the changes. And, you know, some good kids, based on auditions at county-level, for all-county, that was one of my recruiting-type opportunities and you know, and whatever the difference was, whatever the problem was, it was always "well, no, I like marching band and you guys don't have one".

The desire to be in a marching band that reflects your own cultural identity is so strong with some high school students that they sometimes found ways to march with the band of a school different from the school for which they were zoned. A former Richmond County teacher described some rather unique circumstances that had to be dealt with as a consequence of this desire.

Well, I'm going to tell you for as long as I've been up here and just sort of looked around, I mean, we've had school choice...underground...bootleg...for years. They pretty much go where they want and give the aunt's address or just give any kind of an address. I'm telling you there are ones that we don't root it out as quickly or if as much, and some of that could be we don't have enough social workers or whatever. You know

we only have a handful and you've got all these situations. But it...it has been going on and now and now we offer school choice based on the AYP and it's just flocks of kids. But I was told just the other day some of these RC-HWHS kids were trying to go to RC-HBHS because they wanted to be in the band. Is band part of that (school choice based on AYP)? Well I think it is...It's probably been going on and now to hear that some of the RC-HWHS kids are trying to go to RC-HBHS and of course we had tell RC-HBHS "No they can't, you know you have to make sure they're a student at your school." I had to lower myself so much as to put in the band handbook that you have to make sure that your students belong to your school in order to march. Because we were having all kinds of... you know and it was crazy. If we can't even keep up with what kids...and that goes back to scheduling. If they're purely after school how do you know, they might be driving from somewhere else and you just assume because they are there all the time. And when they miss practice a lot, well a lot of kids do that so there is no reason to check. It would be so easy to do it but if you had them in your class, you would know that they went to your school. You know, that's... that's... where I'm at but, would they do all of that school choice stuff in Columbia County? don't know, they may, but I would doubt that it would be to the extent that we do over here.

Peer, Parental, and Community Pressure Resulting from Ethnocentrism

The community, and particularly parents, exert a lot of pressure on school music programs to conform to the dominant culture of the community. If the music program doesn't, then it suffers through declining enrollment.

It's so foreign, that when their children are exposed to different styles of music, they reject it! Their parents reject too. So it influences a great deal because if you don't change with them, you might not have any kids in the band.

Some of the losses that occurred as a result of desegregation can be attributed to ethnocentric peer pressure behaviors. One black former student who is now a band director and was bused to a HWHS following desegregation noted that most of her friends quit band rather than play a style of music that didn't reflect their own culture.

...see when I was...even when I was in school, there were three of us...there were three of us (African Americans) in the jazz band and not a whole lot of us in the concert and the symphonic bands. A lot of times, when I went on trips, I was the only one, and I got scrutinized. It was a big loss. It's interesting now that when a lot of my friends that I did go to high school with, who didn't stick it out, and now they're saying hey, you're still doing that thing. And I'll say yeah, man I'm having a blast. They'll say, I wish I had stayed with it. I really wish I had.

Another Richmond County band director encountered so much pressure concerning his choice to teach corps style marching to his students that he began to consider changing his curriculum as a result. A Richmond County administrator relayed this:

I have one band director that I've spoken with, I'd rather not say where or anything, but it's an African American band director, he was doing a corps-style, young band director, was doing well but has decided, well I'm just going to abandon the corps-style because it's like pulling teeth, it's just too hard; the kids all want this and the parents all want this, so I'm just going to let them do that.

A Columbia County band director stated that this community and parental pressure to perform certain styles of music was an issue in Richmond County when he taught there in 1986 to 1988 and he is “sure it’s worse now”. He also mentioned that it is an issue that Columbia County band directors fight “all the time”.

Especially with marching band, we fight that all the time. I fought that at RC-HWHS when I was there. Depending on what school you're at it, they expected certain things from those schools and when that didn't happen then you'd have uproar in the community, you know, and that was even...that's been way, way back. I'm sure it's worse now.

One Richmond County teacher confirmed that she experienced a great deal of pressure from parents concerning the music played at football games:

I get parent complaints because my kids don't play popular music, and then I get parent complaints when my kids do play popular music, because the set that complains when it's not popular is the set from my mostly black students, and the set that complains when I do play popular music, is from my white students. So I'm kind of caught in the middle.

The pressure for the teachers to change the curriculum to a pop music based one in order to meet community, parental and student demands was so strong that some teachers simply quit.

That whole experience is about being one family and having one single common goal...um...and we just didn't have that. That's one of the reasons I had to get out of band directing, I felt constantly caught in between...the white ethos and the black ethos; back-and-forth, caught in the middle. I just...got tired of fighting that battle.

Some directors described a type of pressure resulting from a number of their music students choosing their college based on ethnocentric factors.

I feel it a lot, especially from my students. I feel a lot of pressure, because the only thing that they want to do is go to an HBCU, which I don't have a problem with as long as you go to school. But I don't want you to be so in the box that you are not going to look at Augusta State, or you're not going to look at a University of Georgia, or a Florida State. I'm just not going to look at that school, well, why not? Because I'm not. Because their bands ain't no good! Why is their band no good? Because they don't play krunk music! So, there is a lot of pressure for me to try and pull them out of that and get them to see other things.

Another Richmond County administrator commented on the same issue, looking at it as a type of irony.

Well, now that everybody has a chance to participate in it (desegregated schools), we find that not everybody is taking advantage of it. We've had the chance for many, many of these kids to excel in some areas and I do find it extremely ironic that the more liberty especially our black minority students have, the more of them now want to choose to go to a historically black college or university. Instead of broadening and taking advantage of these new opportunities, they seem to be focusing in on closing themselves off... what you tend to find is in the schools that do the predominantly show band style (the students) are going to the predominantly African American colleges again that do show bands.

The Influence of Ethnocentrism On Musical Taste and Performance Practice

Cultural identity and ethnocentrism made it difficult for many music teachers in Richmond County following desegregation and continuing even up until the present. To some extent, this issue also exists in Columbia County. Students (and teachers) have preferences for certain types and styles of music partially as a result of the cultural identity they develop. Much of one's cultural identity and corresponding musical preferences develop in the home, but some of it is influenced outside the home by the peers and popular music one associates with. One former Richmond County band director described the issue for teachers:

Now what happens is...as our bands are listening to the concert music and things like that, it's not something that those children hear at home, or hear on the radio, it's not their type of music, so it does become more difficult to get them to enter, enjoy it and those kinds of things. It's not an insurmountable task, I mean it's how they're going to learn and as directors are willing to do that kind of stuff, we have seen some improvement. Is it where we want to be? Well not in all schools.

A Richmond County administrator touched on the idea that certain types of music are viewed as 'white music' and others as 'black music' when he/she stated, "We have a mindset in some schools, like for example concert band, the mindset is that's for white people. I'll just be blunt." A former Richmond County band director said it this way:

I know that a lot of times the black community and white community are associated with a specific kind of music and they think of our traditional concert music as being boring, or lame, or it's not worth learning and they want to learn their cultural music.

A choral director from Richmond County noted that the differences in cultural identity and resulting preferences for different music often lead to conflicts in the very definition of what is a good sound.

We tend find more issues in middle school choirs as far...and now you...there you get a difference between style of music or type of vocal production. Some of your African Americans, the way they sing in churches versus the way that the vocal production quote-unquote, should be at large group performance evaluation; your traditional East Augusta's, Tubman's, Murphy's, they don't produce the head tones as they want at large group performance evaluation.

For one African American choral student, this cultural difference in tonal preference and vocal production created problems even into college:

A lot of the black students don't want that, they want another style. I had a former English student at RC-HWHS, a really bright girl...She came to Augusta State University as a voice major, I think she eventually graduated with her...got a degree in...I don't know if it was music education, performance or whatever, but she struggled with having to learn the traditional European way of singing. What she wanted to do was to cut loose in a mass choir, she wanted that kind of gospel type training. She actually resented her voice lessons. She would go into her voice lessons and she was not a happy camper. She just struggled through it to get her degree because that style was so alien to her.

This issue with difference of tonal concepts between cultures also exists in band programs. A former Richmond County director described the problems of creating a concert band sound when the brass players are all used to playing unisons as loudly as they possibly can.

...that may be why some of our stuff doesn't work out because they've developed a certain sound concept that works really well you know... they've got that CSX sound on a trumpet or tuba. Boy, it penetrates through the stands. But when you want to try to deal with balance and blend or you start dealing with... instead of everybody playing unison and you're trying to build ternary harmony, it's real hard to balance the band when you've got a tone like a laser beam unless it's absolutely and perfectly in tune which we know it's not because the kids didn't learn that and they wouldn't or couldn't stay focused long enough to adapt that other style.

“Acting White” and “Acting Black”

The first interview participant to mention this concept was a white music director from Columbia County. It was mentioned in reference to African American students in both the band program and the school body.

The experience that I did have, that I think is still happening today, and maybe in some cases is even worse, is that I've seen, and I've tried to help some of black students too, and I have learned something from some of black students too, that they don't...the ones that are really go-getters, that it was different with the white students...like there could be white kids that were advanced placement students, and the other kids didn't think anything of it. But you get a black student that's advanced placement, or just wants to really excel, and the other black students want to pull them down because they don't want to have anybody go to the next level. They want them all to be on the same level and they would actually harass those kids. I had several of them that just blew them off and just said, go away. Watching that and learning, some of them were my student leaders.

The same phenomenon existed with white students, particularly in Richmond County where most of the bands performed in an Afro-centric style.

I would venture to say that's the reverse of what the black kids thought about the dance style show in that the white kids, and probably their parents, don't want them involved in a marching band because it's...because it's acting black.

One younger African American music teacher made a connection between "acting white" and how corps style marching bands perform music.

I think that when desegregation occurred, there is kind of a mindset in a lot of black people, based on what I gather that we're not going to take white people telling us what to do anymore...if you went from a school that was all black, and all the instructors were black, and now for the most part, those black instructors have been dispersed, and sometimes into lower positions, so now you've got all-white authority figures. So even though the school's been desegregated, now you have a white person telling you what to do all day long and a lot of black people have made their mind up that nobody is...no white person is going to tell me what to do anymore. You see spin-offs that I won't get into, a lot of spin-offs in the way a white person can treat a black person and a way another black person can treat them and there's a difference in the reaction with that. (laughter) But, yeh I would say so. When you are in an all-black band program, and you're performing a corps style band show, you are perceived as being...trying to act white. I do believe that... or there's not an...they don't identify with that style because it's what the white bands do.

An African American who was a former student in the Columbia County schools described his personal experiences with being accused of “acting white” when he excelled academically.

...it was hard to be an ‘A’ average student, and not get ridiculed by your own people. It wasn’t even the white people that were doing it, it was the black people, because the black kids I guess the mentality was be stupid. And the kids are smart! It’s like, you know I mean, I would make good grades and they were like “Man, why are you... you... you’re acting white.” What do you mean I’m acting white? I’m getting good grades, I want to do something for myself, I want to better myself. When the kid, the black kid, will get an ‘F’ but he’ll get a 1500 on the SAT I would ask, man why don’t you try in school, “I just don’t want to.” So there goes that, uh... if it’s not handed to them, they don’t want to work for it type thing. So yes, it’s like from that to... if I dress, if I don’t have my pants down my legs and I don’t wear these big T-shirts, you’re acting white, I’m dressing white. It’s like, how is that dressing white or whatever? Just because I want to get a job when I get out of here, I don’t want to be here until I’m 21, I don’t want to go grow up and drop out of school and have kids, and that’s not just a black issue, it’s a white issue as well. But you know, the majority... you know a lot of the African American males are in jail, a lot of them are, a lot of them. I can... I have a couple of guys that went to school with now that are African Americans, they have three or four kids now, dropped out of school.

A young white band director in Richmond County described how the acting white attitude seems to be communicated from parent to child as well.

My kids who go home with good grades; they don't get rewards. I have a parent who came into my room and said you need to stop teaching my child this stuff. I said what stuff? All this white guy music. What do you think you are, teaching my kids white guy music? Are you turning to turn him into a whitey? We were learning about Beethoven and Mozart.

The acting white phenomenon was observed by a Northern visitor and her children to the Richmond County school system as well.

...my neighbor here, a lovely lady from New York, a nice black lady; many of her family lives down here in the area. But her and her children won't live down here while they are going to school because she feels very uncomfortable and her children feel very uncomfortable going to school here in Richmond County with the way they are expected to behave, being called white, being told that they are trying to pass (as white) or that they are not really black. Well the difference is that both of these kids are straight 'A' students and as a matter of fact, both of them or at least one of them is in a magnet school up in Long Island. She came down for summer thinking about staying for a little while, and they came down and went to one of the summer programs here just to see if they would be interested in staying since the rest of the family was down here. They decided not. They felt very, very uncomfortable with being sought out and told that they were not acting black.

Other Places of Schooling and Music Making

This area of ethnocentric behavior was identified in the interviews as an impact on school music programs following desegregation as students and parents looked for other places to attend

school and in some case to make music, in order to avoid desegregated schools. Included in this concept is the idea that fine arts teachers in particular look for teaching positions in schools whose dominant culture reflects the prospective teacher's so that in effect, teachers sometimes left a desegregated school looking for other places to teach.

Several Richmond County music teachers observed that some African American students often learned to play an instrument outside of the school band program.

I know in a lot of the African American churches here, black churches around town, they start kids on instruments and they don't learn to read music. They start kids on instruments and they teach them to play by rote...

Not only did the African American students find other places than their zoned school to make music, white students did so as well. One former white student who attended Westside H.S. out of zone commented on the number of other students doing so.

Of course you think also that some, the majority of [the members of the] the Westside band were out of zone during those days. They figured out a way to be there because that was the...that was before the Davidson days and that was the place to go if you are in music. Yeah, there were...I bet when I was there, that band probably had 80 or 90 people in it and I'll guarantee you 35 or 40 of them were out of zone. I will bet it was pushing half.

One Richmond County string teacher observed how the Davidson Fine Arts Magnet School in Richmond County was a place parents looked to as an alternative to public schools and in doing so held consequences for that teacher's own string programs.

We've had...and we still have a lot of students in the program but, my biggest problem with my schools is my students are taken away to Davidson, because they audition for Davidson, a lot of them do. Their mamas and daddies don't want them to go to a public school in Richmond County for middle school. That is a big thing. I don't know what the problem they have, they just...I've heard it through the grapevine that, especially at Tutt...I mean Tutt is one of them, Langford is one of them I've heard it too on my side of town, that they would rather have their kids go to a private school if they can't get into Davidson, or that they're going to move to Columbia County which has no string program, so they have to look for alternatives in trying to find someone. Either they can take private lessons from a teacher, or they go to Augusta State and try to do something with the Augusta State Youth Orchestra.

One effect of parents finding other places to school their children is illustrated by the following comments about Langford Middle School located in the heart of one the wealthiest parts of Augusta, on Walton Way and near the Augusta National Golf Course. When discussing one RC-HWMS, a director described the demographics of the students which fed into that school following desegregation, "Okay, and you know what kind of area that is? None of those kids go to school at RC-HWMS." 'Those kids' refers to all of the wealthy, and predominantly white children living within the attendance zone of that particular school in socioeconomic middle to upper class homes. The majority of the children that do attend this RC-HWMS are African American, and are bused in or walk from nearby apartment complexes.

RC-HWMS...that particular area has always been, up until about 10 years ago, a predominantly white area. I was told that there was a quote unquote, mass white exodus that went to Columbia County and that a lot of those apartment complexes and a lot of

the nicer, smaller, nicer homes were being filled up with affluent blacks. So Langford went from being a predominantly white middle school to a predominantly black middle school because of that. The majority of the parents in that area home school or send their kids to private schools. They're not necessarily predominantly white. The majority of them all are but they're not 90% white. A lot of the affluent Blacks and Asians do not send...that live in Richmond County do not send their kids to public schools, they send them to Westminster, and Episcopal Day, Augusta Christian; they don't want their kids influenced in other words, or they home school them.

Private and parochial schools flourished in the late 1960's in Augusta as schools began to integrate under the voluntary plan and then in 1972 when the court mandated busing, private schools seemed to flourish. One teacher remarked: "Apparently, I guess the private schools were just bursting at the seams during that time."

A Richmond County white string teacher who grew up in Richmond County commented: ...there were like I think maybe three or four other white families and they all went to private schools. They didn't go to the public school because their parents didn't want them to go to RC-HBMS. I only went one year and my mom got me into Davidson Fine Arts School, so (laughter) I wouldn't have to go out there anymore.

Augusta was not unique with the explosion of private schools which appeared around the time of desegregation. The following comments are from a band director who had taught in both Richmond and Columbia Counties as well as just across the Savannah River in North Augusta. This director pointed out that one of the consequences of the appearance of so many private schools was the disappearance of a great deal of resources from the public schools.

I'm going to kind of relate this to my own community when I was growing up, which is only about 80 miles from here so I would say that it's the same attitudes and things that were happening there were probably happening here, just all a little bit larger scale in this community. I think it might be a might serve you to look at the dates of when the private schools in this community were established, such as Augusta Prep, Augusta Christian, Westminster Schools, and all the private schools. Because in my own community, um...there was a private school that popped up after desegregation, and um...when you look at the money that the people in the community who could afford to send their students to private schools; all of that money is being taken away from the public schools. I mean, granted those people are still paying taxes but as far as the additional money, such as donations, or fund-raising activities, or whatever it might be; those financial assets are no longer available to the public schools. I think...I would think you probably would have seen a lot of that in Richmond County.

Ethnocentrism and Resegregation as a Result of Middle Class and White Flight

For many students attending schools in 1972, resegregation started immediately. One retired former Richmond County music teacher who was teaching at the time recalled the effects in one of her schools.

When they first started (desegregation)...schools like Wilkinson Garden... all these people started... I don't want to say home schooling their kids, a little group of mothers would get together and say hey, we're going to open up a school, we're not sending our children to black schools, or with black kids, or you know, whatever it was. I can remember going down to Levi White, because all the black kids were going to what had

been white schools, and there would be like six children in the entire school. I would walk by a classroom and there would be like one child in that room. I mean, it was the biggest disaster you've ever seen in your life. Of course, and I can't remember if it was in the middle of the year or when all 'this integration' hit, it seems like to me it was in the course of the school year, it wasn't like at the beginning of the school year. People were just jerking their kids out like crazy.

There was a great deal of consensus on the fact that schools in Richmond County had resegregated as well as the effects of that trend among music teachers that were interviewed. One African American band director described what happened to formerly white neighborhoods in Richmond County as whites moved to Columbia County to escape busing and schools with increasing percentages of African American students.

We can legislate that the schools will be integrated, but that's only within their zoning system. Of course we both have known and seen that if the community changes too much as far as minorities moving in, typically white people move away. Now in this case, based on the study I've done since I've been here, that happened with people moving from Richmond County into Columbia County... So even though it's legislated by the Brown versus Board of Education, what the school system and laws can't control is people saying "I'm not going to accept this. I'm moving to another community, perhaps where the cost of the homes is at such a level that minorities can't afford it".

A Columbia County music teacher described the situation concerning white flight into Columbia County following the court order to desegregate Richmond County Schools.

Well, and I'll be honest with you, in the early years of Columbia County we really didn't experience an influx of minorities. And, I guess I can say this, the thing was it was like a big what they call...my first time I've ever heard of that was when I taught in Columbia County, they called it the white flight, of wanting to get away from the desegregation and basically move to another area. So a lot of the white people I think were coming into Columbia County and by the time I moved over from Aiken County, you know I probably, I mean I can't...wouldn't be able to count on one hand how many black minorities I had in the band.

This white flight affected the Richmond County string program as well.

I've never worked in Columbia County, although I have seen a lot of students from my schools moving that direction... predominantly white, from what I have gathered, more predominately white.

Fallin: How has that impacted your program?

Well population wise it has, because we haven't had the number of students wanting to take strings like we did before. I'll put it that way to you.

One of the consequences of this white as well as middle class flight into Columbia County was described by an inner city Richmond County African American band director who was teaching at the time.

The upper middle class is not going to be affected at all. Even you're going to have Afro Americans that are in that upper middle class. It may not be as many, but it's going to be some. But you're leaving the vast majority of that poor class right there. So in that sense,

I think it has hurt. I think it hurts because now we're supposed to be operating on the same level but yet, you get all of these other things going on like you got sports, you got bands, you got upper middle class, you have the rich, and I just think that the poor class, even though they have the knowledge, there's only to be so much they can do in my opinion. And they're still going to be sort of left behind in my opinion. I'm looking at RC-HBMS and the situation involved at RC-HBMS over the last couple years. How are those kids going to make it? We're supposed to be operating on an equal playing field now, but it's not happening. And it's not happening because many of the African Americans who are capable, they have lifted themselves up by the bootstraps, and they're gone on.

The effects on music programs and in particular band programs was described by an African American band director who taught in Richmond County.

I am just going to speak very honestly here...as white students have moved away from this area and other areas that I've seen, what tends to happen is there is a very fast change. It happens gradually at first, as you've seen a little bit more minority a little bit less white and then once it becomes close to 50% or so then it just takes off. Then it's just...and anytime change in society happens very fast it, usually has catastrophic type results. As far as band programs are concerned, usually very quickly the size of the band diminishes quickly, for whatever reason that is. And usually there is a very abrupt change in style. Usually, the director that had been there before, will go and move to another area and maybe that expertise is lost. A lot of times, trying to get the same quality of an instructor drawn into that particular situation, it's not able to happen anymore. There are a lot of

educators who will avoid that situation, so getting the same quality of instruction goes down.

The consequences of the demographic, teaching quality, economic and school discipline changes brought about by resegregation, caused one young white music teacher in Richmond County to say this about the very school system she teaches in:

...because the schools, and the atmosphere at the schools, are not good. It just... the opportunity, the opportunity might be there, I mean if I had kids, and especially if they were in music, but like the... when the kids... most of the kids don't care, most of the schools that play the music or whatever that there is only one way, because if I had a kid, I would want them to be successful! I want them to be as successful as they can. And if they have all of these distractions with certain things, you know, I mean guns and stuff like that are at any school. But you have more kids who have attitudes, yeah, I'd definitely go with a private school.

From the perspective of another Columbia County teacher, Columbia County really benefitted from the flight from Richmond County.

The music programs in Columbia County really began to blossom and flourish in the mid-1980s...that's kind of when it started and really, I think, has grown tremendously; especially Evans and Harlem both were very strong in the early 1990s. That's about the time... around about the time that Lakeside opened up. That program was very, very strong all along and so I think the programs kind of migrated from...the quality programs migrated from Richmond County to Columbia County. I think that's a result of the upper middle class and upper class population moving out of Richmond County into Columbia

County. I think some of those people saw that the quality of their children's school experience was going down. They began to move into this county where, or to Columbia County where they didn't have to deal with some of the issues that were at hand in Richmond County. That's partly why the programs in Columbia County have really flourished. All of that has occurred since desegregation. I can remember pictures of the Harlem band, particularly back in the late 70s and 80s even in the late 80s and there were only 15 people in the band. It was not considered to be in any way a quality program. I think as...if you want to call it white flight... as that began to occur, and that population moved out of Richmond into Columbia County, you begin to see the programs really grow.

Another teacher describes how even the quality of teachers Richmond County was able to hire changed as a consequence of white and middle class flight into the neighboring counties. His description brings a lot of ethnocentric factors into his explanation.

I think that the appeal of that school, of a school that's um...we have a...I guess the appeal to the band director or the person that would want to get the job...just...it's um...I think that they would pull different types of band directors as far as directly related to the band. I would see, me being a band director, that I would want to go to a school that I felt I could be most successful with presenting classical music, or doing with a little bit of pop but having it where I could focus on getting them to play older music or hard-core band, I guess, literature versus having to worry about playing what my students hear on the radio or whatnot. My perception is that the schools that are predominantly...have a larger population of African American students, tend to want to play stuff that's flashy, and is right now and what's happening then. I see schools where

it is predominantly white; they're going to learn stuff that has more of a musical and educational foundation than the newer stuff. I think in those schools, their makeup pulls a different band director or appeals to different band directors. Yeh, a perpetuation kind of thing. I mean, I'm going to try to create a program that I was comfortable with when I was growing up. I mean there are a lot of programs in this County where as if I had gone through that band program, I wouldn't have decided to become a band director because I would've felt comfortable.

The Teacher

The teacher and factors surrounding the teacher were identified by thirty-nine of the forty-one interviewees as important factors in the desegregation of Richmond and Columbia Counties. Those factors included teacher attrition, teacher expectations, teacher morale, teacher preparation, teacher reassignments and the most often cited concept, teacher quality (mentioned by thirty-six out of forty-one interviewees a total of one hundred-twelve times).

Teacher Attrition

As described earlier, one consequence of the changing demographics in Richmond County caused by white and middle class flight following desegregation was a change in the quality of teachers in Richmond County. Some interviewees mentioned attrition of good teachers as a contributing factor that exists even into the present time for Richmond County. One former Richmond County teacher commented:

It's a pretty big distraction to have to constantly deal with those kinds of issues...um... sometimes when I look back to that and...and you know maybe in some experiences I've had since then, there might be too much talking. [Laughter] That really does...that kind

of pales in comparison to the issues that I was dealing with in that Richmond County school. As I understand when I relate my experiences to the other directors in the county (Richmond); my experience was pretty good. That makes it very difficult for, especially for a quality teacher; a really, really high quality teacher; 95 to 99% of them are not going to remain in a situation like that if they even go into that in the first place.

Another Richmond County band director described the band director turnover rate as high in Richmond County and some of the problems he/she encountered when he/she took a band director job in Richmond County:

I am constantly shocked at the turnover rate here because you can't really establish a rapport with your students when you are only there a year and then...or two years and they keep...the students keep getting new band directors. They never trust the one; they never give them a chance. I know that was an issue when I started at RC-HWHS because they had just gone through the band director thing. [Name omitted] had retired and they had a couple of other ones, and there were some issues, so that was really tough when I went in there to deal with. I was really young; I was only 23 so when you're trying to deal with students that are 19...

One of the issues with a high turnover rate mentioned by several interviewees was that often only young, inexperienced teachers apply to teach in Richmond County.

...and they attract younger teachers, and that's exactly what typically happens. They get the first-year teachers or the younger teachers; they get a little experience under their belt and then they find greener pastures so to speak. I did the same thing. I was there for three years and then got a job in Columbia County. So...I mean most of it I think that's

what's happening but you know, you have the Charles Burtons, who did wonders, WONDERS. Harkness Butler really did a good job when he was in the county, and John Bradley. Those guys did a really good job, but some of the newer ones you've got over there now are just struggling.

Another white Richmond County music teacher talked about how the quality of new teachers being hired suffers as a consequence of the high attrition rate in Richmond County, "I know that the positions at places like Butler, Josey and Laney, are really tough to fill. I know they are, and sometimes you get a lesser quality teacher. I know that sounds horrible."

One former Richmond County band director went so far as to mention some of the issues which contribute to the high turnover rate including the reasons he/she ultimately left Richmond County for good.

I mean, that's part of the reason I quit or, couldn't tolerate the way I could see it going. I mean, at least not where I was. I actually spent nine years at RC-HWMS, and even though I had a great principal, and if I had known then how good it was to have a good principal, you know, that that was that important, I might have tried to stick it out. I *actually quit for two years*, got my Masters degree in middle grades, *didn't want to be music* and then when it was...when I was done and then it was time to get a job, guess what the only jobs that were open, music jobs (laughter). So I ended up back at RC-HWMS as band director, and had I known then I would have never left RC-HWMS_ because *I didn't know things could be that bad in a program*. And I knew it was bad, I knew that they had had a couple of people come in and couldn't do anything. I thought okay, these kids are going to be excited because here I come and I'm going to show them

how fun it is to be in band and how to play. Well you know, it's that old saying, if you don't know what you're missing you don't miss it, you know. They didn't much like that I didn't turn on the radio and just show them how to play rote riffs.

Several other former Richmond County teachers and students attribute part of the high teacher turnover rate to discipline. One stated, "I think a lot of the good teachers want to teach in Columbia County because there's not the behavior problems that there are in Richmond County." Another said, "I know they have a problem like keeping a band director at RC-HWHS, and that might have to do with uh...that might have to do with like teachers not wanting to teach there because the kids are rowdy."

There was a perception by some interviewees that the 'best' teachers make it to Columbia County and never leave compared to the high turnover rate in Richmond County.

The stronger middle and high school band programs as a whole, do exist in Columbia County. There are pockets here and there of quality programs, but I think... I think the fact that...the band directors in Columbia County, once somebody gets into a position they generally don't leave it. The high school positions, they either retire or get promoted into administration. If you look at the number of teachers that have come from Richmond County, quality teachers that began their careers in Richmond County and ended up teaching in Columbia County, they're quality teachers and they want to work with the highest quality students...

Another problem associated with high teacher attrition and turnover is keeping control of the school's music, instrument, and equipment inventory. This was particularly frustrating to a young African American band director in Richmond County who stated, "Because I don't

have...I have literally twelve instruments in the entire school and the school's been open since 1922 and I'm trying to figure out what happened to them.”

Teacher Expectations

Ten of the forty-one interviewees talked about teacher expectations as one of the factors influencing the quality of music education programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties following desegregation. One Columbia County band director, who had also taught in earlier in Richmond County, made this observation concerning the various factors contributing to the differences in the quality of music education programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties:

I think it's come down to the teacher. If the teacher sets goals high enough, and sets those disciplinary actions harsh enough or gets a working discipline plan, each kid *can* get a music education, get the same music background. I think it's the teacher, that's the one thing. Mainly because... if you had the same amount of money, and didn't have to worry about things like socioeconomics, I think it's going to come down to the teacher. If the teacher has high enough expectations, they can do it.

White teacher expectations of African American students were not always very high following desegregation. One white band director teaching in Richmond County from the mid-sixties to the mid seventies, seemed to be surprised when one of his/her former African American students graduated from high school.

Believe it or not, I did have...the only kid that I know... I wish I could have adopted a lot of them... He did make it through. I helped him with some letters of recommendation or whatever too.

Another white Richmond County band director revealed his/her expectations in comments about a situation one year which involved the Richmond County Honors Band and the guest conductor:

[Name omitted] did our All-County Band two years ago. He/she couldn't believe that what he/she was looking at was our best. The discipline problems, the lack of concentration, the lack of skill and talent; he/she looked at me and said I don't know how you do this. *I said I do the best I can with what I've been given to work with* [Italics added]. He/she couldn't believe what the kids were wearing.

Teacher expectations play a myriad of roles in a program, not all of them positive. Sometimes it seemed expectations contributed to problems in certain Richmond County programs. One teacher said this about parental support: "I didn't have a band booster club because realistically I didn't expect much cooperation." Another former Richmond County music teacher mentioned expectations based on stereotypes:

I guess...I mean the stereotype is that we didn't expect as much from our African Americans as we did from whites and that must be something that's been going around the county because I've heard our superintendent say a hundred times...the ex-superintendents say, you know we have to expect more from these kids. So I guess people weren't.

Expectations rooted in stereotypes seemed to border on prejudice for one African American band director at a GMEA LGPE one year:

Here we go to Festival; this happened two years ago. Here we go to festival and all my kids are in their uniforms, all their faces look like mine. Here comes...another band

director comes up on stage, we're stalling for time because we're waiting for some equipment to come to the stage for the percussion, and he's looking at us and he's saying: "My goodness." He says to me; "I don't know what you did to them but they are such a disciplined group, and I can't believe it. How in the world did you get all of your students to wear black socks?" I'm thinking...you're paying attention to something that, in my opinion, is as minute as all of my students wearing black socks. It's a uniform! Of course they're going to wear black socks! They know what to wear, of course. "I can't believe how well disciplined they are and they didn't...you know, they look so professional." Well there again, it's not the kids, it's the person in front of the kids that makes a difference. If you set the expectations, I don't care. The children will do whatever you tell them to do. And it's up to you to set the expectations and to hold them accountable.

Teacher Morale

Teacher morale was alluded to by three of the forty-one interviewees, all three from Richmond County. One was teaching in Richmond County at the time desegregation first took place. This teacher was one of the white teachers reassigned by the school board in response to the court order to desegregate the school faculties in Richmond County. In this teacher's case he/she was reassigned from a HWHS band program he/she had just spent three years building to several historically black elementary schools.

...and of course I was "honky", you know, that made it a little more difficult and I will say I...I mean I got a lot of respect, and of course the...you know by the end of the year they all thought it was tremendous and it was...the band was a professional sounding

group and all the accolades and...but I really didn't...really didn't...I don't know I...I just...I was, I was, was tired, I was just tired...I regret...I don't know what else...I could have done or we could have done...like I said, that was when I quit, I was tired. It wasn't just that, but I was...I was tired...was tired of fighting, and it was...

A young African American Richmond County band director from contemporary time compared Richmond and Columbia County band director morale and the consequences:

I think band director morale in Columbia County is better versus Richmond County, so when the band directors in Richmond County get burned out, blown out, and say we just don't care, they don't put... they don't continue to put the same importance into the program as say the band directors in Columbia County. So, you know, lack thereof, and you get people who don't care and they just kind of let go what goes and whatever happens, happens and so instruments get destroyed and so forth.

One former Richmond County former band director and administrator described his/her frustrations as well as the consequences of another Richmond County band director with poor morale:

It's... difficult to name one factor that's the difference between them. It's so many underlying and as a band director, I didn't see the whole picture. I just saw my situation, and... I mean, I was in a decent situation and I made the most out of where I was at. Was I frustrated? Yeah, with the quality of instruments and that kind of stuff, but it was nothing like when I came here and saw every school and then said wait a minute, when you have one high school who took sousaphones to large group performance evaluation that's a problem. It was the fellow last year; he didn't want to be there, so he showed us.

He didn't want to be there... I wanted a bag to put over my head... he was gone. When the new director came, the next year they made excellent ratings. So you see, it was the same school, same kids, same socioeconomic rating, African American, whatever, and different teachers... oh what a difference.

Teacher Preparation

This concept is closely related to the next to be covered, teacher quality, but was mentioned specifically by seven of the forty one interviewees. There were several aspects to this concept which came out of the data, one that teachers in general weren't prepared for the problems that arose when suddenly faced with teaching students of a culture different than their own; two, a number of white teachers felt that HBCU's weren't adequately preparing their graduates to be effective music teachers; and three, the quality of a teacher's preparation in undergraduate school directly impacted the quality of their teaching.

Some teachers really felt at a loss when suddenly faced with teaching students of a different culture and ethnicity as in the case of one white band director teaching at the time of desegregation:

I know you're getting into specific stuff too and I'm trying to think of one of the things... I was afraid... I didn't know, for example, like brass... you're a brass player, so like brass players and I thought, well I didn't know... and I called, and I was very sincere, I talked to Al Ligotti, at that time he was still teaching, of course he may be dead by now... he was at Georgia... he conducted the orchestra...and I said how do I teach... I'm not really... and he was from New York... he played with the New York Philharmonic for a while, and he was glad to get down here, he said he was glad to get down to...and we

were pretty good friends and I said Al, what I'm going to do? I don't know, I don't dare say anything, but I said I'd never taught kids like this, even at Glenn Hills I had a couple of kids that really had huge embouchures, and I said I don't know how I go about correcting this and he said just like anybody else, you don't curl your lips back, you just put your lips up there and buzz your lips, just like any other kid. So that was fine.

Besides the physical aspects of teaching an instrument to different ethnicities there was also the cultural aspect which created issues for teacher. The same white teacher as above had this comment:

There's no doubt that there was a cultural difference that I didn't understand...I don't think I was adequately prepared...It was a little hard like with the beginners. Originally, like with the white kids, find out whatever the pop tune is, and write it out, they wouldn't put you in jail in those days for copyright stuff. Write out a couple bars and then you teach them. Tell them to go practice in the same place, the same room, same time, two to three times a week and after about four or five weeks and you teach them a little song, all of a sudden they're playing something they can recognize. Then you got them. It is harder to do that with African American kids, I don't know why, but it was harder to like we say, to get the hook in them. Once you get the hook in them, you know they'll work, but it was hard to get African American kids into playing something that they really knew. Something like a pop tune was easier, because I didn't know how to approach them at first. Like white kids, I just put them...whatever was a pop tune...write out about eight bars of that, teach a little bit of that, they say hey, I can recognize that song and all of the sudden they understand what practicing is all about...So you get the hook in them but it took me a while doing that with African

American kids. By the time I got to RC-HWMS I had a little of both, more white kids than African American kids but still it was a little bit easier. I didn't understand the language. We did get into that but I didn't understand the language. I had a knock on the door, "May I speak," and I said "What?" When he said may I speak, he wanted to talk to someone in the class but I didn't know that. I'm not making light of anything and I said, well okay, go ahead. I embarrassed him and I didn't mean to. I said I'm sorry, I thought you meant you wanted to talk to me, he said no, May I speak? He wanted to talk to somebody in the class. There were a lot of things that I didn't...I don't know if that's ghetto inner-city stuff that I didn't know I wasn't prepared for. I didn't understand.

One white teacher went so far as to say that in order to feel adequately prepared to teach in an inner city urban school setting, they would had to have attended a HBCU. He/she also commented on other aspects of teaching in a multicultural setting that his/her undergraduate degree inadequately prepared he/she for:

I would hate to say it but you would have to go to, if that was my goal in life, to go into an inter-city setting, urban setting, I would go to Florida A&M, the black Alabama schools, something like that so that I could culturally see what's going on. I think they teach more that way. I can't say, but I would think that knowing what they were going to be putting out and probably where they are going to be going I would imagine they would gear the whole program toward that type of thing. But I never had marching band in college. I didn't have guitar class in college. I didn't have an arranging class, I had orchestration class, but I didn't have an arranging class. And those three things I would never teach the guitar class, but marching and arranging which I do every day, most days, as well as jazz, I didn't get any jazz in college, so even if I had gone to some of those

schools, so if the first job I had right out of college was an inter-city job, I would have fallen flat on my face, unless I had done something to make sure I didn't do that because I was unprepared. Concert band-wise, I was very prepared, the upper end of music I was very prepared, but getting down to the nitty-gritty I don't think I would have done very well.

Besides the personal feelings of inadequacy, some directors pointed out that they had observed a number of other directors through the years in the Richmond County programs that weren't adequately prepared to teach.

I think, earlier in the early part of desegregation, really when I had just started teaching, I think some of the older directors weren't prepared...to teach, uh, technical facility to the point where it's needed to play very demanding music... um, I don't know where they went to college or you know what kind of... experience they had prior to their positions but...I saw a lot of people just weren't prepared, some people couldn't even (chuckle) determine how to count six-eight time in the sight reading room in all-state. Here, we are talking about band directors responsible for picking the better kids in the state, and they themselves couldn't even count certain meters. So, you know there's a lot expected of us too in addition to what is expected of the kids.

A number of directors were critical of the type of preparation HBCU's were giving their graduates:

I know when I was working on the TCT, I was one of the members of that group, some of the black teachers who were teaching at like Albany State, or wherever else, they would come up with the most, in my opinion, asinine questions I have ever seen in my whole

life to put on that test. Then of course, we would have to put them on there and run them out as sample tests. I could not believe the questions that these people would come up with. I thought, man what are they teaching in those schools? So I really feel like even in the colleges, what used to be predominantly black colleges, I don't think that those people were prepared as well... or like at South Carolina State, I don't believe those standards are anything like what they are at Georgia Southern or someplace like that. I just don't believe it.

A white teacher teaching at the time of desegregation said there were a number of ill prepared teachers at the time:

And I think, earlier in the early part of desegregation, really when I had just started teaching, I think some of the older directors weren't prepared...to teach, uh, technical facility to the point where it's needed to play very demanding music... um, I don't know where they went to college or you know what kind of... experience they had prior to their positions but...I saw a lot of people just weren't prepared, some people couldn't even (chuckle) determine how to count six-eight time in the sight reading room in all-state. Here, we are talking about band directors responsible for picking the better kids in the state, and they themselves couldn't even count certain meters.

Teacher Quality

By far, this was the individual concept that came up most frequently in the data. Issues surrounding teacher quality that were identified in the data included quota hiring versus hiring the best teacher, a type of cronyism during the early years of desegregation in Richmond County,

rote teaching and learning, effective use of classroom time and multicultural approaches to teaching.

One choral teacher was quite blunt about the hiring practices resulting from court ordered desegregation in Richmond County:

Wow. Well I'm just going to say it like I see it. Often times, we have to take a teacher, who is not qualified to do the job because we need a body in the classroom. I think we been bound too by we needed a black teacher in this position; we need a white teacher in this position, because the county has been bound to keep a certain racial balance in the staff. So often times, you can't go with the more qualified...

A former Richmond County administrator had similar things to say about Richmond County.

The quality of some of the teachers in Richmond County, although we've made great strides in the last number of years, we've had a number... you know so many teachers who were given full-time positions that were not finished their certification or were only marginally certified, or needed to take the PRAXIS a dozen times, now we'll see what happens with the new GACE. I don't recall of hearing of that many in the music education side... that many uncertified or non-certified or provisionally certified teachers ever being hired in Columbia County. I think the way that Richmond County goes about hiring teachers and setting things up... Columbia County seems to not need to advertise openings, because everybody wants to come in there, and most applicants are prescreened so you have a few cold callers going in there while Richmond County seems to take whoever they can get. Some of that's the result of a perception of it being a dying

program and some of it a perception of well, if you're a good teacher you come out here, you won't be able to do anything, but you can come out here and get your experience and then go on and work in good program because if you can have any success in Richmond County you'll be quite successful anyplace else.

One white Richmond County band director linked the chronic situation of uncertified music teachers in Richmond County to teacher quality.

...I know there are some teachers that struggle passing the Praxis, and so they are only like provisional and you can only do that for so long, and so long goes by and they still haven't passed it. So what does that say about their musical training, and how much time they've spent, and do they think that the basics are important, and do they think that it's important for students to learn to read music, or is it just important for them to be able to play on the horn, you know? I think that teacher quality is a big issue.

A number of music teachers felt that the problems with teacher quality in Richmond County began with the appointment of a particular African American band director as Fine Arts Coordinator for the county as a result of the court order to desegregate faculty and administrations. One white teacher who was passed over for the position commented:

I was hurt a little bit and of course the person they selected was, and this is...and I wanted...I don't how many choices they had but, but the person they selected...he was the only person in the history of the county that had made three consecutive fives at Festival. That means you should have stayed at home. That's really pretty bad musicianship.

One white band director commented that this African American Fine Arts Coordinator for Richmond County had a stated goal:

I do know that at one point someone who was the decision maker pretty much, or the band director who was the lead band director in Richmond County made a statement as to ‘before I’m finished, every school will have a black band director.’” His goal was not to make sure every band had a good band director; his goal was to make sure that every band had a black band director. It’s not to say that he couldn’t have accomplished both with that, there are many good band directors that are black, but that was not his goal to have good band directors, his goal was just to have, no matter what, to have black band directors.

Another white female hired by this coordinator made this comment:

He was nice...nice man, and I think he, you know, *had* the best intentions. But he hired...he...they...you know...it’s that same insider thing. He hired a lot of cronies you know from Alabama State or wherever it was they all came from. I think ...at the time I was probably a token.

One younger African American music teacher also commented on the manner of connection between the African American band directors and this African American Fine Arts coordinator in Richmond County:

But I had an opportunity to sit down with Dr. ____ and Mr. ____ and Dr. ____
 ...uh...we're all from the same fraternity...social fraternity...and we were sitting there and I was like, wow! I found out that Dr. ____ taught Mr. _____. Dr. ____ was responsible for getting ____ here, and that was just...that guy now here I am, the new, the new guy even though we're all like...okay, I went to ____ (a HBHS in Richmond County), worked at another ____ (another HBHS in Richmond County).

There were a number of music teachers that commented on the amount of rote teaching that went on in Richmond County music programs. One director indicated that this problem had its roots in the philosophy of one person.

There was a time when we had a slew of bad band directors, and I call them bad not because there are bad as people, I don't think because I don't know that, I just know that teaching wasn't going on and that music, my idea of what music is, teaching how to read music, how to know the printed page, knowing that and being able to, like we talked about before, having that notated page and making music out of it, which is really...that is our goal, right, or one of the goals, and there was a time when they were based on one person's idea of what band should be in Richmond County.

One white band director that accepted a teaching job at a predominantly African American school in 1984, talked about his/her perceptions of the teaching and learning that had gone on before:

HBMS was mostly black, and what I didn't realize was that black students were accustomed to learning about five tunes, memorizing them, and using them to march with. That's all they wanted to do. I tried to tell a flute student that she was playing E-flat and not E and she put up a hell of an argument. It was just that primitive, the basic education of those black students.

The rote style of teaching was cited often as a problem with Richmond County schools:

Well, based on the sight-reading scores, I mean, I don't think there was a lot of emphasize put on it at all. A lot of those teachers [Richmond County] teach by rote, so when they get to sight-reading, it's a mess

A Richmond County administrator made the same observation about some of the Richmond County music programs:

What I've learned over the years is there are some schools who believe it's easier to kids to learn by rote, by hearing, and don't emphasize the actual reading process as much because it's more difficult, and that's where we've had to go in and try to work with the director and you know, try to teach them that these kids CAN learn. Sometimes it becomes a crutch.

One teacher implied that the root of the rote teaching style lies in the way popular music is often learned for use in the marching bands:

You can't find the music published...it has to be done another way and unfortunately, a lot of that way is the kids hear it, somebody knows it, knows this part, plays it for this person, they learn it, this person plays another part, they learn it, everybody learns it, and then you've got a popular piece of music that sounds pretty much like rap.

Another white Columbia County director attributed the rote teaching to cultural differences outside of the school classroom.

It's a cultural difference sure...this can be related to the ways we worship too. Because I'm very familiar with the black churches because I have been to a number of them and their worship services many times, I have been to many of the choir practices and it's really kind of interesting that in the white churches we tend to learn the music by reading it and in the black churches, we tend to learn the music by rote. Both ways are good...In the black churches, though, they have a great freedom by not being bound to reading and I think that has a lot to do with the classroom and the way that...our kids want to learn.

When we put the black students in a classroom and say that everything you are going to learn from music is going to be from the written page, they are not going to relate to that. On the other hand, if you take white kids, (chuckle) and sometimes put them in a situation, saying now everything that you're going to learn is going to be by rote. Some of them aren't going to be able to relate to that because they weren't brought up that way.

There were a few times that the quality of elementary education came out as a factor of the quality of a music education program. One Columbia County described the elementary music teachers in Columbia County.

...you have a serious group of elementary music teachers. I mean, they take their jobs very seriously you know. They feel like that they're...that their job is to put those kids into those middle schools and high schools, to be in chorus and to be in band. That's part of our function. You want to teach everybody.

Other teachers attributed some of the problems Richmond County high school ensembles were having to the feeder programs, again making reference to teacher attrition as well.

I don't know if it's something that we could attribute to resegregation, the quality of the programs. It's horrible, I just think it's more...I think it's a lot of the teachers too, especially when you get the laziness in the middle school, and there were some really good middle school band directors, but they get so frustrated and they give up.

Finally, there were a number of responses to the question "Are all students regardless of race in Richmond County receiving the same quality music education as all students in Columbia County?", which dealt with comparisons between the two counties and the quality of teaching going on in the music classrooms.

One Richmond County teacher mentioned the difference in teachers that are hired by the two counties:

Columbia County, being such a good school system, they hire quality teachers, I'm not saying that Richmond County doesn't, but in the long haul, Columbia County has better... you know, they're able to keep better quality teachers.

There were a number of comparisons between how the middle and high school teachers in each county differed in the amount of cooperation and degree of working together towards a common goal.

I think that it's because I know here, in Richmond County, the middle school and high school band directors don't really help each other much during the year. They uh...the middle school band directors have no, they have no sense of obligation that they need to come help with anything in the high schools.

One Richmond County band director commented on the amount of contact he/she had with the high school band director:

I mean if you're only getting four or five kids from your feeder anyway something ain't right. Something's not working there either because you should be getting fifty or sixty kids, hopefully. But you know like he never came down, never recruited, never had a concert, never invited my kids up there, you know we were right across the street from each other. I mean you could have done so much.

He/she described some of the reasons his/her middle school students weren't continuing on into the high school band:

They didn't want to go where they didn't do anything. They didn't do anything they wouldn't even play. They would go to class and they wouldn't even get out their instruments. They would just sit there and the radio would play, or they would play cards, or you know they wouldn't have rehearsal. They just wouldn't do anything... and the stories that the parents of kids that would go up and try to be in band and they would come back and tell me about things that were going on there. Kids...marching band...they would be on the field and they would be making up their own show.

A similar observation was made by another teacher concerning a Richmond County middle school band director: "At RC-HBMS, back before the band director who was there left, those kids couldn't learn anything in band, that director sat behind a piano and let them watch Disney all day long."

Finally, before leaving the topic of teacher quality, as part of the school visitations done for this research, the researcher has have walked into a number of Richmond County music classrooms and found the students watching a movie or not occupied at all with any form of music instruction.

Teacher Reassignments

An African American former student at one of HBHS's in Richmond County described the aftermath of teacher reassignments around 1970 at his/her alma mater:

They reassigned faculty everywhere and it was ruined. Like I say, you cannot substantiate this because you know, but it was rumored that was one of the reasons why they were so glad to split Laney up because it was a powerhouse of faculty. I'm not just saying that because I went there or because I'm black. I'm just saying it because it just is a fact.

Another student in one of the HSWH's at the time described his/her perception of the consequences of a white band director being switched with an African American band director:

The thing that, I guess, to me was funny, I guess, was the fact that they felt the way to integrate the faculties, you know when the children came in, they felt the easiest thing was to take the band directors or choral directors and switch them. So, hey that was like...two people...and the PE people...you know anybody that was "not the real teachers" and move them. They did that one year, and that was the biggest myths in the world because here are the band directors in the white schools that had been doing things like the higher class band music, the transcriptions of the good stuff, were down now at RC-HBHS. Okay? The guy at RC-HBHS, like [Name omitted], had come to RC-HWHS and he was so far out of his element that he didn't... he couldn't even operate.

A retired African American band director also had negative things to say about it even though he was a beneficiary of the reassignments: "It didn't work. It was turmoil, it was turmoil, yeah. They didn't like that."

A form of affirmative action still existed into the early 1980's with African American and White music teachers, often sent to a school which had been historically opposite their own race. This white former Richmond County teacher noted the difficulties even in the 1980's in being assigned to a school in which the race and dominant culture was different from his/her own:

I've talked to [white former Richmond County director]; now you know he was in the middle of that and was moved around or tried to be moved around and then ended up...went to Australia, I believe. Yeah, that was a big issue and that happened though...things like that...even when I started teaching in Richmond County...they

were...I was sent to RC-HBMS and...[Name omitted], I don't know if you remember him but, he was a black guy, he was sent to RC-HWHS. If it had been reversed, that year would've been a lot easier on both of us. He lasted one year and I lasted one year, and I took his place at Westside and he disappeared. But, that's hard, to go into a situation like that, so.

Support

The broad topic of support was the third most often mentioned or described factor as a consequence of the desegregation of public schools in Richmond and Columbia County. It was mentioned either as parental, community, administrative or political support by thirty-eight of the forty one interviewees in one-hundred forty-nine occurrences in the interviews. Only three interviewees brought up the concept of political support so it will not be presented here. Support was described as changing due to changing demographics of schools and neighborhoods; impacted by busing, the loss of the middle class due to 'flight' and the corresponding losses of financial resources, PTA's and booster clubs; and often not present in terms of the administration providing adequate resources, holding teachers accountable, good supervision and leadership.

Administrative Support-Financial

The level of budgetary support for music programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties was described as quite different by several interviewees. A contemporary Richmond County band director described the situation in Richmond County as a whole for budgetary support for music programs:

Now I can...but I can say that Richmond County...I still don't feel that Richmond County funds their band programs like they should, as a whole, anywhere. I just think it's

a struggle, I mean, to run a marching...and they want you to build your programs, but if I had a hundred piece wind program, winds and percussion, I don't know how we would...I couldn't do it...

Another Richmond County band director described a situation in which a large number of beginning band students were turned away every year:

If I could, I would outfit every single student who wanted to play an instrument with one...If I could give them all instruments; I lost 63 students last year in sixth grade band because they didn't get instruments. I could have had 185 kids enrolled in sixth grade band. I lost so many of them. I could have had a ton of students in sixth grade band if I could have given them all an instrument.

String teachers in Richmond County also described the need for more money:

I would say more...a better facility, for us I would probably say better facility. I wish that every string teacher had their own classroom. I wish that we all could spend more money on some items that are desperately needed like more strings for our program. I think that is one thing that we could use, and I've talked about that. We could use some more instruments; I definitely see that.

Following desegregation, even schools that had been HWHS's in Richmond County had problems finding the money to maintain the instruments already in their inventory much less buy new ones. A band director who had taught in Richmond County from the mid to late 1970's stated:

Again, I don't know what it was before, but it was always a struggle for money. There was never enough money. At RC-HWHS, we had a bunch of stuff because that's...it had been the flagship school in the county, and it was under [Name omitted] or whoever his predecessors were that... we had a couple of Miraphone tubas, the only contrabass clarinet, we had a bass saxophone I think, an English horn, all of these wonderful instruments from the glory days. We couldn't even keep those things up, let alone play them. We didn't have the people to play them; we didn't have the horses, let alone keep them in repair. There just wasn't enough money.

One interviewee pointed out that the budgetary and quality administration problems in Richmond County go far beyond the fine arts classroom.

I can say that one of the things...is just a facility. I mean, letting kids from a struggling situation know that people actually care about them. I go over to Butler High School and I hear that they're going to be renovating the thing soon, but the school looks like it shouldn't even have students in it. There are weeds growing up everywhere, there is graffiti that's never been cleaned off the side of the school, I've been up there and I've seen desks sitting on top of the school, I have no idea why they're up there, kick balls that have never been gotten off the roof, and glass that is broken in half. Then, going into the band facility, there are cases that look like they could turn into sawdust at any point they are so dry rotted. They've probably been in...had the same case since the 1950s, which, you know, there probably are very few instruments that I have here at RC-Magnet School that are more than 20 or 25 years old and the cases are updated when they begin to fail.

The budgetary support situations in Richmond County contrast sharply to those in Columbia County for music programs:

But I didn't...at that time we had 310 kids in the band and that's how we got our money because it was like, you know, there was a capital outlay thing and you got 'x' number of dollars per student, and then there was another thing for music and you got 'x' number of dollars per student, and that's how I got a lot of my music and then, you know if they knew that I had...was marching ten sousaphones, and I told them that in advance, they would adjust my budgets to where I could get what I needed.

Administrative Support - Supervisory

A number of teachers felt that some of the problems for music education programs encountered during the desegregation of schools was related to poor, inadequate or non-existent enforcement of the curriculum and good teaching practices by the school administration in Richmond County. Many teachers simply weren't held accountable. There was a general acknowledgement that with the National, State and local level Curriculum Standards, the standards were known but simply not enforced. That was summed up with the following statement, "Well, I think the standards are there. The expectations are there. What we're not having is we haven't got the enforcement or the support of those standards."

One director noted that most supervisors don't understand the standards much less what goes into good music teaching:

...but as far as administrators even understanding the standards, I think that doesn't happen, I don't think it happens, it's unfortunate, they're really nice people who are good educators but often they make decisions about fine arts when they don't really understand

what goes into teaching and the progression of educational experiences that are needed; it's unfortunate I guess.

A Columbia County music teacher described his/her opinion of the real issue in Richmond County music programs as one in which a curriculum based on standards is adopted and enforced by administrators:

It really is going to be up to administrators to take a stand and pull people together and come up with, like I said, you got to have a philosophy, whether it's Columbia County or Richmond County, you got to have a philosophy of what your responsibility is in that classroom and where you want to go. We're so concerned about superficial things, you know, about what the band sounds like or looks like, actually looks like on the football field. People are more concerned that you have a 150 people on the football field marching, than they are that the band is on the football field, playing in unison I mean, playing in tune, playing with good balance and blend, um...So and possibly its due to because how many ex-coaches or whatever that we have in administrative positions. But we have to come up with goals to reach and only through a good curriculum are you going to have goals, and you got to stick with that curriculum, um. Things are never too bad that, um, they can't like all be changed.

Even in Columbia County there was the sense by one director that curriculum supervisors were clueless about what music teachers did:

National standards, then somebody has to make sure that they're doing it, music supervisors. Yeah, I mean we have, as long I've been here, the person who handles curriculum type stuff absolutely knows nothing about what we do.

Many of these comments are related to the concept of accountability which also appeared in the interview findings. One former Richmond County Coordinator said this about some teachers and principals not holding them accountable:

I'm the one that forced everybody to go to Festival. That was one of my things. I said, "You know this is ridiculous, people were sitting on their asses doing absolutely nothing for you and I would go in and observe teachers. I was just horrified about what was going on in some of those classes. And I thought, "Okay, you need to wake up and see what's going on in the world", and oh, you talk about fighting me... you weren't here then, you would have thought that I had killed them all to make them go. Then, after they went and they did fairly decently, it was like "Oh, look what we did." Then a lot of them sort of changed, and it's gotten better. But, there are some, no matter what, and I would tell the principal "Look at what their scores were, that should tell you something, they are not doing anything."

One director noted that many of the problems Richmond County high school directors are having also extend down into the middle schools:

Well now, I'm thinking on the high school level, too, and not necessarily the middle school, but it's the middle school that starts them; and when I sat in the meetings, and they were talking about not getting through the first book in the first year, and only learning four or five things out of the entire book and playing those all year, that's a problem for those high school band directors who have to take them as their feeder to try to pull anything together more than that's grade two or grade three stuff.

Support - Community

One Richmond County teacher described the impact of middle class flight and busing on community support for music programs and the neighborhood school in general:

But when those parents leave and go to another county, then you're stuck in the same place. Not only that, you've got kids going to a school that the people around it have no investment in because they're not coming from the community surrounding the school. So they're...they really have no reason to support it because they are not their kids.

Another music teacher who had taught in both Richmond and Columbia counties expressed the following comparison of community as well as other types of support in the two counties:

There's certainly support: community support, family support, school system support, which you don't necessarily have...now it's there in Richmond County, but not to the same extent. There are parents that love their kids and want to do everything possible for their kids in Richmond County, but not the majority. You know and the school system is not going to support the band program in Richmond County in the way that they do in Columbia County.

Support - Parental

When discussing parental support and music programs often what comes to mind first are booster organizations. There were a number of comments concerning booster clubs and organizations. One interviewee commented on the difference in parental support between Richmond and Columbia Counties:

...the biggest difference between Richmond County and Columbia County is so much more in Columbia County, the parents are more involved, the band booster functions are still much better off and much better organized continually. You know, in Richmond County, how many band booster organizations are still up and running? As far as I know, only two, maybe three high schools have autonomously functioning band boosters. Most of the other ones have either been closed down or shut down or run into problems because they got out of line with what they're original intent was.

A Richmond County band director that had student taught in Columbia County compared the two counties in terms of parental support for band programs:

They're [Columbia County] better organized, the parents contribute and participate and in Richmond County you don't see that, at least I haven't seen it. I haven't seen it in my school. At my middle school there is no parent involvement or cooperation.

One Richmond County band director pointed out that there seemed to be a difference in the level of parental support for the marching band vs. other aspects of the band program:

I know the parents in general, support the marching band so much more than they do any other part of the program. In concert band festival, I'll take my two buses out there all by myself usually, and maybe one parent. But marching band, you know if you're going to go to a football game, you've got the largest group of parents you're going to see. So I think that if the parents aren't supporting the concert band program and saying to the students it's not as important, we just want you to be in marching band, and their parents don't care what they do after marching band, that right there kills your program.

A Columbia County band director who had taught in Richmond County also specifically cited the lack of parental support in Richmond County as a negative factor but made a link between socioeconomics and level of parental support even in Columbia County.

The lack of parental support in Richmond County hurts. [Name omitted] and I are on the south side of Interstate 20, [but still in Columbia County] so we don't get the support from the community or from the county that the other half does. The parents that do support us are strong staunch supporters. But you've got the affluence, and the socioeconomic level is higher over there.

One music director linked the decreasing levels of parental support to the effects of a greater sense of entitlement from many in the African American community.

I've seen things get better of course, but by the same token, like I said, it seems like it brought along less parental support in the minority community because of what I've said before. I think parents just kind of said hey, just let the government, or teachers, or the school system, or the people with the money; let them deal with it. You know, it's their problem, we send them to school and they are supposed to do everything.

Some Richmond County directors felt that busing had played a role in decreasing levels of parental support:

If you think about it, if you're having trouble right now with trying to get parents involved in our rehearsals and bringing their children to rehearsals, from way out the there, the same thing is happening when you transport that child from the side of the county over to the side of the county. That parent is not going to want to have to travel to that school to get involved in that school program. That's it in a nut shell. So it's just

moving the problems around is what I see. That's what I have seen what's going on and it's not helping the situation at all, it's not.

A Richmond County choral teacher described having to make changes in order to accommodate students being bused:

Our zone is um...stretches throughout the mid-section of Richmond County and includes Fort Gordon. So transportation becomes a real issue for our kids' participation. And because of that it's hard to get parents on board to support their kids being a part of an after school, extracurricular program because they know that they can't make that commitment. So I have to gear my program to what the kids can do during the school day...I think some of it is logistical issues for the family that they cannot get to things, that they are working and at the times they are not working, they're attending to the household, they have the other kids, they have parents, and they just have family issues where they cannot get to things. Also, they don't see it as something that's vital to the child, you know, um...they see it as a frill. Many times I've been able to overcome that and they see it as, this is the thing that my kid is successful at, and feels positive about themselves, so they do support it. I feel like at Richmond I have adapted things so that I can get that parental support.

There is some indication that the levels of parental support for music programs was much higher in the first years following desegregation than after decades of middle class flight. One choir teacher who was teaching at the time Richmond County schools desegregated observed that parental support made a great many things possible:

I know when I was at RC-HWHS I created a choir booster club, a choral booster club. The band had it, so why can't we have it? And it really helped us tremendously, that's how I was able to take children you know to Carnegie Hall and places all over to travel with them and give them that experience, experiences that they never would have had. I've had so many children to say, they never would have gotten out of Augusta. So it's that parental support. Yes, that was the purpose of having the choral booster club. It was to raise money to help those children. So when they went on the trips you know, some of them were able to go without paying anything, but then there were others you see who were required to pay, you know just a minimal amount towards what the club was able to give them, so we weighed all of that.

A former student at the same school and at the same time as the choir director mentioned in the preceding paragraph described the difficulties the 'new' African American band director was having with funding for his program:

I know that after _____ came in, that there were... he did... I mean I recall a huge push to develop a band boosters program. I'm sure that had to do with fund raising. That push was internal and external. It was like all the band kids had to be participants of that program and there was a lot of parental involvement as well. He was really, really, really pushing and struggling very, very hard. The band uniforms were in extremely limited supply, I mean he had so much work to do that year. I don't know how he did it. I don't know how he did it.

One interviewee connected the lower level of parental support to a higher level of discipline issues in the Richmond County schools:

The more parental involvement you have, the more scared the kids are when they come to school that they might get in trouble, the better that is, because you have that parental support you know, that if they do something wrong then you're going to...they know that they're going to get in trouble when they get home. That kind of is not the case, as you know, we definitely have to deal with the..."

Another interviewee linked the lack of parental support in Richmond County to misplaced priorities:

There's a reason I would love to teach in Columbia County because I would have supportive parents, I would have disciplined students, I would have parents who would say "Oh, you need this? Sure we'll get it for you." and they would go out and they would rent an instrument for their students to use in my room, and they would buy the reeds necessary to make it work, they would get the book, they would possibly get private lessons, there are all kinds of things that can be afforded a student in music education if they have the proper support. I can't have a student go out and earn the 30 bucks it costs a month to rent a clarinet and the twenty-eight dollars it costs to buy a box of reeds. Their one job in life is to be a student, not to work to be able to play an instrument. When my parents look at me and say, "Oh, I just can't afford that clarinet anymore." and I'm looking at all the "bling" they got on, the brand new rings, the one hundred-fifty dollar pairs of shoes their kids have on, I'm thinking you can't afford a thirty-eight dollar a month clarinet, you've got problems! Does that make sense?

A Richmond County string teacher made a similar observation:

It's more important for the child to go out there...mama buys those most expensive tennis shoes than to go out and buy a string that broke yesterday. They'll go out and buy a hundred dollar and something shoes but they won't buy that five dollar string. That's got a lot to do with it, that's a big part. Priorities are not there. I see that a lot. I see that a lot.

Finally, a young African American music teacher in Richmond County who had gone to school in Columbia County commented on the link between low parental support in the African American community for his/her band program and the high rate of single parent families in the African American community:

Hardly none. I mean it's ... it's ... I don't know what it is but ... maybe it's this generation but it's like the parents just don't care. You know, and I mean ... I don't know what it is. Maybe it's because with the African American parent there's only one parent in the house. You know there's a statistic that says over 80% of children in the home only have one parent and that's the mom so 80% don't have father figures you know and the moms working two, three, four jobs; has four or five kids, you know that's the basic stereotypical African American in America, and even in Richmond County, versus you know when I was in school at CC-HWHS, we had parents all over the place wanting to pull their hands and get help in anywhere that was needed. So it's difficult in Richmond County, it really is.

Socioeconomic Factors

There were a number of socioeconomic factors mentioned by the interviewees as impacting school music programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties following desegregation

of the public schools. They can all be included under three broad categories: the affluence, and conversely lack of affluence (concentrated poverty) of the community; various home factors to include the education level of the parents and respect for property; and something referred to as entitlement mentality by a number of respondents.

Affluence of the Community

The relative affluence and conversely the degree of concentrated poverty in the community that a school serves, was identified as a socioeconomic factor that brought about changes in the quality of music education programs for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties as a consequence of desegregation and the resulting middle class flight from Richmond to Columbia County.

A retired Richmond County African American teacher talked about some of the financial issues involved with teaching in a low socioeconomic setting and the problems for both the parent and the teacher:

I would say that it (resegregation) has hurt instead of helped a student in Richmond County versus Columbia County. Because you just don't have...I don't know...the opportunities may be there because they are there but still you don't have the...what am I looking for...the means or the finances still aren't in place because in some schools, let's say Tubman, in Richmond County, Tubman or East Augusta, schools that are in areas like that. They just don't have... and in all the school supposedly provides ex-amount of dollars per year for the program, if you're only getting... \$3000, just as a figure because I don't know what it is anymore, umm... in a instrumental program, and you have a need that is greater than that, you don't have a parental base that can really

help you, so a booster club or things of that nature that can give you some additional financing, is out of the question. Why put together a booster club when you don't have anyone that can be in the club to help you with financing? Um... so I guess those things and you have poor instruments that have been there forever and a day...uh... that need to be discarded, new instruments need to be purchased, but when you're fighting or trying to keep a program going, trying to deal with students or get students involved in a program that really don't have the finances to be involved, that makes it all difficult. I say that for this reason, when I was at RC-HBMS, 90% of the students involved in the program could not afford it. They couldn't even afford to rent an instrument. So, you have to try to find other creative means to get that child involved. One thing I did was to go to pawn shops, purchase instruments, and do some repair work on them. I didn't do this prior to getting permission from the parent of the child. I did this after we had exhausted all other resources trying to see if they could rent a horn, trying to see if they could whatever. That was the only way to get those children involved and to have a horn in their hands that would actually work. You didn't have the money to spend on trying to repair the instruments that were there and you didn't have enough money to buy a new horn, especially if you're talking about buying a big brass horns as a tuba or a baritone saxophone, or a baritone, or any of the large instruments that ninety percent of the folk's that, even if they could afford it, they're not going to spend that kind of money on a horn for a child, I know I wouldn't for my child in the beginning. After I saw that my child was more interested, then yes I would be more than happy to go out and spend some money, but in the beginning stages, you know when you're dealing with children, you don't know a lot of times whether they are going to stick and stay with something. And to... even as

a parent that can afford to do those things you are reluctant to go out and spend that... those big dollars because you know that if the child decides not to do it, you're not going to get all that money back. We're going back again to finances, what we can actually afford to do, what's more important, me buying this horn for a child that may stick, or let the school system deal with the horn with this child and I use this money to keep us afloat, to keep us living every day? We've still got some of those same things going on.

A Richmond County administrator gave more insight into the difficulties facing music teachers in a resegregated community:

Overall, if I'm going to count the numbers and do a mathematical equation, obviously I would say that their (Columbia County) instruction is better because they've got the equipment, they've got the library music, they've got the parents support, they've got the kids teaching other kids private lessons, they've got systems in place for that. We had that, kids teaching other kids private lessons at Davidson (laughter). We have attempted that in other places...and we do have a few pockets of weak teachers... money, resources... resources as far as instruments. I mean, when you're trying to teach intonation and you've got instruments that are 30 to 40 years old and the valves don't work anymore, it's very difficult as opposed to North Augusta, who's going to the Yamaha Corporation to get an entire fleet of new brass instruments. When you are duck taping things together, when you have two or three kids sharing the same instrument, different mouthpieces, when you're trying to keep up with your instruments that are coming back, when you're not being able to maintain those trombone slides, when you've got kids whose parents are not only buying the beginner line model, but the intermediate and advanced models, that factor alone makes it easier for them to learn to play. They're

probably going to have the money for private lessons; they understand the importance of private lessons, while over here it becomes more of a money issue. Now we have incredibly good players over here but we don't have the extent of incredibly good players as a school system like Columbia County. They have more kids in all-state and district band... how you judge that kind of stuff... they do better at large group performance evaluation overall.

Another band director made a connection between the better socioeconomic situation of Columbia County and their ability to attract and hold better teachers:

I'm going to say are African Americans receiving the same as Whites AND African Americans in Columbia County, and I would say...um...obviously I have to say no, but I think it's a function of...it's not a racial function. I say it's socio-economic, I say it's expectations, I say it's quality. When we're looking for band directors here in this county, and Columbia County is looking for a band director, who do you think they are going to go to? The situation is better, the money is there, the system is established, and they pay more.

Another Richmond County teacher described the pay difference for band directors in the two counties and his/her corresponding frustration:

I know the band director at CC-HWHS is on like a 235 day contract. You know and we're sitting on a 190 [Richmond County]. I'm like, I have eight parades to do, and all these afterschool rehearsals and you know I'm... barely breaking even...

There was considerable talk about the quality and source of student instruments among Richmond County teachers. This coded theme was often mentioned as a consequence of

changing demographics. One Richmond County string teacher had noticed an increasing amount of students were renting rather than buying:

The difference being that there are less today owning their instruments, throughout the county. Okay, I'm talking about county wide. I think that more... more are renting them than owning them first of all.

Another Richmond County string teacher talked about the difficulties for some African American students immediately following desegregation in a program that normally didn't provide the small instruments:

So, as we recruited kids that were in the white schools, then of course the black children... a few of them, would join, *the ones of them that could afford to rent an instrument*. That was the whole name of the game because we didn't have any instruments. So, we got a few kids, ... They made it free for the black kids and it was great for those kids because otherwise you know, they would've had any opportunity.

Often the quality of the instrument that a student from a low socioeconomic setting brings to school is of concern as well as access to private lessons:

We (Richmond County) are much further behind so we have fewer students who are able to take lessons or fewer parents who desire for their students to take lessons. The kids who have their own instruments are normally not buying recognized name brands. We see a lot of the Wal-Mart or Sam's Club type instruments coming in or pawnshop specials that many times do not work at the same level as the name brands so the kids don't seem to be able to achieve that.

Another Richmond County band director compared the two counties in terms of the quality of instruments students are playing on:

Well, I mean of course, I would have to be stupid not to recognize that it is much better in Columbia County, the quality of music education, yes. You know it's much better, they have better instruments at a lot of the schools; the students aren't playing on the student line horns, the cheapest junk you can buy. I mean, they're playing on professional instruments which you know, everybody can argue all day long that it's not the instrument it's the student and I agree with that to a certain extent, but if we're trying to improve our wind ensembles, our top groups, the quality of sound is better on better instruments.

One white Richmond County band director described the socioeconomic differences between Columbia and Richmond County in terms of the ability to hire auxiliary instructors and to conduct fundraisers:

In the marching band, we can't really afford to hire flag and dance coaches...you know they argue about that, we can't really afford to hire people to come in and help with that. I know that in Columbia County they have percussion instructors, and brass, and they can afford it. It might be their booster clubs that are doing that, that are more willing to raise more money to help pay for those things. You know here, most of the money is by...you know uniform dues, and T-shirts. We just make a little bit of money here and there. Also, usually the band director's in charge of the fundraiser and that gets...you know...sometimes you just want to tell the students if you want to do something, you have to pay it out of your pocket. Because fundraisers, I mean that goes into a whole

other issue for our students, they don't want to fund raise, they don't, not at all, not at all.

The parents don't want to do it.

Accountability

Another issue socioeconomic issue is related to accountability. Some Richmond County school administrators were unwilling to hold low socioeconomic students and parents accountable for damaged and lost instruments due to the frequent complaint of economic hardship.

Accountability that they are responsible for these things and they do have to bring it back and that becomes an issue of administrative support. I've said all those things first, because I believe a band director that communicates with the principal is going to be okay, and we have a lot that don't do that. I guess the final thing would be the administration, but that's tied to the accountability.

Often the loss of accountability occurred alongside the frequent turnover of teachers in Richmond County. Either teachers didn't care or principals didn't inventory and hold the departing teacher accountable for tracking down all the school's instruments and equipment:

When Jerry left and came back, a lot of the instruments had disappeared. From the time Jerry left until the time I came, there were hardly any instruments left. There were two Miraphone tubas there, one of the 8D Conns, one 6D Conn French Horn, um... a contra-Alto Clarinet, a Contra-Bass Clarinet, a Bassoon, an Oboe, and an English Horn, and a clarinet and maybe a Bari Sax, and that's about it. Everything else that he had gotten was gone. Um...I don't...nobody knows where they went. Nobody knows where they went. I did find some stereo equipment at a student's house one time, who had graduated from

the band director before me. He had given it to him! When they were evicted, the landlady called me and said to come and get it.

Home Factors

The importance of home factors was stressed by a number of teachers. As communities changed as a result of ‘flight’, concentrated pockets of low socioeconomic families resulted. One white former Richmond County band director observed:

I would say 60 to 70% of my students, especially the first year I was there, were from low income housing, you know, and they brought to the classroom with them, all of the typical issues that coincide with that.

One white Columbia County choral teacher felt that these ‘issues’ would affect the child throughout their life:

...kids come to us with all the baggage of what their home life, their economic situation and so that’s always going to be different. You can have equal facilities and the same exact repertoire in the building and the same exact everything, but those children bring with them the limitations and sometimes the gifts that they have is going to be different just because of their life experience, and so I don’t know you can undo that; you might can help them be more successful in later life and head them down the road toward success, but they are always going to come with that baggage from home that can be limiting even in the greatest of situations. I can speak to my program in that if they sign up for it, they are it in. Regardless of what they look like; and they have the opportunities that are afforded to all the students in my room and when we go to competition, they have the opportunity to participate; we have county-provided transportation, so yes, in

that regard. I think sometimes because of a child's background their response to peers and response to authority and response to the educational environment is affected by their home, that's what I was saying...

A young African American Richmond County band director made the following observation concerning one particular HBHS in Richmond County and the low socioeconomic neighborhood that surrounds it:

Well you know, they say money rules everything. But I think it's because Josey, even though it is predominantly African American, it's set primarily downtown, in the ghetto, most of the kids that go there are in the ghetto or whatever, you know you have a lot of kids that go there HBHS and try to be in the music program there and they have a lot of factors outside of the school time that play into the effect of trying to get them to do things.

A Columbia County band director talked about the attitude towards education by many students from a low socioeconomic background:

The poorer kids, they don't care about an education. Every now and then you will get one that does, but on the average here at RC-HWMS, the poor white kids don't care, the middle to upper middle class parents are supportive, and some of the kids just don't care about anything. They just want a handout, they're used to getting everything so they think that they can be... you're going to give me an 'A' or momma's going to come up here and get you in trouble.

The same band director later in their interview linked other success factors to socioeconomic, home and cultural background:

It's a little bit of cultural and it's socioeconomic because you've got... if you look at the kids that sit first chair clarinet, that sit first chair flute, that sit first chair over at those schools, the three high schools north of Interstate 20, they're not white, they're Asian. It's cultural. You've got the money over there to send the kids to private lessons and you've also got a completely different work ethic.

Several music teachers made links between what kinds of music children are exposed to in the home and success in the music education classroom:

I think because Richmond County kids... some of the kids have not been exposed to different stuff... just not in the music world but also in life in general, that they're just close minded. Whereas, you know, if you pretty much see that a kid from Columbia County, yeah some of them have lived there their whole lives and they've been able to be around different types of music and different types of stuff like that, so they are more open to different aspects and styles of music.

Our kids (Richmond County) are limited in their kind of music exposure, like they're not getting classical music exposure. They are getting gospel music. They are getting rap and hip-hop, they are getting some jazz, but except for a small part of the community, they just aren't exposed to other types of music, like in the home.

Some directors pointed out the difficulties a number of music teachers have in Richmond County with instruments being mistreated or stolen. This is related to the comments earlier on the lack accountability regarding students, teachers, instruments and inventories:

But there again, you know with the quality music education, you have facilities. The facilities in Columbia County are better, which means you have better security, you know

those type things whereas in Richmond County, the facilities are not so good and you have kids that are very sticky fingered. When they see something nice and they want it, they'll just take it. So, you know, I guess I can see the sense of where we have no instruments because in the past five or ten, or whatever years, you have kids that steal stuff or whatever.

Another director also discussed issues with students stealing not only instruments but also money in response to the question dealing with losses for music education students as a result of desegregation:

Well, there were concrete losses and I guess maybe some... metaphorical losses, some figurative losses. Umm... we actually had some break-ins, some students...uhh...stealing instruments, and in every case I have to say that when it happened, it was a black student involved. So we had to get into the cycle of visiting all the pawnshops, every time we would lose something we would go to the pawnshops to try and recover it and frequently that's where we found our instruments. Um...drugs, we had an issue come up with stealing fund raising money, um...there had been some like put into my office, and...uh...I hate to say it, but, in every case it was a black student that did that.

The education level of the parents was mentioned in several contexts as an important factor in how well students do in music education programs and one that was also affected by demographic shifts that occurred as a result of resegregation.

I think it's more the background of the parents and more socioeconomic and educational. I think the fact that the majority of those who are lower educational and lower socioeconomic happen to be black is not necessarily causal but that is just what it

happens to be and that is going back further, how important is education to some of these other races as they were coming up?

Another Columbia County music teacher contrasted the parental education levels of Richmond and Columbia Counties:

I would say the socio-economic make-up that does play a factor. You've got upper and upper middle class families, more affluent families in Columbia County, these people are college grads, as opposed to, if we go down some particular streets here in Richmond County, you don't have the same educational background, lower income families, and yeah, I would say that would play a major role.

Another issue that is part of the home life of a child and is affected to some degree by socioeconomic factors is that of children born out of wedlock, to very young African American girls. A number of music teachers also talked about this as an issue they experienced. Excerpts from three interviews follow:

We have an awful lot of parents here that have their first child at 14, 15, and 16, although young black births out of wedlock have been slowly decreasing. I still think that it is a major source of pride, in some ways, within the black community for their child to have a child as a child. I think also so many of them are still kids themselves that many of them took on a responsibility...

I think it's the time factor and I think it's ... I mean it's also just because of the lack of interest I think. You know, and the kids ... I mean the kids are raising kids, you know. So we have kids raising kids, I mean the parent doesn't have time to really do a lot of things...

Pregnancy, you know, I had an eighth-grade student who was pregnant and already had twins...um...you generally would not find that sort of student even in the band in a Columbia County school. The requirements that are put on the students in Columbia County are just so much more stringent, and there are so many more expectations that a student who is irresponsible to the point that by the time they're 13 or 14 years old that they have two kids already and one on the way, they are not going to survive in a program where there's very, very high expectations. But one, where they can kind of do what they want, when they want; the grade doesn't matter in their being passed on to the next grade or whatever, it's a kind of a spot where they can just kind of blend in and pass the time, so to speak and um...so that was one student she was not actually what I would call a discipline problem for me anyway, but she did have those issues in her life.

Finally, a white Richmond County choral teacher expressed frustration at the difficulty of teachers, and schools, in compensating for what children don't receive at home:

It's weird how the different schools have support in certain areas and not in others. Our band...the Christmas concert, they all come; spring concert, if he has 50 parents there he's lucky. [In Columbia County] they are wholly involved in what their kids are doing. It's the same thing as, okay our third graders can't read. I mean this is all over the paper. So, if a kid's parents aren't reading to them from the time they're born, until they are three years old, then they're going to have trouble. If they don't come to kindergarten reading, then they're going to have trouble. Reading, well who teaches them that? Their parents, if their parents aren't reading to them, then they're going to have trouble reading, I don't care what we do in the schools. If they are not reading at home, they're not going to read. And um...that's what's happening, you know they can sit, and we can point

towards Voyager, we can point towards whomever, but the simple fact is, the problem is in the home. The problem is in the home. I think we're just dealing with a lot of social issues now, inner-city social issues, and I don't know how to fix it.

Entitlement Mentality

This theme was identified by nine interviewees and it occurred a total of fifteen times in the interviews as a factor in the quality of music education experience following the desegregation and resegregation of schools in Richmond and Columbia Counties. Some statements were quite controversial. One African American teacher had this to say:

People in the African American community and especially in Richmond County, have this thing where they like everything handed to them. You know it's what I call the "entitlement county", or entitlement mentality, where everything needs to be handed to them and people don't want to go and work hard for what they want and what they need, you know. I'm just on a little trip here where as far as you know in the African American community in Richmond County, you know what it is ... what it is ... what would it benefit for someone to get a job, an African American to get a job when they have government housing that is pretty much free, they are on food stamps which is free, so you have a free house and a free roof over your head, and then you have all these disability things, you know the kid might be bad, I've heard now they have this new disorder called oppositional defiance disorder which is basically just the kid not wanting to do with what an adults says. You know, for a kid does that, they'll actually ...it's called ODD, and basically if the kid you know if that is his disorder, the parent can actually get a Social Security check from the government. And so one kid told me that

was in band, “My parent told me that I can’t stop acting bad or otherwise they’ll lose their check.” The parents, it’s just like a...basically, parents don’t want to work for anything. You know everything is pretty much handed to them.

One Richmond County band director implied that part of the blame for this attitude fell to the Richmond County School Board:

You either do it or do without. It was not conducive to have a booster program, you know like Columbia County has done well with. I mean as...as far as he...they did not look on it...and officially we weren’t supposed to have a booster program...uh it was not supposed to cost mom and dad anything above that.”

One former Richmond County administrator talked about some of the consequences for music education programs in Richmond County:

Some of that is that we have created a culture here, that...and some of that comes from our superintendent, the one before the one we have now. He did not believe that students should pay for anything. To me, (laughter) that just created a culture that everything was free and it pretty much enabled people not to be able to do things. It enabled teachers not to be able to raise funds and those kinds of things, but you know, if a kid destroyed the band instrument, and you know, the only thing we could do was hold a grade, and then we can really didn't do that; we were not setting ANY sorts of consequences and things like that. It all came down to, we weren't going to charge anybody anything for anything, or legally we couldn't, or however you want to use the terminology, it didn't matter. We were not getting money and people got the impression that it didn't matter what class it was, they weren't going to pay for anything and we were going to bus them everywhere.

So there's not been...this thing that we've taught the kids, and again it's across all subject areas... that they owe it to themselves to learn to do this thing. It's like we're going to give you everything. Now we're in a situation where the kids are not passing the tests, kids are not...or their picking and choosing which school they want to go to, and which band they want to go to, and they're not practicing and those kinds of things, because we said it's okay; we're just going to give you everything. That's been in place for many years. It's not just been happening one or two years, you might recoup relatively quickly, but it's been many years and that's been one of my pet peeves, especially in the area of band. I think that you should be able to charge a rental fee if the student is going to use a clarinet from your school. If nothing else that can go back into the maintenance as we were talking about, but it also teaches them that there is an investment.

A former Richmond County white band director also described some of the consequences for music programs in Richmond County as a consequence of entitlement mentality:

Remember that you have in most schools... hey, in South Carolina, band programs are not funded by the school at all. The only thing that's funded is the teacher's salary. Everything else, the band boosters provide or maintain. So if the school wants to have a strong program, the parents have to get involved. There's a 300... South Aiken...the band participation fee, per student, was \$350 plus fundraising. Here in Richmond County, we tried to have a 10 or 15 or \$25 fee just to get things... you know, pay for getting uniforms cleaned once and awhile or whatever just to cover some of those minor operating expenses that you know... and we got all kinds of stuff... and we have to waive the fee most of the time. South Carolina's attitude is that it's not a required course; this is the requirement for it. There is no argument about it... Whereas here, even trying to

collect on damages; when you have administrators that tell parents ‘Well gee, I don't understand why your child should be responsible for paying for the repairs. After all, it was a school instrument.’ I think if you want to talk about the two different counties, I think in Richmond County the parents and students, parents and then students because students learn from their parents, are much more used to being entitled to things rather than having to earn them. They think they... my opinion is they are often confused about the difference between rights and privileges, and they sometimes confuse the two and certainly don't understand that both rights and privileges come with responsibilities.

Yet, another former Richmond County, African American band director had this to say about the issue of entitlement as related to music education programs for minorities and the socioeconomically deprived:

Those things (private lessons) should be offered in the school system, that's supposedly what part of your tax dollars are going to pay for. Anything that can be gotten privately you should be able to get publicly. If you don't have the resources to pay for it, then you should be able to get it. That's what, in my mind, desegregation or the leveling of any playing field is all about. Just because I've got the money I can do these things but what if I don't have the money... so, I can't do it. That's, in my mind, what desegregation should have been all about. Leveling the playing field for those folks that want it but can't afford to be able to do the same thing and excel. Not because they don't have the money, but just because that's what's supposed to happen when we desegregated; that's what it was supposed to be all about. The field should be level now; just because I am rich, affluent, and of this color or poor as dirt and this color, it shouldn't matter.

Desegregation: Positive and Negative Outcomes

In asking interviewees about various outcomes of desegregation for school music programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties, a number of positive and negative outcomes were identified by the respondents. The negative outcomes were primarily about the goals of Brown vs. Board that were not achieved. The positive outcomes described in the interviews were along the lines that many proponents of desegregation had hoped for.

The positive outcomes of desegregating public schools and public school music education programs described by the interview participants included increased diversity and understanding of other races and cultures; increased opportunities for African American students; and improved resources and curriculums.

Increased Diversity and Understanding of Other Cultures

A retired African American band director made the following observation about some of the positive aspects to desegregation and school music programs:

I don't know very much about Columbia County but I can tell you in terms of...I think diversity...made an impact on the lives of races, basically. We had an opportunity to just study music. In fact, music was presented I guess in all race areas where we were you know we just participated in playing various Latin...or classical...even Country and Western pop. It gave an opportunity to really explore other areas that probably we had no idea that kids...that affected kids. For example, maybe I felt that pop was, you know the music of my era because of my race, but then there was another kid who, let's say, was maybe from the middle east who didn't...he went along with the idea but he would have enjoyed playing music you know that he enjoyed. So going back to diversity, I

think that integration really helped us to come together as a group and to understand other...you know every one's every other opinion and the other feelings that people had about music.

An African American band director that grew up in the Atlanta Public School system in the 1980's made this comment about the absence of any sense of racism in the schools he/she attended:

I imagine it was pretty difficult for them but like I said...uh...being exposed to a whole other culture I would say by the early eighties, when I was coming through the school system there, there was to me no sign of any kind of division. I never felt by any of the other students any kind of racism amongst the students or anything like that so if there was any kind of rebellion at first; I think it might have been short lived in that county, at least among the students.

A Columbia County white choral director talked about how the benefits of desegregation included diversity:

I think it was a better world perspective, you know, equal footing, better real-life perspective for students, for all people, no matter what they look like, to be in class together, I think that's a better education to have diversity. I think you bring to it; students bring to what you teach, their own culture and their own personal experience. You meet them there, and so I think having that variety of backgrounds and variety of cultures coming together can only broaden the educational experience, when you start teaching music and relating to students, that can only add to the picture.

One former white student who attended Richmond County schools through 1974, discussed the importance the experience of attending a desegregated school had on shaping his/her life:

You know for me personally I enjoyed being in a setting with people of different races and backgrounds like that rather than with lily white setting that I had that I knew from my neighborhood. So I enjoyed it. I made good friends and it enlarged my horizons. Absolutely. I mean, when I went off to college, you know, that was kind of an all white type deal too. So, having been in that mixed setting in high school prepared me a little bit for what I encountered in the Army. To me, anytime you get people together you get that working towards a common goal, regardless of what their race or upbringing is you know it acts as a bond. And so, by working towards a common goal, be that trying to get a concert together, or a marching band show, or preparing to go to festival, or anything, we were all in there together, pulling equally to try to make something happen. So I think it made us better human beings as a result.

A retired Richmond County director mentioned dispelling stereotypes as an important benefit of desegregation:

Well I think it gave white students an opportunity to...um...they probably had opinions that were...given to them. They probably formed their own opinions from others, their peers, but when they came together they found out that it wasn't anything that they thought. African American students were just as capable of performing on a level as any white kid. I think they got to understand that; working together,

becoming friends, so it helped you know quite a bit. I've seen in some instances where students helped others. They worked and helped others prepare for their events.”

A white Columbia County band director made the following observation about the benefits of diversity in the schools and wished for more cross cultural contact even between churches:

Yes, like I said I wish, even in the churches, the white churches, the predominately white churches, would be able to experience the freedom of worship that the black churches have. I don't know where the balance is between the two. But I have had so much fun going to some of the black churches and actually participating in worship and singing in the services and all that. I think it is cool that the white students have been exposed to that finally and it was such a dividing wall back in the 50s, and before. So now we are exposing each other to the music of each culture. And it's kind of interesting these days but I have noticed that more... white students try to imitate black musicians than we have black students imitate white musicians. It's kind of interesting to see where we have gone.

Increased Opportunities

A number of interviewees believed that desegregation afforded minority students more opportunities than they had had before. These opportunities ranged from increased scholarships to a wider choice of performance opportunities. Some music interviewees also talked about increased opportunities for African American music educators as well. One retired African American band director from Richmond County talked about the increased scholarship opportunities:

They were able to get scholarships, both black and white kids were able to get scholarships. In fact, at some schools, a lot of the kids didn't know, some of them were scared to go, some of the white kids were scared to go, but, even at 'state' they were giving them minority scholarships. Some kids took advantage of those minority scholarships, some of the white kids, which are band directors now somewhere in different states you know. Whereas some kids, would say "them black kids are going to beat me up" you know, but basically some children took advantage of it, and a lot of black kids, they went off and did well...

A former Richmond County student and now band director commented on the increased opportunities to attend GMEA events:

Well, I think it changed for the better for sure and I think it gave a lot of students' different opportunities that they didn't have before, especially in some of the lower economic communities. Coming from Richmond County, I'm a product of Richmond County schools, so you know, it really...it opened up some doors for some of those students I believe, maybe in the East Augusta area and South Augusta area...well it just exposed them...I mean maybe some of the solo and ensemble activities, some of the GMEA activities I suppose that they didn't participate in prior to...you know

An African American band director also talked about increased performance opportunities as well as music camps that weren't available to African American students before desegregation:

It opened up more opportunities for black students more than anything, because those same opportunities were not available a lot of times prior to desegregation. You just

didn't have the same opportunities. That I think is the biggest positive change. On the negative side...um...I don't know. Maybe...um...I don't know. I'll have to think a little bit more. I think of more positive things, it just opened up more musical opportunities for students, just getting into a lot of the camps and things that black children prior to desegregation did not have an opportunity to be involved in.

Desegregation of the public schools opened up more opportunities for African American music teachers as well:

...it got them more involved in...um...you know...we didn't know that there were certain things like All-State Band or...we knew about All-District band, but All-State Band...that gave us an opportunity to know what was required, and to know what to practice in order to prepare ourselves to get there. The literature was different... As far as diversity is concerned, it gave us an opportunity to really come together as a group and we actually...we able to see what everybody was doing. So it was almost like laying the cards on the table. We can't say, well, I can't keep this secret from you anymore. This is what we're doing, this is what you're doing, and this is what you're going to have to do or you know we're going to have to maybe be a little more fair...be fairer about this and be fair to everyone who participates.

Improved Resources and Curriculum

One African American choral director talked about how the HBHS she taught at in Richmond County changed after desegregation:

Positively, the building is totally revamped. It has been totally remodeled compared to when...when I was there it was very ugly, very dingy, very dark, very dark. It

wasn't...you didn't feel bright because it wasn't bright. But now it's totally different you know than what it was. It looks good; they've got that big brand-new stadium across the street; that whole area looks totally different from what I remember.

Other directors suggested that the curriculum for African American students improved as a result of desegregation. One African American band director who taught in Richmond County in 1971 to 2004 saw such improvements:

It is my opinion that students were more involved in the basics of music education, you know learning to read, learning to appreciate different forms of music...

Another former Richmond County African American band director made similar observations:

Okay, basically, when they integrated the schools, for me, I found myself beginning to get... I could bring in more literature for them to participate in. It was to an advantage as far as I'm concerned when they integrated schools. I was able to do more for the band children overall. I was able to purchase a different kind of literature for my band program.

An African American director whose father had been a band student in the Atlanta schools during the time they were desegregated, and then this director attended the same school, talked about similar changes that occurred in that school system:

Well, like I said in examples that I know of it drastically improved because they had access to written sheet music, they had access to band budgets, they had access to a band director that was university or college trained; was a specialist in music. They had access to band trips that the white band's only had previously gone to, and of course they

couldn't afford that kind of thing. They had access to a band room facility, as opposed to... because I went to the HBHS, and the band room was an add on. When I was there, the band room had a distinct, different look. There was not a band room there before. They just practiced in the gym or on the stage or in a classroom somewhere.

Another way the more opportunities opened up to African American students was that they, and their directors, had access to more information to succeed at opportunities:

Whereas we were required to play scales, maybe at the...on another level, they said okay, we are going to do five chromatically adjacent scales. Okay, if you weren't aware of what chromatically adjacent meant, then you had failed the audition already. So I think integration really helped us to come together as a group and really...know really what each other had to do in order to prepare, in order to meet the challenge of a...whether it's All State or District or whatever.

One former African American band director talked about being challenged to become a better teacher as a consequence of desegregation:

So, I benefited from the situation because basically I found myself uh... that because of the type of literature that I picked for my kids overall... if I had an integrated group then the challenge was there. All of them tried to do their thing and to impress me music wise and so forth on which really helped me to be a better band director because I began to do a little more challenging music... Basically, I really enjoyed integration of the system because it helped my program. It made me a better band director. I keep saying it made me a better band director because it really helped me.

Negative Outcomes

The negative outcomes of desegregating public schools and public school music education programs identified by the interview participants included unequal resources between schools and school systems still remain and consequently the ‘playing field’ is still not level; there are unfulfilled promises of Brown vs. Board; and lowered standards and expectations for some students.

Unequal Resources Still Exist/ Playing Field Still Not Level

One former African American band and choir director described what he/she still perceived as shortcomings in the public schools:

I guess with desegregation, one of the things that was thought to... I guess they had in mind of happening as a result of desegregation was things would improve.... was to improve the playing field...and...I guess all of that didn't really happen. That, I guess is the biggest irony of this whole desegregation thing. What it started out to be, is not what it ended up being. It is just not even... in some ways not even close to being what it uh...the original purpose or intent of this desegregation was all about...I think a big opportunity was missed. I don't know whether it was... someone ended up becoming greedy, saw a gold mine of an opportunity so to speak, and took it in a different direction, or what the real case might have been but I think a lot has been missed out on. You know this desegregation was not all it was supposed to have been.

The difference in resources between Richmond and Columbia Counties is quite easy to discern according to one director:

We can look right here within this county, and I would say I'm new to the county but an outsider looking in you can look and see the haves and the have not's. In a lot of these schools there are music programs that I'm seeing here and other places, there are usually programs that just can't afford..... they are using, for example, I taught in _____ County my first year of teaching, and the instruments that we used were all taped up, how much quality can you expect to get from that? Yeah, we have the have and the have not's and unfortunately that's the way that it is, that's why I do say that the playing field has not been leveled, I cannot, I don't know why we have some programs that have to suffer and not have the funding and whatnot, but that's definitely the way it is right now.

One director pointed out that one choir director in Columbia County received \$50,000 the preceding year:

I think there's a financial difference of support, like there's more money to be spent in Columbia County than in Richmond County. I don't know why, but I just spoke with a choir director recently and she received \$50,000 last...at the end of the year last year to purchase whatever she needed. Yes sir, yes sir. Okay? So there is a difference, the support, the financial support is *gravely* different.

A band director in Richmond County describes the situation for him/her in which because of insufficient equipment and instruments, a number of students are lost to the band program each year:

You know, we really have to be go-getters because we're at a disadvantage in Richmond County, because there's so many things that I could do if I had the equipment and the instrumentation and the instruments to do it. I have so many kids, but I don't have the

instruments for. I cannot put an instrument in every one of my children's hands. So therefore, without that I'm losing them.

Finally, a Hispanic Richmond County teacher observed the difference between the quality of music programs in Richmond and Columbia County as evidence the students of the two school systems aren't receiving the same caliber education:

Well that's like night and day. (laughter) Well, you know, you've got schools in Columbia County, like our friend at ____ Middle School, _____. He has a middle school that plays grade level four music! It's amazing! ...and gets superior, and here we are in Richmond County trying to, you know what I mean, in the high schools trying to play grade three or two, and can't even make it. Here I am trying to play grade level 1, sometimes ½ or something like that, some crazy stuff. It's like pulling teeth.

Some Richmond County high school directors would place part of the blame for poor performing high school ensembles on the middle school directors:

Right, which is what...and they need to start early. So that is definitely...when I was at RC-HWHS, getting kids from the middle school not knowing how to read music, not knowing what a treble clef is, or even a staff, just the basics.

Another music teacher made an observation which sums up this concept and issue:

Obviously even a layman would say that it's not on a par at all. I don't think the musical...but as far as just raw musical ability I would say Columbia County, I mean they're (Richmond County) not on a par with Columbia County.

Unfulfilled Promises of Brown vs. Board

Beside the issues of unequal financial support and seemingly unequal music education programs in Richmond and Columbia County, there were other themes which emerged from the data which describe the effects of desegregation on the school music programs of Richmond and Columbia Counties. One theme came out in the interview with was that many schools just went from segregated white to primarily segregated black schools.

Well, the purpose of it, I guess, was to blend maybe some of the cultures and I don't think that's happened. I think there are still pockets of whatever band...like Butler for example, it used to be all white, a predominately white band and now it's a predominantly black band.

A Columbia County director felt that desegregation hadn't really that much at all in terms of creating a positive impact on music education for every child:

Well, it goes...it's the same; it really is the same answer to be totally honest with you. It's just pulled them away. I don't think desegregation had an impact, a positive impact, on music in the area at all. And the reason...well I don't think it really applied in Columbia County during the time, because they really didn't have...way back then what we're talking about was one school in the county so this wasn't an issue. There was no band program in Columbia County until the 80s late 70s or early 80s really of anything to talk about. It was really a country...just a country program kind of thing until about the late 70s or early 80s. But I don't know, I think the same applies, that we've already talked about. It didn't...I don't think it helped in any way.

Another much younger music teacher felt that in some ways we have de facto segregation again in Richmond County:

Well, we have de facto segregation right now, because of black-and-white, and all that.

Well, I would think that since the whole purpose of desegregation was to make things equal, then all of the schools were supposedly funded equally, so that no one school would get more money than the other schools. All schools supposedly should have gotten the same allocation for money, equipment, uniforms, and horns and teachers and all that. That's what I would think, yeh. I wasn't here. [Do you think this has happened?]

Obviously not. Well, because of the results, how things have turned out. We have a de facto segregation right now, so right now most of the schools that are white are white, and most of the schools that are black are black.

Lowered standards

Not everyone agreed desegregation was a positive thing academically for all students.

One white director stated:

My personal view in it was that I think whites had higher... and I don't know this, this is purely opinion, you know, I don't know this for fact, but I think that when the schools integrated that because the two societies were so different that in some cases it made it better for the African Americans and in some ways it made it worse for the whites. But that's a part of what America is, you know what I mean. It's the whole melting pot thing. And you know I guess it's up to the society to decide what is acceptable.

A former teacher from Richmond County who began teaching in the mid 1960's expressed similar concerns about how the level of education had moved down to the middle for many white students:

I feel like the blacks have got the better end of the stick now. The way I look at it is the way education used to be, you had these kids way up here, and you had some way down here that were the "cattle", okay? What's happened over the years is that they are trying so hard to raise these (the lower kids) up that they have now pulled this (the upper kids) down. So now we have education right in here (indicates the middle).

Another teacher in Richmond County had strong opinions about the effects of changing demographics on his/her music classroom:

Well in my school context, I can't see how it did (things improve for white students as a consequence of desegregation). My white students are held back from being what they can be, they don't have enough resources because we are such a poor school and we have to focus on all of these kids who come in who can't read. So no, I can't see how my white students have benefited at all.

One white who was a student at the time teachers were moved around in Richmond County to achieve desegregation of the faculty described what happened at a HWHS in Richmond County, a school that had previously had a white band director and now had an African American director:

At first, everybody was just thrilled to death that [Name omitted] got demoted, or removed, or replaced, or relocated, whatever you want to call it, because the band program swelled to over 200 people in the span of a few days. It literally when...after

[Name omitted] was moved out of the band program at RC-HWHS there was a flood. Everybody who ever wanted to be in band, of course immediately jumped into the band. That was kind of fun and exciting, but it was also not...it degraded the capacity of the band. The musicianship of the band went straight into the toilet, it was absolute crap. I mean suddenly, if you didn't want to take the PE, you could take band, whether you knew how to play an instrument or not. Worst-case scenario, if you couldn't play anything, you can be in the drum-line because anybody can bang a drum. That was kind of the underlying philosophy initially. I felt sorry for Mr. [Name omitted] early in the process because I knew that had to be an incredibly overwhelming, to have to take in and to manage a dysfunctional...what everyone else perceived to be a dysfunctional program already, and then to be forced in the span of a single season to take all of that on and to actually turn that into some sort of a program.

Later in that same former student's interview, he/she discussed why he/she left that band program with the new African American director the very next school year:

I did not leave the school because of him, I left because I did not think I could get the kind of musical concentration that I needed, that I wanted, that I desperately was seeking. I think that the volume of the program that he inherited was just too great, it was too broad, and I just didn't think that the caliber and the quality of the musical material that we were going to be pursuing...I mean I was not in school to be a marching kid. I was in school to be in the concert band or the symphonic band. I wanted to be as good a player as I could, but I also desperately wanted to work on the most challenging musical material in a concert setting that I can get access to. By the end of that first year at ____ I mean we were playing literally playing music and material out of necessity that I had

played in my final year at ____ Junior High School, so musically I was totally and completely unfulfilled.

One white band director described how it appeared the musical standards at another HWHS in Richmond County went down as a consequence of desegregation:

I think compared to the program that was there when...years before like in the fifties, sixties and early seventies and maybe even mid and late seventies, the program...I think weakened musically, because the first year that I took kids to Jan-Fest, um...Satterwaite...now he's no longer at UGA, right? Well, he told me as well as a couple of other people, that RC-HWHS used to be "The Band" on the eastern side of the state and that he was glad to see somebody come back in that was going to give the kids an opportunity to grow and perform again.

Not every music teacher interviewed agreed that academic standards even for African Americans went up after desegregation:

...from what I've heard, and some of what I've experienced, I think in some aspects the desegregation hurt, because some of the pride and some of the integrity and some other academic standards that African American students once had, they no longer have. You know, they had some standards and the things that the kids struggle with now like reading and mathematics; they didn't struggle with then because they were held to a much higher standard. I don't want to say that it's a colored thing, because I think that's unfair, I just think that the standards just changed. We've lowered standards somewhat.

Racism

The themes of racism and related prejudicial acts appeared in thirty-two interviews with a total of ninety-nine occurrences. Several sub-categories were included under the broad theme of racism: claiming to be colorblind; acts of discrimination and feeling discriminated against; learned racism, lingering effects from previous racism; prejudice, resistance to desegregation and stereotypes. All of these at one time or another in the course of desegregating schools had an effect on the quality of musical education experience for students.

As a reminder of where schools and society had come from, one band director whose first job was in an elementary school in South Carolina remembered this:

The first elementary I walked into had a placard, I not talking about a sign, I'm talking about a brass placard that said the name of the school and then it said "All-white school." To me, that just blew me away, you know. I never saw any kind of ill-treatment to any student. I think maybe that was just a hangover from years before I got there.

An African American band director that was transferred from a segregated African American school to a previously white school told of the support he got from his principal:

So as far as when integration came about, I was very fortunate to have a good principal that wanted a band. He wasn't prejudiced, you can't be thin skinned. He knew I was going to have some problems. You are going to hear the word black, 'nigger', he...you know this type of...he said don't worry about that.

In describing the situation in Richmond County Schools today, one teacher commented:

Lots of bullying, there is bullying everywhere. The white kids who are in power bully the black kids who aren't and the black kids who are in power bully the white kids who are in power, and it just goes around and around, in a really bad circle.

Not all contemporary music teachers are without some of their own prejudices:

I don't think there should be a black movement, I don't think there should be a Black History Month. I think it should be all history, all movement. I mean, where's white history month? Where are all the people who are supposed to be leading the white movement in this country?

Claiming to be Colorblind

The idea that one can be colorblind has been stated and rephrased a number of ways since the desegregation era began. Justice Roberts once stated "The way to stop discrimination on the basis of race, is to stop discriminating on the basis of race" and Dr, Martin Luther King said that he hoped that one day people would be judged by "the content of their character" and not the "color of their skins." However, recently the idea of colorblindness has been accused by critics as being a way for the dominant culture to deny the racism that still exists in the world today and within themselves (Bonilla-Silva, 2009).

Not all respondents in this study claiming to be colorblind were white. A retired African American band director who was teaching in Richmond County at the time schools desegregated there and who was one of the teacher reassigned into a HWHS said this about his/her new students:

See my thing, the reason I got along with my kids, you know, I don't care whether you're black or white, you better play that instrument. See that's the problem, you know what I'm saying, see you got to be able to teach a child, I don't care whether he's black, white, pink, blue, or what. See my thing I think was that I wanted my program to be one of the better programs. So, I didn't care whether you was white, or black, or Asian, or Korean, or you're mixed like that and they knew that. They would say [Name omitted] will get along with everybody.

A number of white teachers also stated similar positions. One who was also teaching at the time of desegregating schools in Richmond County said this:

Of course, I was a military brat but I mean that didn't have a whole lot to do with it, but most of the kids were from Fort Gordon, not all of them. Nobody ever thought anything but the human race...

Another retired white Richmond County teacher talked about the first time a black student came into his/her classroom:

Yes, 56 – 57 was my first year and 59 to about 68, that's nine years; it was just the eighth and ninth grades. Toward the end, a little black girl came in; a piccolo player, she was, and as far as I could see, she was just another student. No boat was rocked.

Other teachers claimed the same blindness to the color of a student. One also discussed how this ability should apply to evaluation systems as well, making reference to unequal standards being applied to the different races in the process:

It will be real nice when we could stop seeing race as part of our evaluation system. But the few times... you know... we are really a bipolar society. We say we want equality, but every time we turn around we're looking at we need to classify by race, gender, and setting things up... you got two standards; one for the mainstream students and another one for the minority students and yet they are still supposed to make the same standard. I think that if we can ever become race blind and we have one standard right or wrong, whether it be this is the way a trumpet should sound, or this is an acceptable way of forming a grammatically correct sentence, this is appropriate vocabulary, this is appropriate behavior.

Finally, one African American former student of the Richmond County school system acknowledged that other people consider “how many black people are in the room” but it wasn't something that he ever experienced:

I'm pausing a little bit, because it...didn't...really...come up at least for me. Now I will say that it came up for other people. But for me, and I'm sure this was the way I was raised, just in reading or skimming the questions, I never really thought about, okay how many black people are in the room with me. You know what I mean? That was never just... I don't...I don't... I don't remember EVER having that thought.

Acts of Discrimination and Feeling Discriminated Against

A number of incidents were mentioned in the interviews in which the interviewee described a situation or time in which they had feelings of being discriminated against. A few African American band directors as well as white band directors of predominantly African American bands, described feeling they had been discriminated against at GMEA events:

These are some things that I've heard over a period of time whenever you go to Festival, no when you are trying out. Let's say they've got...what is it a sheet or whatever... now, the runner, the person who is on the other side, gives a clue to the people behind the sheet, you know the adjudicators who audition people, they get a signal from that person. Now this is not totally, or all the time, these are things that...like you're asking me, these are things that are rumored that okay, so they don't know that person playing is, no matter how good they are but the person they got behind, you know the one bringing them in and telling them what to do they sit there and there be some kind of way they can communicate whether it's a black person or white person or whatever. Now I don't know whether that's true or not, but these are the things you hear from some people because they are saying those things you know and I never, I never... well, I said I don't know that but that's one, so those are the kind of things that took a toll on the black band directors because they said they were discriminated against from the get-go, so they don't want to go.

Another African American director described the feelings some children had:

Well I think some felt that they were not graded fairly. I think it goes back to what you were saying earlier about some of the band directors, who felt that they had a strike against them just for being African American and they had to play, you know, be twice as good. But you know, going back to the students, I think that they...some felt that they were, you know, treated a little unjust. I've heard some say well you know I did this and the clinicians did not allow me to do or the judge did not allow me to do this or that, he may have...maybe he was a little nervous in going in, the judge didn't take that into

consideration. So the kid could have been an excellent, excellent player, but never had an opportunity to gain that confidence.

An black student described having those feelings while he/she was a student at a predominantly white school:

Um... sometimes, you know sometimes I did. Um... you know when I like, tried out for stuff and I didn't get it, you know there was one time when I tried for um... to get on the snare line, and I thought I had it pretty good and I didn't get it. I mean those were one of the options that flowed through my head, I was like well you know, it was probably because I'm black, and we didn't any black kids on the snare line but getting on the bass drum line was not a problem or anything. You know, those thoughts do come through your head but... and it's like well that's not the truth, you know, because if my band director was racist, or whatever, I don't think I'd be... um, he wouldn't be as friendly to me and I wouldn't get along with him and I did get along with my band directors. So, I guess in the end it was just one of those things that comes into your head but is not really...

Another African American student described auditioning for things like GMEA State and District level honors bands:

I think that...I could say...I will say this...that back in the 70s, I do feel that as an African American, we were at a disadvantage, especially when we went to things like All-State Auditions. You could tell, you could feel it when you walked into the room. You could just feel it. You could just...kind of like...you're there auditioning but they're not paying attention to you. It's kind of like yeh, yeh, yeh, next. You could tell by how

much time was spent with you, as opposed to how much time was spent with another kid and then you look at the proportion of how many white kids made it versus black kids. Not that they weren't capable, but then, we all know...you know just like we as professionals, we now know everybody's playing level, and their playing ability. But as adults we respect that. But as kids, your saying, hey that kid doesn't play as well as I play, how did he make it and I didn't make it, but I'm a black kid and they're a white kid. I'm playing on better equipment than he's playing, I'm playing on a professional horn; he's playing on a Bundy and I'm playing on a Paris Selmer. You're looking at those things AND you're getting QUESTIONED. Sometimes, "Well, where did you get that horn from? My mom bought it for me. Your MOTHER bought YOU a horn like THAT? Well, yes. Well, why? Because my band director said in order for me to play in the band, and if I was real serious about being a musician, he told us we had to have this horn. So the whole sax section, if I wanted to play with them, I had to have this horn so my mom bought it for me. Oh, REALLY now?" So those were the kinds of things that you know, you would get.

Some former students relayed their personal experiences growing up in an integrated and desegregating society.

Learned Racism

One former student from Richmond County related how he first learned of a southern racist symbol:

You know racism is taught; it is nothing innate about racism. We didn't have enough sense to be racists. (laughter) We didn't know um...this was something that you weren't

supposed to do... There was a little boy by the name of Clifford, I don't even remember his last name now, and in the process of exchanging marbles and phone numbers and being good friends; this was one of my first white friends, he gave me... kids used to have um... baseball cards and things like that. Well, in the midst of exchanging baseball cards, he also gave me a card with a confederate flag on it. I just... I can tell you right now, he didn't know, he had no idea what the meaning behind that confederate flag was and guess what? Neither did I. I didn't even know what a confederate flag was. I had no idea that this was a symbol during troubled times in this country. At the age of 10, I just knew it was there. Then my sister hit the roof when she saw it.

Another former Richmond County student and former Richmond County teacher recalled how racist her home was:

I'm just... I feel like... I can remember... my dad was a real racist... I mean a real racist. When integration first hit, or even before it hit, my one of my uncles had said to my daddy: "Your daughter is going to be going to school with blacks before she graduates from high school." My daddy said "My daughter will never do that." Well guess what? His daughter did, and my daddy kept saying: "What's going to happen if things keep going the way they are going..." I mean, this is when I was a kid, I was born in 1941, okay, this was back in the early 50s, or late 40s, my daddy said: "we are going to end up being slaves to them." When I look at the way things are going now, it's like white people are scared to death of them and let them do whatever they want to do. I think well, daddy's prophecy has almost become fulfilled you know as a result. I try to be, you know, uh, not racist.

A Columbia County teacher talked about the issue of racism being something learned in the home and brought to school at which time it becomes an issue the teacher and school have to deal with:

Anywhere, it doesn't matter what school you are at or where you are, students are going to have to...because of a lot of things are handed down in their families. It's very obvious, here especially in administration, but also in the band room, you know this kid had no reason to be prejudiced against this kid, but it's what they were taught growing up. So, those are some of the difficulties that we had to go through. We have to educate them, and you're trying to educate them past just educating the student. You're trying to educate them past what their family beliefs are, and that's very difficult to do.

Lingering Effects from Previous Racism

A number of teachers talked about racism and prejudices still existing in the schools today. One Colombia County teacher describe it:

I think...boy it's difficult, you know, because they're so...like I talked about a minute ago, it depends on what the families...where they're coming from. You know, we can fight all the battles in the world, on both sides, for black people, for white kids here, I see it on both sides. We can fight all we can to educate these people, and make everybody believe that everybody deserves the same kind of education, but you still have teachers, you have students, and you have parents that don't believe that in their heart. They don't believe that everybody can be equal and receive and give the same education and that's probably the biggest whole to fight for me.

One teacher pointed out that students aren't the only ones bringing prejudices and racism to the school house:

I've heard teachers and faculties talk. Some of them are very racially motivated and just...it doesn't sound like it was an actually a problem with uh...the problem sounded like it lay behind their prejudice versus the actual problem.

A former Richmond County student and now music teacher described stereotypes and lingering racism he/she encounters frequently among musicians:

Well it was assumed that because you were black, you weren't able to do certain things. I even get that to this day, to this day, 2007, I still get that. 'Oh you can read?' Well, YES! You know, um...I've been offered positions...I've gotten a gig and somebody will say, well... you'll need to read such and such and such and such and I'm like "No problem. Well, I don't have it in your key. No problem. Just give it to me, I'll play it. 'You can do that? Well, yeh...I didn't know that you could read. I just thought that y'all just played by ear.

Resistance to Desegregation

There was quite a bit of resistance to desegregation in Richmond County in the early 1970's. One African American related this story of the reception he/she received as a new teacher in a HWMS when the students had been expecting a former white director to be there again that year:

They told me to my face, we weren't expecting you, and so they didn't speak... they didn't say too much, and they were all kind of upset because Sonny Conlon didn't come.

So after I got there a little while, I said, you know it's time for grades to come about (laughter) I said I don't know half of y'all. Y'all come in here and you don't speak and sit like a tree in a corner.

Stereotypes

Incidences of stereotyping occurred in a number of the interviews, both by the interviewee as well as within situations the interviewees described. The stereotypes were applied by Whites to African Americans as well as by African Americans to Whites.

African Americans were stereotyped as less capable in some instances and as one director pointed out, that stereotype created problems come audition time:

And for students, you know the... I guess what would become called the uh... status quo of African Americans not being smart enough so that are always going to be... A stereotype of the black kids not really knowing a lot so, you know they're always going to be low on the ground, when in fact you might have some of the brightest and best kids in the music department that are black. So how are you going to take that, especially from the parent's perspective, especially when we're segregated forever and your kid is first chair but a black kid came up and beat him out, you know? That's kind of hard to really, you know...

Occasionally teachers encountered stereotypes too from children, particularly at the beginning of desegregation:

I mean they didn't understand... I had a kid come up to me and say "You killed my daddy." You know, and it took me... boy, that hurt and I thought well, what, you

know... and I sat the kid down and talked to him and what happened was, I think a policeman had killed his daddy and for whatever reason and I was white and I don't think that he had never seen that many white guys before in the school system. You know, that really kind of hurt, I didn't, you know... but it did.

One teacher related a story that sounded like stereotyping but explained that it really was children not knowing any better. It is an example of the stereotypes children often learn at home.

I had one teacher who told me, she was assigned to an elementary school, somewhere out in south Augusta. I can't remember what school it was, but the white kids would see her, and she was brown, and they thought she was dirty. They just didn't realize that was her color. They thought she was just dirty and they kept saying "You don't bathe, you don't take a bath?" It embarrassed her at first and at first she got angry, but then, I think it took her a while to realize that they just didn't know any better.

Most often, it was teacher that brought stereotypes into the classroom or educational setting. One African American band director explained the benefit to white kids in desegregation this way:

And you've got this black band full of a bunch of people who inherently have rhythm built into their make-up, just through ancestry and everything, and you also could argue that you've got your straight-laced white kids who have no rhythm whatsoever who could have really benefited from having those black kids with them.

Another African American band director described very similar stereotypes:

It's not just...how should I put this...I think having a different culture, a lot of things in our culture are based on rhythm, you know that. So, I think having those rhythmically...uh, what's a good word here? Diverse, we can deal with rhythm a lot easier. Just from a heritage and history... just from the drums in Africa and the rhythms from the eastern culture, much more...we're much more syncopated, than I think probably...than, probably a lot of White students, you know. Heritage and genes...they actually...what's the word I want to use...they're modified through your culture and over hundreds and thousands of years. That's why I think there is an affinity for a lot of African American males to gravitate toward percussion...and I believe that's heritage because of the long line of history. I don't know if you ever...at one time we were considered great dancers...if watched the dancers in the 50s and 60s, African Americans, they had lots of rhythm, style and finesse, and I think that carried over, that rhythm thing again. Even with the advent of jazz and the, the syncopated rhythms, I think a lot of that came out of the African culture and heritage. That takes thousands of years to dilute out of your system.

Often stereotypes border on racism. One African American teacher at the beginning of desegregation had fellow teachers that had frequent white visitors to their classrooms:

Some teachers told me they even had parents coming in and sitting in on their classes unannounced. Now I don't think it was so much the other way around. I don't think the black parents came in to sit in on the white teacher's classes, it was more the white parents coming in, unannounced, and sitting in on the classrooms, I guess to see if you can actually teach my child or not!

Finally, this contemporary white teacher makes a statement that certainly sounds like a stereotype:

My white students are dependable, I trust them. It's not because I look at them and say oh, white, trustable; definitely. I have white students that are not trustworthy, who are not responsible. I also have black students who are very trustworthy.

Philosophy of Music Education and Type of Curriculum

Many music teachers face the dilemma of deciding whether their philosophical basis is going to be focused more on educating students or entertaining audiences. Whichever focus they chose is going to determine their curriculum to a large degree. This dilemma is apparent when contrasting the music programs of Richmond and Columbia Counties following desegregation. Some interviewees referred to this dichotomy as Entertainment vs. Education.

Entertainment vs. Education

A former Richmond County band director said these things about the two contrasting approaches to public school music:

I think, just over my years of experience, it seems like in some programs, in a few of the Richmond County schools, it's getting away from the educational value and it's becoming more entertainment; and we're getting into, I guess, that video age of television and music itself and the programs are getting away from trying to educate the kids to put them at a level where they can move forward after they are done with high school and this is more of the entertainment value; particularly in marching band and things of that nature. That's pretty much what I'm seeing. It's becoming, actually it's

becoming pretty common. When I taught in Burke County, I had to battle the issue of the kids wanting to play the more popular style and type of music and wanting to get away from the educational thing, but we were able to control it pretty well. I guess from what I'm hearing and understanding right now, it's not so much, in my opinion, I don't think it's so much segregation or desegregation, but what are those instructors going to teach? It doesn't matter if you're teaching a black kid or a white kid. What are you going to instruct? I have the same options as other band directors. If I'm going to focus on hip-hop or if I'm going to focus on what's on BET or if I'm going to try to really dig deeper and educate these kids to where I can get them a scholarship to go to Augusta State or prepare them to go further. It's not so much segregation to me or desegregation, it's a matter of what in the world are you going to teach them, period.

Another interviewee contrasted the approach that Richmond and Columbia County directors seem to take with regards to the entertainment vs. education aspect of one's philosophy of music education:

Quality of music experience in Richmond as opposed to Columbia...it seems that the whole approach is different. Richmond County seems like most of the schools, some of the schools are more focused on the entertainment; Columbia County seems like most of them are more directed on educational. So, I think, to me just looking from the outside, that's the way it appears. It seems like one county focuses more on producing quality musicians, another county...

A white band director from Columbia County described the issue of philosophy of music education in terms of effects on the curriculum:

Back in the 50s and 60s the Richmond Academy was one of the best band programs in the state of Georgia and I've seen the quality of the programs go down drastically over the years. It's not because of the white kids and the black kids and the mixture, it's because of a lack of philosophy... um, too many times we concern ourselves with the entertainment of people instead of the needs in the classroom to teach the kids the basic fundamentals of how to get good musical tone or how to interpret something. And so, somewhere in the change from...during desegregation, um, we lost a sense of what is the teaching of music... or, just a simple philosophy of music education; what do we want the kids to know when they graduate from high school. Even more specifically, what should they know at a specific year in the band program? For instance, a seventh grader; how many scales should that kid know, or what type of literature should that student be able to play. So, we've really lost it in the area of philosophy and purpose.

Some music directors pointed out that the community plays a major role by putting pressure on the high school directors to perform a certain type of music. This music director talks about how tradition plays a role in determining the type of curriculum and philosophy a director goes with:

Some histories of schools have been where it's been just the norm to put a product out at all costs, just go out there, play loud, play popular music, dance around and after the game is over, play some more. Then at other schools the history has been, here's the music on the printed page, this is our show, this is what we're presenting to you based on what we've worked on, the kids have learned this music by notation, they haven't memorized it, but they have done it through musical, and they know how to do this. Now the history of this school, the kids have done it this way, by rote, by whatever means it

is they learn the music and the public loves it, you know that's just the way it is. So somebody else coming in after that and wanting the kids to learn music, it's not going to be exactly the way it was. So the public lets them know about it, they don't like this. But the problem is if you're going to teach them how to read music, how to be a musician; how are you going to do that without changing the history, not the history but changing what is being done now, going away from the history? Now along the same token, there are sometimes when people have tried to change the history of popular or successful programs, or change the way it's being taught; at the same time they have had problems, too, so you're going to have problems when you change anything, the question is what is more important, the change or the outcome?

Another director also talked about the role of the community, the missing emphasis on fundamentals that seemed to be inherent in some approaches and the pressures on directors by the community:

And the playing, as far as uh...instead of the focus being on the music, there is more of a focus on dance and show. So as a result, the students don't usually play as well when it comes to All State events, and District Honor Band events, and Governors Honors events. The lack of those skills in fundamental playing began to show up and perhaps this is just because you can't attract the same quality teacher there anymore and good instruction is not being given, but I also understand it's because you end up with a quick change into a different mindset, and the parents perhaps are not as educated. I've even heard of band directors who were fighting against it and they were against the change from what they knew to be a more educational way of teaching the students, especially with marching band, and how they were fighting and staying with the corps style shows, and they had

rocks thrown at them, and pennies thrown at them, and... I've known a couple that even got sick. They had so much stress on them and then say either quit the business or they eventually move on to another school where they can have that same experience. So, they end up having to fight the community too.

Philosophy of Music Education

A retired Columbia County band director made these observations about the way desegregation was handled and the lack of foresight concerning the planning that should have gone into determining the curriculum and philosophy of education to guide all the teachers in the county towards a common goal:

I think we've...before integration happened they should've thought through these things, you know. How are we going to mesh all these cultures and take what is being taught at this school and this school, and put them together so that we're all in agreement and we know where we are going? I keep going back to this idea of purpose and philosophy; you cannot teach, and you cannot have a program apart from those things.

The issue of different philosophies and the resulting curriculums led inevitably to issues for many African American ensembles when attending GMEA festivals. One retired African American director who understood very well those issues had this to say about the problems many of his/her peers underwent:

In one sense that when we were segregated, we had no knowledge of what your counterparts really, really, were doing, because everything was so separate that let's say I recall when the bands in Richmond County, and let me be more precise, the black schools, the predominantly black schools such as Laney and Josey, those were the only

ones...when those bands - and I was a good friend of those band directors , those two even though I wasn't up here at that time working - when the black band directors went to Festival, most times they would not get superior and excellent ratings. They would get good or fair because in my opinion their concepts were so different about how... how the band should sound...When they were segregated, they may have been the top bands getting superior ratings, the top awards in ratings (at GTEA or other African American sponsored festivals) and everything everybody saying, oh yes. We've got a good band, not that they weren't a good band, but I think... I know the concepts were just totally different. When we integrated, those bands would go to (GMEA) Festival and then they could not get superior and excellent ratings. They would get like threes and fours. And in some cases if the judges just wanted to be... he would just put down whatever and the ratings were really, really tough.

An African American band director comments that the educational philosophy of the affluent (dominant class) isn't in touch with the reality or the educational philosophy of the less affluent and their reality. Even though he/she claims there is no 'black and white', he/she is alluding to the two poles of aesthetic vs. pragmatic philosophy when referring to 'two sides of the coin'.

There's just no cut and dry answer. There's no black and white.. the affluent can look on it and see a problem. Well yes, but everybody thinks it's because we have this should happen. That's not fair to us, so you know it's two sides of the coin. I just...I think the bigger problem, more than color, is...I want to say bureaucracy, or position on the importance of music education. (Fallin: Their philosophy of music education?) Yes, their philosophy of music education is just not in step with reality.

A Columbia County music teacher commented on the different way budget money is used to support band programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties:

You know and it's interesting like in Richmond County, them paying for uniforms. When I was in Richmond County, every seven years, every band got new uniforms. In Columbia County, they don't provide uniforms. It's just interesting that that's where they put their money and that's how they support their band programs. Instead of the way that I think would... well, I mean you have to have a uniforms but there are so many things that may lack down there in support of the band programs that they do support out here.

A Columbia County band director also talked about the issue of using budget money for uniforms vs. instructional supplies such as instruments and music:

They have more high schools that they have to deal with. It's funny because I like the fact that they fund the school with buying them uniforms and stuff, I think that's great. That would be great to not have to fund raise to do that because we have to fund raise to do all that, but yet my budget in Columbia County for the actual instructional stuff is miles better than the schools in Richmond County. It's like okay, what's really important here, instructional, or the uniform. What's really important? I like the fact that Columbia County really does center towards instructional needs more than...and see there are things that our county expects of us, but then they don't expect us to do some of these profile type things like parades, you know Richmond County parades are really, really important. And luckily our folks get out of the way and let us not have to worry about stuff like that, but see that's very visual and they want the kids out there playing for

people, and I think that's a publicity thing for the school system too. We understand that we have to do a certain amount of it, but not like that.

Finally, a retired African American band director talked about curriculum issues that he/she saw with some of the high school bands and directors today in Richmond County :

Band is almost incidental at some of the schools now in Richmond County. That's how Richmond County's bands are. You know whereas in Columbia County it's different. Richmond County bands are going like this (thumbs down) because all they want to do is this: sings "get down and boogie with it". You know I haven't even heard a good March, you know? I haven't heard, Washington Post, or Sempre Fidelis, you know what I'm saying. This is good reading material, you know you'd be surprised Now, what's happening now I don't see... since Smitty and I got out of the program, I think there is some weakness in the program for the black kids. Because everybody wants to get down and boogie, they want to *dance*. No one has really brought it back to them and says let's do some reading, let's teach them how to read first, and then this other stuff. So I think that they are being cheated, because of now, because the band directors are forced to do this to keep their job or to keep the children happy.

Losses

One of the interview questions asked about losses in music education programs for students as a consequence of desegregation. It is only natural then that this theme would appear in the interviews. However, the intent was not to establish whether losses occurred but rather to identify any that did occur in Richmond or Columbia County as a consequence of desegregation. Some of the losses identified were losses in ensemble participation; faculty or teacher quality;

established programs, traditions and schools; jobs; leadership opportunities; parental support; and sense of community.

Losses - Established Programs, Traditions and Schools

One consequence of desegregating school faculties by reassigning teachers and students to different schools was that existing programs sometimes fell apart:

...and they ripped up that program, that's like the elementary school, Rodney McDonald was the principal at Glenn Hills Elementary. I had a huge program over there and he was an ex-band director from North Augusta High School. He would say, I've never seen anyone get this many beginning kids to stick and keep going for two or three years like this. He acted like I was the pied piper. But anyway, I did have a flair for that, but uh ... and then they just ripped...that, that was ripped up... Those were some good kids, really good kids. And then as far as I know nobody picked up Copeland; that died. Shaw, I think Shaw was assigned to that one and he just didn't go. I don't think he went to any of them. He took Glenn Hills. I even had two sessions at Glenn Hills, I had the senior high and the junior high and I tried to keep things together, because it was a little bitty program as you can tell. It was tough, and then to...but it hurt just to see all that just go down the tubes, and the investments the parents had made and all that too.

Losses - Ensemble Participation

Later in the same interview this band director talked about what happened to the students that left Copeland Elementary, either by moving up into junior high or transfer by rezoning:

I had an awful lot of kids that I had at Copland. I had a good program, I was seriously... I mean you've probably never heard of but I mean... I say like touring MENC, of course Charles Bradley, he designed his own mouthpieces and did a bunch of them, and Ben Sisk and his wife they had the... they were the cutesy little elementary people, I wanted to design something off of that and try to... we're all altruistic to do a little bit... I had some kids that were of that quality that were going to Langford. That I wanted to work over there a lot, if I could in fact, I would move there rather than Sego, but, but it was not open. But uh... and I wanted to go over there, and I had already talked to some of the parents, you know that I had that I was teaching at Copland and cared about on the other side of town, that weren't going to come to me at Glenn Hills anyway, and uh, but I had already talked to them and said these kids are really good, they're not coming to me but I had... but I want to... if I could move back up there and help somebody up there... you know, they really... these were kids from the upper crust. Their parents cared, most of the parents were well educated, no kidding, I had some kids playing a... this was about 30, about 32 kids, seventh graders. That was a big percentage. That was like a whole class out of four classes; I had a lot of kids. We were playing class C, you know like a Junior High, pretty good stuff. I said I would love to get my hands on them in junior high, I can't imagine what this would be like if we could have these and in four years present them like in high school. If I'm not going to have them, they still need to stay with this, they are like on fourth year level stuff after two to three years. They went to Langford and quit... and ooh... I was down at Sand Bar Ferry and I tried to call a couple and I got nowhere.

One former white student described how some of his white friends just quit band because of desegregation:

I do know of a 'range' of kids that were with me in my class at Segoo, that all graduated up to Butler High School. There were two gentlemen in particular who were in my personal friends peer group. We also happen to live within a couple blocks of each other in our neighborhood over in South Augusta. So we had grown up together and we went to elementary school, junior high school, together. We all and happened to be in band and one of them was a trumpet player and one of them was a trombone player. We all went to Butler High School and we all participated in the band program. I left the program at the end of the year to go over to Westside High School. These other two young men, my friends and my peer group and pretty good players, obviously good musicians; both of them were white. They both just quit the band program altogether and never ever played again so I guess it is the case that as a result of the desegregation of Butler High School band program that some of the kids literally did quit and walked away. I mean if you looked at a band program of 20 students and three of us, at least three that I know of, myself and two other young men, we all ended up leaving the program. They stayed in school at Butler High School. They didn't leave, they just didn't go back and participate in the band program and they were both good musicians, good high school players up to that point. They were participating in all of the same things that I was, All County Band, 10th District Band; they participated in all of the traditional programs for the high school band student.

Losses - Faculty and Teacher Quality

One African American teacher described the kind of relationships African American teachers had with their students in segregated schools prior to desegregation:

And just the way something like a stance, just their appearance and all of that kind of stuff, things that we couldn't get away with because we were always preached to: "You can't go anywhere looking like that, you know better than that." You know, it was this sort of... almost a motherly...um...I don't know what you call it... motherly... advice, I don't know if that's a good word... or what it was, but that's what we got from these people back in those days. Whereas now I don't think the kids are getting that.

Losses – Jobs

A white band director talked about two situations in which one white band director lost his job at the time of desegregation and another, himself, wasn't promoted to Fine Arts Coordinator as a result of desegregation.

Well, I lost out. It was really kind of funny, that's when they came...when Louis Friedman, but I don't know whether it was a conspiracy to get rid him or not. I don't...Bill Geisler wasn't sure on that either. But, he was old and he was a little lazy in his old years. Well, he had done a good job. He had started the whole thing. He had a small string group down at Richmond Academy and he was ready to sit back and rest on his laurels and he probably should have been. Some people didn't like the way he was handling his job so, for whatever reason, he was retired. Then I got a call from D.K. McKenzie, he was assistant superintendent at the time, he said...actually he was my principal at RC-HWJHS. I knew of him and he says, I don't know how to present this, he

said. Obviously, he said, you know we're going to have a New Fine Arts coordinator and we've determined that it's going to be an African American. So you're not eligible. So you will not be eligible, but we would like for you to make a recommendation for us. I thought, oh no. That hurt, it did hurt.

Losses - Leadership opportunities

A retired African American choral director talked about ways in which leadership was developed in segregated African American schools, even in Richmond County and those type things were lost with desegregation:

I'm sure that some things did improve. I guess the things that I hear a lot of my older education friends talk about and some of the things that even some of my relatives talk about, was the way that students at that time...we were allowed...you were made to stand up for the class and do orations, you know speeches. Yes, you are made...you were made to write and enter an essay contest, and they were very, very closely watched. So you were made to be a very, very best that you could be and no exceptions were made along those lines. You were expected to be young ladies, and young gentleman, you were expected to dress a certain way, to act a certain way, these were things that were expected. You had pride about what you did and you did it with excellence. No questions asked, and it seems as time went on and I think a lot of it is, as things became more relaxed for teachers and educators, because I guess I'm just old school...I grew up with old parents and so I have an older mentality about certain things. I'm just...basically old-fashioned. You know, I just have ...I believe that I should dress professionally, I don't believe that I should dress the way the kids dress. When you walk down the hall,

you should know that I'm a teacher. I don't have a problem if you think I look as young as they do, but it shouldn't be because of my actions, or my dress, or my professionalism. I think that sometimes, some of those standards in some instances have dropped. We tend to be a little too friendly. I'm not saying that you shouldn't be compassionate, or that you shouldn't have a good relationship, but sometimes the students are confused and they don't know where to draw the line between the teacher. So they feel that they can address you a certain way, but then I think that that falls back on us because of the way that we present ourselves.

Losses - Parental Support

It was nothing for people to just show up, or if not show up, a phone call, let the parents know about a problem with Johnny, you know. Now...you don't see it too much. And as a matter of fact if you do see a little bit of it then what support are you getting from the parent a lot of times? The parents also partnered more with the teachers back then. Not just with getting you to rehearsals and making sure that you had the right uniform and all that type of stuff, but that the parents had a certain amount of responsibility as a matter of fact, if not more. That I don't see too much of that now.

Losses - Sense of Community

A white choral director from Richmond County talked about the loss of the neighborhood school, sense of community and the results for high school music programs:

I would say that sense of the neighborhood school, within a part of the community in which you lived, that you would go to this elementary school, and this middle school, and this high school, and that sense of loyalty that from the time you started elementary

school, you knew you were going to be a Laney Wildcat. You were going to be this. And within, we're not sectioned geographically. We're all over the place, you know. I can't even tell you where the Richmond school zone ends and the Westside zone begins, but it's literally on a street where the people on this side of the street go to Richmond and the people on this side of the street go to Westside and so it's hard to maintain a sense of what's going on and a sense of belonging and loyalty. The issues that came out of the desegregation order that created our zones, that lead to problems with parental support, lead to problems with transportation, kids making a commitment to show up and be in things, and fund raising somewhat. I don't deal with fundraisers, I hate them. So I gave up on them years ago. I just don't do them.

An African American former student in Richmond County schools talked about the sense of community that existed prior to desegregation in African American school in Richmond County:

...back in those days it didn't just start and stop at the schoolhouse. Things were really community based, where people had church and school connections. It really, sort of...the irony was that it really wasn't separation between church and state. A lot of our faculty members and whatnot, we went to church with them and they knew us through those connections. That's how I was able to get so much experience. It really was a big sense of community that I can remember. I could walk to school, I could walk to her church, I couldn't walk to the church where my mother and father were active but I could walk to her church and practice; I had places to practice if I didn't want to practice at home I did have a piano at home. Some of the music that we did at school, she was doing with her choir at church sometimes so I got a double dose of it...I can remember t

teachers calling each other and everybody was so upset because they couldn't see how in the world are we going to do this...we have never taught outside of our little comfort zone. And I guess a lot of them lived there, in fact my next door neighbor was my English teacher, and my neighbor across the street was my Chemistry teacher. No, you don't find that at all anymore. Nobody wants to live near their students anymore.

(Laughter) But you know at that time that is where everybody lived. I can remember walking to school with my teachers, a lot of them didn't drive you know, they would drive on occasions if they had somewhere else to go after work, but I lived within 10 minutes away from the school.

An African American former student at a HBHS in Richmond County talked about the loss of a sense of community:

It was even more of the sense of community back then so really by the time I got to Laney when everything was integrated, that's when some of the weakness came about. I didn't see as much community care I think.

Segregation

A number of times in the interviews, references would be made to situations from the time before desegregation which illustrated some aspect of how it was before schools were desegregated. Here an African American teacher talks about the separation that existed between White and African American music teachers as well as a band program he started in an elementary school in 1962.

That is kind of hard to say because I didn't know what they were doing with the whites, I didn't care as long as my children were being treated right. I made sure my children got

their niche. At RC-HBES I made sure they got their niche. In that you know, I started one of the first elementary bands around. A lot of people don't remember but I started an elementary band back in 1962. I had the only marching band around here at Levi White Elementary.

Several former students talked about the difficulties surrounding segregated schools and getting the things they needed:

... people had to face facts that for, you know how ever many years up to that point, that they had nothing and were forced to fend for themselves for every little bit that they got. Had it not been for key people, who just made sure that they had stuff, they would have had nothing.

I remember very well not having enough. I remember, and it was before integration, getting and when I was in elementary school we got used books from Monsanto Elementary School because you could see the stamps in them. I remember that very well and even after integration the resources were better but it wasn't state of the art, it really was not. Laney was one of few places...like I said it had a separate music building, but I can remember there were some practice rooms in there and the pianos would stay beat up for a long time, not maintained and things like that. I can remember not having the best of what some of the other kids had. I can distinctly remember that.

A white string teacher revealed the circumstances under which African American students first had the opportunity to study strings:

Well, whenever they did, whenever they had the court order, all I can tell you is that I was told that I was going to have to go to some of the black schools because my white

students were going down there too. So, I think that was the time that they hired another teacher, we had the third teacher at that point as well as I can remember... Of course, we didn't have any black children then because we had been in the white schools. It wasn't the fact that we didn't want to go to the black schools; it was the fact that we didn't even have enough teachers to teach even in the white schools at that time. The long and short of it was, the following year, we divide it up so that we had, and this is when... um, I was trying to think if this is when Shaw came in... about this time and he was adamant that we would go into the black schools.

Here an African American retired choral director talks about who directed choir at the Blanchard School in Columbia County which was the segregated African American school in Columbia County:

There was a choral lady there (at Blanchard) now she may not have been a qualified choral teacher because at that time they had English teachers teaching, you know, if you had a skill to play the piano or sing, then you did the chorus after school or something like that so she might have done that but I can't think of her name...

Busing and Its Consequences

A Richmond County choral director commented on the effects of busing on concert attendance and after school rehearsals:

It's cut I think more in half, over half that don't attend concerts and a lot of it, you know, with our situation too because they have to come to afterschool rehearsals, if they can't, a lot of them are trying to get rides from other friends or other parents and I know it's difficult. Plus where we're located too, if people are from South Augusta, that's a long

hike to get there. So that has a lot to do with our program as well because we have afterschool stuff.

A Richmond County band director made the following observation about one of the negative consequences of zoning and splitting neighborhoods up to achieve desegregation:

We don't have a true feeder system now. So it is very hard to track kids or to have expectations you know. Parent night, or feeder program night, I mean, they come in from everywhere.

There were many more additional codes identified in the interview transcripts and some of them have merit for additional research and discussion but are beyond the limits of this document. In the next chapter I will summarize and further discuss the findings.

CHAPTER 5

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of the processes of integration, desegregation, and resegregation on high school music education programs in Columbia and Richmond Counties from 1950 to 2000. The primary questions were:

- 1) What effects on the quality and type of music education experiences for students resulted as a consequence of desegregation in Richmond and Columbia Counties?
- 2) What ironies occurred or resulted for both teachers and students within the music education system as a result of desegregation?
- 3) How has resegregation affected the quality and type of music education experiences for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties?

To answer these questions, all middle and high schools in Richmond and Columbia Counties of Georgia that were operating from 1950 to 2000 were identified and using that information along with local school board histories, Georgia State Archives, local court documents, high school yearbooks, newspaper articles, and interviews; a list of music faculty and key students, who experienced the school desegregation and resegregation processes and were associated with some aspect of the school music education program, were identified as subjects for personal interviews. Music faculty were also asked to respond to a researcher-authored questionnaire addressing the specific questions of the study.

The results from the questionnaires were coded and compiled when appropriate or tabulated otherwise. The interviews were transcribed, coded initially with pencil on paper copies and then later reread and coded in an electronic format using the first coding as a guideline but sometimes revising codes and consolidating as the process continued. After all interviews were completed, coded and the data collected; tables were created to tabulate the data in order to determine what the most significant findings were. Those findings were augmented with additional research to correlate demographic shifts in school populations.

The discussion of the data will be organized around the three primary research questions:

1. Effects on the quality and type of music education experiences for students which resulted as a consequence of desegregation in Richmond and Columbia Counties.
 - a. Positive effects
 - b. Ethnocentric effects including racism and prejudices
 - c. Teachers effects including philosophy of education and choice of curriculum
 - d. Socioeconomic effects
 - e. Busing and rezoning effects
2. Ironies which occurred or resulted for both teachers and students within the music education system as a result of desegregation.
 - a. Socioeconomic inequalities
 - b. Increased polarity

- c. Academic achievement
3. Effects of resegregation on the quality and type of music education experiences for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties.
- a. Ethnocentric Effects
 - b. Teacher Effects
 - c. Socioeconomic Effects
 - d. Busing and school rezoning Effects

The findings of the research describe two very different school systems with very different consequences for school music programs from desegregating schools in the early 1970's. In terms of the population changes of the two counties, the following table illustrates the population and demographic changes that occurred based on data from the US Census Bureau. The table shows that for Columbia County, the decade with the greatest population increase was from 1970 to 1980. It also shows a corresponding decrease in the percentage of African Americans in the county and an increase in the white population at the same time as Richmond County shows an increase in the percentage of African Americans and a decrease in Whites. These demographic and population shifts illustrate the progression of white flight from Richmond to Columbia County during the period of 1970 to the 2010 Census and point once again towards increasingly segregated schools in Richmond County.

Table 64.

Population shifts in Columbia and Richmond Counties 1950-2010

Columbia County								
YEAR	TOTAL	Growth (%)	White	White %	Black	Black %	Other	Other %
2010	124,053	38.9	97,895	78.9	19,881	16	6,277	5.1
2000	89,288	35.2	73,814	82.7	10,011	11.2	5,463	6.1
1990	66,031	64.6	56,785	86	7,282	11	1,964	3
1980	40,118	79.7	33,487	83.5	5,891	14.7	740	1.8
1970	22,327	66.3	17,418	78	4,856	21.7	53	0.3
1960	13,423	40.3	8,631	64.3	4,792	35.7	-	-
1950	9525	-	4,963	52.1	4,562	47.9	-	-
Richmond County								
YEAR	TOTAL	Growth (%)	White	White %	Black	Black %	Other	Other %
2010	200,549	0.4	83,535	41.7	111,991	55.8	5,023	2.5
2000	199,775	5.3	93,496	46.8	101,328	50.7	4,951	2.5
1990	189,719	4.4	104,612	55.1	79,639	42	5,468	2.9
1980	181,629	11.8	109,109	60	67,981	37.4	4,539	2.6
1970	162,437	19.8	112,974	69.5	48,624	29.9	839	0.6
1960	135,601	24.5	92,480	68.2	43,121	31.8	-	-
1950	108,876	-	72,076	66.2	36,800	33.8	-	-

The effects of desegregation on school music programs varied from positive to negative. The positive effects noted by the study participants as a consequence of desegregation and the resulting increased diversity (pp. 210-212) were dispelled stereotypes, improved resources and

curriculums for some schools (pp. 215-216), increased opportunities for all students (pp. 212-214), challenged the teacher to improve his/her teaching, and increased academic standards for African American students (pp. 215-217). Some of these are widely accepted as a consequence of desegregation in general. Many white Richmond County teachers felt that when desegregation occurred, African American students were behind the white students in terms of music reading and technique abilities. Consequently they noted that the African American students were often challenged to perform at a higher level in the HWHS's and white students bused to HBHS's noted lower levels of musical reading and technical abilities.

Of the many factors that potentially negatively influenced the outcome of desegregation, four stood out in this study: ethnocentric effects including racism and prejudices, teacher effects including philosophy of education and choice of curriculum, socioeconomic effects, busing and rezoning effects.

Ethnocentrism and its many facets (pp. 124-153) played a very important role in the quality and type of music education experience for students as a consequence of desegregation of schools. There were a number of coded themes which emerged from the interview data as contributing factors to the quality of music education experience for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties following desegregation as well as during the resegregation of schools which followed soon after. They included: how ethnocentrism influences the student's decision to participate in a school music ensemble; peer, parental and community pressures resulting from ethnocentrism; the influence of ethnocentrism on musical tastes and performance practices; 'acting white' or 'acting black'; parent's desire to look for other places of schooling for their children and student's desire to look for other places to make music; and middle class and white

flight. Also included in the discussion of ethnocentrism is racism and prejudices and how they influenced the quality of musical education experience for students.

Ethnocentrism was found to be a factor in the decisions children and parents make regarding participation in a school musical ensemble. Often, either the race of the director or the style of musical repertoire and/or marching were found to be factors (pp. 129-139). African American students often didn't want to join musical ensembles that marched in a 'white style' or played 'white music'. Those that do were (and still are) often faced with criticism from their peers and accused of 'acting white'. The opposite applied to white students. An additional variable involved in white student's and parent decision was the dancing the most HBHS marching bands and even the more recently resegregated high school marching bands in Richmond County include as a prominent part of their half-time and parade routines. Many African American students are unwilling to participate in a band that doesn't include dancing and high stepping drills to arrangements of current rap and other 'black' popular music. White parents (and band directors) often are offended by the lyrics which accompany many of these songs and the dance movements of the band, majorettes, 'dancing girls' and color guard. The term white music is also frequently applied to any form of concert band music and some directors noted situations in which parents complained about them teaching their children 'white music'. In different ways, this phenomenon affected programs in both Richmond and Columbia Counties. One interviewee stated that pressure was applied by other African American students to prevent him from excelling or auditioning for a leadership position. Other examples from some research literature might be simply the kind where African American students apply peer pressure to peers who are excelling academically in mostly white advanced classes. However, Lundy (2003) reveals another aspect to this phenomenon. He states that the entire concept of

“acting white” as a means of rejecting academic achievement misses the central point, that of the minority student rejecting the culture of the dominant culture and not necessarily academic achievement. So much of what is taught in American schools is still Eurocentric and represents the culture of the middle and upper class. For instance, lower socioeconomic class white students have never been to an opera or orchestra concert either, and most of them reject that culture as well.

Complaints by parents concerning the type of music an ensemble performs were a type of parental pressure resulting from an ethnocentric view of culture and music. They were (and are) part of a variety of pressures music directors faced from parents, communities and sometimes even school administrators to conform to the dominant culture of the school and the community it primarily served. The director was often faced with the dilemma of teaching a popular music and performance based curriculum where the focus was entertainment in order to conform to those pressures or to teach a curriculum based more on longer term educational goals resembling aesthetic values that included an emphasis on music reading and the development of technical skills and exposure to a wide variety of music from many cultures. There was some evidence in the interviews that few band directors of the opposite race from the majority of the student population don't survive very long unless they capitulate completely to the ethnocentric demands of the students and parents. It is very difficult to “change” the cultural view of a population over a short period of time. The idea that a band director wants to change the expected and traditional style of a school marching band touches on the issues of school identity as well as threatens a type of loss for the community. School bands and other musical ensembles are representative of school culture, they are a microcosm of the student body of that school, and when the style of the band goes against what is expected by the community or accepted as representative of a

particular student and their family's culture, then that student as well as that school community will protest. This touches on the idea in Steven Kelly's *Teaching Music in American Society* (2009) that a school serves the community and population whose students attend it. If the culture of the highly visible marching band doesn't agree with the majority population's sense of culture and expectations, the band director will not meet with much success. The problem then of course becomes one of "educating" the school community to different cultural styles and increasing that community's tolerance and appreciation of other cultural styles. A process not easily accomplished. It also involves the battle between whether America is a melting pot or pluralistic society. In a pluralistic society, cultures within that society try to maintain their sense of identity and to preserve their individualistic cultural traits. It isn't easy to superimpose a new style of music or marching in that situation. In a melting pot paradigm, there is only one generally accepted "correct" style or way of doing things and every immigrant and "foreign" culture coming to America is supposed to assimilate the "American" way of doing things. Even though this was the popular concept of America up until the 1950's, and there are still groups of people who want to return to that ideal, it is not the reality of contemporary American society.

Frequently, ethnocentrism was a factor in tonal concept as well. The type of sound frequently accepted in the African American community was based on a concept of tonal brightness and volume. This is still true today in Richmond County. Although it is particularly effective in its ability to be heard, and sometimes quite exhilarating, it often carries over into the concert hall where African American bands, particularly those in Richmond County, are penalized at festivals where balance, blend, characteristic instrumental tonal colors, phrasing and technique are the standards by which bands are judged. These issues don't exist everywhere but in Richmond County they are the result of traditions established as a consequence of several

factors and events. The first is that during the late 1940's and 1950's, the band director at the segregated HBHS's in Richmond County were not certified music teachers. In fact, their primary teaching responsibility was in another field and they 'taught' band after school. A second factor was the lack of funding for HBHS music programs. There was little money for music and frequently popular music appropriate for football games and parades was taught and learned by rote. Thirdly, from the very first performance of the Laney High School Band, the Augusta Chronicle noted its unique dancing style even when participating in parades. The two HBHS's in Richmond County, Laney and Josey, developed their own signature styles of marching which became a long-standing tradition.

Similar circumstances factor into the style of some HBHS choral groups as well. There was often an over-emphasis on gospel music. Again, low fine arts budgets may have contributed. One African American student even noted that the choir often performed the same music in school as at church. Frequently, the choral groups from the two HBHS's in Richmond County performed their concerts at local African American churches because the schools didn't have auditoriums or spaces suitable for a choral performance.

Ethnocentrism was a factor in white and middle class flight which began in earnest in 1972 from Richmond County schools. There were a number of church and private school founded during that time and over 7000 students left the Richmond County public schools in 1972 alone. This played a role in music enrollments and even in the quality of the ensembles.

In 1980 when the Davidson Fine Arts Magnet School opened, an additional number of the most talented students were pulled from the other schools in Richmond County. Some teacher noted that even with their own children, if they hadn't gotten them admitted into

Davidson they would have chosen private schools or homeschooled rather than send their own children to Richmond County public schools. Some directors have complained that the problem with the magnet school was it skimmed the most talented students off the top, concentrated them all in one school and left the rest of the ensembles in the county without the top players and student leaders. This is an irony of desegregation, the magnet school concept. One of the court decisions leading up to the *Brown v. Board* case was a precedent set in *Sweatt v. Painter* in which a black Texas law student was denied admittance in School of Law of the University of Texas. The state of Texas established a new law school, Thurgood Marshall Law School at Texas Southern, which in many ways was inferior but one of the most significant was the isolation the separate school created between its students and the majority of the future lawyers of Texas who were attending School of Law at the University of Texas. The court argued that the education at the new Thurgood Marshall School of Law at Texas Southern University (formerly known as Texas State University for Negroes) was inherently unequal to that at the University of Texas because the most talented future lawyers all attended the University of Texas and anyone forced to attend Thurgood Marshall instead was denied exposure to and the ability to learn from and debate with the brightest minds and most talented future lawyers. The same issue seems to surround a magnet school since by concentrating all of the most talented music, art and drama students in one magnet school, the rest of the music, art, and drama students throughout Richmond County were denied the chance to interact with very bright and talented students.

Ethnocentrism also contributed to students looking for other places to make music. There were a number of students which when confronted with a school ensemble that did not fit their own cultural identity, looked for other places to make music. Of course this still goes on today in the form of church bands, garage bands, etc. Many students make music elsewhere, in

fact it is a positive thing that they do, but when the outside experiences begin to provide a more meaningful or culturally relevant place to make music, then the school music program tends to lose credibility. The problem when schools desegregated was that there was often a problem with the school music program making a connection to the student's culture and failing to capitalize on those interests. This continues on even today.

The search for other places of learning and communities where whites and middle class families lived away from other ethnic groups led to white and middle class flight. The 'flight' began immediately with court ordered busing and school desegregation in Richmond County. The consequences for school music programs were quite significant according to the interview data. White and middle class flight left pockets of concentrated poverty around many historically black schools as well as newly created resegregated schools and the children coming to school music programs from those areas seldom had the resources for even the smaller instruments which in more affluent communities they were expected to buy. The effect compounded the differences between band programs in the more affluent Columbia County schools because they didn't have to spend but a very small portion of their much larger budget for small instruments whereas the Richmond County band directors would spend most of their much smaller budget trying to provide small instruments for economically disadvantaged students which left nothing for larger instruments and concert percussion. This also created a snowball effect in which Richmond County bands would often attend GMEA festivals with poorer quality instruments and incomplete and unbalanced instrumentation which contributed to the difficulty of getting good scores. Additionally, Richmond County string teachers noted a decrease in the number of students as the middle class and white flight occurred. Again, orchestral music is considered 'white' music and in the low socioeconomic predominantly African American communities that

were created by 'flight', string music ensembles are associated with a culture many African Americans reject.

An additional effect of concentrated pockets of poverty was an increase in the number of discipline problems with students. A number of socioeconomic factors may have contributed to that including a higher incidence single parent households, a parent working longer hours and supervising children less, parents with lower education levels, and so on. The impact for school music programs in Richmond County was that the increased discipline problems combined with low budgets; insufficient inventories of music, instruments and supplies; difficulty conducting fundraisers in a economically depressed community; ethnocentric pressures on the teacher to teach popular music instead of educational; all contributed to a higher teacher turnover and problems hiring qualified replacements.

Finally, ethnocentrism was a factor in the racism, prejudices and discrimination which took place following court imposed desegregation. Some of the many factors of racism to found in the interview data and affecting school music programs included claiming to be colorblind (pp. 226-228), acts of discrimination and feelings of being discriminated against (pp. 228-231), learned racism (pp. 231-233), lingering effects of racism (pp. 233-234), resistance to desegregation (pp.234-235), and stereotypes (pp. 235-238).

Music teachers are not unlike most other individuals, they claim to not see color when they see students. A number of the interviewees suggested the same but some writers would accuse their colorblindness as being a subtle form of racism.

There were a number of accounts involving acts of discrimination and feelings of being discriminated against by former students and band directors of both races. White students

reported facing prejudicial treatment when they attended HBHS's and African American students faced the same at HWHS's. African American students, African American ensemble directors and even white directors of predominantly African American ensembles noted examples of feeling discriminated against at a number of GMEA festival and contest venues. One African American band director even noted an instance of discrimination at a GMEA District Ten music teachers meeting.

Teachers weren't immune to the same feelings as existed in the communities they taught in. A number of music teachers encountered resistance to desegregation and some offered resistance when they were reassigned. Some white directors, like many whites in the community, felt that voluntary integration and school choice plans that had already been implemented were enough and saw desegregation, school rezoning, and forced busing as 'social experiments'. These teachers felt a sense of powerlessness when despite feeling like they had already compromised enough by having integrated schools, they and their neighbors were forced to desegregate.

The findings suggested that there was lingering racism and prejudices in white and black music teachers. These prejudices had a considerable effect on the music programs. It contributed to a music teacher's unwillingness to accept, and more importantly, teach the music of cultures and ethnicities other than their own. A number of directors noted the existence of this phenomenon. In Richmond County Fine Arts meetings, all the African American teachers sat together as did the white teachers. In Columbia County, it is important to note that there hasn't been an African American band director in over forty five years (not since Blanchard High School was closed and Julian Green was demoted to an elementary music teacher job).

Teacher effects which played a role in determining the quality of music education experience for all students following desegregation included: attrition (pp. 151-161), reassignments and job losses (pp. 177-179); teacher expectations (pp. 161-163); teacher morale (pp. 163-165); how well a teacher was prepared to teach both from the standpoint of their educational background as well as their ability to adapt to the demands of a multicultural music classroom (pp. 165-169); a teacher's philosophy of education and curriculum (pp. 238-245, 108-109); the level of supervision and accountability given a teacher by the school administration (pages 179-185); and most importantly, the quality of their teaching (pages 108-109, 125, 160, 164-174, 260).

One of the significant and long-standing problems for Richmond County music education has been the high turnover rate of music teachers at most schools. High rates of turnover contributed to a number of issues in Richmond County Schools. Columbia County schools have not had the problem, most of their music teachers stay for an entire teaching career that has often involved administrative positions of increasing responsibility as well. In Richmond County high turnover contributed to lowering of teacher quality and the hiring of uncertified teachers; a higher level of inexperienced younger teachers who spend one or two years and 'move on' leading to issues of establishing credibility with the ensemble for that teacher and the one that follows. High teacher turnover contributes to ensemble enrollment declines and small programs, loss of continuity in instruction and issues with accountability of instruments and equipment.

Following the court order to desegregate school faculties and staff, any teachers were upset and de-moralized. Some quit immediately, some lasted a year or two in schools they were unprepared to teach in. Sometimes the experience was such a failure for teachers and students alike the teacher found him/herself back at their original school a year later. Often the

reassignments in Richmond County involved a white former high school director being moved to a HBMS and the HBMS director taking the white teacher's high school job. In Richmond County, because no schools were closed to achieve desegregation, no African American teachers lost their jobs as they did in other parts of the country. In Columbia County however, the African American high school, Blanchard High School, was closed and the African American band director was 'demoted' to elementary music teacher where he only stayed a year or two. There was no choir teacher at Blanchard, an English teacher organized the school choir as an extra-curricular group again illustrating the unequal resources and support African American schools and students received during the era of segregated schools.

Teacher expectations was noted by a number of teachers as one of the differences between the quality of music programs in Richmond and Columbia County. There is no debate about the significance of teacher expectations. The issue with many interviewees was that Richmond County teachers expected less of their students than Columbia County teachers.

Teacher morale was a significant issue for many of the teachers reassigned as well as many current teachers in Richmond County. There were no comments noted by Columbia County teachers regarding morale.

Teacher quality was one of the most often noted factors controlling the quality of music education for students following desegregation. Nearly every interview participant indicated a good teacher could achieve success in the worse Richmond County school. The factors contributing to quality of teacher in a music classroom that came out of the data for this study included: organization, willingness to accept outside help, relates to the students, a high level of commitment and dedication. Many of the problems noted with Richmond County teachers were

again poor undergraduate teacher preparation, classroom management skills and discipline matters, lack of leadership, lazy teachers, A number of participants noted examples of Richmond County music teachers who had a reputation of allowing the students to watch TV, play cards, and other recreational things instead of learning and being taught music. Also related to teacher quality, a number of participation again mentioned poorly trained and prepared teachers as one of Richmond Counties issues.

Socioeconomic factors surfaced frequently in the study data as a factor in the quality of music education experience for students following desegregation. Some of the elements of socioeconomic factors included concentrated poverty and the resources or affluence of parents and the community (pages ; parental support which includes such factors as providing necessary tools and resources for school (pp. 32-33, 192-198); other home factors (pp. 199-205) such as learning discipline in the home and school, the parent's education level and teaching the importance of education to the student as well as supervising homework at home; the fiscal support of the local school system (pp. 176-179), entitlement mentality (pp. 205-208); and other factors such as young out of wedlock childbirth and the resulting 'kids raising kids' effect.

The concentrated poverty which resulted from middle class flight led to a number of problems and issues for Richmond County music teachers. Even though the tax base was diminished somewhat, it didn't affect school spending. In fact today, Richmond County Schools spend more each year (\$8453) to educate each student in its system than Columbia County (\$7866) (<http://www.homesurfer.com/schoolreports/view/schoolrankreports.cfm?state=GA>). The issue is more directly related to the resources that the local community and parents are able and willing to contribute to the school music program. Again, the data from tables 17, 18, 23, and 23 show a significant difference in the two counties. Frequent interview participants noted

the difficulties of finding funds and resources in Richmond County as contrasted to the seemingly abundant resources teachers described in Columbia County (see Tables 32 - 41).

Another issue which surrounded the concentrated poverty resulting from middle class flight was that of thievery, vandalism, and lack of respect for school instruments and equipment. A number of respondents noted these type issues in Richmond County which were further compounded by the unwillingness of the school administration to hold students, teachers, and parents accountable for losses and damages of school instruments and music. These things coupled with serious underfunding for the arts in Richmond County (see Tables 32 and 33) resulted over a period of years and decades in music programs with virtually no inventory of instruments or music.

Home factors are generally agreed on as very important in the success of a child in the music education program of a school and those home factors were seen as contributing a significant difference in the years following desegregation. Factors such as discipline in the home, the presence of one or two parents, teaching to value education, supervising homework (and practice) and out-of-wedlock teenage pregnancies resulting in 'kids raising kids'.

Finally the idea of entitlement mentality is a socioeconomic concept that was mentioned by some and one that was seen as important to an increasing degree as schools resegregated. The comments regarding this were as often made by African Americans as it was whites. There were and continue to be several impacts on school music programs as consequence of entitlement mentality: students and parents expect the schools to provide everything, students are less likely to possess a hard work ethic on their musical skills, it negatively effects the willingness of lower

socioeconomic students to complete fundraisers for the musical ensemble, it promotes attitudes of given grades instead of earned grade, and it has been fueled by public assistance programs.

Busing and rezoning of school communities played a role in the quality of music education programs following desegregation for several reasons. With school busing there was a loss of the sense of community as students and teachers who had often previously lived in the same neighborhoods were dispersed to other schools much further away in the attempt to racially balance the student bodies and faculties (see pages 251-253). The increased distance from home to school also increased the level of difficulty many students from low socioeconomic communities had in arranging transportation for after school rehearsals and evening concerts. Although the statistical analysis of questions 3 and 4 yield no significant differences at the $p=.05$ level regarding before and after school rehearsals, some directors indicated that it was a factor. Richmond County response to question seven of the questionnaire approached significance at the $p=.05$ level for the one-sided P-value for Richmond < Columbia = .054, indicating that Richmond County directors may have had more trouble with transportation to after school rehearsals than Columbia County directors. This also placed additional demands on low socioeconomic families in which there was often only one parent who was often trying to juggle the responsibilities multiple jobs and children bring. The result was less support for after school rehearsals and concerts, particularly festival performances, and perhaps even participation in school PTA's. This was confirmed in the results of question 8 which dealt with a number of facets of a music program and parental support. Statistically significant findings were found as evidence for less parental support for evening concerts and before and after school rehearsals. Low parental support in Richmond County was a concern for a number of the interview participants as well and frequently contrasted to the much better support Columbia County

school music groups receive (see pages 107, 179-191). The distance from home to school also effected the ability of a school musical group to conduct successful fund raising efforts since the majority of the students in the ensemble didn't live in the immediate neighborhood of the school they attended. This is supported by the data from question eight dealing with parental support for booster clubs and fundraisers (see tables 17 and 23). Furthermore, there was a lingering sense of loyalty by the community in which a student did live to the local school that most of the established members of that community had themselves attended. Finally school busing was a direct factor in the decision by many white and middle class African American families to look for other places to school their children (pages 147-151). This often meant sending their children to private schools or moving to Columbia County where the court ordered desegregation had had less effect on the communities schools served and the population of low socioeconomic families and African Americans was much lower.

Many of the situations described above were much less present or even absent in Columbia County. Columbia County started out as a much smaller school system and when ordered to desegregate or face court mandated rezoning, the Columbia County School Board to complied by closing the African American Blanchard High School and consolidating all the county's students into the two existing high schools at the time, Evans and Harlem and their respective feeder middle schools. Soon afterwards, as the population began to swell as a result of flight from Richmond County, the county was careful to maintain community zoning and to build new schools and their respective feeder middle schools in locations that maintained a sense of community.

Conclusions

The following conclusions are evident from the findings: a) there were positive gains for all music education students in Richmond and Columbia Counties as a consequence of desegregated schools but particularly for black students who had increased access to better instruments and music libraries, improved teaching and increased participation rates in GMEA events; b) there were losses for some public school music education students and teachers as a consequence of desegregation to include job reassignments for teachers, students who were withdrawn from the public schools and/or school music programs; c) the quality of the teacher played an important role in determining the quality of the music education experience for students following desegregation; d) statistically significant inequalities of resources and results still persist in the music education of public school students, especially between school systems and in some cases within; e) there are a number of students of all races but primarily minorities who still are not receiving the same music education in the public schools as they would had they been born into more fortunate socioeconomic circumstances.

Recommendations

It is recommended that further research be conducted into how to minimize the effects of ethnocentrism on the receptiveness of cultural groups to other types of music and cultural differences. Further research could be done on the relationships between race of a teacher and where they were schooled at to the musical repertoire and marching styles they tend to emphasize in their curriculum. Additional research needs to be done on what makes a music teacher successful in an inner city environment as well as in an environment in which he/she is not a member of the dominant culture. An important study would be one that examines how

music might contribute to the polarization of American Society or the most effective ways music could be used in the public schools to increase multicultural awareness and receptiveness.

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APPENDIX A

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Description of Music Education Programs in GMEA District Ten, Richmond and Columbia Counties, from 1950 to 2000

No personal information will be revealed in the results of this study. Your name is requested to help identify who has responded to the survey and which schools data is being collected on.

Name: _____

Inclusive dates you taught in Richmond and/or Columbia Counties: From: _____ To: _____

Please list the schools you taught at and dates you were there to the best of your recollection:

School	Position (band, choir, orchestra, general music)	Dates
1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____

QUESTIONS

1. How would you describe the (band / choir / orchestra – circle one), its students and the community at the schools listed above?

2. Were there any band or music booster clubs at the schools you taught at? Please describe them in terms of size, helpfulness, typical responsibilities and activities, problems.

After School Programs and rehearsals (you may make comments after each question):

3. How often did you hold after-school rehearsals in preparation for performances? (circle one)

Never 1 to 2 per week 3 to 4 per week Daily

4. How often did you hold before-school rehearsals? (circle one)

Never 1 to 2 per week 3 to 4 per week Daily

5. Were these rehearsals mandatory? Yes No (circle one)

If no, were there any particular reason(s)? _____

6. Did you have trouble with students not being able to attend before or after school rehearsals?

Yes No (circle one) If yes, can remember any general or specific types of reasons why?

7. How often was transportation an issue in students' ability to attend rehearsals or performances held outside of the school day? (circle your answer)

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

8. How would you rate parental support for the following activities (circle your answer):

Evening concerts	None	Some	Average	Very Good	Excellent
Festival Performances	None	Some	Average	Very Good	Excellent
Before/after school rehearsals	None	Some	Average	Very Good	Excellent
Booster organizations	None	Some	Average	Very Good	Excellent

Football game performances	None	Some	Average	Very Good	Excellent
Parades	None	Some	Average	Very Good	Excellent
Fundraisers	None	Some	Average	Very Good	Excellent

9. How often did your classes meet? (circle your answer)

Every Day Every other day Two days or less per week

10. How many periods or classes a day did you teach? _____ (write in your answer)

11. How much daily planning time were you allotted in minutes? _____ minutes (write in your answer)

12. Please describe your extra duties. _____

13. Were lesson plans required? Yes ___ No ___ Who looked at them? _____

14. Approximately how much money did you receive from the school board each year to run your music program? _____ (dollars)

15. How would you rate your budget? Not adequate ___ Met most needs ___ Adequate ___

16. How was your budget amount determined? _____

17. Main expenses on which you spent your annual budget: _____

18. Chronic or typical unfulfilled needs: _____

19. Fund raising: types & how many each year: _____

20. How much money did you typically raise for your program each year?

21. Do you have any memorabilia (scrapbooks, photos, yearbooks, recordings, videos, programs, teaching materials and old lesson plans, teacher handbooks and curriculum guides, newspaper clippings) that you would be willing to share with me for reference?

Yes ___ No ___

22. What types of community performances did you perform in a typical year? _____

23. What types of festivals and contests did you take your ensembles to each year? _____

24. Would you describe the community performances in terms of about how many each year, type of ensemble, who you played for, and typical places the ensembles played? _____

25. Do you remember the names of any of your student leaders, drum majors, band presidents?

No ___ Yes ___ Names of those you remember: _____

26. What types of festivals did your ensembles attend and where? _____

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS (27 – 51) SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY TEACHERS WHO WERE TEACHING AT THE TIME OF COURT ORDERED DESEGREGATION.

If you were teaching at the time of court ordered desegregation and integration of public schools, using the following questions, would you briefly describe the effects of that event on the music program at your school?

27. Classes you were teaching at the time:

Band ____ Choir ____ Orchestra ____ General Music ____ Other ____

28. How did desegregation affect the budget for your classes/program? If you can remember specifics such as yearly budget amounts that would be helpful. _____

29. How did desegregation affect the condition and source for instruments for your classes and programs? _____

30. How did desegregation affect the quality and source for music for your classes / program?

31. How did desegregation affect the condition and source of funding uniforms your program?

32. How did desegregation affect the condition and adequacy of your facilities?

33. What festivals did members of your ensemble attend and perform at *before* desegregation?
Check all that are applicable or fill in information.

GMEA events: Large Group Festival _____ Solo and Ensemble _____

District Honors Ensembles _____ All-State _____

Non-GMEA events: (please describe and identify specific festivals/contests if possible)

34. What festivals did members of your ensemble attend and perform at *after* desegregation was implemented? Check all that are applicable or fill in information.

GMEA events: Large Group Festival _____ Solo and Ensemble _____

District Honors Ensembles _____ All-State _____

Non-GMEA events: (please describe and identify specific festivals/contests if possible)

35. Did your student participation in GMEA events decrease ____, stay about the same ____, or increase ____ as a result of desegregation?

36. How did the size of your performing ensembles change with the implementation of desegregation? Smaller _____ No Change _____ Larger _____

37. How were you affected professionally by the desegregation of schools? (teaching assignments, professional development, pay, other)

38. How do you feel desegregation affected the overall quality of your program?

Decreased ____ Remained the same ____ Increased ____

Comments: _____

39. How do you feel desegregation affected community support for your program?

Decreased ____ Remained the same ____ Increased ____

40. Did you make adjustments in your selection of literature as a result of desegregation? (*grade level, composer*)

Yes ___ No ___

41. When busing began, and students were moved to different schools, are you aware of any students that chose not to be in band or chorus in their new school? Yes ___ No ___

Reasons: _____

42. Were any band or choir directors moved to different schools as a result of desegregation?

Yes ___ No ___ What were their reactions?: _____

43. Did any band or choir directors in Richmond or Columbia County lose their job as a result of the desegregation of schools? Yes ___ No ___

44. Demographic (ethnic) make up of your school before desegregation:

School was: Primarily African American ____ White ____

45. How did desegregation affect the demographic makeup of your ensembles?

46. What types of literature did you program in order to reflect the diversity of an integrated student body?

47. Did the racial composition of your ensembles accurately reflect the racial composition of the schools you taught at? Yes ___ No ___

Comments

48. As schools became more desegregated, how did the change in racial diversity at your schools affect your ensembles?

49. What were the positive outcomes of desegregation for music education programs?

50. What were the negative outcomes of desegregation for music education programs?

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY ALL TEACHERS WHO WERE TEACHING AFTER 1985.

51. During the 1980's, schools across the nation began to rapidly resegregate. If you were teaching during this time, would you reflect on some of the effects that movement had on your music programs, budgets, student participation, etc.

52. On the basis of your experiences in public schools, what areas still need work to insure equal, high quality music education experiences and opportunities for all students regardless of race or socio-economic situation?

APPENDIX B
STUDENT INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

Briefing

1. Purpose of the interview
2. Use of the tape recorder

Interview

1. Describe your experiences in high school band and or choir. What events stand out in your mind and why? What concerts, parades, contests, festivals and trips did you or your classmates participate in?
2. What challenges did you face as you participated in the band (choir)? What were some of your disappointments? What were some of the negative problems? What were some of your achievements?
3. If you could have changed things about the high school band or choir, what would you have done?
4. What effects did desegregation have on the band or choir? What were positive outcomes and experiences related to desegregation? What were negative outcomes and experiences? Did issues related to desegregation influence any decisions to participate in band or choir?

5. How was your instrument, music or materials provided for you? How did you or the other ensemble members pay for uniforms, equipment, and trips? How would you compare your school band or choir's resources to other school bands and choirs?
6. What did your parents, teachers, and school administrators do to assure your success in band or choir? What would you like to have seen them do?
7. What were the short-term effects of participation in band or choir on your life? What were the long-term effects?
8. If you are able, compare your high school's band (or choir) to the band or choir at your alma mater today. What do you see as positive changes? What do you see as negative changes?

Follow-up Questions and Techniques:

Repeat in question form something just said

Use silence to elicit more comments; Pause

Nod or "mm"

Repeat significant words

Look for unusual words, strong intonations

Probing Questions:

Could you say something more about that?

Can you give me a more detailed description of what happened?

Do you have any further examples of this?

Specifying Questions:

What did you think?

What did you actually do when...?

How did your body react to....?

Have you also experienced this yourself?

Interpreting Questions:

You then mean that.....?

Is it correct that you feel that....?

Does the expression.... cover what you have just expressed?

Do you see any connections between....?

Debriefing

1. Main points learned
2. Opportunity for interviewee comments on summarizing feedback
3. I have no further questions, do you have anything more you want to bring up, or ask about, before we finish the interview?
4. Turn off tape recorder.
5. Wait for interviewee to relax, be open for “off the record” insights and topics that the interviewee didn’t feel safe raising with the tape recorder on.

Reflection Time

Set aside 10-15 minutes immediately after the interview to recall and reflect on what has been learned from the interview to include interpersonal interactions, body language, immediate impressions, etc. These may be written or recorded on the interview tape.

APPENDIX C
TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

Briefing

1. Purpose of the interview
2. Use of the tape recorder

Interview

1. What can you tell me about how quality and type of music education experiences for students changed as a consequence of desegregation in Richmond and Columbia Counties?
 - A. How did things improve for African American students?
 - B. How did things improve for White students?
 - C. What types of losses were experienced?
2. What can you tell me about how budgets, facilities, uniforms, music, instruments and travel changed with desegregation?
3. What types of ironies occurred or resulted for both teachers and students within the music education system as a result of desegregation?
 - A. What difficulties did students experience?
 - B. What difficulties did you or other teachers experience?

- C. Has the promise of Brown been fulfilled?
4. How has resegregation affected the quality and type of music education experiences for students in Richmond and Columbia Counties?
- A. Are African American students receiving the same quality music education as White students in Richmond County?
- B. Are African American students receiving the same quality music education as White students in Columbia County?
- C. How does the quality of music education in Richmond County for all students compare to the quality of music education for all students in Columbia County?
- D. What do you believe contributes to the differences, if any?
5. What work remains to be done to insure that all students, regardless of race or socio-economic standing, or county that they live in, receive the same high quality music education?

Follow-up Questions and Techniques:

Repeat in question form something just said

Use silence to illicit more comments; Pause

Nod or “mm”

Repeat significant words

Look for unusual words, strong intonations

Probing Questions:

Could you say something more about that?

Can you give me a more detailed description of what happened?

Do you have any further examples of this?

Specifying Questions:

What did you think?

What did you actually do when...?

How did your body react to....?

Have you also experienced this yourself?

Interpreting Questions:

You then mean that.....?

Is it correct that you feel that....?

Does the expression.... cover what you have just expressed?

Do you see any connections between....?

Debriefing

1. Main points learned
2. Opportunity for interviewee comments on summarizing feedback
3. I have no further questions, do you have anything more you want to bring up, or ask about, before we finish the interview?
4. Turn off tape recorder.
5. Wait for interviewee to relax, be open for “off the record” insights and topics that the interviewee didn’t feel safe raising with the tape recorder on.

Reflection Time

1. Set aside 10-15 minutes immediately after the interview to recall and reflect on what has been learned from the interview to include interpersonal interactions, body language, immediate impressions, etc. These may be written or recorded on the interview tape.

APPENDIX D

Informational Letter

Date

Dear _____ :

I am a graduate student under the direction of Dr. Mary Leglar in the Department of Music at The University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study entitled *The Effects of Desegregation on Selected School Music Programs of District Ten of the Georgia Music Educators Association*. The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of desegregation and resegregation on selected high school music programs.

Your participation will involve completing the enclosed questionnaire if you are or were a teacher. You will also be asked for an interview to discuss your experiences as a student or teacher during the period in which schools were integrating, desegregating or resegregating. I am seeking information which documents changes in the quality of music education for all students that were affected by those processes in the high schools of Richmond and Columbia Counties. The questionnaire should take about thirty minutes and the interview about forty-five minutes. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. Your participation will be confidential and any data that is collected will not uniquely identify you. The interview recordings will be destroyed once the research is complete unless you agree to preserve them for future use by researchers. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used. In fact, the published results will be presented in summary form only. Your identity will not be associated with your responses in any published format.

The findings from this project may provide information on changes and inequalities in the music education programs for the counties being studied. This information will be useful to current and future music educators in their efforts to provide high quality educational experiences for all children regardless of race or socio-economic standing. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me, Kathleen Fallin at (706) 650-2055, or send an e-mail to kfallin@aug.edu. Questions or concerns about your

rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 612 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; telephone (706) 542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu.

By completing and returning this questionnaire in the envelope provided, you are agreeing to participate in the above described research project.

Thank you for your consideration! Please keep this letter for your records.

Sincerely,

Kathleen Fallin

APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORM

I agree to take part in a research study titled “The Effects of Desegregation on Selected School Music Programs of District Ten of the Georgia Music Educators Association”, which is being conducted by Kathleen N. Fallin, School of Music, University of Georgia, (706) 667-4889, under the direction of Dr. Mary Leglar, School of Music, University of Georgia, (706) 542-2755. My participation is voluntary; I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have information related to me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for the study is to learn more about the benefits, ironies, and other effects of desegregation on students and teachers in high school music education programs in Richmond and Columbia Counties of Georgia. I will not benefit directly from this research. I do not expect any remuneration for participation in this study.

If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

- Complete a questionnaire concerning the particular music education program(s) I was associated with during my time as a student or teacher in Richmond or Columbia County, Georgia.
- Complete an interview with the primary researcher in this study in which my experiences as a teacher or student with high school band or choir will be examined.

No discomforts or stresses are expected as a result of participation in this study. No risks to financial standing, employability, or reputation are expected. The duration of this study is expected to be approximately two months. My part in the study will entail 45 minutes to complete the questionnaire, and one hour to complete an interview with the researcher.

I am aware that any interviews I participate in will be taped for the purpose of study by the researcher only. No one else will have access to the tapes, transcripts, or questionnaires unless I choose to allow them to be preserved as part of the research project. I will receive a transcript and copy of the taped interview for review and further comments. I may request additional interviews to clarify statements and areas of concern. The researcher may also request an additional interview for the same purposes, but as stated previously, I may decline. My name will not be listed in the research report as an interview and/or questionnaire participant. No quotations, questionnaire answers, or specific data will be attributed to an individual interview or survey respondent. Quotations, when used, will be cited anonymously. Survey data will be tabulated and presented in a way that doesn't identify the respondents' individual answers. The

researcher will make every reasonable attempt to protect the anonymity of the participants in this study while at the same time presenting the data. All questionnaires, tapes and documents which identify my individual responses to interview and survey questions will be destroyed three years after the completion of the research unless I request otherwise. No individually-identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research, will be shared with others.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: (706) 667-4889.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date
Telephone: (706) 667-4889		
E-Mail: dfallin@comcast.net		
_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-M

APPENDIX F

COLUMBIA AND RICHMOND COUNTY BOARDS OF EDUCATION
DESEGREGATION TIMELINE

- 04/23/63 Black Attorney, John D. Watkins petitions the RCBOE to present a desegregation plan (Augusta Chronicle, 04/12/63). Controversial editorials and letters soon followed in the Augusta Chronicle (04/16, 04/19) and the Augusta Herald (04/14).
- 04/29/63 The Augusta Evangelical Minister's Association (white) publishes a letter in the Augusta Herald that recommended voluntary desegregation of the public schools.
- 05/01/63 Eight other ministers of the Augusta Evangelical Ministers Association write a dissenting letter to the Augusta Chronicle concerning the voluntary desegregation of public schools.
- 05/07/63 Ten local Episcopal ministers publish a letter in the Augusta Chronicle supporting the blacks' request to the school board to develop a desegregation plan.
- 05/09/63 Scott Nixon, white citizen writes a letter to the board reminding them that the school system was originally set up on a separate but equal basis in 1872, and integration was illegal under that basis. (RCBOE Minutes)
- 05/10/63 AH "Legalities May Hinder Integration", article points out that the deeds of ARC and Hephzibah had property clauses which called for the property to revert back

to the original donors or trustees if the schools ever failed to be operated as white schools and Laney had a similar clause concerning its operation as a black school.

- 06/24/63 The Catholic bishop of Savannah, Rev. Thomas J. McDonough, announced the integration of all Catholic Schools by September 1964.
- 04/02/64 Superior Court Judge C. Wesley Killebrew rules the RCBOE “separate but equal” clauses in its charter unconstitutional.
- 04/09/64 The RCBOE appoints an integration study committee of all white males: Milwee Owens, Jr., Felton Dunaway, F.J. Pritchard, Dr. Hal H. Holmes, J.B. Amos, G. Albert Huntington, Raymond L. Campbell, and Joe E. Bruker, Jr. They have four meetings: 04/30, 05/21, 05/29, and 06/04 then announce they will reveal the integration plan at the July Board meeting.
- 06/64 Gladys Acree, Robert Acree’s mother files suit in the US District Court asking that the RCBOE be forbidden to operate racially segregated schools. The lead attorney was John Ruffin of Augusta.
- 07/06/64 The RCBOE integration announces plans to integrate grades 1 – 3 during the 64-65 school year for anyone living within a school’s attendance zone. Ruffin states that the action will not affect the Acree suit because it only covered three grades and not the entire system.
- 08/30/64 The Augusta Herald reports that ten black elementary aged children enrolled at previously all white schools; five at Blythe, three at Forest Hills, one at

- Gracewood and one at Woodlawn. Several tried to enroll at ARC but were turned away. (Augusta Herald 08/30/64)
- 09/22/64 Black attorneys Ruffin and Watkins submit a desegregation plan calling for a unitary, non-racial system to the RCBOE. The plan also calls for attendance zones to be redrawn in a non-racial manner. (Augusta Herald, 09/22/64 – Heiterer: “Outline Received by Board”)
- 11/04/64 Judge Scarlett approves the RCBOE plan over the one submitted by the black attorneys.
- 12/03/64 Attorney Ruffin appeals Judge Scarlett’s decision to the US Appellate Court in New Orleans.
- 12/09/64 RCBOE considers separating students by gender. (AC, 12/09/64)
- 01/17/65 RCBOE discusses how to comply with the recent US Department of HEW directive requiring all school boards to sign a statement pledging compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Law. (AC; 01/17/64. “Rights Pact Talks Slated By County”)
- 02/09/65 The RCBOE integration committee votes to recommend integrating grades one through six to the Board. (Minutes, 02/09/65, pg. 244)
- 02/11/65 The RCBOE approves the recommendation of the special integration committee. (AC 02/12/65)
- 2/13/65 Attorney Ruffin says he will continue the Acree suit because the actions of the RCBOE do not apply to his clients who are all in high school. (AC, 02/13/65)

- 03/23/65 US Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel rules that school faculties must be integrated also in order to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. (AC, 3/23/65)
- 05/13/65 The RCBOE Special Integration Committee recommends for the 1966-67 school year, the entire system be integrated, keeping the same attendance zones but allowing students to cross zones on a case by case basis. They also vote to separate boys and girls at the ARC. (Minutes, Special Integration Committee, pg. 279)
- 05/14/65 Attorney Ruffin states he will still pursue the Acree case because the schools proposal is not full integration due to the failure to redraw attendance zones. (Gerald Stephen, "Complete Education Integration Passes", *Augusta Herald* 05/14/65)
- 07/01/65 First black student attends ARC, Pamela Weston, during summer school algebra course. This didn't happen without a fight; Ruffin had to file for an injunction against the RCBOE with the US Court of Appeals in order to make it happen. (*Augusta Herald*, 07/01/65)
- 08/25/65 Forty-six blacks register for previously white schools across Richmond County: Windsor Spring Elementary, A. Brian Merry, Joseph Lamar, Wilkinson Garden, and Houghton. Two were admitted into the twelfth grade at ARC. One tried to register in the eleventh and one in the tenth, but neither was allowed. ("Five Schools Integrated", *Augusta Chronicle*, 24 August 1965; "Desegregation Continues", *Augusta Herald*, 27 August 1965)

- 09/08/65 The tenth and eleventh grades at ARC were integrated when two black students from Fort Gordon were allowed to enroll after their parents hired John Ruffin to seek a court order permitting the students admission. These were the same two student who had attempted to register earlier in August. (“Two More Grades Mixed”, *Augusta Herald*, 9 September 1965)
- 04/15/66 The RCBOE announces the first black principal at a white school in Richmond County, Mrs. Annie Mae Williams who was assigned to Martha Lester Elementary. This was the RCBOE’s attempt to begin complying with federal guidelines requiring faculty integration. (Mark Anderson, “Negro Heads White School”, *Augusta Herald*, 15 April 1966)
- 05/13/66 The RCBOE approves two black teachers at formerly all white schools for the 66-67 school year: Mrs. Lillie Mae Brittain and Mrs. Miriam Sheridam to Martha Lester. (Mark Anderson, “Board Integrates School Staff”, *Augusta Herald*, 13 May 1966)
- 05/26/66 Acree case is dismissed by Federal Court, declaring the issue already settled. (“Richmond Mix Case Dismissed By Federal Court”, *Augusta Chronicle*, 26 May 1966)
- 01/67 A.M. Carter becomes the second black to ever sit on the Richmond County Board of Education. (Cashin, *The Quest*, 115)
- 03/05/67 Columbia County publishes a Freedom of Choice Plan in the *Augusta Chronicle* in an attempt to meet the court order for integration of schools.

- 04/14/67 The Richmond County Board of Education votes to allow Josey High School and Laney High School, the two HBHS's in Richmond County, to join the same Athletic Association as the White high schools, the Academy of Richmond County and Butler High School. ("Laney, Josey Approved", *Augusta Herald*, 14 April 1967)
- 09/27/67 The US Department of Health, Education and Welfare declares the freedom of choice plan used by the Richmond County Board of Education to be unacceptable. (Cashin, *The Quest*, 115)
- 12/67 The US Department of Health, Education and Welfare recommended a \$342,000 cut in funding to Columbia County Schools for noncompliance with the Civil Right Act of 1964.
- 02/08/68 The Richmond County Board of Education elects a second African American board member, the Reverend N.T. Young who was the pastor of Thankful Baptist Church.(Minutes, Regular Meeting, 8 February 1968)
- 04/09/68 Ann S. Knighton, a biology teacher, becomes the first black teacher at the Academy of Richmond County.
- 05/01/68 RCBOE Superintendent Rollins releases the current breakdown of integration statistics: 1,083 students and 55 teachers in racially mixed situations, out of 1,032 white and 528 black teachers in the system. (Andra Conley, "Rollins Releases Breakdown on Public Schools Integration," *Augusta Chronicle*, 1 May 1968)

- 07/11/68 Columbia County is sued by the Justice Department for failure to eliminate a dual school system for blacks and whites (Pettit, 1997).
- 08/01/69 The United States initiated a statewide lawsuit (U.S. v. State of Georgia, et al., C.A. No. 12972) against the state of Georgia and 81 school districts (including Columbia and Richmond County) because they had failed to desegregate their public schools to the satisfaction of the federal court. Later that year, Columbia County fell under the court's jurisdiction for the desegregation of their schools.
- 07/01/71 RCBOE submitted a new desegregation plan which was disapproved by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals before District Court Judge Alexander Lawrence could even rule on it. A new plan was requested by Judge Lawrence to be submitted by July 28.
- 02/27/72 White citizens of Augusta boycotted the schools and kept 12,000 students home from school; 5,000 people attended a rally at Butler Stadium to complain, former Governor Lester Maddox was there and proposed a trip to Washington, D.C.
- 03/00/72 Many private white schools were begun and hundreds of textbooks disappeared from the public schools with the students as they took them to the private schools
- 08/25/73 Enrolment figures for the fall were 27,691; a drop in enrolment of over 7,000 students from the previous year. (Cashin, pg. 141)

APPENDIX G

A BRIEF HISTORY OF RICHMOND COUNTY SCHOOL MUSIC PROGRAMS

The history of Richmond County School Bands largely reflects the history of music education in the public schools of the United States. Despite that, there has not been much written about this history and furthermore, much information of interest disappears with each passing year. Difficulty was encountered in simply constructing a chronology of band directors since the earliest program's inception. This appendix will briefly trace the development of public school instrumental music programs on a national level and then focus on the development of instrumental music programs in Richmond County. Where possible, both Black and White schools prior to integration and desegregation will be considered as well as some of the developments during and after that turbulent time. This will provide a background for the reader to help in understanding the developments in Richmond County public school music programs following desegregation.

The earliest known school orchestra in the United States was established by Will Earhart in the public schools of Richmond, Indiana as early as 1889 (Abeles, Hoffer, Klotman, 1994). This program later served as a model for the development of many other instrumental music programs in public schools around the country. Edward Bailey Birge (1928, 1937) also stated that the earliest form of instrumental music in the public schools of the United States was the establishment of orchestras in the high schools of the mid-west around 1900. These groups were not part of the school day curriculum but met after school to rehearse. They were comprised of

girls and boys who already knew how to play through private lessons. The “teachers” were private instructors. They did not view it as their responsibility to teach the students how to play the instruments but rather to mold the individual players into a performing ensemble. These early “school orchestras” did serve the development of school instrumental music, they were frequently asked to perform at public functions and teacher conventions, consequently, arousing the interest of many school superintendents and supervisors into the possibility of establishing instrumental music programs in their own schools.

Another factor influencing the public’s increasing desire for public school instrumental music programs was the existence of many fine regimental military bands following the Civil War, many of which, such as Patrick Gilmore’s Band, earned a living as professional touring concert bands. These bands would perform public concerts featuring popular songs of the day as well as transcriptions of orchestral literature and original works for military band. Excellent European concert artists began touring the United States in the late 1800's as well, resulting in a more culturally educated public in the growing urban areas of the nation.

The development of large group instructional methods for instrumental music in the early 1900's by such educators as Albert F. Mitchell, supervisor of music in Boston public schools and Joseph Maddy , supervisor of music in Rochester, New York contributed to the development of instrumental ensembles for students (Abeles, Hoffer, Klotman, 1994). The rise of school bands sometimes grew out of the need for an expanded instrumentation for the developing school orchestras of the early 1900's but more often as a result of the popularity of town bands in the early 1900's (Birge, 1937). Furthermore, there were more boys who played band instruments than the orchestras could absorb and this fact also facilitated the development of school bands as an educational channel for the boys (Birge, 1937). School music supervisors began approaching

their school boards with requests for band instruments in some cities in the early 1910's. J. M. Thompson of Joliet, Illinois made such a request in September, 1913. (Birge, 1937). Washington High School, in Washington, Georgia was one of the first high schools in the Augusta Richmond County area and the State of Georgia to begin a band program. It was started by W. T. Verran on December 1, 1931 and quickly developed into one of the finest bands in the state. ("Host band", 1952) The presence of such a fine high school band program near Augusta and Richmond County must have eventually had some influence on the Augusta public's willingness to provide the same for its' own school children.

Of major importance to the beginning of a school band movement in the United States of America was the number of military bandmen trained during World War I. The military band became immensely popular during World War I and at the conclusion of the war, former military bandmen were frequently hired by school boards to start band programs. The founding band director of the Washington County High School Band was, in fact, a former Army Band musician. Military bands have nearly always existed in Richmond County, from the present day Fort Gordon 434th Army Band, to the Machine Gun School Band stationed at Fort Hancock after World War I ("Concert At Grand", 1919, February 2). The popularity of bands was also enhanced by the great touring bands of the time such as those of John Philip Sousa and earlier, the band of Patrick Gilmore from the Civil War. Other significant events which contributed to the growing school band movement included George Eastman's donation of 300 instruments to the Rochester, New York School System in 1918, the establishment of a National Band Contest in 1923, the establishment of a National Music Camp at Interlochen and the gradual urbanization of the United States between 1900 and 1970 (Abeles, Hoffer, Klotman, 1994). By the 1954 school year, there were over 38,000 high school bands, 18,000 school orchestras, and hundreds

of elementary bands, involving over seven million school children in the United States of America (“School bands”, 1954). This movement across the country to integrate instrumental music into the school curriculum was reflected in the Richmond County School Board’s actions of 1954. They had established a music committee “with an eye to developing an instrumental music program in the high and junior high schools...” (“Six scholarships”, 1954).

In the 1937, the Georgia Association of Music Educators began sponsoring band festivals in each of the districts around the state as a preliminary qualifying event to be invited to perform at the annual state level educator’s meeting held in Savannah. That first year in District Ten and for several years following, the festival was hosted by the Washington High School Band. School bands from Bowman, Crawfordville, Dearing, Hartwell, Harlem, Ila, Lavonia, Lexington, Monroe, Royston, Sardis, Thomson, and Washington attended the festival (Forty schools invited, 1937). No school from Richmond County was represented that year or the next when school bands from Athens, Crawfordville, Dearing, Greensboro, Harlem, Hartwell, Lexington, Lincolnton, Royston, Thomson, Warrenton and Washington performed (“Music Festival”, 1938).

Newspaper articles mentioning school bands and orchestras in other cities began appearing in the Augusta Chronicle as early as 1898. On December 18, 1898 an article describing Dedication Ceremonies for the Anna Russell Cole Auditorium at the Tennessee Industrial School in Nashville, Tennessee, described a performance by the school band as “well trained and furnishes good music (“Dedication Ceremonies”, December 18, 1898). In 1924, the Columbia High School Band visited Augusta on the occasion of a football game and received a great deal of attention and praise (“Columbia High School Band Appreciates Hospitality”, 1924, December 21). The school board in Allendale, SC started a band at the Allendale High School in the spring of 1930 (“Allendale Boys”, 1930). Wadley High School in Wadley, Georgia began

offering band instruction in 1935 with Hal Middleton as the band director (“Band Department”, 1935). Articles about the Washington High School Band in Washington, Georgia also appeared as early as 1935 (“School Band Concert”, 1935). This article listed the program for the December 13, 1935 concert and mentioned a contest in Greenwood, Mississippi that the Washington Band had won honors at the previous summer. The Sparta, Georgia high school began a band for boys in 1939, using the band teacher provided by the WPA school band project (“Sparta, Ga.”, 1939). The band director provided by the WPA, was a Mr. Walker, who also organized bands in Warrenton, Greensboro, and Crawfordville as part of the WPA school band project (“Warrenton planning”, 1939). His travel expenses between those three cities was subsidized by the Sparta Lions Club.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, music instruction occurred more often in private schools than in public schools because of the resistance of taxpayers to add to the expense of public education (Abeles, Hoffer, Klotman, 1994). The Haines Industrial School of Augusta, one of three private black high schools in Richmond County in 1900, had a school orchestra which performed at the Tabernacle Baptist Church for a special service on January 28, 1900 (“Special Sermon to Young Men”, January 28, 1900). An Augusta Chronicle article from 1908 described the performance of the St. Angelas Academy Orchestra of Aiken, South Carolina, at the school’s closing exercises prior to Christmas break (“School Orchestra Gave First But Good Entertainment”, 1908).

Richmond County Schools developed along typical southern segregated lines in the early twentieth century even though the city had a stellar beginning in the area of public education. Richmond County established a black high school in 1880 under the leadership of Richard R. Wright. This was one of the earliest known black high schools to be opened in Georgia.

Unfortunately, it only survived until 1897 when Richard Wright resigned to take the presidency of the Industrial College of Savannah (now Savannah State). The school board used the occasion to close Ware High School due to small enrollment and decided to reallocate the money in order to increase the number of teachers for black primary schools. The early 1900's witnessed an increase in racism in Richmond County, and public schools for Black students suffered to the point that black public schools' existence as tax supported entities was even questioned (Cashin, 1985). Thus, for the next sixty years, Augusta maintained, in effect, two separate school systems. The white schools were well staffed and well maintained, whereas the black schools were not. It was not until 1937 that Augusta and Richmond County School Board opened another high school for blacks, the Augustus Roberson Johnson High School (Cashin, 1985). Even then, it was only a three year high school and did not become a four year high school until 1939 ("Augustus R. Johnson", 1939).

The form of most music education in Richmond County was primarily vocal and orchestral through 1940. Mention of a school orchestra is made in an Augusta Chronicle article about the Hephzibah High School Commencement of 1899 ("Hephzibah Commencement", 1899, June 15):

Special praise was won by the Hephzibah High School Orchestra, organized and instructed by Professor Jackson, for the excellent music it dispensed, as it is composed entirely of pupils of the school...

Likewise, the Summerville Academy boasted of a school orchestra at its commencement program in 1901 ("The Closing Exercises", 1901, June 6). Tubman High School for girls, had a

Professor Samuel T. Battle on its faculty in 1910, but the curriculum appears to have been restricted to vocal music only (“Tubman Faculty”, 1910, June 22).

The Georgia Normal School in Athens, had incorporated training in instrumental music education in addition to common school music with chorus work by 1908, although the source for this information does not reveal the nature of the curriculum (“Georgia Normal; Its Great Work”, 1908, July 7). The Director of the Music Department at the Athens Normal School at that time was Charles S. Stanage who was also the choir director at the First M. E. Church of Athens (Simms, 1906, p. 202).

The first mention of a Richmond County School band in the Augusta Chronicle appeared in a 1916 article concerning a parade (“Opening Day”, 1916, p. 5). The Academy of Richmond County (ARC) Band was scheduled to play in a parade that week. The next month, an article mentioned the Academy Band again, this time the band performed at the 1916 graduation exercises (“Graduating Exercises”, June 14, 1916 page 2). A 1917 article mentions both a band and an orchestra in a listing of that year’s graduating exercises at the Academy. (“Richmond Academy Exercises Today”, 1917, May 7). In 1931, the ARC Band performed for the Paul F. Eve monument dedication ceremony with a sixty-six piece band. The first mention of another school in the county with any type of instrumental ensemble was in a 1932 article (“Ten Thousand School Children”, 1932, November 11) concerning a parade honoring Dr. Lawton B. Evans who had been school board superintendent in Richmond County for fifty years. Nearly every student and teacher in the county participated in that parade so it may be a good indication of the status of school bands at that point. The one band that performed was the ARC band but two unnamed schools also marched with “their drum corps”(“Ten Thousand”,p. 4). Richmond County Black school children also marched in that parade but the only mention of musical

accompaniment for them was “the rat-a-tat of a lone drummer boy who stepped high and beat the snare drum with a flourish” (“Ten Thousand, p.4). Things had not changed much by 1935 when an Augusta Chronicle article describing the units participating in Augusta’s Bi-Centennial Parade listed the Richmond Academy Band, the Monte Sano Drum and Bugle Corps, the John Milledge Drum and Bugle Corps, and the William Robinson Drum and Bugle Corps (“Many Floats”, 1935, p. 3). The Academy band was up to 35 members by 1935 according to an article in the Augusta Chronicle (“Richmond Roosevelt”, 1935, p. 1).

The Tubman High School for Girls had a band at least by 1946 because beginning that school year, both the Academy of Richmond County and Tubman bands combined for performances under the direction of George T. Bennett. Their first public performance was on December 10, 1946 in the Municipal auditorium. The two bands combined numbered over one hundred students.

District music festivals began being held in Georgia during the 1930's but articles in the papers did not mention participation by any Richmond county bands. The 1937 Tenth District Music Festival which was host by the Washington, Georgia High School Band, also included participation by the Bowman, Crawfordville, Dearing, Harlem, Ila, Lexington, Monroe, Royston, Sardis, and Thomson bands (“Twelve High Schools Enter Music Festival”, 1937). Washington High School continued to host the festival until 1941 when it was hosted by Harlem High School. The ARC band apparently was not properly equipped to attend these festivals. An article appeared in the Augusta Chronicle on August 16, 1938 which described a meeting of the Richmond Academy and Junior College alumni association for the purpose of discussing how to raise money to equip and outfit a seventy-five piece band at ARC (“Alumni in Meet for Band Plans”, 1938). In 1939, seventeen members of the ARC Band were selected to play in the All-

State Band, an accomplishment that few public schools in Georgia could equal today (“A.R.C. Bandsmen”, 1939).

Other Richmond County schools began looking at the possibility of having a school band as well. The Monte Sano P. T. A. discussed plans for an elementary school band with a Mr. Carson in October of 1938 (“Monte Sano P. T. A.”, 1938). According to the article, Monte Sano already had a drum and bugle corps, it mentioned Miss Thomson as the chairman of that organization. Another elementary school in Richmond County with a drum and bugle corps was the John Milledge School (“Yuletide Lights to Glow Tonight”, 1938), although that group was also referred to as a band later in the same article.

In February, 1947, the school board approved an allotment of five hundred dollars to buy the Richmond Academy / Tubman High School Band some new uniforms and equipment (“Education Board”, 1947). The director, George T. Bennett had recently taken the band to perform in Elberton, Georgia and had announced earlier in February that the band needed proper uniforms and equipment to face the “stiff competition” at upcoming district, state and national marching contests (“High School Band To Give Barbecue”, 1947, p. 4). The band had been invited to march in the Savannah St. Patrick’s Day Parade (“High School”, p.4). One remark by a member of the delegation to the board, Dr. W. J. Bradshaw, was “ we ought to have this type of cultural work in every school in Augusta” (“Education Board Aids”, 1947). Two months later, the Tubman High School and ARC Bands won a Superior Rating at the District Ten Band Festival held in Milledgeville (“Music Students”, 1947). In the summer of 1947 George T. Bennett, director of the ARC and Tubman High School Bands, hosted a National Music Festival at Joseph R. Lamar school (“Try-Outs for Music Camp”, 1947). The faculty include sixteen nationally known music educators. The camp started the following day. The following fall,

School Board Superintendent Copeland announced that a county department of music had been created and “for the first time in twenty years the addition of music instruction as a part of the regular curricula” (“17,000 to Answer Bells”, 1947). Named as director of instrumental music was George T. Bennett; as director of vocal music, Miss Dorothy Halbert; and as director of elementary music, Miss Catherine Jameson. This marked the beginning of a systematic music education program for the county. Corresponding with those events was the creation of a Junior Symphony for Richmond County students and adults by George Bennett (“Junior Symphony Group”, 1947).

The new music education program was very successful and met with very positive response from the counties’ students. Mr. Bennett reported on September 15, 1947 in the *Augusta Chronicle* that between thirty and sixty students were enrolling in music and band classes at every school in the county with the total number of band and music students exceeding 700. He predicted that the total could go as high as 1200 students (“Many School Children Enter”, 1947). That number included eighty-one new students at ARC, ninety at John Milledge, and sixty at Tubman High School for Girls. Mr. Bennett also stated that plans were being made to establish “small band units” at every school in the county. The superintendent had already responded to the increased enrollment in band programs by allowing an additional band teacher, T. Leslie Bramford. Interestingly, the school board had not funded the position, but the parents of students taking band were all contributing small fees to cover Mr. Bramford’s salary. In January, 1948, Mr. Bennett took the ARC and Tubman High School Bands to perform for a P. T. A. meeting at the Monte Sano Elementary School (“Musical Program at Monte Sano”, 1948). He also demonstrated each of the instruments as part of the evening’s performance. Although it wasn’t stated, this type of presentation is usually done as a way of recruiting potential band

students. In February of 1948, the Chronicle announced Mr. Bennett's resignation ("Bennett Resigns as Music Director", 1948). He had been offered \$7,222 versus his \$3,000 Richmond County salary plus a free house in Elizabeth City, N. C. to teach a band that received a \$15,000 a year endowment. His comment was "The opportunity is one that I cannot afford to give up" ("Bennett", 1948), although the job apparently wasn't as good as he thought because in 1950 he was back in Thomson, Georgia reorganizing that school band program ("Thomson band", 1950). L. T. Bramford, the assistant director of instrumental music at the time, moved up to take the position as director. Miss Anne Wood Branning was a director of elementary school bands according to a May, 1948 article in the Augusta Chronicle ("Children From Aiken", 1948). One glaring omission from all Augusta Chronicle newspaper accounts up to this point is the absence of any mention of music and band programs in the African American schools of Richmond County.

In 1950, the next significant leader in the development of music education in Richmond County arrived. The Augusta Chronicle reported that "Louis Friedman, formerly of Bainbridge, Ga., has been named as director of instrumental music in the elementary schools" ("Richmond school children", 1950). According to the article, Mr. Friedman, director of elementary instrumental music; Mr. T. L. Bamford, director of high school instrumental music; Mrs. Catherine Jameson, director of elementary vocal music ; Miss Dorothy Halbert, director of vocal music at Richmond Academy and Augusta Junior College; and Miss Jacqueline Pilcher, director of vocal music at Tubman; would develop a plan for comprehensive music education program in Richmond County. The article stated that instrumental music (band) would be taught in four schools that following year: Monte Sano, Joseph R. Lamar, John Milledge, and William Robinson. All four of these schools were white, again no mention of music education in the

black schools of the county. As a part of the plan to provide music education for the children of Richmond County, a musical aptitude test was administered to every student in the county that year. Mr. Friedman was promoted to the position of music supervisor for the county as well as band director at ARC in 1951, and that summer, he held pre-school band practices for the ARC and Tubman High School Bands (“ARC”, 1951). He immediately began a series of large scale and entertaining half time shows at football games and even involved elementary school band students in some of them (“Big crowd”, 1951). He also began taking the band to out of town football games (“ARC-Tubman”, 1951). The year 1951 saw the establishment of bands in many more white elementary schools. Several photos of bands that were going to march in the Christmas Parade appeared in the Augusta Chronicle on November 18, 1951. Pictured were students from Joseph Lamar Elementary School under the direction of Louis Friedman; Houghton, Davidson, and Evans Elementary School Bands, under the direction of Margaret Hall Harrill; Monte Sano, Forest Hills, Woodlawn, Fleming and Gracewood Elementary School Bands, under the direction of Francis Perry; and William Robinson, John Milledge, Perrin and Martha Lester Elementary School Bands, under the direction of Carl Pyrdum. That same year, Harrill, Perry and Pyrdum established a precedent by combining the best students from of each of their elementary bands into an all-city band that met twice a week, on Wednesdays after school and Saturday mornings, to practice. This was the elementary band group that first began going to District Festival from Augusta and it was called the Augusta Elementary School Band. Needless to say, it received Superior Ratings most of the time. Attending the 1952 District Festival were two bands from Richmond County, the Tubman Junior High School Band, and the Augusta Elementary School Band, as well as a brass quartet from ARC. All received Superior Ratings (“10th district music festival”, 1952).

The absence of accounts of Black high school bands from the pages of *The Augusta Chronicle* prior to 1950 would lead one to conclude they didn't exist. The black population of Richmond County still had only one public high school in 1950, the Augustus R. Johnson which had been opened in 1937. Its enrollment was so great by 1947 that it had to use double sessions. Lack of facilities may have hampered the forming of a band at A. R. Johnson and no mention of a band or band director has been located as of this date. In September 1951, Richmond County opened a new black high school, Lucy Laney. The enrollment at Laney High School that year was 690 students (Cashin, 1985). Despite the fact that the school had been built with no facilities for art and music departments, much less adequate science labs ("New Schools", 1960), a band boosters was formed for the purpose of outfitting a band for the new school and by November, 1952, the Lucy Laney Band Boosters reported \$1,161 dollars had been raised for the purpose of purchasing band uniforms for the band ("Big Response Made", 1952). By April, 1954, they had raised over \$5,000 dollars but had spent it on purchasing instruments for the band instead ("Lucy Laney Band", 1954). They were now seeking to raise an additional \$3,000 dollars for uniforms by selling tickets to several performances by Arthur Lee Simpkins, a noted Augusta singer. The articles concerning the Laney Band that appeared in the *Augusta Chronicle* between 1952 and 1972 describe performances that are essentially community, church and show oriented. One of the earliest performances of the Laney Band was on October 14, 1954 for a program featuring a noted religious dramatist lecturer, Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert at the ninth street, YMCA.

Almost immediately, the style and venue of performances by the Lucy Laney Band was much different than the white high schools in the county. Several factors, besides cultural differences, may have contributed to the development of different styles and performance venues of black high schools. Whereas the white school band programs had been carefully established

beginning in 1947 by George T. Bennett, and expanded to include junior high schools and elementary schools by Louis Friedman beginning in 1950, the black students of Augusta had no such advantage. Students in the Lucy Laney Band, started band in high school and consequently were years behind in the development of instrumental techniques and musical skills. They had less support financially and fewer resources such as music and instruments with which build a band program. The African American community has a tradition of community involvement which would have encouraged the performance of the band at community events, and enabled the band boosters to eventually succeed at acquiring uniforms and instruments for the band.

The band director at Laney High School was James A. Gabriel, who had served in the 367th Infantry Band in World War I, graduated Paine College in Augusta, Georgia in 1921 and accepted a position as mathematics and science teacher at Athens High and Industrial School that year. While there, he organized that school's first band. He stayed in Athens until 1944 when he moved back to Augusta to organize a band at A. R. Johnson, yet thus far no other mention of that organization has been uncovered in the Augusta Chronicle. In 1952, he assumed leadership of the Laney Band ("Lucy Laney Band", 1952). That band soon developed a reputation for marching with a certain style, "...out of the way of high stepping shagging Lucy Laney Band...a tiny Negro woman brightening up and clapping timidly when Lucy Laney girated by..." (Nixon, 1956). By 1957, the Lucy Laney Band was appearing regularly in the annual Augusta Christmas parade ("Santa to arrive", 1957; "Keen competition seen", 1958) until the year 1959 when Augusta stopped having the parade until 1964 over disputes between citizens and merchants concerning the date of the parade ("The missing ingredients", 1961; "CSRA tots", 1964).

The Supreme Court ruling of 1954, *Brown vs. Topeka Board*, resulted in many changes in public education throughout the country. Some of those changes came slowly to Richmond

County Schools. It was the 1899 Supreme Court decision in *Cumming v. School Board of Richmond County, Georgia* (Anderson, p. 188) regarding the closing of Ware High School in Augusta that ultimately resulted in separate but unequal schools for blacks and whites throughout the nation. In Richmond County black and white schools, teacher salaries, facilities, resources, and even textbooks were unequal. The 1954 decision required integration. The Richmond County School Board took nearly eighteen years to accomplish that order.

Whenever articles appeared describing the performances of bands from the white schools, little, or more often nothing, was said about bands from black schools. One band director remarked that during the era of segregation, black and white band directors had separate meetings, and black and white bands attended different music contests and festivals. Evidence of that might be seen in the many articles from the 1950's and early 1960's issues of *The Augusta Chronicle* in which only white band directors are shown at meetings concerning parades, festivals, and contests ("Band leaders", 1956; Sponsors and band directors, 1958). One glaring example of this occurred in 1956, in an article titled "Five full time band directors to lead high school bands" (Parker, 1956). In this article, Louis Friedman discussed the progress that Richmond County Bands had made over the previous seven years to include the expansion of the instrumental teaching staff in the county to five full time band directors. He then listed each one and where they taught. No mention was made of the two black Richmond County High Schools, Lucy Laney High School and band director James Gabriel or of the A. R. Johnson High School Band. The following year, the same type of discrimination occurred again in the 1958 meeting between band directors and parade organizers ("Sponsors and band", 1958). All of the band directors at that meeting were white, and represented white schools, yet seven days later the *Chronicle* ran an article which listed the many bands anticipated to participate in that year's

Christmas Parade that included Lucy Laney and A. R. Johnson, the two black Augusta high schools.

The white school bands of Richmond County continued to attend festivals and contests; perform in parades and at football games; and give fall, winter and spring concerts through the end of the 1950's. The year 1957 marked the first recorded time that Lucy Laney High School Band marched in the Augusta Christmas Parade ("Santa to arrive", 1957). Other Richmond County Bands marching that year were the Academy of Richmond County Band, the Hephzibah High School Band, the Langford Junior High Band, and the Murphey Junior High Band. The presence of the two white junior high school bands show evidence of a strong feeder program for the white high schools, whereas the absence of a black junior high marching band reveals the continuing disparage between white and black schools in Richmond County. By 1958, Tubman Junior High had expanded its instrumental music program to include a jazz band (Hatcher, 1958). The 1958 Christmas Parade featured three white junior high bands.

In 1959, three new black elementary schools were built, Clara Jenkins, W. S. Hornsby, and John M. Tutt (Cashin, 1985, p. 107). In 1960, the board agreed to a request from black citizens to use the old Davidson school building as a school for blacks. The building had previously been considered for destruction. In 1965, the white elementary schools in Richmond County were Bayvale, Blythe, Bungalow Road, Copeland, Evans, Fleming, Forest Hills, Garrett, Gracewood, Dorothy Hains, Houghton, Lamar, Martha Lester, Merry, Milledge, Monte Sano, National Hills, Perrin, Sue Reynolds, and William Robinson. The black elementary schools were Collins, Craig, Floyd, Graham, Griggs, Hephzibah, W. S. Hornsby, Clara Jenkins, Telfair Street (Davidson), John M. Tutt, Walker, Weed, and White.

It was during the 1960's that Richmond County and the Richmond County School Board began to seriously grapple with the issue of integration. Beginning in 1960, students from Paine College staged several sit-ins at white restaurants to protest segregationist policies in Augusta. In 1963, several white ministers began advocating integration and managed to pass a resolution by the Augusta Ministerial Association recommending an end to segregation in public and parochial schools. (Cashin, 1985, p. 112) In April 1963, John D. Watkins, an attorney for over 600 black Richmond County citizens, requested that the Richmond County School Board provide a copy of the counties' desegregation plan. In response to that action, a prominent Augusta politician, Scott Nixon, wrote a letter to the Augusta Chronicle arguing that it was illegal to integrate based on an 1872 act which stipulated separate schools for the two races in Richmond County. The NAACP responded to that letter by filing suit in federal court requesting a ruling on the constitutionality of the Act of 1862. On April 2, 1964, Judge Wesley Killebrew ruled the Act of 1862 unconstitutional. A special committee was appointed by the Richmond County Board to develop a plan of action to integrate the counties' schools. The committee came up with a "Freedom of Choice" plan which allowed the integration of the first three grades that following school year. The Freedom of Choice plan was one in which a student that was a member of the majority race in the school he or she was presently zoned for, could chose another school to attend in which he or she would be the minority race (Pairing some schools, 1969). Ten black children in grades one through three enrolled in white Richmond County Elementary schools in August 1964. This was a first small step towards integration. The following year, all grades were opened to voluntary integration. Thus in 1965, the Richmond Academy had nine black students enrolled. The school board, because of a fear of racial mixing expressed by some in the community, separated boys and girls at ARC into different classes. In 1966, the policy of separating boys and girls was

extended to Butler, Laney and Josey High Schools. From 1964 to 1967, the policy of voluntary integration through the school board's Freedom of Choice plan, achieved a very modest degree of integration, however, it did not satisfy the Department of Health, Education and Welfare who declared the policy unacceptable and asked the board to come up with a better plan. Things moved along slowly towards that end until 1970 when Judge Alexander Lawrence ordered the selection of a biracial committee to develop an integration plan for the school board. By the end of July, the plan was ready. It was based on a recommendation the Department of Health, Education and Welfare made earlier to pair schools for the purpose of desegregation. The committee also recommended voluntary faculty desegregation, a policy that was widely discussed. Judge Lawrence stepped in again and ordered the school board to reassign teachers in the system according to the population ratio of the county, forty percent black and sixty percent white. Four hundred eighty-one teachers were involuntarily reassigned just days before school opened. Eighty-seven teachers quit. Several band directors were affected by this policy. Still, the board did not completely comply with the judge's orders.

Over the next two years, the issue grew more and more explosive. In 1971, the Richmond County Association of Educators was formed from two previously separate organizations of black and white teachers. In August, 1971 Judge Lawrence ordered Richmond County Schools to stay closed until the Board came up with an acceptable plan to achieve desegregation. Various confrontations between board and the court ensued as well as demonstrations of up to 6,000 protestors and boycotts of school by as many as 12,000 students, but, over the course of the two years, elementary schools were eventually desegregated. Then in 1972, the court accepted a plan to pair the secondary schools and the use of busing to achieve racial desegregation. The schools that were paired were Richmond (white) and Laney (black); Tubman (white) and Johnson

(black); Josey (black) and Butler (white), grades ten through twelve; and Josey and Murphey, grades eight and nine. Whites and blacks would be bused. Within six years over 7000 children would drop out of Richmond County Schools either to enroll in private schools or to move to another system in nearby Columbia County. The two schools most affected were Josey High School and Laney High School, previously all black schools, most of the white children zoned to go to them withdrew.

An important innovation that came out of the school integration era was the development of the magnet school concept. Magnet schools are established in under enrolled areas and are designed to provide the best education to the brightest kids irrespective of race. The Richmond County School Board approved the establishment of two magnet schools in September 1979, C. T. Walker in the traditional academic subjects and A. R. Johnson in the area of health professions. A third magnet school was added in 1981, the Davidson Fine Arts Magnet School, which in 1983 was identified as one of the top magnet schools in the nation. Education was the primary concern of the three magnet schools, but the racial ratios were nearly evenly divided as well. Unfortunately for the area of music education in the other schools in the county, the magnet schools drew away many of the brightest students and may have been (then and now) a contributing factor in the decline of quality in band programs in the other schools. Furthermore, two of the magnet schools had no classes in instrumental music at all, denying many of the brightest children in the counties' schools the opportunity to experience instrumental music education.

The process of integration was not always a smooth one for high school band programs. Particularly in the deep south, there were problems unique to the cultural heritage of various organizations. Resistance to integration took many forms in the south. In 1960, the Twiggs

County High School Band was withdrawn from a parade in Macon, Georgia “because parents don’t want their children playing in the same parade with Negroes” (“Band won’t”, 1960). One particularly interesting example are schools in which the traditional tune “Dixie” was either school song or some integral part of a performing tradition. In Pensacola, Florida, twenty band members were suspended from school after they walked off the field during a performance of Dixie while in Fort Meyers, Florida, a performance of Dixie at a school that had been recently integrated school resulted in a racial riot that forced a brief closing of the school (“Schools: Arenas of”, 1969). A similar situation occurred in Richmond County in 1970 when the board was forced to reassign four hundred eighty-one teachers to achieve racial balance among faculty. Band directors at two of the schools that were paired, ARC and Laney were switched, the white band director to the previously all black band and the black band director to the previously all white. The school song at ARC had been Dixie. At one of the first rehearsals for the new school year, the African American director, refused to rehearse or perform the school song, Dixie, and tore the music up in front of the band according to some accounts (Personal conversation, 2003). The song was never used again as far as research has revealed, but the new director did not endear himself to the members of the band as a consequence of that action. At the conclusion of that year, the two directors were assigned back to their original positions. The white director revealed to this researcher that he had a successful experience at the historically black high school because of a willingness to accept and perform music from the black cultural perspective as well as introducing the band to experiences that broadened their appreciation of other styles of music. Upon return to the Academy of Richmond County, the white director chose not to resurrect the old school song, but used the opportunity to designate a more culturally acceptable substitute.