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Learning to Resist:
Returning African American Students
to the Hush Harbors in Search of Education's Promises -
Skill Development for Critical Consciousness

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by

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the educational perceptions of fifteen African American college students who completed a course that used critical race pedagogy as a means to raise consciousness. African American traditional faith in post-secondary education has maintained its resiliency for decades, as demonstrated in the increasing numbers of African American students' matriculation into historically white post secondary institutions throughout the country. Overshadowing the increased matriculation patterns is the reality that many more African American students simply vanish from the post-secondary pipeline.

The racialized experiences of African Americans have led to a unique perception of education which reflects the pervasiveness of duality as a residual concept of false consciousness. The dialectical paradox of duality is exacerbated and institutionalized by mechanistic skill development which limits the potentiality of higher levels of awareness. As a result, African American students may begin their post-secondary studies objectified by the overvaluation of education as a direct pathway toward liberation.

To resist the recidivism of duality African American college students must experience a type of psyche

liberation through transformative skill development. The engagement of African American students in such a transformative process requires the re-conceptualization of education as an articulation of resistance. Education conceptualized as an articulation of resistance utilizes critical race pedagogical techniques and strategies to destabilize taken-for-granted educational perceptions and reconstruction of critical educational perceptions which increases the likelihood of college graduation.

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DEDICATION

Stepping out on things yet seen. This process and accomplishment such that it is has been guided by seeds planted and nurtured by my mothers, Wanda Lee Tyler Twyman, Ruth Keeton Tyler and Brenda Tyler Wilson. All that has been good and the good that shall come is dedicated to my mothers and beloved sister-friend, Nina Eddings. Ashe.



ASANTE SANA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT..... ii

DEDICATION..... v

ASANTE SANA..... vi

LIST OF TABLES..... xii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS..... xiii

ONDOKEO..... xiv

 Flexing My Reflexivity..... xiv

CHAPTER ONE..... 1

 Introduction..... 1

 Statement of the Problem: Promises of Redemption and Power
 18

 Purpose of the Study..... 25

CHAPTER TWO..... 28

A Quest for Power - African American Education..... 28

 Introduction..... 28

 The Politics of American Education..... 28

 The Antellbellum Period..... 30

 The Redemption Period..... 41

 The Period of Restitution..... 57

 The Relevance of Higher Education for African Americans 68

 Chapter Summary..... 76

CHAPTER THREE..... 77

Methodology..... 77

 Introduction..... 77

 Assessing the 'Critical' in Critical Ethnography..... 77

Critical Ethnography	81
Critical Ethnographic Procedures	92
Data Collection Procedures	100
Data Sources	102
<i>Non-research Related Data</i>	103
<i>Questionnaire(s)</i>	104
<i>Individual Interview(s)</i>	106
<i>Debriefing Circles</i>	106
Data Analysis	109
<i>Stage One - Analysis of the primary record</i>	109
<i>Stage Two & Three - Meaning Reconstruction</i>	111
Verification of Trustworthiness	122
Context of the Critical Ethnographic Study	122
The Course: African Americans and Education (15-AFAM-326)	122
Grounding with My Students: The Research Participants	126
Positioned as an Insider with Outsider Tendencies	142
Chapter Summary	151
CHAPTER FOUR.....	152
Giving Voice to Power.....	152
Introduction: Conceptualizing the course as a Dialectical Challenge	152
Demystifying Educational Duality	156
Resisting the Dialectics	167
Unearthing Seeds of Fire: Reclaiming Power	173
Power Reclaimed	181
Chapter Summary	184
CHAPTER FIVE.....	185
Resistance in African American Culture.....	185
Introduction	185
Reconnecting Resistance with Academic Achievement	193
Chapter Summary	205

CHAPTER SIX.....	206
Speaking Truth to Power: Consciousness.....	206
Introduction.....	206
Epistemology of Consciousness.....	207
Ontology of Consciousness.....	208
Social Protest Movements and Consciousness.....	208
Black Nationalist Consciousness.....	210
Consciousness and Education.....	220
Conscientization	220
Kuona: Perceiving beyond what is apparent.....	225
Axiological Experiential: Fragmentation of the African American Consciousness.....	228
Education and the African American Duality Complex....	236
Chapter Summary.....	242
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	244
Critical Race Pedagogy as Praxis.....	244
Introduction.....	244
Centralizing Race.....	245
Skill Development as an Essential Component of Consciousness Development.....	252
Radical Skill Development: Conceptualization as <i>Conscientization</i>	259
Chapter Summary.....	268
CHAPTER EIGHT	269
The Struggle Continues.....	269
Claims to Power.....	269
Education as a site for Normalizing Duality.....	271
Education as an Articulation of Resistance.....	275
APPENDIX A:.....	278
APPENDIX B:.....	280

APPENDIX C:.....	284
APPENDIX D:.....	288
APPENDIX E:.....	290
Appendix F:.....	292
APPENDIX G:.....	294
REFERENCES.....	296

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Critical Ethnographic Procedures 100

Table 2: Data Sources 103

Table 3: Participant Grid 127

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Carspecken's Pragmatic Horizon	96
Figure 2: Course Conceptual Frame of Reference	124
Figure 3: The Process of Conceptualization/ <i>Conscientization</i>	260
Figure 4: Education as an Articulation of Resistance	276

ONDOKEO

(Start of a Journey)

Illiteracy in the 21st century will not only indicate the inability to read and write, but the inability to learn, unlearn and re-learn.

- Unknown

Flexing My Reflexivity

Isn't it funny how thoughts and feelings lodge in the sub-conscious level until a particular something releases them into the conscious? These moments of release are confusing more often than not, but a time they tend to offer clairvoyance into whatever I wanted to understand. During the arduous process of conceptualizing the proposal and subsequently writing the dissertation I am emotionally and intellectually taxed by the continual barrage of questions that beget further questions. As I wanted to convey, I was reminded of the first sentence in Toni Cade Bambara's novel, *The Salt Eaters*.

"Are you sure, sweetheart, that you want to be well?" urged Miz Minnie, the community's spiritual medium and healer, to Velma the story's protagonist just before the impending healing session. After reading several pages,

the reader comes to understand that Velma has attempted suicide and languishes in a mental hospital suspended in the psychological in-between of the living (uncertainty and turmoil) and the dead (certainty and tranquility). As Velma descended further into the silence of insanity, Miz Minnie snapped, "As I said, folks come in here moaning and carrying on and say they want to be healed. But the wisdom warns, 'Doan letcha mouf gitcha in what ya backbone can't stand'."

Velma's stirring signaled Miz Minnie to assemble "the circle of twelve," elders whose purpose was to guide Velma throughout the healing process. Before the healing commenced Miz Minnie cautioned, "Just so's you're sure, sweetheart, and ready to be healed cause wholeness is no trifling matter. A lot of weight when you're well." In that space between sanity and insanity, Velma experienced a series of destabilizing challenges replete with telepathic visions that spanned the course of her lifetime. The unearthing of conscious and unconscious memories plunged her deeper into the African American cultural milieu influencing and developing her values, perceptions and behaviors.

As Velma consciously experienced each memory the elders provided insight into those intuitions, feelings and

perceptions seen and unseen, contextualizing events while explaining and affirming. The elders' roles were educational that their intent was to guide Velma through various levels of consciousness. As Velma emerged from the in-between space she had an understanding of those things which had limited her. This (re)newed consciousness allowed her to actualize her own gifts and talents as a community spiritualist and healer. Like Velma, I too, was confronted with a dialectical challenge as I conceptualized and wrote the dissertation. At this moment I am trying not to allow my mouth cause trouble that my backbone can't stand, so I am compelled to take note of my readiness by "just talkin' it out."

In the course of this research I sought to hold education accountable for its manipulation of a peoples' dreams, exploitation of a peoples' hope and abuse of a peoples' trust. It is through this process I hope to re-align African American education with its historical purpose of WAKING THE PEOPLE UP. I am ready for this work, because being sick and tired requires that my mouth and backbone be on the same accord.

CHAPTER ONE

In Search of Education's Promises

That's what I think about education, I be damned if you do and I be damned if you don't.

(Akila DS.2)

Introduction

Each year, African American students arrive on historically white university and college campuses throughout America. They come in search of education's promises of beneficence and redemption. Schooled in the cultural belief that education makes it possible to traverse the injurious potentialities connected to oppression, African American students plunge into the democratic cacophony of higher education. As these students deal with internal systems and agents of the institution, their attempts to assimilate into the campus culture are confronted by the reality of what it means to be a diversity anomaly.

University-based programs and policies that purport inclusionary policies stand in direct opposition with its ideological fiber that has historically held African

Americans' intellectual capacities suspect (Ellis, 1976; Harrison, 1991; Persell, 1977; Weikart, 1971). In the classroom power disparities and economic polarizations reflected in the African American experience are dissected into binaries and analyzed in isolation of socio-historical and political influences. As African American students struggle to navigate the post-secondary terrain, they experience a heightened awareness of repression. The pervasiveness of institutionalized racism dictated by the collegiate experience causes African American students to question their taken for granted notions of higher education as social and cultural capital.

This questioning can create an intrinsic socio-cultural aggravation within the African American psyche. In these moments students experience a dialectical tension unique to the African American experience. Uncritical questioning of perceptions and decisions opens the mind to explore means to be educated persons. Situated at a crossroads, African American students are faced with a dilemma: to embrace the contradiction of education or to resist the educational process in a way that may or may not appear to be counterproductive to their academic progress.

To successfully navigate the unique tensions brought about by higher education, African American students must

reject the objectifying contradiction of education by developing transformative skills. These skills constructed within the radical premise of education as an articulation of resistance moves African American students from mere objects in the educational process to subjects.

Education as an articulation of resistance was conceived in the deep cultural structures African American oppositional tradition. It is inseparable from the development of skill as a means to confront "reason and its constructs - certainty, bifurcation, linearity, and evidence" (Taliaferro, 1998, p. 8). Education as an articulation of resistance includes liberatory pedagogical approaches and oppositional curriculum that engage African American students in transformative skill development that bridges the schism between the politics of oppression and the politics of cultural development. As an articulation of resistance, education provides African American students with the skills necessary to re-enter the educational process and then the world as critical subjects.

This study will explore the socio-cultural dynamics of the dialectical tensions, as experienced by fifteen African Americans who completed a course I developed and taught. The study will also raise questions about the ways in which these tensions have shaped the schemas these students hold

about their educational experiences. Most importantly, it will explore the impact of education as an articulation of resistance on the perceptions of African American students hold about academics at the collegiate level.

The African American historical value of education as a prized symbol of freedom and redemption is widely accepted and well-documented in the literature (Anderson, 1988; Luttrell, 1996). Ogbu (1994a, 1994b) acknowledges the traditional reverence for education in the African American culture; however from his perspective the all too frequent underperformance of African American students, speaks volumes of the contradiction inherent in this cultural value. The basis of Ogbu's (1994a, 1994b, 2003) challenge stems from a lag in performance by African American and white students and specifically, the marginal level of academic achievement as evidenced in the African American community.

Ogbu's conclusion that the convergence and institutionalization of racial inequalities has had an influence on African American educational perspectives has been well documented in other educational and African American discourse. However alongside the African American value of education as a referent for individual and social change there is the awareness that education is also a

mechanism for domination. Expression of the latter cultural ethos saturates African American discourse (see Dubois, 1989; Woodson, 1989). Fordham and Ogbu (1986) surmise that systemic dehumanization, political and socio-economic disenfranchisement experienced by African Americans has given rise to a cultural view of education that fosters academic nihilism deserves further attention.

The contradictory cultural view of education held by these students derives from the politics of oppression and the politics of cultural development. It is the contention of this research that the enigmatic so-called academic nihilism prevalent in the African American community may be partly caused by the cultural interpretation of systemic discrimination. However, mystified in African American school resistance dialogues is the primary role and relationship between resistance and consciousness development. Therefore, if academic nihilism exists it resulted from the uncritical internalizing of competing hegemonic and oppositional values, and the subsequent over-internalization of hegemonic values.

Education has not provided an absolute or linear pathway toward liberation for African Americans (Butchart, 1994; Taliaferro, 1998). As a result, African American education has come to be distinguished by its dual promise

of liberation and oppression. The idea that education can be liberating is immortalized in African American narratives. Situated in the deep structures of an oppositional culture these stories contain powerful experiential lessons learned in an oppressive society (Newby and Tyack, 1971). Therefore, in the blood memory of the African American culture have been stories of triumph over systemic oppression overlaid encoded existential knowledge.

The dichotomy of thought/feelings and real world experiences filtered through the African American cultural milieu has given rise to a paradox: both faith in and suspicion of education (Anderson, 1988; Grier and Cobb, 1968; Shujaa, 1994; Woodson, 1919, 1990). The bifurcated African American value of education is metaphorically represented as a double-edged sword in the literature. The legend of African American overcoming of socio-cultural, political and economic serve as examples of education's liberating possibilities.

The signifying tales of the "educated fool" personifies hegemonic influences in education. In that the education has compelled the individual to consciously or unconsciously work in concert with oppression. The educated fool's unforgivable transgression was that (s)he

selectively rejected the history of struggle or, worse worked against the collective resistance (Woodson, 1990). Years of socio-historical conditioning in oppression vanquished the mindset that education and the acquisition of knowledge would be a panacea for African American liberation. Education was valued as an avenue to develop knowledge and skill as praxis for socio-cultural transformation (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1999; Taliaferro, 1998; Watkins, et al. 2001b). These perceptions informed by the long history of African American resistance led to the conceptualization of education as an articulation of resistance. Education as an articulation of resistance superseded the desire for education for individual gain, but for the conscious elevation of group suffering which led to the deconstruction of institutionalized oppression.

The delicate balance of African American faith in and suspicion of education shifts according to hegemonic influences and the availability of oppositional resources. As the social contours of domination have faded into controlling processes (e.g. tracking, structural violence, internalized racism, low expectations, etc.) made way for socio-political winds to define and equated justice with harmony, and resistance as a force of destruction. In the

wake of these influences lay the remnants of an uncritical awareness locked between the schism of hegemony and opposition.

The perception of education as both a liberator and oppressor evolved from the ontological circumstances surrounding of double consciousness or dual consciousness. The paradoxical threads of double consciousness are weaved across the African American experience in a concept such as the duality complex or the psychic duality. These interchangeable terms have been appropriated to explain the psychological and spiritual discontent experienced by African Americans as oppressed people.

W.E.B. Dubois' (1989) defined double consciousness this way:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, - an American, A Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

(Dubois, 1989, p. 5)

Double consciousness results from the repression of a true self consciousness; for Dubois (1989) it was not a pathetic or feeble mental state.

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world. (p. 3)

The cultural significance behind the word "veil" implies the ability to be clairvoyant. In this context the word takes on a more concrete meaning that implies a greater capacity to transcend normative view of African American marginality and social exclusion.

What emerged from Dubois' succeeding discussion on double consciousness are the causal circumstances that work together to fragments the African American consciousness. Dubois (1989) explains,

This, then, is the end of his striving: to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. These powers of body and mind have in the past been strangely wasted, dispersed, or forgotten. The shadow of a might Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx. Through history, the powers of single

black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness. (p. 3)

In essence, the African American consciousness is bifurcated by the socio-cultural repression of humanity. When conceptualized this way, double consciousness is a dialectical phenomenon which results from the politics of oppression and cultural development. Dubois (1989) elaborates on the conclusion,

Here in America, in the few days since Emancipation, the black man's turning hither and thither in hesitant and doubtful striving has often made his very strength to lose effectiveness, to seem like an absence of power, like weakness. And yet it is not weakness, - it is the contradiction of double aims. (p. 3)

Contemporary scholars grappling with the psychological dis-ease, social contention and cultural discord experienced by African Americans have explored the impact of double consciousness on cultural development. Akbar's (1991) typology conceived as a mental health pathology undergrid the essential psychological and cultural features which demark the workings of duality.

Individual and group behaviors that indicate the presence of a dual consciousness are debatable. The

importance of this model is gleaned from the magnitude and parallel ways in which the clashing of hegemonic and oppositional values affects the psychological and cultural development of African Americans. Akbar's (1991) typology consists of four classifications: the alien-self, anti-self, self-destructive and organic disorders. The last classification, focuses attention on biological influences of mental illness it is considered the least significant for this discussion.

According to Akbar (1991), the alien-self, anti-self and self-destructive are socio-psychological disorders which have devastating impact on African American cultural development. These disorders result from the collective and persistent exposure to oppression as experienced by African Americans. The model, Akbar (1991) insists, recognizes 'anti-life' forces which exist within the African American cultural community and those that threaten it from the outside.

The first classification, the alien self disorder, is characterized by the perception that racism does not exist or has been eliminated by social mobility. Present in this value system is the unremitting belief that oppression has been eliminated by the acquisition of material gain or cultural status. These individuals may wrestle with

contradicted identity claims, but still feel a sense of gratitude when they attain success as judged by normative standards. The second classification, anti-self, represents the internalization of the dominant group's hostile perceptions of them.

In education for example, those individuals who suffer from the anti-self disorder, may hold the belief that the majority of African American students are lazy. As gatekeepers those identified with this anti-self disorder work hard to maintain structures of dominance for personal gain or because they perceive the structures to be fair and just. They may also believe that no alternative structures exist; therefore, the structure becomes their standard by which they measure excellence.

The third classification, the self destructive disorders, is typified by those who live destructive lifestyles toward themselves and their community. This group as characterized by Akbar (1991) as "the direct victims of oppression" (p. 346), because they may have developed identities inconsistent with the dominant group's standard of achievement. Pimps, whores, addicts, alcoholics and psychotics are examples of those who have succumbed to powerlessness through destructive measures as an "attempt to survive in a society which systematically

frustrates normal efforts for natural human growth" (p. 346). These individuals have turned their rage and frustration inward upon themselves and outward into the community. These individuals engage in self destructive behaviors in retreat from reality.

The relevance of Akbar's (1991) typology lies in its documentation of a struggle within the African American psyche originating from the experiences with duality. The inherent struggle inside this dual consciousness creates a dialectical tension caused by the fractious internalization of competing cultural values (Akbar, 1991; Ani, 1994; Caldwell and Stewart, 2001; Ture and Hamilton, 1992; Welsing, 1991; Wilson, 1998).

Paradoxically, education is recognized as the reconciliator and reproducer of dual consciousness. In education the political inertia, race neutral behaviors and indifferent attitudes toward the community have been singled out as prominent behavioral indicators of a dual consciousness (Hare, 1998; Frazier, 1998; Marable, 2000b). Foundational discussions such as these have led to recent studies exploring the manifestation of dialectical tension as a factor in the post-secondary experiences of African American students.

Chizhik and Chizhik (2005) contend that many African American students see their post-secondary studies as a "privilege". Students who may have developed conceptual skills in a traditional mechanical fashion that is isolated from their lived experiences may hold an over-estimation of higher education. Their overvaluation of education as a linear pathway toward liberation cultivates in them an uncritical sense of privilege and entitlement exacerbated by the lack of skills needed to explore personal responses to the peculiar contradictions of higher education.

When the unique experience of higher education is filtered through the dual consciousness triggered is a clash of competing socio-cultural values. Some African American scholars (Asante, 2003a; Dubois, 1989) have insisted that navigating and negotiating the paradoxical conditioning of oppression requires a reconciliation of the dual consciousness into a higher state of consciousness. To navigate the tensions successfully, African American students must be equipped with appropriate cognitive skills that reconcile the dual consciousness that can into a "truer consciousness" (Asante, 2003a; Caldwell and Stewart, 2001; Peavy, 2000).

The importance of achieving a higher level of consciousness in education has been demonstrated in a study

conducted by Okech and Harrington (2002). The researchers found that African American students who exhibited higher levels of consciousness displayed increased academic achievement and motivational levels. In education the incisive discourse of criticalist, Freire (1995, 1970, 1985) has highlighted the critical importance of consciousness development in the vast domains of culture and psychology.

Critical consciousness as the liberating feature of education has been corroborated throughout the literature. Collaborative and participatory among other dialogical approaches buttress the development of critical consciousness. However, left unattended in these dialogues are the important links between race and racialized identity on consciousness. If race is considered at all, it is considered a secondary concept within the matrix of domination. The marginalization of race in the matrix of domination overlooks duality as a fundamental consequence of oppression for African Americans.

Intellectualized as a psychological condition or cultural phenomena, the bifurcation of the African American consciousness is a co-conspirator in the spiritual, psychological and socio-cultural underdevelopment of African American peoplehood (Hillard, 2001; Peavy, 2000;

Shjuaa, 1994; Woodson, 1990). The poignant point of critical education researchers is the implication of education and schooling, particularly higher-education, as a socio-cultural institution that works in the interest of hegemony by maintaining and normalizing duality.

African American traditional faith in post-secondary education has maintained its resiliency for decades. This faith is demonstrated in the increasing numbers of African American students matriculating into historically white post secondary institutions throughout the country. In spite of the increasing numbers looms the reality that these students have been lost in the pipeline. African American unique educational value schema reflects the pervasiveness of duality represented throughout the African American experience. The dialectical paradox of duality is exacerbated by the lack of skill to discern its ontological objectification. As a result, African American students enter the post-secondary educative process as objects, with the unconditional hope of re-entering the world as subjects upon graduation.

African American students objectified in the educational process stand at a greater risk for dropping out of the post-secondary pipeline. Those who do graduate are faced with insurmountable issues including growing

community disengagement, perversity of institutionalized racism and discrimination, and affects of supposed cultural proclivity toward academic nihilism. African American students cannot afford to hold onto an objectifying uncritical value of education as symbolic social capital that will allow them to miraculously re-enter the world as subjects.

Since the classroom, as posited by Hooks (1994), is the most radical space of possibility within the academy, it is the point at which we as a community of educators must harness our energies to ascertain the truly liberating aspects of education to benefit African American students. Therefore, it is critical that educators who embrace the liberating aspects of education reach beneath the cultural veils of peculiarities to compile and assemble strategies and techniques that support African American students transformation into subjects in the educative process.

To accomplish this goal this research presents education as an articulation of resistance as a conscious means to transform African American students into subjects in the educational process. Education as an articulation of resistance provides African American students with the necessary skills to consciously reenter the educational community and community-at-large as subjects.

Statement of the Problem: Promises of Redemption and Power

Regardless of existing social contradictions African American students continue to flock to the halls of the ivy towers in search of education's promises of beneficence and power. In the 1990s, the college matriculation rates of African Americans students increased by 21 percent (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). Yet, graduation rates have not mirrored the matriculation upward swing (Cross and Slater, 2001). Once admitted a considerable number of African American students simply disappear from the academic pipeline. The pipeline is clearly broken. In fact since the mid-1990s the national college graduation rates for African American students have remained stagnated at seven percent.

At the University of Cincinnati (UC), the matriculation and graduation patterns of African American undergraduate students reflect the national averages. In 2004, there were over 19,000 undergraduates students enrolled at UC, 12.9 percent of these students were African American. In the same year thirty four percent of them were enrolled in non-degree granting programs. The remainder of the students were distributed relatively even

throughout the Colleges of Arts and Science, Social Work and Education. In 2002 and 2003, the graduation rates for African Americans rose slightly above 8.5 percent, only to decline in 2004, reaching their lowest point in 2005 (University of Cincinnati, Institute for Research, 2004, 2005). The pursuit of post-secondary education for African American students appears to be an ongoing, daunting task.

The circumstances that prompt these students to stop attending their academic courses at historically white universities and colleges vary from student to student. In the midst of the national attrition crisis academicians continually debate the reasons for these students withdrawal for their post-secondary studies. Green (2001) has identified four critical areas which may contribute to African American post-secondary disengagement: 1) the levels of preparedness and skill levels possessed upon matriculation; 2) the internal and institutional psychosocial and intellectual perceptions which can affect their academic performance; 3) institutional barriers such as endemic racism; 4) social, economic and political antecedents which have had an impact on their success in post-secondary education environments.

Even though diversity initiatives have brought greater numbers of African American students to historically and

predominately white campuses there remains a lacuna between matriculation and graduation. DeSousa (2001) challenges institutions of higher learning to pair recruitment efforts with the exploration of institutional practices which "create campus conditions that ensure greater persistence to graduation" (p. 41). The process for creating persistent campus conditions requires institutions to analyze the underlying ideological values which inform policies. For example, Green (2001) posits that African American and Latino students are often perceived by faculty and administration as "affirmative action impositions." As a consequence, these students are accepted into institutions and left to their own devices to navigate and fend from themselves in an implicitly hostile environment.

African American students enrolled in historically and predominately white post-secondary colleges and universities continue to express feelings of isolation, frustration and disconnection (Blue, 2003; Carson, 2003; Cross, 2001; Hagan, 2003; Solórzano, et al. 2000). During the civil rights / black power movement African American students had expressed similar feelings; however, these feelings/emotions became the catalyst which sparked social action (Harper, 1971; Newby and Tyack, 1971; Williamson, 1999). Nonetheless, many contemporary African American

students associate these feelings with a deep sense of powerlessness which often initially prompts them to disappear from the post-secondary pipeline.

Blue (2003), explored the experiences and perceptions of African American college students in order to determine how institutional influences impact feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The researcher found that faculty/student interaction was a critical factor in offsetting any negative behavioral effects arising from these feelings. Students who perceived faculty members as *authentic* were generally more satisfied with their college experiences which increased the likelihood of their graduating from college. Faculty authentication was comely explained, using a common colloquial phrase, "*keepin' it real*". Faculty who keep it 'real' were generally accessible and worked hard to remain sensitive to the specific challenges that confronts these students. These faculty members tended to use their insights and professional skills to support and aid African American students' navigation of the sometimes hostile university terrain.

Blue's (2003) research validates existing data that illustrates the important role faculty often play, specially the critical interactions between faculty and

students within the larger context of the college/university. In the college itself, classrooms remain the most radical space for constructing a number of meanings to improve African American achievement overall (Hooks, 1994). Tuitt (2003) points out the critical tools and complex role of faculty in their interaction with historically marginalized students inside of the classrooms:

Of growing concern is the possibility that the teaching practices of traditional academic culture do not serve today's racially diverse student body. The belief is that university and college faculty members, operating on the notion that one pedagogy fits all students, continue to use traditional modes of instruction that create hostile and potentially harmful learning environments. (p. 243)

Howell and Tuitt (2003) critical engagement of instructional designs and practices balance educational discourse that is saturated with curriculum development and curriculum theory analysis. Shujaa (1995) agrees, adding that while curriculum is important, it is often reduced to documentation whereas pedagogy conveys the importance of instructional abilities in the education process.

Faculty in their assigned roles as knowledge providers and cultural brokers are in the best possible position to assist African American students in developing the critical skills necessary to navigate the mindscape of higher education. The implications behind this dialogue are that the techniques and strategies designed to impact the collegiate academic achievement of African American students must take more than a cursory stance when re-conceptualizing faculty roles.

Some researchers have concluded that material conditions outside the academy shape institutional efforts because "the campus climate, curriculum, and organizational structures were never intended to be inclusive or accommodating ..." (Caldwell and Stewart, 2001, p. 233). These scholars theorizing around identity politics have included consciousness development as a retention strategy in an effort to prepare African American students as agents of transformation both inside and outside the academy.

Dialogues which bridge African American consciousness development and retention draw from Dubois' (1989) dual consciousness theory. Therefore, the collective social, historical and political fragmentation of the African American consciousness has negative effects on their post-secondary achievement. Patterns of duality are observable

in the perceptions of these engaged in higher education. The presence of duality is commonly linked to uncritical commitments to Western values and to the overestimation of the efficacy of formal education (e.g. higher education) (Caldwell and Stewart, 2001).

The hidden political functions and purposes of education and schooling when coupled with the internalization of the symbolic value of education leads African American students to enter post-secondary studies with a certain level of naiveté (Caldwell and Stewart, 2001; Grier and Cobb, 1968). That is, when immerse in post-secondary studies, they may misinterpret education as a mere credentialing process. Feeling cast in the vast sea of the academia these students are at risk for falling victim to the need for validation and social alienation.

These feelings are more times than not psychologically taxing which bring about feelings of disappointed and/or overwhelmed. As a result these students are at risk for being a part of the national attrition crisis. Caldwell and Stewart (2001) insist that African American students must experience a psychic liberation in which the double self is merged into a truer and better self. Reconciliation of the dual consciousness must be predicated upon the concept of radical skill development. Since the

African American duality complex or double consciousness is spurred by their over-internalization of hegemonic values, educators must find ways to resolve the contradictions.

Purpose of the Study

This research was instigated out of a desire to assist African American students, like myself, in their journeys through a historically and predominately white institution of higher learning. Relying heavily upon the conceptualizations of Carter G. Woodson and Paulo Freire, I surmised that once African American students understand the nature of the educational beast, so to speak, this newfound knowledge could empower, thus moving them from objects in the educational process to subjects. I followed this "calling" by developing a course, African Americans and Education. The course was offered yearly during the Winter Quarter out of the African and African American Studies department at the University of Cincinnati, is elective for undergraduate students.

Based on the principles of critical race pedagogy (CRP), especially Peavy's (2000) kuona model [i.e. a teaching strategy for liberation], my course was designed in such a way to dialectically challenge and destabilize the taken for granted educational assumptions of African

American students. These challenges consisted of a series of dialectical moments (Nkrumah, 1964), introduced through the course readings, dialogues and various activities. Students were challenged to utilize the higher-order cognitive skills to make causal links between education and oppression. The intent of this research was to explore the experiences of African American college students re-engaged in the education process as subject resisters. Using a critical ethnographic lens, I devised the following questions to guide the research:

- What experiences and conceptualizations do African American students undergo as they engage in a course which utilizes transformative education techniques and strategies?
- What are the dynamics of resistance as African American students participate in a process of conceptualization whose intent is to re-position them as subjects?
- Have conceptualizations of, and improved sense of self efficacy within, higher education occurred for those students who completed the course?

The purpose of the research is multifaceted: to challenge the idea in education that resistance is quixotic and reliant upon self-defeating oppositional identities.

Second, this research is supportive of dialogues which conceptualize educational resistance as a practice of cultural production. Third, through this research I seek to expand dialogues urging institutions of higher learning to make use of paradoxical potentialities that can influence the academic self-efficacy of African American students, hence creating “staying” environments in which they may persist. The final and most critical purpose of this research is to empower African American college students to develop skills that will pave the way for them to become dynamic students and agents of social change.

CHAPTER TWO

A Quest for Power - African American Education

The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples.

(Carter G. Woodson, 1990, p. xi)

Introduction

Chapter Two situates the research in African American educational history. The purpose of the chapter is to provide a historiography of African American education by highlighting distinct periods to expose certain underlying ideological, political and economic influences. The unearthing of these factors provides a context for the emergent themes that are presented in later chapters.

The Politics of American Education

Educational historian Horace Mann Bond (1966) posited that, "Strictly speaking, the school has never built a new

social order; it has been the product and interpreter of the existing system, sustaining and being sustained by the social complex (p. 13). Such is the case of education for education throughout American history. Education's promises of beneficence and power have not deviated from its political, economic and hegemonic interest (J. Anderson, 1988; Bond, 1966, 1994; Butchart, 1988).

The constant shifting between African American faith in and suspicion of education has not remained static or fixed; rather, the shifts are prompted by the socio-economic and political windfalls impact the accessibility and valuation of oppositional knowledge. The scope of this research is not intended to be exhaustive; instead the purpose is to ascertain the obscured linkages between resistance as cultural production, consciousness and academic achievement. Explicit is the profundity by which African American traditional faith in education is tethered to their quest to gain power.

Themes in African American education are explored in three historical periods that overlap each other: antebellum, redemption and restitution. The antebellum period includes the breaking in/seasoning process and plantation education. The redemption period encompasses the reconstruction and Jim Crow/post-reconstruction eras.

The restitution period includes the civil rights and post-Civil Rights eras.

The Antebellum Period

Education for African Americans during the antebellum period was marked by extreme dehumanization and the formation of an intense cultural desire to be humanized. Chattel slavery an American economic and socio-cultural institution laid the ideological foundation that informed African American education (Carnoy, 1974). The seasoning or breaking-in process of the enslaved Africans involved approaches that ensured social hierarchies in which whites remained power holders and Blacks as generationally powerless.

Slavers and plantation owners' power depended on their slaves believing that they were powerless. Slaves needed to not only internalize the master's power, but his/her own powerlessness. To ensure acquiescence to the established order, owners indoctrinated Africans into their new role of chattel. Seasoning or breaking-in was a circular process which was played out on three planes of the human experience: social, socio-psychological and cultural.

Breaking-in/seasoning was an inherently educative process which unfolded in five distinct phases: the coffle march, African coastal forts and trunks, middle passage,

shoreline arrival and the plantation. For some Africans seasoning commenced when they were captured. The methods used to enslave included abduction, village raids, spoils of war and trade. Those who were abducted or traumatized by village carnage suffered considerable psychological trauma. Once slavers or traders had collected enough captives, the coffle began the arduous march toward the African shoreline. Coffle marches could take up to three months covering hundreds of miles. Women and children were not shackled; instead, they were ordered to carry heavy objects on their heads. Men were restrained and marched in the coffle line linked in a long iron line.

All captives endured physical hardships, battery and manifested psychological distress. On the coffle marches were native Africans known as "singing men" whose knowledge of African values and culture guaranteed entrée and support of the marchers from the communities through which the line passed. Also, on the convoy were teachers whose sole purpose was to ease the captives into European style enslavement. As the captives rested, the coffle teacher would engage the captives in socio-psychological activities placed eased fears and despair (Thomas, 1997). These activities served as initial prompts to alter the captives'

social roles as chattel from free and humanized citizens of their country.

Those who survived the onerous march arrived at the African shore, feeling physically and psychologically exhausted. While weak and traumatized the captives entered the next phase of the seasoning process in which they were confined to depots which varied horrible to horrific. Some were housed in "grand" slave castles embellished with European artifacts. In these castles, captives remained chained and pushed into underground vaults whose iron grates allowed scant air and sunlight. Others were stockpiled in floating hulls exposed to sudden/sharp changes in weather conditions. The captives waited for several months until they were sold and sailing conditions were considered favorable to cross the ocean. Captives were routinely beaten, publicly and privately dishonored, and required to learn the rudiments of European languages. Before being transported enslaved Africans were branded, shaved, and examined for signs of aging, defects, and tribal origins.

Slave factories became the centralizing agent which legitimized the quasi-permanent cultural presence of Europeans on the West Coast of Africa. Emblematic vestiges of European culture, slave factories represented European

power and might. Once orders had been filled, selected captives were branded with their buyer's seal and herded onto awaiting ships. The coastal fort/castle experience was the captives' first immersion into the role social powerlessness. Twenty percent of those captured did not survive the coastal/castle experience, due to malnutrition, ritualized abuse and/or disease. The millions who did survive the first phase of the educational journey faced cataclysmic physical and psychological devastation during the middle passage.

The middle passage was the most critical formative process in the transformation of Africans into chattel. Slave ships as isolated silos of ritualized dehumanization became primary sites in which African nationalist ethnic identities amalgamated with racialized identities. The slavers' intense and complete control of the captives personal and cultural choices, piled atop of the latter's feelings of profound humiliation and physical deprivation solidified the magnitude of the white slavers' power and black Africans' powerlessness. Michael Gomez (1998) in a metaphorical expository lends a deeper understanding of the captives' psycho-cultural experience during the middle passage. By selecting birthing language Gomez (1998) links the slave ship experience to traditional African rites of

passage. He concluded that African captives did not lose the spirit of the culture or *asili* (Ani, 1994).

Nonetheless, transformation of the nationalist ethnic identity into racialized identities did occur as a result of the socio-psychological and physical destabilization that occurred during the middle passage.

The transformation process of the middle passage consisted to two interrelated, yet contradictory baptismal channels. For example, psychologically survival necessitated a symbolic social death. "At the very least, the African died to what was and to what could have been" (Gomez, 1998, p. 13). Transfused in a contaminated womb the enslaved Africans' were reborn with altered identities.

Those who survived the passage reached the Caribbean or South American shores in weak, emaciated states covered with feces, drained emotionally, fragmented spiritually, horrified, demoralized and filled with rage. Those whose illnesses could not be concealed were abandoned on the docks. Others who appeared to have some strength were sequestered and rejuvenated or "fattened". The fattening process was intended to eliminate captives' fixed melancholy brought on by the passage, cultivate emotional dependence on the captures and to increase their values at

auctions. To ease the transition captives were offered native foods and enticed to participate in tribal dance and song. To prepare slaves for the plantation culture slavers introduced and reiterated language as symbolic representations of white superiority. The objective of Caribbean/South American coastal phase was to remove saline African traits and indoctrinate them with values and perceptions that ensured malleability.

As the captives' health improved, they were collected into groups. Each grouping was sold at slave fairs or by other methods, as decided upon by the slavers. At the fairs captives were ushered onto auction blocks and inspected by potential buyers. Buyers who showed interest humiliated the captives by measuring, stretching, poking, pinching and forcing captives to demonstrate their agility. Both men and women had their mouths, ears, noses and genital scrutinized, like animals, for abnormalities. Some were sold in lots along with shipmates or tribal members in order to ease fears with familiarity. Others were separated at the discretion of the purchaser. Captives with specialized skills in animal training, embroidery, carpentry or masonry were prized and sold at higher prices. The transition from the middle passage to the Caribbean/South American shoreline denoted the end of the

captives' temporary status, and the beginning of their subordinated generational roles as chattel slaves.

The plantations were places where domination, time, symbolism and action were melded together into everyday practices of life. As an American institution slavery culturally substantiated the power of slavers over the slaves. The plantation phase served two purposes: a) to integrate newly arrived Africans into the plantation system, and to provide an educative model that would transfer the rules of behavior and cultural codes of conduct to subsequent generations.

Captives were integrated into plantation systems through a number of methods dictated by the geographical locations, wealth and personal tastes of owners. More profitable plantations were generally able to ease captives into their plantation systems. These owners paired new arrivals with a seasoned slave or the masters or appointed overseers would deliver one-on-one instruction. Lessons included language instruction and slave appropriate behaviors. For example, they were discouraged to address or look directly at white people. They were encouraged to be docile with eyes lowered and heads bowed in the presence of white folks.

Others who were thrown into the plantation system were instructed, corrected and punished by the cat-o-nine-tails (whip) method. Regardless of the methods utilized integration into the plantation system included domesticating rituals such as re-branding and re-naming of the slaves. This ceremonial act of naming denoted the final stage in the alteration of these individuals from captives to chattel.

In all the previous phases of the seasoning process, slavers relied heavily upon the social and socio-psychological control tactics which forced enslaved Africans into submission. As the African American population grew, it became essential for plantation owners to utilize a variety of cultural methods to emphasize their authority to ensure that the slaves internalized their oppression. According to Gomez (1998), "language was [a] co-conspirator in the process of enslavement, a veritable colonization of the mind" (p. 171).

As a tool of ritualized dishonourment, language was configured to conjure images of Africa as a nation of uncivilized heathens, animalistic savages devoid of historical value. A racial hierarchical was established which identified whites as superior and blacks as inferior,

amoral, evil and ugly, twisted into the fabric of American culture and distributed throughout cultural milieu. Any religious instruction delivered as a part of developing language, zeroed in on the merits of piety and obedience. Hermeneutical distortions were used to support white supremacy and Black objectification. Those slaves who were taught to read through religious instruction learned with these distortions and myths.

The slaves' compelling desire to be literate as an act of resistance initiated a shift away from the masters' oppressive control of African American education. Education as an articulation of resistance would remain a consistent theme throughout African American education. In 1803, Lucy Chase, a teacher in Virginia observed that the slaves had a "greed for letters" (Bulluck, 1967, p. 10). Literacy as an act of resistance marks the point in which education for African Americans takes on an inherently and recognizable oppositional slant. Slaves recognized that illiteracy was the cause of evil, not evil itself (Dubois, 1973a). Literacy offered to the slaves an opportunity to seize some power for themselves (Cornelius, 1999).

Literate slaves were held in reverence in the slave community. Those with the skill to read had increased mobility, traveling from plantation to plantation teaching.

Literate slaves were expected to teach under the protection of night accepting only small purses that bondsmen and women could "slip" to them (Cornelius, 1999). These individuals were valuable cultural conduits of information that extended the knowledge base in the slave communities (Cornelius, 1999).

Religion as a conduit for African American education was guided by socio-political and economic interest. Some owners, who taught slaves to read, dared not to teach them to write fearful that the acquisition of both skills would disrupt the social order (Cornelius, 1999). According to Cornelius, urban and house slaves constituted the largest number of slaves who could read and write. Those slaves taught only to read by their owners were least likely to assume leadership roles in the post-war reconstruction efforts. Cornelius also posits, "fewer owner-taught slaves assumed leadership roles" when freedom came a knocking" (p. 13).

There were a number of slaves who learned to read and write by "stealing", learning to read by one's own ingenuity (Cornelius, 1999; Lovett, 1990). Slaves borrowed books so as not to arouse suspicion, put together learning material and developed their skills with everyday material and items. When asked about their dogged persistence to

read, ex-slaves indicated that they were motivated by their master's denial (Cornelius, 1999). The 1831 Nat Turner insurrection prompted slave owners to impede their slaves' fledging literacy efforts through a terror crusade meant to repress their slaves' desire to become literate.

Slave codes of the late 1700s which prohibited the acquisition of literacy in the southern states for slaves and limited access to education for free Blacks in the north. However, these laws did not lessen the zeal to learn or the desire for education to be passed on from generation to generation. When the war between the States began in 1861, five to ten percent of the four million slaves in the southern states and District of Columbia were literate (Lovett, 1990).

Extreme race based oppression threatened small literacy movements as a strategy for liberation, however free African Americans were among the first to establish schools in the south during the Civil War. One such early teacher, Charlotte Forten came from a privileged background, she included Black history in her lessons as a way to develop a sense of racial pride and comradeship of having a Black identity (Lovett, 1990). The values of self-help and self-determination spread through the south during the Civil War. Lovett (1990) states that:

Ordinary black men and women also established schools for the freedmen during the war years. Field hands in a plantation near Selma, Alabama erected a schoolhouse near where they worked and hired a teacher. Blacks built their own school house out of logs in Memphis, Tennessee, contraband camp and diligently attended classes after working all day. In many other places the illiterate freedmen took the initiative to build a schoolhouse and hire a teacher. In Natchez, Mississippi, black women opened three schools for freedmen. In some places, like Knoxville, Tennessee, and Savannah, Georgia, the freedmen formed school associations and taxed themselves to support classes for adults and children. (Lovett, 1990, p. 31)

The Redemption Period

Literacy as a cultural value would prove invaluable to freedmen and freedwomen during the nation's reconstruction phase. African Americans' desire for social justice via education blossomed into a socio-political movement, matched by the upheavals caused by the Civil Rights movements. Though the reconstruction era was brief in American history it was a time in which African Americans used education as a form of resistance which yielded cultural development. Freedmen and women who became

literate though subversive tactics or "stealing" methods distinguished themselves as leaders during the fervent movement of reconstruction. The skills and knowledge acquired via subversive underground channels of communication transferred oppositional values that linked education, resistance and social transformation.

Newly freed men and women in the southern states were the first to deviate from the planters' ideology for African American education in their campaign for universal and state supported schooling. J. Anderson (1988) stated that:

The ex-slaves' most fundamental challenge to the planter's ideology and structure of schooling, however, went beyond the practice of universal schooling as a customary right. They played a central role in etching the idea of universal public education into southern state constitutional laws. (p. 19)

During the reconstruction phase African Americans were able to participate in the shaping of educational public policy according to collective self-help and self-determination values. Five states elected African American superintendents of education, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina (Lincoln, 1969). As superintendents these individuals occupied provisional

seats of power. "Foundational of the freedmen's educational movement was their self-reliance and deep-seated desire to control and sustain schools for themselves and their children" (J. Anderson, 1988, p. 5). This educational reconstruction spearheaded by African Americans took into account the intrinsic awareness of a new socio-economic order was being built (Bond, 1966; Carnoy, 1974; Watkins, 2001a). The education system they developed was designed to prepare freedmen and women to function in the emerging order.

The existing order established by slavery made freed slaves distrustful of white assistance. An ex-slave communicated these fears, "there is one thing that slavery committed against me, which I will never forgive. It robbed me of my education" (J. Anderson, 1988). For many ex-slaves the act of being educated was an act of resistance. Education stood as a symbol of freedom which had the capacity to absolve the blight of inhumanity left by enslavement. Because both children and adults have been denied educational opportunity, African Americans focused their attention on adult education during the reconstruction eras. There was a general sentiment that adult education would give transformative skills that could be used in the immediate present and future. A passage

written in the *New Orleans Black Republican*, articulated the ideology that underlay the reconstruction of African American education. "Freedom and school books and newspapers, go hand in hand. Let us secure the freedom we have received by the intelligence that can maintain it" (J. Anderson, 1988, p. 18).

Curriculum utilized in the African American led reconstruction schools did not reflect racist antebellum propaganda, nor did it reflect jingoistic post World War industrial sentiments that advanced a caste distinct labor system.

Black teachers, school officials, and secular and religious leaders who formed the vanguard of the postwar common school movement insisted that the ex-slaves must educate themselves, gather experience, and acquire a responsible awareness of the duties incumbent upon them as citizens and as male voters in the new social order" (J. Anderson, 1988, p. 18).

Therefore, freedmen and freedwomen were not disillusioned by the belief that schooling would amend economic disparities. Rather, the focal point was to impart to the African American community ...

...an appreciation for their historic responsibility to develop a better society and that any significant

organization of the southern political economy was indissolubly linked to their education in the principles, duties, and obligations appropriate to a democratic social order. (J. Anderson, 1988, p. 18)

Vital to success of the African American led reconstruction common school movement was the amelioration of chattel attitudes and behaviors which caused African Americans "to act as a political force against southern conservatives in a period when northern capitalists were using black votes to maintain control over the southern political structure" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 286). The building of a new social order required a political force that was organized, skilled and informed. The development of leadership qualities through higher education became an absolute priority. The importance of higher education as a pathway in the development of leaders with the necessary skills to mobilize social action became paramount (Anderson, 1988). To sustain and expand the educational movement, ex-slaves reluctantly accepted assistance from the Freedman's Bureau and other White Northern philanthropist.

The Cost of Redemption: Post-reconstruction Eras

As a result, their efforts to secure formalized education were undercut by their faith in and overvaluation

of formalized education. One such example was the Hampton Model. The Hampton Model was an insidious plan created to control and re-align African American education with the tenants of slavery. The Hampton school was developed by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong and propagated by his most distinguished student, Booker T. Washington.

Armstrong's unique approach to African American education was crafted from the knowledge that he obtained while working for the Freedman's Bureau. It was due to his work with the Bureau that he was considered a pioneer in Black education. The skills that he learned during his military training and applied to his model bolstered his reputation as an effective leader when working with Blacks (Watkins, 2001). As a self-identified "friend to the Negro," the knowledge Armstrong held of the African American desire to become educated combined with his southern loyalties made his approach and perspective unique and very appealing.

Armstrong's beliefs were aligned with the era's conservatives consisting of former slave owners and those with similar economic interest. He realized that the educational progress made by Blacks over the nation's reconstruction period would not allow the re-establishment of the slave/master social known to the south. Some sects

advocated for the return of ex-slaves to Africa, Armstrong knew there would not be a great African American exodus. Instead, he believed that political participation by African Americans posed a threat to the country; thus the degree of their participation needed to be controlled by Whites. According to his philosophy, "proper" reconstruction of the nation had to provide way to manipulate and control Black socio-political action (J. Anderson, 1988; Watkins, 2001). In an attempt to authenticate his beliefs, Armstrong argued that African American's proclivity toward "barbarism", immorality and cultural deficiency rendered them unfit for participation in an already weakened America. His primary contentions in the debasement of the African American cultural and moral fiber were based on contrived historical myth and hegemonic environmental conditioning.

Education was the platform by which Armstrong could actualize his beliefs and philosophy. Classical education as far as Armstrong was concerned was wasted on African Americans in that it induced a superficial sense of self-pride that was destructive to both the individual and society at large. The Hampton idea as an accommodationist approach to education became a blueprint in the suppression of African American socio-political action. In addition it

provided the mechanism by which generational social action could be controlled. To put his plan into action and to institutionalize the concept, Armstrong opened the Hampton Model of Normal School Industrial Education in April 1868. J. Anderson (1986), a educational historian, cautions against the comparing of the Hampton Institute with other Normal Schools of its kind during both the reconstruction and post-reconstruction eras. Similar to other Normal schools the Hampton Institute did not grant bachelor degrees, nor was the completion of a secondary school curriculum required for entrance. In the standard Normal school curriculum manual labor occupied insignificant amount of curriculum space, whereas the primary curriculum and pedagogical focus at the Hampton was on teacher education centralizing the tenets of manual labor.

Hampton's mission was to establish a cadre of African American teachers trained in a mechanical fashion and indoctrinated with hegemonic consciousness to spread throughout the Black masses. This view is based on the normative value and socio-cultural role of teachers in society. Armstrong felt that the African American value of education could be used "in shaping the social, economic, and political consciousness of the Black masses" (Anderson, 1986, p. 44-45). So sure of this declaration, Armstrong

prophetically concluded that the making of docile teachers would lead to the making of a docile people (J. Anderson, 1988).

The underlying goal of Hampton's teacher education program was to facilitate generational internalization of African American powerlessness. Hampton as an educational concept was the most efficient tool to persuade African Americans to accept and subsequently disseminate their second class citizenry. Armstrong speculated that African Americans came to school as blank slates to be molded and filled with a particular ideology which emphasized white superiority as a civilizing power.

Hampton's recruitment efforts capitalized on the African American volition for education and desire to develop educated leaders. Armstrong, as quoted by J. Anderson (1988) reasoned that,

Black teachers were usually the best educated of their society, are leaders of its thoughts, and give it tone by their superior wisdom and culture. Moreover, the colored teacher is looked up to for his wisdom, is often chosen magistrate or other local dignitary, and is sometimes the only source of information from the outside world. (p. 46)

Recruitment for the Hampton Institute was conducted in a deliberate and selective manner. Armstrong accepted students based on the recommendations received from independent boarding schools and other constituents.

The school's target student populations were "country youth who did not mind hard work. These individuals were offered an educational opportunity which included room and board (J. Anderson, 1988). Applicants who could not pass the school's literacy entrance examination were not refused admittance. Potential students only needed to exhibit an industrious work spirit and they would be accepted into Hampton's two-year preparation program. The first three months were a trial period. Those who resisted Hampton's indoctrination were promptly dismissed branded as a weakling with scant work ethics (Armstrong, 1988).

Individuals who survived the stringent weeding out period came to comprehend and accept what Armstrong felt was their true place in society. The Hampton teacher education program was comprised of three curriculum tracks: an elementary academic program, manual labor and strict social discipline (J. Anderson, 1988). English, general math and other academic courses were typically taught by white women. Armstrong or a designee taught courses centered around civic responsibility focusing on history,

politics and government. The manual labor portion of the curriculum was modeled after industrial training employed in reform schools in the Northern states during the early 1800s. The curriculum included:

Routine and repetitive manual labor activities were developed to screen and condition students to serve as missionaries of the Hampton. Armstrong held a lifelong suspicion of highly educated blacks, believing that their aspirations were vain and dysfunctional to his views of southern Reconstruction. His idealized student was a hard worker with elementary education and industrial training. He did not believe that highly educated blacks would remain as 'civilizer' among the rural masses. (J. Anderson, 1988, p. 47)

At the Hampton school, this manual labor linked theoretical with practical knowledge. All students were required to work a set number of hours depending upon their course of study.

Those who were admitted directly into the normal school to qualify as teachers for graded schools were required to work two ten-hour days per week during their three years of study. They were paid from seven to ten cents per hour or one dollar to one dollar and

fifty cents per week. These earnings were credited to the students' accounts for the cost of board, washing, room rent, and tuition, which amounted to approximately ten dollars per month. (J. Anderson, 1988, p. 54)

Students worked ten hours a day for six days a week over an eleven month time period. Only after they satisfactorily completed their labor commitment could students advance to their academic coursework. Students' worked to cover any tuition shortfalls; however they could not exceed working twelve consecutive days. Students studying for a specific trade generally worked six ten-hour days for over a three years and then completed the academic segment in two years.

The Hampton model as conceptualized by Armstrong did not reach its fullest potential until 1879 when the night school was instituted (J. Anderson, 1988). The night school whose principal was, Booker T. Washington, centralized manual labor in the Hampton approach. Night school students were required to labor ten hours a day six days weekly over an eleven month period. They were expected to be present and participate in their academic classes for four hours each evening over a over a two year period. Two years of night school equaled one year of

three year Normal schooling requirement. The students in the night school had to work two days and study four days per week respectively. At Hampton Latin was replaced with labor and academics were deemphasized. Students were praised and rewarded based on their propensity to work.

Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, a well respected clergy, was outraged by the second class treatment he received while visiting Hampton. He admonished the school as nothing more than a plantation where teachers pandered to the spirit of slavery. According to Bishop Turner the graduates of the Hampton school had been thoroughly indoctrinated with the spirit of the slavocracy (J. Anderson, 1988). Likewise, Charles Brace while attending a Hampton commencement made similar observations of the graduates' subservient attitudes and behaviors:

Many of the students alluded to their former condition of slavery, but without any tone of reproach or of desire for vengeance, and yet there was an expression on their faces, which showed that all had felt the 'iron in the soul.' One was pointed out to me, nearly white, who, while a teacher, had been driven from his school into the woods by the Ku Klux - his two assistants being murdered, he himself barely escaping with his life. Not an expression of hostility or ill-

feeling appeared in an address. Each speaker seemed to feel that the fortunes of his race depended on the self-control, virtue, and intelligence of each individual, and that their future was in their own hands. They all, apparently deprecated any intruding of themselves socially, or of pressing their social rights beyond what was proper and convenient ... The most interesting speech of the occasion was made by Joseph Towe, a full-blooded negro from North Carolina ... The speaker described with what eagerness the slaves would work to some of these cheerful melodies ... A peculiar feature of all the addresses was that they closed with a fervent and sincere religious sentiment - for the college is peculiarly a religious seminary. (Watkins, 2001, p. 57)

Fortified by pariah ideology graduates were expected to besiege the African American community with the values of peonage disguised as piety and virtue (J. Anderson, 1988; Watkins, 2001).

The Hampton model became fuel to be used by of Northern Whites capitalist and some African Americans as a counterrevolutionary tactic which nearly eradicated the liberation efforts and gains made by freedmen and women during the reconstruction. The post-reconstruction /Jim

Crow eras were marked by conservative regain of political control ushering in a relentless attack on African American education. While President Rutherford Hayes was president, African Americans were forced to return to the seat of powerlessness. Under the reign of White power African Americans were pushed into a social status that differed legally from slavery. In 1877, northern capitalists in compromise with southern conservatives segregated and disenfranchised African American education (Carnoy, 1974).

The ten years that followed the Southern reconstruction efforts state funds allocated equally for White and Black for public education were were redistributed (Carnoy, 1974). Dubois described the years between 1877 until 1890 the period of enforced ignorance (Carnoy, 1974). One third of African American school aged children attended school for only 100 days each year. Redemption was the point in which Northern and Southern Whites reached a political compromise based upon the superiority of whiteness. During the redemption (1877) (post reconstruction era) to the rise of southern Populism (1890s), state educational expenditures were kept low and any efforts to increase taxes were blocked by White counties legislation of local taxes.

During this period poor white children were regarded as collateral damage, having to deal with the adverse effects of the post-reconstruction racialized education. African American families endured the brunt of the multi-prong assault on education. Ideology which purported Black inferiority was propagated through the unholy alliance between southern conservatives, northern and southern philanthropists, and authenticated and disseminated through the Hampton. This union based African American education upon three factors.

First, education for African Americans was dependent upon the educational demands of whites. Second, funds were distributed unequally, in that schools for African Americans received less funding even when taxation was leveled. Finally, limited funds were first and foremost distributed to poor white communities. The general consensus in the hearts and minds white politicians and officials regarding African American schooling was that it was a misuse and utter waste of resources (Carnoy, 1974).

The institutionalization of chattel slavery and its proliferation of knowledge that construed African American intellectual capacities as limited were revived during the post-reconstruction era. Remnants of the seasoning process were re-invented and resurrected in Jim Crow schools.

Accommodationist ideological constructs which portrayed education for African American's as dangerous and immoral dominated public discourse. Educated Blacks considered social liabilities whose existence threatened the natural social order (J. Anderson, 1988; Carnoy, 1974).

The morphing of African American education did not go unnoticed and uncontested. W.E.B. Dubois is the most noted scholar to wage fierce battles against accommodationist style education. Less known outside of academic circles are the combined efforts of African American scholars through the American Negro Academy (ANC). The ANC was founded in 1897 by Alexander Crummell who was educated in England and influenced by Dubois. The Academy's objectives were to defend African American citizens against physical attack; to develop an oppositional body of scholarly knowledge, and counteract the accommodationist ideology with the cultivation of an appreciation for higher education. Throughout its existence, ANC membership included Dubois, Francis Grimke, Carter G. Woodson, John Hope and Alain Locke. The Academy published a series of occasional papers that positioned its members' efforts within the broader spectrum of resistance.

The Period of Restitution

Jim Crow's separate but equal doctrine led to the steady decline of African American education. African American teacher shortages, salary disparities and insufficient school buildings were persistent problems (Morgan, 1995). African Americans developed a strategic approach to obtain education in which they would assume the lion's share of the financial responsibility. The personal narrative of Leroy Lovelace provides insight into the conditions of Jim Crow schools and the African American continued value of education.

My experiences in Brewton, Alabama, could have extinguished my interest in learning, but they made me all the more determined to get an education. I began school in Brewton in the little public school in the farm community where my family lived. Before my father purchased his own home, we had to walk quite a distance to school. The bus would come and pick up the white kid who lived across the street for us. The bus would pass us on the way to pick him up, turn around, pass us again before taking him to school. Even though my mother tried to explain why he could ride and we couldn't, as a child I never fully understood why. Despite the inconvenience, Mother faithfully insisted that we go to school every

morning, whatever the weather - cold, rain, or sleet. On rainy days we would be soaked by the time we got to school because it took us an hour and a half to get there. The school was a one-room building. Actually it wasn't a school; it was a church with one teacher who taught everybody. We sat on uncomfortable wooden benches that our parents had made and wrote in our laps. There were no desks or anything. One teacher had to deal with six grades, seven, eight, or nine students at each level. She had her job cut out for her, but she struggled through it and was demanding of each of us. At the time, I just thought this was the way it was supposed to be. We were educated as well as we could be under the circumstances. Some of us went to college and became teachers. (Foster, 1997, p. 49)

In 1912, African American schools received a spiritual and financial boost by the Rosenwald foundation. Julius Rosenwald established the fund to support the construction of schools that used the Tuskegee model for African American children (J. Anderson, 1988; Morgan, 1995). Rosenwald construction grants ignited grassroots organization and efforts in which African American parents pooled their funds and resources to build schools. Though

the grants were available African Americans families shouldered the burden of building and maintaining schools for their children. In 1926, Dubois as quoted in Morgan (1995) lamented over the prevailing inequities that plagued African American education in spite of the Rosenwald support.

The Negro finds even greater discrimination, in the matter of school building; the Negro ... is denied permission to vote such schools into being ... and the white qualified elector votes one for himself and quits ... but taxes the Negro to pay for the white man's school ... And in this way comes the Negro's second tax ... the 'Rosenwald School,' a liability to the Negro instead of an asset; since having already paid general tax to help build the white school, he must now take his own private funds (Morgan, 1992, p. 76).

The devastation of the Great Depression dried the resources available to African American education. Parents no longer able to shoulder double taxation were forced to withdraw or reduce support of schools. As a result many African American schools sank into despair.

Dilapidated schools, inadequate materials and underpaid teachers made for ripened conditions for social change. Charles Hamilton Houston, a brilliant attorney

known in history as the man who killed Jim Crow laid the foundation for *Brown vs. Board*. His ingenuity was that he was able to rally the African American community around educational discrimination. To do this Houston produced a film that documented the deplorable conditions of Black schools throughout the South.

Houston's primary goal was not education, rather the elimination of Jim Crow in the undoing of its protective laws. A professor and Dean of Howard's law school Houston initiated a frontal attack on Jim Crow by bringing together a group of lawyers who were adept in their professions and committed to community/social transformation. Following Houston's lead this group became an oppositional force that set legal precedence in order to prepare arguments for a case that would rock the nation.

To Houston discrimination in education was symbolic of the drastic and subtle forms of discrimination that afflicted African Americans throughout the nation. He believed that the insufficient material and substandard buildings were no accident but part of an elaborate plan by America's white citizenry to maintain a strict social hierarchy. As noted, Houston's documentation of the dismal conditions of African American education sparked an

important shift in African American schools sparked a shift in African American education.

With its ruling on *Brown vs Board*, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the separate but equal doctrine, but did little to block de facto separate but equal mindsets. Community-based adult educational efforts by institutions such as Highlander Folk School in Tennessee (now Highlander Education and Research Center), Highlander Citizenship Schools and the Freedom schools became the (epoch) centers of transformation in African American education.

Septima Clark, as the director of workshops at Highlander, Esau Jenkins, community activist and organizer of the first school on Johns Island, S.C. and Bernice Robinson, one of the Citizen Schools' first teachers were the primary leaders in the Citizenship School movement. The Citizenship Schools used Highlander's participatory approach to teach ordinary folk the skills and methods need for them to participate in public life (Clark, 1996; Evans and Boyte, 1986; Kennedy, 1981).

Responding to the failure of earlier literacy efforts that had relied on infantile curricula and elementary school pedagogy, Citizenship Schools begin with the problems blacks encountered in daily life and then linked the learning of practical skills to issues of

political power and students' capacity to participate in all phases of public life. In order not to discourage students from articulating their own concerns, the Citizenship Schools rejected whites and persons trained to teach in public schools as teachers (Perlstein, 1990, p. 308).

These schools began on the South Carolina Sea Islands and branching into a regional movement, Citizenship Schools taught African American adults the skills necessary to pass state literacy exams required to vote (Clark, 1996). When the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) became the umbrella organization for the Citizenship Schools, the schools became a critical catalyst for the Civil Rights Movement (Evans and Boyte, 1986; Highland Folk School and Research Center, 2004).

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in partnership with the Council of Federated Organizations had at its core programming a network of freedom schools (Perlstein, 2002). The integrative focus of the Citizenship Schools differed radically from the transformative intent of the Freedom Schools. The freedom schools focused on young adults and accepted whites as to bring attention to the movement. SNCC's success with the Freedom vote increased political participation by igniting

robust movement that brought thousands of activists to Mississippi. Young people between the ages of 4-25 came to be educated in a way that public schools could or would not do in the summer of 1964. Organizers selected Mississippi because education was far worse there than any other place in America. Schooling conditions stifled intellectual curiosity and worked to repress Black consciousness (Perlstein, 1990, 2002). In preparation for Mississippi Freedom Summer organizers turned to grassroots models such as Highlander, Highlander's Citizenship Schools and others.

The Mississippi Freedom Summer project recruited university and experientially trained educators to teach in their schools. Before traveling to Mississippi, teachers were required to attend a week long orientation studying pedagogical styles, history and the culture of the community situated in real life scenarios. Throughout Mississippi over 2000 individuals in 40 plus schools were educated in the Summer Project. The curriculum had overtly political intent engaged students in the process of self-reflection and community analysis. A teacher in a Freedom school, Florence Howe, described the student/teacher interaction and overall democratic approach to learning:

In your class, your teacher sat with you ... The teacher is not to be an omnipotent, aristocratic dictator,

substitute for the domineering parent or the paternalistic state. He is not to stand before rows of students, simply pouring pre-digested, precensored information into their brains. (Perlstein, 1990, p. 317)

Schools such as Highlander and the Freedom Schools used non-traditional educational techniques and strategies to provide counter-knowledge that fed and sustained the emergence of a mature consciousness. Students of the Freedom Schools having been transformed by community based silos of resistance integrated colleges and universities as subject resistors. These students were prepared to challenge institutionalized ethnocentrism and attack racist policies. They demanded the inclusion of African and African American history, and sought to institutionalize these courses through the creation of African American Studies programs.

In the community, political thought brought forth overt educational resistance in the suspicion of formalized education. Sentiments posited by Grier and Cobb (1968) defined educational resistance, "education has never offered a significant solution to the black (wo)man's dilemma in America" (p. 135). Based on these views the re-conceptualization of education was paramount in the Black

power movement of the 1960s and 70s. In the mid-1960s, Huey Newton, on behalf of the Black Panther Party, introduced the 10-Point Platform for African American liberation. In it the Panthers demanded an education that exposed American hypocrisy, the inclusion of African and African American history and an expanded discussion of the roles of contemporary African Americans in present day society.

Oppositional values like those advocated for by Newton shaped the qualities of a "successful" Black student. Successful African American students during the Black Power movement were characterized by their academic astuteness and were worthy of peer and community respect. These individuals were socially consciousness and committed to the struggle liberation (Williamson, 1999). "He or she conformed to the physical, psychological, and behavioral conceptions of Blackness and then translated those concepts into activism on campus" [and in the community] (Williamson, 1999, p. 103). College going and graduation patterns mirrored for African American students enrolled in historically and predominately white institutions during the Civil Rights era (Williamson, 1999).

Post-desegregation and re-segregation eras were characterized by dramatic shifts in African American

education. Knowledge constructed within the structures of the African American oppositional tradition was marginalized with renewed hegemony spearheaded by traditional education and its schools:

Schools as the primary agency through which social control and cohesion are promoted and youth are imbued with codes of conduct and social values that help ensure the stability of the status quo. Predominantly White institutions of higher education reflected this ethos through the courses they offered, the promotion of competitiveness and individualism, the type of structure of their student organizations, the perpetuation of status-quo theories and world views, and through their institutional structures.

(Williamson, 1999, p. 101)

The political climate of the late 1970s and 80s redefined the qualities of a successful African American student:

A successful student in such a context focused on academics, not along with his or her classmates, participated in campus life through various student organizations, and above all, did not 'buck the system' but accepted the authority of professors and administrators. The purpose of higher education in this view was to generate middle-class Americans with

middle-class (that is, White) values who accepted the existing social order [and cultural arrogance].

(Williams, 1999, p. 102)

The respective legacies of the Citizenship and Freedom schools stems from curriculum and pedagogical methods designed address the specific needs of historically disenfranchised groups. The socio-political and economic accomplishments made by African Americans between 1965 and 1975 are characterized by Marable (1991) as the second reconstruction. Affirmative action provided access to educational opportunities for record numbers of African Americans. The year, 1976, marked the decline in African American education as an articulation of resistance as set forth in during the antebellum and reconstruction eras.

The Relevance of Higher Education for African Americans

Historically, post-secondary education has been held an esteemed position in African American cultural development. The ex-slaves efforts to obtain formalized education in the reconstruction era had as their goals the achievement of a college education in order to create leaders. Particularly high during the post-reconstruction and industrial eras were polemic discussions waged by African Americans who were college educated. Their work,

in direct opposition of hegemonic ideology worked to establish and maintain an oppositional body of knowledge.

A fierce proponent and critic of post-secondary education, W.E.B. Dubois, analyzes of higher education have been the most influential in shaping the African American's perspective on the role of higher education in African Americans cultural development. This was true even though analyses penned by Dubois during the earlier phase of his conceptual development are encumbered by elitist prostrations of the talented tenth concept. Later in life, he would express the infeasibility of the concept. However, in his extensive discussion of education he articulated and formulated African American traditional faith in higher education.

In a public speech at his beloved Fisk University, W.E.B. Dubois (1973b), chided the administration and board of trustees for implementing policies that impeded the school from emerging as a core site for the intellectual development and preparation of students as social change agents. "The Negro race needs colleges", he implored, "...today as never before; but we do not need colleges so much that we can sacrifice the manhood and womanhood of our children to the thoughtlessness of the North or the prejudice of the South" (p. 59).

Dubois' analysis underscores the ideological principles represent African American's traditional faith in higher education (J. Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1967; Watkins, 2001a). Dubois issued a challenge to the officials at Fisk University to re-align with its founding principles of freedom, self-determination and truth in order to exemplify the educational idealism that the enslaved African Americans passed from one generation to the next.

Freedom, self-determination and truth as African American educational values were set apart by Dubois as characteristics of a great university. In discussing the importance of the first characteristic or value, freedom, Dubois utilized the metaphorical statement spirit of freedom. The best universities of higher learning, according to Dubois, should have a proclivity for acts of freedom which are implicit in the spirit of freedom. A spirit of freedom is progressive in its inspiration and indulgence of students' action on behalf of freedom.

Critical educator, Paulo Freire (1995) many years after also used the statement freedom as action giving depth to Dubois' spirit of freedom. Freire (1995) positions the concept within the context of institutionalized oppression. According to Freire (1995)

the spirit of freedom cannot rest on the fear of freedom, whereby institutions of higher learning camouflages itself as a defender of freedom in its maintenance of the status quo, which works to choke or putdown acts of freedom. In fact, students should be encouraged to explore the inconsistencies and inequities of the world, and this intellectual curiosity should compel some social action.

The spirit of freedom cannot exist without the second characteristic as explained by Dubois, the ability to cultivate an awareness and desire to know oneself.

Students are in college for purposes of self-expression and experiment; to test their own wings to find ability and strengthen character, to learn self-control of freedom. (Dubois, 1973c, p. 47).

Implicit in Dubois' discussion is self-knowledge and/or self-determination as an integral and core component of praxis. Freire's (1995) contemporary analysis further links self-knowledge with praxis:

Manipulation, sloganizing, 'depositing,' regimentation, and prescription cannot be components of revolutionary praxis, precisely because they are components of the praxis of domination. In order to dominate, the dominator has no choice but to deny true praxis to the people, deny them the right to say their

own word and think their own thoughts. He and she cannot act dialogically; for to do so would mean either that they had relinquished their power to dominate and joined the cause of the oppressed, or had lost that power through miscalculation. (p. 107)

Dubois (1973a) classification of the university as the epoch center where "knowledge of the past connects with the ideal of the future" couches his final characteristic. Truth, as stressed by Dubois represented the ontological experiences of all members of society, he stressed, "we say this glibly now, but we must remember that in every age while institutions of learning have accepted and taught certain parts of the truth there are other parts about which they have hesitated" (p. 49). For universities to attain the higher standards of universal truth, they must "face the fact that there are forces of advancement and uplift, that there are forces of evil and retrogression." Hence, the task of the educated [wo]man is "to find a way amid these difficulties" (p. 49).

His speech at Fisk University in 1924 was important in that it foreshadowed a sharp paradigmatic shift in Duboisian educational thought. After traveling to Russia two years later, an experience that would leave an indelible mark on his ideology, Dubois discarded assimilationist ideas.

Four years following the Russian experience, Dubois (1973c) gave a speech at Howard University that represented his growing interest in Marxist ideology.

As these progressive thoughts flowered, his conception of the "characteristics of a great university" remained stable throughout the rest of his life. Dubois could not contain his deep frustration with the college bred community. As his disillusionment and disappointment grew Dubois began to question education's beneficence. Making a marked turn away from previous views Dubois began to implicate higher education as a structure of dominance.

Moreover, and perhaps for this very reason, the ideals of colored college-bred men have not in the last thirty years been raised an iota. Rather in the main, they have been lowered. The average Negro undergraduate has swallowed hook, line, and sinker, the dead bait of the white undergraduate, who, born in an industrial machine, does not have to think, and does not think. Our college man today is, on the average, a man untouched by real culture. He deliberately surrenders to selfish and even silly ideas, swarming into semiprofessional athletics and Greek letter societies, and affecting to despise scholarship and the hard grind of study and research ...

We have in our colleges a growing mass of stupidity and indifference ... Acquiring as we do in college no guidance to a broad economic comprehension and a sure industrial foundation, and simultaneously a tendency to live beyond our means, and spend for show, we are graduating young men and women with an intense and overwhelming appetite for wealth and no reasonable way of gratifying it, no philosophy for counteracting it. (Dubois, 1973c, p. 125)

In 1933, Dubois returned to Fisk to deliver a speech that would divorce him ideologically from integrationist philosophy. Indicative of this philosophy was Dubois' view that the African American college educated should return to the community as a partisan, self-determined servants of the community who use their skills in a partially subversive manner. When the college educated did become public servants on behalf of African American people hood Dubois began to question the external forces that shape the university's ability to cultivate self-determination for social responsibility in its students. He posited,

"the university must become not simply a center of knowledge but a center of applied knowledge and guide of action ... If the college does not thus root itself in the group life and afterward apply its knowledge

and culture to actual living, other social organs must replace the college in this function (p. 96).

As Dubois' socialist perspective blossomed into other academic circles, Carter G. Woodson (1990) publicly attacked the veracity of higher education for its miseducation of African Americans. Unapologetically, Woodson (1990) in his book entitled the fourth chapter, The Educated Negro Leaves the Masses. This chapter sets forth the idea that the most striking failure of higher education is the African Americans disconnect from the community. Woodson who was critical of both industrial and classical approaches agreed that education cultivated estrangements between the so-called educated and non-educated, "the very people upon whom they must eventually count for carrying out a program of progress" (p. 35).

Dubois' three characteristics as presented and discussed in this section supplied the cultural marrow on which African American's traditional faith and expectation of higher education was based. Embedded in his discussion is struggle between the internalization of hegemonic and oppositional values of education. The former works to maintain the status quo whereas the latter seeks to humanize those who have been systematically disenfranchised. Clearly, if higher education is to be

liberating it must take into account the specifics principles and values which have historical value.

Chapter Summary

Chapter two was a historiography which revisions African American education in three distinct periods, antebellum, redemption and restitution periods. All were examined closely in order to ascertain the tensions between opposing parties and perceptions which determined African American education. The antebellum eras centered on the education in slavocracy to overtly establish socio-cultural control over Black people and to legitimate the power hierarchy. The redemption period spanned the time period between the reconstruction and Jim Crow/post-reconstruction eras, emphasized in these eras is the culmination of hegemonic influences that institutionalized education as a controlling cultural process. The final phase, restitution period, encompassed the Civil Rights and post-Civil Rights when the manifestation of an African American oppositional consciousness actualized education as an articulation of resistance. The chapter ends with a brief discussion on the historical relation and its significance of higher education, as conceived by Africans Americans.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Knowledge is power relative to social justice, because knowledge guides and equips to identify, name, question, and act against the unjust; consequently, we unsettle another layer of complicity.

(Madison, 2005, p. 6)

Introduction

Chapter three begins with a rationale for a critical epistemology, followed by an introduction of critical ethnography as the research design, research procedures and processes. For organizational purposes the chapter is divided into six topical sections:

- Critical ethnography
- Data collection procedures
- Description of the research sites, study size, and participants
- My Positionality as a Critical Race Pedagogist
- Verification and trustworthiness

Assessing the 'Critical' in Critical Ethnography

A methodological component of research in the development of knowledge is an inherently political task. This research is no exception. It is grounded in the belief that education and schooling for African Americans has been both empowering and disempowering. Hence, the main motivation for this research was to explore the educational experiences of African American who were enrolled in an African Americans and Education course. Embedded in the research purpose is the explicit intent to reconstruct the emancipatory qualities of education to assist African Americans students in their schooling and life journey. The following guiding questions emerged for the research agenda:

- What experiences and conceptualizations do African American students undergo as they engage in a course which utilizes transformative education techniques and strategies?
- What are the dynamics of resistance as African American students participate in a process of conceptualization whose intent is to re-position them as subjects?
- Have conceptualizations of, and improved sense of self efficacy within, higher education occurred for those students who completed the course?

The nature of the guiding questions situated the research at the level of the participants lived experiences. These experiences which are communicated as "truth claims" (Carspecken, 1996) are the perceptions, feelings and beliefs indicating that something is right or wrong, true or false, good or bad, right or wrong from the point of view of the participants. According to Carspecken (1996) truth claims are presupposed from three ontological categories which include subjectivity, objectivity and normative-evaluative claims.

Subjective claims consist of information to which only the individual is aware. Objective claims are based on the external validation. Normative-evaluative claims, according to Carspecken (1996) are:

... an ontological category presupposed by all meaningful action. It consists of truth claims about what behavior is proper, appropriate, and conventional. Normative evaluative claims can always be articulated as 'should claims'; people should act in such and such ways at such and such times.

Normative-evaluative claims thus concern the nature of our world rather than 'the' world or 'my' world. (p. 83)

Normative-evaluative truth claims communicate the range of meanings and positions within individual social action or perception. According to Carspecken (1996) norms defined by their rule-like qualities results from linguistic constrictions. Behavioral and/or conceptual position taking is derived from a range of meanings shaped by expectations and ideas of normalcy. Hence, in the act of position taking individuals draw upon social norms impregnated with cultural meaning. Broadly defined norms are culturally formalized structures of meaning (Carspecken, 1996).

The articulation of normative evaluative claims is an intrinsically cultural act which requires the researcher take an intersubjective approach to gain an understanding of the give claim in the same ways as the participants (Carspecken, 1996; Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000). Critical epistemology provides researchers with the conceptual maps and processes to comprehend and articulate the discursive positionalities that inform the participants' claims (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000).

At its foundation, critical epistemology has a relational understanding of power and perceptions of truth. There are no prescriptions for liberation. Rather it provides researchers with a set of holistic principles for

inquiry designed to delve into the complexity of the human experience. Carspecken's (1996) identifies three principles which epitomize critical epistemology.

First, critical epistemology is conscious of the relationships between "power and research claims, power and validity claims, power and culture, power and thought" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 9). Second, critical epistemology makes apparent the fact/value distinction, particularly mindful of their interaction. Finally, critical epistemology encompasses theories of symbolism which address how symbols are represented in reality and how historical context and power dynamics impact symbolic representation and change. The theoretical and methodological approach that best appropriates the guiding questions and research objective is critical ethnography.

Critical Ethnography

During the tumultuous 1960s and 70s, the American landscape was undergoing transformation. The academy was experiencing its own transformations in that boundaries demarking academic exclusivity were breached and distorted (Noblit et al., 2004). Out of these paradigmatic wars in the social sciences emerged critical ethnography.

As a result of its multifaceted origin there is no single definition of critical ethnography. Its definition and purpose are drawn from an expanded definition of critical qualitative inquiry. The leading proponents of critical ethnography, who have been critical theorists, appropriated the method as a means to conduct social critiques at the micro-level (Adkins and Gunzenhauser, 1999). Critical ethnography became the "doing" for critical theorists. Critical theory with its socio-political orientation, emphasis on historical contexts, and inclination toward issues of domination has been the major theoretical frame informing critical ethnographic inquiry (Adkins and Gunzenhauser, 1999; Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2005; Thomas, 1993).

Others have introduced the concept of "mindful inquiry" (Patton 2002) as a way to explicate the expanded definitions of qualitative inquiry used to study complex human phenomena. Mindful inquiry is a synthesis of multiple theoretical approaches in an attempt to better grasp the complexity of human socio-cultural action and/or phenomena being studied.

From phenomenology they take the focus on experience and consciousness. From hermeneutics they take the focus on texts, on the process of understanding, and

on letting new meanings emerge from the research process. (Patton, 2002, p. 134).

Noblit, et.al. (2004), in lieu of a single definition, insists that critical ethnography is demarcated by the explanations and analyses of individual and group scholars, "and how these lives interpenetrated the many ideas" (p. 4) that make up critical ethnography. These dialogues have shaped three underlying beliefs and values to structure an operational definition of critical ethnography. Critical ethnographers agree that:

1) research in all of its forms or variations is politically laden with value; 2) critical ethnographers share core values and political intents, represented broadly by: critical social theory; their collective opposition to forms of domination, oppression and exploitation; and their common will to transform those forms into more emancipatory relations; 3) the research process is collaborative in that the researcher and the research[ed] must construct knowledge, hence the researcher is not solely responsible for, or in control of, the process and outcomes of the inquiry. (Adkins and Gunzenhauser, 1999, p. 66).

In education, critical ethnography was influenced by the "new sociology of education", in its forefront were neo-Marxist, feminist and interpretivist anthropology (Anderson, 1989; Jordan & Yeomans, 1995; Noblit et al., 2004). From the "new sociology of education" came criticism of positivism as the foremost mode of inquiry in education. Leading up to the rise were neo-Marxist and interpretative ethnographers admonishment of positivism's inability to explain "political inherency" (Noblit et al., 2004, p. 9). Educational ethnographers influenced by interpretivism placed conceptual distance between themselves and functionalist reliance upon positivism. Positivists critiqued the ideological criticism of neo-Marxist's (critical theory) as idealism which lacked the ability to produce empirical research (Noblit et.al., 2004). Positivist charged that interpretive ethnography was atheoretical and relativistic (Noblit et.al, 2004).

Critical theory and interpretive ethnography as oppositional educational paradigms struggled for legitimacy in its early years. From the margins critical theorist alleged that interpretive ethnography in education was atheoretical with limited generalizability. Interpretive ethnographers viewed critical theory as abstract and cumbersome. However, commonality was found in each due to

vested interests in the issues that pertained to the less powerful. Thus, critical ethnography in education garnered its power from the contentious marriage of convenience between critical theory and interpretive ethnography (Noblit et.al, 2004). Noblit et.al. (2004) explains the conditions of the marriage:

... critical theory's claim to 'objective reality and its determinate representation' and interpretive ethnography's claim that all knowledge, including critical theory, is socially constructed. The former accepted the latter's view to the extent that it embraced 'situated knowledge'; the latter accepted the former's view to the extent that it accepted the centrality of power and ideology in social constructions. (Noblit et al., 2004, p. 3)

Critical ethnography in education does not stand in opposition to conventional ethnography. Conversely, it broadens relational horizons of knowledge in tandem with socio-political action (Thomas, 1993). As conceptual siblings critical and conventional ethnography share many principles, intersecting at key points. Each shares a fundamental belief that all acts of research are political and value-laden. Conventional and critical ethnographers are conjoined by the requirement of "systematic

intellectual or personal involvement" with participants (Thomas, 1993, p. 46).

Characteristically situated at the micro-level or lived experience of the participants, conventional and critical ethnography demystify processes whereby cultural repression occurs (Thomas, 1993). Both rely on traditional ethnographic methods to gather and interpret data. Accordingly, both operate by the convention of ethnographic methods, and adhere to symbolic interactionist paradigm (Thomas, 1993).

There are some distinguishing epistemological features which differentiate critical from conventional ethnography. Critical ethnographers were the first to break from conventional ethnographic research stances in education, charging that conventional studies did too little to challenge the status quo (Thomas, 1993). Fine's (1994) taxonomy of researcher stances illustrates the implicitly political and purposeful differences between critical and conventional ethnography. She sorts qualitative researchers into three categorical stances: the "ventriloquist", the "voice", and the "activist." The ventriloquist engages the research process as a neutral observer whose findings are detached from any political or rhetorical stance. Ventriloquist narratives using the

language of empowerment disguise the ambiguity of the informants' cultural lives suspended in one-dimensional space isolated from socio-political or historical antecedents. As the objective observer, the ventriloquist researcher gives no indications of positional privilege or political interest.

The second research stance differentiated by Fine (1994) is "voice". The voice stance is characterized by a commitment to counter-hegemonic discourse that influences institutional and sociological change. Voice narratives situate informants as subjects in the research as a means of empowerment. However, the transformative abilities of the voice stance are procedurally undermined in the collection, translation and dissemination of "other" voices. Fine (1994) presents the ethical dilemma of the voices stance to research:

While researchers, particularly White feminists, need to worry about the imperialistic history of qualitative research that we have inherited and to contain the liberal impulse to 'translate for' rather than 'with' women across chasms of class, race, sexualities, politics, living arrangements, et. The refusal to theorize reflects either a form of theoretical condescension or hyper-protocol reserved

only for Others with whom serious intellectual work and struggle are considered somehow inappropriate. (p. 21)

Fine's (1994) circumspection does not minimize the rich and powerful research contributions from the voices stances. Rather, the pervasiveness of "othering" within the hierarchy of power and domination makes it necessary to consider the interplay of positionality and privilege in the research process. Both researched and researchers' voices are influenced and defined by colonization and imperialism (Jordan and Yeomans, 1995). For Fine (1994), the voice stance in accordance with its underlying transformative values must consciously disarm "ideologies that justify power inequities" (p. 24).

Building on this premise of social and institutional transformation, Fine (1994) presents the final research stance, the activist. She argues that the activist researcher seeks to "unearth, interrupt and open new frames for intellectual and political theory and practice (p. 23). Activist research concerns itself with breaching the culture of silence in its exposition of ideologies that maintain unjust power hierarchies. Activist research focuses on what "could be" by de-normalizing "what is". To accomplish these goals, activist research is primarily

participatory in that value is placed on transformative knowledge constructed within the context of social change.

The differential veins which distinguish critical from conventional ethnographic research rest in purpose. Critical ethnography configured from the tenets of emancipatory/liberation theories are dialectically opposed to systems of domination. Critical ethnographers were the first to move away from ventriloquism normalized in conventional ethnography. Like conventional ethnographers, criticalists probe questions which ask "what is", but more importantly seek to reveal "what can be" (Thomas, 1993). The foremost intent is to elevate the oppression of historically marginalized people/groups (Adkins and Gunzhauser, 1999; Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2005; Noblit et al., 2004; Thomas, 1993). Therefore, the dual purpose of critical ethnographic research is to raise the conscious awareness of both the researcher and researched for social transformation (Hyttén, 2005).

Distinctive to critical ethnography is its use of reflexivity and dialogue as interloping research tasks. Reflexivity in the critical ethnographic process is a dialectical dance between the researcher's interpretations, the participants' existential constructs, and the researcher's biases, data, socio-political, structural and

historical antecedents which influence the phenomena being studied (Anderson, 1989; Thomas, 1993). The process of reflexivity allows the researcher to sort through the processes of oppression with the goal of suggesting ways to resist objectification (Thomas, 1993).

Dialogue in critical ethnography allows the researcher to speak to specific audiences on behalf of research participants. Dialogue in critical ethnography reframes the interviewer-interviewee dialogical binary into a democratizing process. The researcher as facilitator engages the participants in dialogue as co-inquirers. Perceived in this way, participants viewed as the authority, and are thereby affirmed and empowered by the experience.

Critical ethnography in the field of education has not gone without scrutiny of its blatant contradictions which are in part caused by its epistemological and theoretical convergences. Anderson (1989) explains:

Critical ethnography in the field of education is the result of the following dialectic: On the one hand, critical ethnography has grown out of the dissatisfaction with social accounts of 'structures' like class, patriarchy, and racism in which real human actors never appear. On the other hand, it has grown

out of the dissatisfaction with cultural accounts of human actors in which broad social constraints like class, patriarchy, and racism never appear. (p. 249) He adds, "critical ethnography with its orientation toward subjectivity ... is", characterized as "openly ideological research", the apparent contradiction of such value-based research with traditional definitions of validity" makes critical ethnography skeptical to other ethnographers and researchers (Anderson, 1989, p. 253).

Paradigmatic contradictions, overt orientation toward subjectivity, political posturing and value-based research distinctive to critical ethnography have been the source of criticism and ongoing debate. Heavy criticism was leveled against critical ethnography in the 1980s when critical theory and ethnography were charged as hegemonic, in its proliferation of patriarchy, individualism, whiteness and Eurocentrism (Noblit et al., 2005). Critics charged critical ethnography as unwittingly "reproducing positivist and functionalist theories by negation", in as much that it "reinscribed individualism, and the Right's critique of liberalism" (Noblit, et al., 2005, p.15). These and other problematic issues including intersectionality of race, gender and class and positionality continue to plague

critical ethnography. These issues are currently being hotly debated within and outside of critical circles.

In light of the aforementioned issues and ongoing criticism of validity and trustworthiness this research utilized Carspecken's (1996) five stage model to implement the research. The Carspecken (1996) model is a scientific approach to implement critical qualitative research. The model grounded in the principles of critical epistemology provides continuity and organization. Foremost, the critical ethnographic methodological process begins with feelings of ethical and personal responsibility to redress injustices marred by the normalcy of oppression manifested in a particular lived domain (Madison, 2005).

Critical Ethnographic Procedures

The Carspecken model is a systematic guide for the implementation of critical ethnographic research. The specific implementation of the Carspecken (1996) model for this research will be discussed in the current chapter under the topical heading *data collection procedures*. The initial discussion is put forth to outline the overarching concepts and procedures structuring the methodological procedures.

The first stage of critical ethnographic process begins with the construction of the primary record compiled

from monological data. As with conventional ethnographic methods, field notes should consist of observation of natural social interaction, documented in notebooks, audio tapes or videotapes.

The second stage of the methodological procedure is marked by the start of reconstructive analysis. Reconstructive analysis in critical ethnography assists the researcher in the articulation of unobservable cultural themes and implicit system factors. Carspecken (1994) explains:

Putting previously unarticulated factors into linguistic representation is 'reconstructive': it takes conditions of action constructed by people on non-discursive levels of awareness and reconstructs them linguistically. (p. 93-94)

The reconstructive process is recursive "movement from the tacit (intuitive and undifferentiated) toward the explicit (delineated and differentiated) and then back to the holistic (Carspecken, 1996, p. 95). Reconstructive analysis is significant because it allows the researcher to sort, identify and reconstruct probable meanings of an idea, concept or action of which the participants may at the very least be tacitly aware (Korth, 2003).

Reconstructed content analysis consists of two methodological procedures: preliminary and pragmatic horizons analyses. The preliminary phase begins as the researcher teases out general concepts documented in the primary record. In essence, the preliminary reconstructive analysis is interplay between the researcher's low-level coding and meaning reconstruction.

Meaning speculations require that the researcher assume an intersubjective position in the conceptualization of the claim, perspective, or act communicated by the participants. Initial meaning reconstructions are formed by the researcher's speculations of the underlying meanings behind tactical and holistic (inter)actions.

The researcher's preliminary meaning speculations largely fashioned from the thick descriptors documented in the primary record. Voice intonations, facial expressions, posture, gesture, timing and other forms of implicit communications should be suppositions in the construction of meaning. The researcher's speculative meanings are documented in the file as meaning fields.

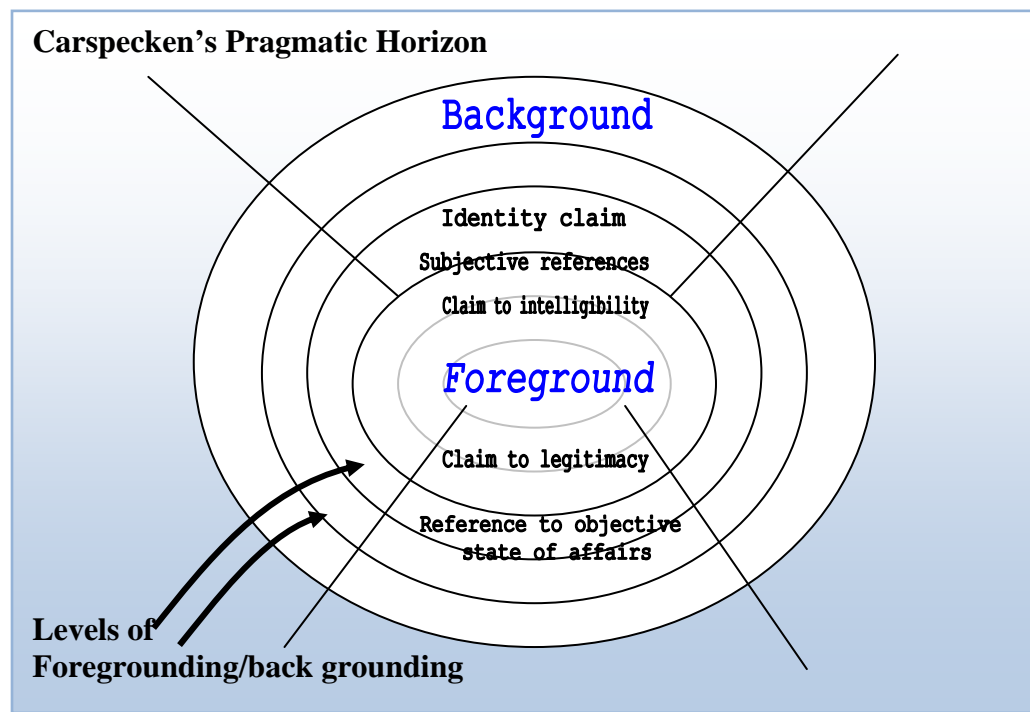
Meaning fields are analytical and substantive concepts which attempt to articulate underlying meanings communicated by participants through a particular act or truth claim. At the root of meaning reconstruction is the

belief that truth claims and actions are impregnated with a myriad of perceptions, some of which participants may be only tactically aware (Carspecken, 1996; Korth, 2003). Truth claims and corresponding actions are established upon culturally accepted rules of engagement determined by what is right, wrong, good or bad. Carspecken (1996) posits that perceptions which constitute truth claims originate from five major categories within the horizon of meanings: 1) claims that the act is intelligible, 2) claim of legitimacy or appropriateness, 3) subjective claims, 4) identity claims, and 5) objective claims (Carspecken, 1996).

The second phase of the reconstructive process necessitates a meticulous analysis which allows the researcher to probe deeply into the range of meaning embedded in the horizon of meanings. By synthesizing the phenomenological study of perception and Habermas' pragmatic theorizing Carspecken (1996), gave shape to "pragmatic horizon" as a methodological concept. The pragmatic horizon concerns itself with the reveal and interpretation of perception impregnated with possible meaning. The researcher taking an intersubjective perspective brings into focus the existential ambiguities to reveal subjective, objective and possible normative-

evaluative claims. To penetrate the range of meanings horizon, Carspecken (1996) developed the perceptual horizon as a content analysis tool. Carspecken (1996) explains, A perceptual horizon is understood to be a special case of a pragmatic horizon, according to this idea, because a perceptual object only becomes fully foregrounded when it is symbolized and therefore located within generalized contexts of possible communication. A perception is knowledge imparting only when it becomes a possible reference in communicative acts. (Carspecken, 1996, p. 103)

Figure 1:



Pragmatic horizons are scaffold by initial meaning speculations teased from primary data, and substantiated by the dialogical data collected in the third stage. The horizons of meanings are constructed to apprehend possible subjective, objective and normative claims. As normative claims are brought into the foreground probable meanings are expanded on which interpretations can be based. These possible meanings, depending upon the focus of the researcher, are the basis for the systems analysis required in the fourth and fifth stages of the research process.

The third stage as presented by Carspecken (1996) involves the generation of the dialogical data. In critical ethnography, dialogical data is created when the researcher enters in meaningful and constructive dialogue with the participants. Dialogue is a democratizing process in the critical ethnography methodological procedure in that the participants speak directly to the findings and provide interpretation. In dialogue, the researcher and participants deconstruct interpretations and reconstruct plausible meanings.

In their own voices, the participants give shape to their experiences by communicating their feelings, interpretations, identity issues, fears and desires. Dialogical data may be generated from several sources:

qualitative interviews, researcher facilitated discussion groups or interpersonal process recall (IPR). Qualitative interviews may be semi-structured guided by a protocol that allows for maximum process flexibility.

The fourth stage of the critical ethnographic procedure involves the discovery and description of related systems. In stages one through three, the researcher is physically and conceptually situated in the immediate socio-cultural site of the participants. Stage four is marked by the researcher's conceptual shift into a larger conceptual frame of reference. What is discovered by the researcher in the immediate socio-cultural site is linked to surrounding social locations. Systems relations made in the fourth stage are then bridged to larger theoretical frames which mark the final phase of the critical ethnographic process.

According to Carspecken (1996) system analyzes may be "based on the actual physical movement of people or on cultural commodities and political documents" (p. 197). Therefore, linkages made in stage four become the conceptual foundations on which the researcher begins stage five. The fifth stage requires that the researcher assume a third person insider cultural perspective in the explanation of the findings.

The procedural conception of Carspecken's (1996) fifth stage is similar to theoretical triangulation in that it involves the use of multiple perspectives to interpret the same data. The generalized purpose of theoretical triangulation is to make obvious divergent perspectives on a particular phenomenon being studied (Patton, 2002). The fifth stage of the Carspecken (2000) model involves the discovery of socio-cultural theories which give deeper meaning to the reconstructions developed in the second and third stages of the process. In stage five the researcher makes macro-theoretical linkages that reveal environmental, economic and political conditions which have influenced the researcher's reconstructions.

Janesick (2000) puts forth the concept of crystallization as opposed to theoretical triangulation to articulate the complexities of what is witnessed in the social world. As a methodological concept, crystallization offers a "deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic" (p. 392). Crystallization involves the use of theoretical perspectives from varying disciplines to explain the cultural horizons of the research participants. In stage five of the critical ethnographic process the empirical abstractions articulated by the cultural group studied are crystallized with linked

with the culture of the research community (Carspecken, 2000; Janesick, 2000).

Data Collection Procedures

Critical ethnography was used in this study to explore the educational experiences of fifteen African Americans students enrolled in an African Americans and Education course. See *Table 1* for a procedural adaptation of the Carspecken model for this research. The course was offered from 2001-2006, at a large urban historically white post-secondary institution located in the mid-west.

Table 1

Critical Ethnographic Procedural Grid

Research Phase	Objectives	Methods
Phase(s) I & II:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruit research participants • Construct and analyze the primary record • Complete the initial triangulation of emergent themes and concepts • Develop possible meaning fields 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identified fifteen former students who completed the course with a "C" or better to participate in the research study • Complete the secondary analysis of non-research records including: students' coursework, teaching journals and informal communications. • Participants complete the online

		questionnaire <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Begin primary meaning reconstructive analysis
Phase III:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete comparative analysis of triangulated data from the primary and the dialogical data • Construct "pragmatic horizons" on triangulated concepts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schedule and compile data collected through the semi-structured interviews • Facilitate and compile the data collected from the (3) debriefing sessions • Transcribe and code interviews and debriefing data
Phase IV & V:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Systems analysis of the major conceptual themes emerged from the meaning reconstructions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resistance theory, historical data, education, critical theory, critical race theory

Recruitment

Having developed and taught the course, African Americans and Education from 2001-2006, I have remained in contact with former students. The nature and intensity of the course necessitated a faculty/student relation that transcended the classroom. As a result, students have

remained in contact with me providing updates on their schooling experiences and/or life's journey. These contacts provided a potential pool of participants interested in making up the purposeful research sample.

A list of thirty potential study participants was generated. These individuals were emailed participation invitations (appendix A). There was an overwhelming response to the invitation, in that more than twenty former students expressed interest in participating in the study. Conflicting commitments narrowed the sample to the desired number of fifteen. Fifteen participants (n=15) were mailed consent forms with postage paid envelopes. As soon as the consent forms were received participants began data collection activities.

Data Sources

In qualitative research triangulation makes divergent meanings transparent in the identification of how a phenomenon is perceived (Patton, 2002). Data triangulation involves the examination of data collected from different sources at different times as a validity cross-check (Patton, 2002). This study used the convergence of multiple data sources to make clear common themes

and/concepts. For an overview of the data sources used in the study see *Table 2*.

Table 2

Data Sources

Source:	Collection Method:	Consisting of:
Primary Record	Field experiences and observations, students' coursework and personal dialogues	Non-research related data including: teaching journals, student coursework, and personal notes collected over a 5 year period.
Questionnaire(s) - (Q)	Online twenty-two item questionnaire	Twenty two item questionnaire consisting of behavioral,
Interview(s)	Semi-structured audio taped interviews	1 - 1.5hr semi-structured interview(s) formed loosely around ten questions and responses from the questionnaire
Debriefing Circles (DC)	Three video-taped group discussions	3-4 hour dialogical sessions facilitated in my home.

Non-research Related Data

Non-research related data were included to constitute a portion of the primary record. Included in this data set were: my teaching journals, participants' graded assignments and informal dialogues. The journalistic field

notes were collected for 6-8 weeks over a ten week quarter for three consecutive years. After each class I wrote for approximately 15 to 30 minutes as a way to improve my understanding of what was happening in the classroom, improve pedagogy, document my own feelings and emotions. The thickly written journals included: verbatim classroom discussions, student body posturing descriptors and emphasis on low-inference communication. Written less thickly in the notes were overhead student conversations.

Other non-research related data incorporated students' completed coursework such as: student/student online discussions, student online journaling and skill development exercises including group research project (15-page research papers) and discussion facilitation (groups were developed and assigned the task of developing facilitation questions). Finally, the remaining non-research related data set included informal communications from students retelling their experiences in other classes or on campus and/or personal updates.

Questionnaire(s)

The second portion of the primary data set consisted of data generated from the online questionnaire. Upon receipt of the consent forms (see Appendix B) participants

were emailed numerical codes to access the online questionnaire (see Appendix C). The first part of the questionnaire consists of demographic or background questions in which participants are instructed to provide GPAs, class standing, etc.

The remainder of the questionnaire consists of 26-mixed type of open ended questions. According to Patton (2002), the purpose of an open-ended question is to enable understanding in the apprehension of the participants' perceptions and views without the infringement of predetermined categories. In addition, a combination of question types was used to ascertain a well-rounded view of the participants' perceptions of the course and overall college experience.

Included in the body of the questionnaire were: behavioral, opinion/value, and feelings/emotions types of questions (Patton, 2002). Behavioral questions were used to prompt participants' recall of observable actions or activities. Opinion/value questions were designed to elicit from the participants their thoughts about the course and overall college experiences. The feeling questions allowed participants to identify emotions and feelings experienced throughout their colligate experience.

Individual Interview(s)

I analyzed completed questionnaires identifying emergent themes while notating possible meanings. Insight generated from the questionnaire segued into the third phase of the data collection process: compilation of the dialogical data.

I constructed a question protocol (see Appendix D) aimed at encouraging participants to elaborate on the extent to which the course was meaningful. I conducted 15 semi-structured, audio-taped interviews which lasted between 1 to 1.5 hours. Individual Interviews were scheduled at a location and time convenient for the participants. Interviews were transcribed into an annotated and numbered transcript.

Debriefing Circles

I facilitated debriefing circles as another dialogical method. For the purposes of conceptual clarity debriefing circles are akin to focus groups. Both focus groups and debriefing circles share a collectivistic nature in which "the multivocality of participants' attitudes, experiences, and beliefs" are centralized in the dialogue (Madriz, 2000, p. 836). In the exchange of experiences and ideas a sense of empathy and camaraderie contributes to disclose of taken

for granted assumptions and suppressed feelings. Focus groups as multivocal sites of communication serve as public testimonies which raise awareness (Madriz, 2000).

Madriz's (2000) feminist/postmodernist essentializing of focus groups as multivocal sites for consciousness rising is also a critical component of debriefing circles. Importantly, unique to debriefing sessions is the engagement of critical reflexivity as a relational concept of praxis. Therefore, debriefing sessions are multivocal sites of communication in which collective knowledge construction has an emancipatory purpose.

Debriefing circles, modeled after Paulo Freire's (1995) circles of culture, are congruent with oral traditions within African and African American culture (Peavy, 2000; Stuckey, 1987). Peavy (2000) explains,

a circle of culture occurs when participants in a community meet in a circle to engage in dialogue. Active exchange takes place; meanings emerge or are seen to emerge, and problems identified by the community are critically examined in an attempt to solve them. (p. 69)

Dialogue functions as an aspect of participatory learning laying the groundwork for effective action planning (Hoff et al., 2001; Peavy, 2000).

Debriefing circles serve as democratizing tools in that the participants and I dialogically co-create and interpret knowledge. Circles allowed participants opportunity to explain in detail concepts and/or perceptions that I teased from the primary data source. Participants as "experts" give valuable insight, knowledge and information on possible meaning constructs. Throughout the dialogue latent questions of the participants' surface provoking a critical exchange of ideas.

For logistical purposes the study participants were offered three dates from which to choose first, second and least preferred days to participate in the debriefing circles. No more than six participants were assigned to any given circle. Circles lasted between three to four hours. Three circles were convened during the evening hours at my home (for a logistic scheme see Appendix E). In my home, I was able to create a sense of community, camaraderie and welcome conducive to the sharing ideas, beliefs and perceptions. To facilitate the development of such an atmosphere I prepared a home cooked West African meal for the circle participants.

Videotaping began slightly after dinner, prior to the large circle dialogue in an attempt to capture the rich one-on-one dialogue. Each circle took on the personality

and dynamics of the individuals who made up the groups. For example, I constructed a set of thematic questions (Appendix E) to stimulate dialogue. However, participants in one circle opted to begin with a go around in which each person was asked to introduce themselves, identify the year they completed the course and what have they been doing since the course ended.

The nature of debriefing sessions differs from focus groups in that individuals with shared experiences gather with a specific educational intent. Traditional group development protocol, such as storming, norming and performing did not occur. Many participants knew one other from other courses or around campus which created a sense of familiarity. Circle dialogues were free-flowing, vacillating in intensity from tearful reflections to rambunctious laughter. Active group dialogue lasted between 1.5 to 2 hours. After debriefing dialogues I immediately compiled and transcribed videotapes into annotated and numbered transcripts.

Data Analysis

Data collected for the purpose of the study was analyzed using Carspecken's (2000) five stage model.

Stage One - Analysis of the primary record

Stage one involved establishment of the primary record. For the study the primary record consisted of data from the non-research related activities and the questionnaires. Retrieval of the non-research related data consisted of many hours sifting through mounds of thickly written teaching journals, email files and Blackboard courses. The retrieved data was sorted into the three sub-categories: (1) teaching journals, (2) participants' informal communications and (3) participants' coursework. Handwritten materials were transcribed into an annotated and numbered transcript.

I conducted a secondary analysis of the non-research related data. Secondary analysis involved returning to the set of data collected for one another purpose with intent to re-examine a portion of the data in a more concise way or with a different theoretical lens (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). In the analysis process I paid close attention to the perceptions expressed by students, reactions to the course material, teacher and processes.

The remaining portion of the primary data set included the study participants' responses to the online questionnaires. The responses were lifted verbatim with corresponding question and compiled into an annotated and line numbered transcript.

Stage Two & Three - Meaning Reconstruction

Stage two consisted of both the speculative and punctilious horizon reconstructive analysis as a validity cross check. The data analysis process began with my examination of the primary record for key words and emerging themes while making meaning speculation. I developed a coding system which enabled organization and interpretation of the data. Simultaneously, I began to assign lower level meaning codes to the data teased from the primary record, in essence beginning the meaning reconstruction process.

Over sixty-five thematic concepts emerged from the primary data set. Data was coded and sorted into word processing files verbatim with line numbers and three to ten preliminary meaning speculations. Inclusion of the dialogical data collected in stage three revealed more concise normative and subjective inferences which gave indication of hidden modes of thought and actions.

The data was reexamined and triangulated. Triangulated data was re-coded with higher meaning inferences derived from the general concepts constructed in the horizon analyzes. Reorganized data was placed in the following five larger categories were created: (1)

education as liberation; (2) education as domination; (3) resistance (4) emotional responses; (5) awareness.

Sample Pragmatic Horizons of Data

The following dialogue is a portion of the teaching journal put forth to demonstrate a horizon analysis. The dialogue took place in the classroom.

[60] Pam: O.k. All right, there seems to be some
[61] problem. I'm sensing some anger,
[63] resistance, something. What's the deal
[64] yall? So, nobody is going to say
[65] anything? O.K. we'll sit here, until
[66] somebody, anybody decides to keep it
[67] real. Talk to me, I mean I'm really
[68] frustrated, because I don't know what's
[69] going on. Yall don't want to do the
[70] work, or what? I mean come on, yall
[71] talk all that crap about keepin' it
[72] real, and ain't nobody in here ...
[73] Student 1:What do you want us to say?
[74] Pam: Say what's on your minds. I mean, I
[75] want you, the class to try, just try.
[76] Seems like yall are refusing to read,
[77] engage the material, anything, and I
[78] don't understand why?

[79] Student 1:I don't know.

[80] Pam: You don't know what?

[81] Student 1:Naw, man I don't wanna jeopardize ...

[82] Pam: Go head, say what you need to say,

[83] because we've got to get through this.

[84] Student 1:Naw, man it seems like you want us to

[85] quit school or something.

[86] Pam: Drop out of school? Quit? Really?

[87] Student 1:Yeah.

[88] Pam: Wow, I'm trippin. But, I want to

[89] follow this. What would cause yall to

[90] think that I would want you or other

[91] students to drop out?

[92] Student 1:I don't know, but it seems like you

[93] don't believe in education or you think

[94] education is useless or something.

[95] Pam: What have I done to make yall think

[96] that? Now, other folk can help the

[97] brother out. No joke I'm not going to

[98] trip. I really want to work this thing

[99] out; because we can't move forward it's

[100] so thick in here. Yall can't tell me

[101] yall don't sense it.

[102]Student 1:Because you keep talk bout education,

[103] these readings talk about education is
[104] oppressive and stuff. I'm thinkin'..
[105] Pam: Go head ...
[106]Student 1:I'm thinking you shouldn't even be a
[107] teacher. I mean you got mass skills
[108] and stuff.
[109] Pam: Really? It's all good, go ahead. Why
[110] do you think that?
[111]Student 1:I mean you, this course be crushing
[112] people's dreams and stuff. I mean, I
[113] ain't saying that's what you set out to
[114] do, but it seems like it. I mean, for
[115] real, sometimes I leave this class
[116] thinking you ain't no different than
[117] the ___ on my block. No disrespect,
[118] but this class be pulling me down.
[119] Like I can't succeed, like I can't beat
[120] the system, but I can cause I'm here.
[121] Pam: That's how it feels? Wow. O.k.
[122]Student 2:Well, as for me, personally, I don't
[123] think it's that you don't want us to
[124] succeed. I mean you have a lot of
[124] degrees, so it's obvious you like
[125] school. But, I do feel like sometimes

[126] you wish we'd quit or something. I
[127] don't know.
[128]Student 3:I know what yall saying. It's like
[129] racism is everywhere, it's just apart
[130] of like. The 60s is over, ain't nobody
[131] holding no signs up no more. We are
[132] able to be here in school. I mean
[133] there's nothing we can do about how
[134] other people feel about us, and
[135] dwelling in the past only makes us mad,
[136] but it doesn't change anything.
[137]Student 2:Like she said, "isms" are apart of our
[138] life, school, apart of everything, but
[139] that's why we here. I mean that's why
[140] I'm here.
[141] Pam: I don't understand, that's why you
[142] here? Here to do what?
[143]Student 2:To learn, to show them I can do it,
[144] show them I can beat them at their own
[145] game.
[146]Student 3:Yeah, I mean if we ain't got education,
[147] then fuck it then we just doomed.

Pragmatic Horizon Meaning Reconstruction:

Dialogue Sample 1

"I don't know, but it seems like you don't believe in education or you think education is useless or something" (Teaching Journal, lines 92-94).

Possible subjective claims

Foregrounded, Immediate

"I am doing what is expected of me."

[AND/OR] "Continuing post-secondary study is a good decision."

Backgrounded, remote

"Higher education is beneficial."

[OR] "I am a good person for continuing my education."
(identity claim)

[OR] "Education makes me acceptable."

Possible objective claims

Highly backgrounded, remote, taken-for-granted

"Education is valuable."

[AND] "Education is beneficial for African Americans."

Possible normative-evaluative claims

Quite foregrounded, quite immediate

"People who continue their education are trying to better themselves."

Quite backgrounded

[AND/OR] "The benefits of education should not be questioned."

Dialogue Sample 2

"I'm thinking you shouldn't even be a teacher. I mean you got mass skills and stuff. (Teaching Journal, lines 106-108)

Possible subjective claims

Quite foregrounded, quite immediate

"Even though you have skill you should not teach."

Quite backgrounded

[AND/OR] "I have not made the wrong decision by choosing to continue my education."

Possible objective claims

Foregrounded, immediate

"Some people should not teach."

[AND] "Some teachers cannot teach."

[AND] "Skilled teachers are valuable."

[AND/OR] "Some teachers do not have the skills to teach."

Possible normative-evaluative

Quite foregrounded, quite immediate

"Having skills does not automatically equate to effective teaching."

[AND/OR] "Having skill is an important attribute of teachers, but it is not the most important teacher quality."

Backgrounded, remote - taken for granted

[AND/OR] "Teachers should believe that education is beneficent."

Backgrounded, remote

[AND/OR] "Good teachers should not teach against education."

Dialogue Sample 3

"Like she said, "isms" are apart of our life, school, apart of everything, but that's why we here. I mean that's why I'm here" (Teaching Journal, lines 137-140).

Possible subjective claims

Foregrounded, immediate

"I am going to beat oppression, because I am educated." (*identity claim*)

[AND/OR] "Since oppression is apart of our lives I must learn to deal with it."

Quite backgrounded, quite immediate

[AND/OR] "I cannot change the system."

[AND/OR] "I must learn to deal with oppression."

[OR] "I am powerless."

Possible objective claims

Foregrounded, immediate

"Oppression is apart of our society."

Quite backgrounded, remote

[AND/OR] "Schools contribute to the oppression of African American people."

Possible normative-evaluative

Foregrounded, immediate

"African Americans must learn to deal with oppression."

[AND] "Education makes it possible to limit the impact of oppression."

Quite foregrounded, remote

[OR] "Being educated helps African Americans deal with oppression."

[OR] "Education/schooling cannot eliminate oppression, but it is not oppressive."

Dialogue Sample 4

"To learn, to show them I can do it, show them I can beat them at their own game" (Teaching Journals, line 143-145).

Possible subjective claims

Foregrounded, immediate

"I am intelligent." (identity claim)

[AND/OR] I am learning how to avoid oppression."

Backgrounded, immediate

[AND/OR] "I want to be accepted.

[OR] "By continuing my education I am proving that I am not worthy of oppression."

[OR] By continuing my education I am demonstrating intelligence which means I cannot be oppressed."

Backgrounded, remote

[AND/OR] "As an educated person I will not be oppressed."

Possible objective claims

Foregrounded, immediate

"Education should make it possible for African Americans to avoid oppression."

Possible normative-evaluative claims

Quite backgrounded, remote, taken-for-granted

"People who are educated cannot be oppressed in the same ways as educated people."

Quite backgrounded, remote

[AND/OR] "Educated people are not oppressed."

The preceding dialogue and corresponding horizontal and vertical analysis clearly demonstrates the main themes that emerged from the data. Centralized in the collective educational reflections of the study participants was the

presence of a conflicting perception of education. The participants' externalization of an internal struggle, brought about by the African Americans and Education course illuminated dialectically opposed value systems which work to inform and contort the perception of education as liberating. Three themes emerged from the data analysis: resistance, skill development as it relates awareness and academic self-concept. Systems analysis required in stages four and five were conducted around the emergent themes.

Stages Four and Five

The study follows systems relations analysis as required in the fourth and fifth stages of the research process. The relations explored include: institutionalized racism, culture theory, theories of resistance, critical race theory and African American education. The three emergent themes identified in the study are linked to larger socio-cultural and theoretical systems discussed in chapters two through seven. These systems analyses aided in the conceptualization of the course as a dialectical challenge and substantiated the presence of conflicting values as a component of dual consciousness. These concepts were identified as overarching sub-themes which interlink and ground the interpretation of the primary emergent themes.

Verification of Trustworthiness

I used several strategies and techniques suggested by Carspecken's (1996) to support the validity claims made in the study:

- Utilized multiple data collection methods for triangulation.
- Prolonged engagement with the study participants was established based upon the course and interactions thereafter spanning a six year time period.
- Member checking.
- Low level inference codes in the initial stages of meaning reconstructions

Context of the Critical Ethnographic Study

The Course: African Americans and Education (15-AFAM-326)

The site in which a portion of the primary record was established occurred in an assigned classroom located on the university campus. The course was offered quarterly from Winter Quarter 2001 until Winter Quarter 2006 through African and African American Studies. The course attracted a diversity of students from the various college locations which make up the university.

Students represented a cross section of majors and class standings. The overall process goal of the course

was to engage students in a socio-historical analysis of African American education. The implicit course objectives were to acquaint students with: (a) critiques of educational myths perpetuated in Eurocentric scholarship; (b) scholarship that links resistance, freedom, self-determination with education.

African American Student Development

In agreement with the leading African American student development and pedagogical scholars, I did not dichotomize African American learning styles as relational/intuitive vs analytic/logical (Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998; Peavy, 2000). Rather, I took a more holistic perspective of African American student learning in the development of the course. My general assumption was that learning reaches its fullest potential when students are challenged to utilize both affective and conceptual-expressive factors.

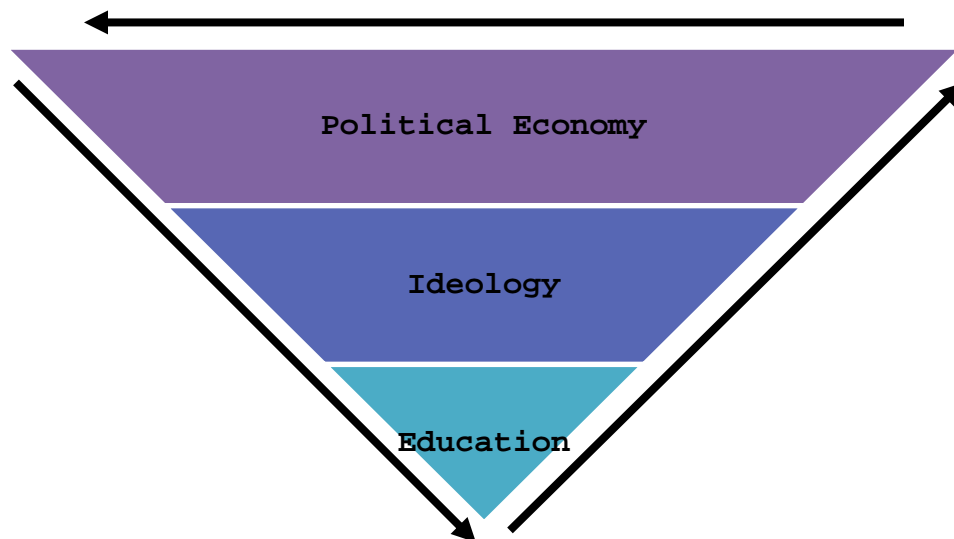
Traditional education strategies that emphasize the importance of analytic/logical attributes over relational style attributes limit the skill development capacities of African American students. To create a culture of learning in the classroom, I relied upon critical race pedagogical approaches which focused on skill development strategies (Peavy, 2000) that made it possible for students to penetrate the deep structures of culture. Situated in the

deep structures of culture are knowledge reservoirs developed within an oppositional culture. The process of accessing these ways of knowing requires a decodification as a process which uses both analytic/logical and relational conceptual skills.

As a skill development method decodification exposes the causal links between the political economy, ideology and schooling which has given shape to the educational ethos of African Americans.

Figure 2

Course Conceptual Framework



Text

The course reader/text was a compilation of scholarly articles, book chapters, poems, commentaries and personal narratives. Readings were selected based on the engagement of the philosophical, historical, socio-political and

economic antecedents of African American education and schooling. Readings were based on a diverse number of ideological and theoretical perspectives with emphasis on issues pertaining of gender, class and cultural identifies.

Problem-solving Dialogue

Problem-solving dialogue as a primary skill development technique was facilitated in to two inner-related venues. Classroom discussions were formatted around questions developed by the students. Students assigned to groups were expected to develop 10-15 questions to facilitate the week's readings. Prior to the schedule of student discussants, I developed questioning guidelines based upon the work of Hope, et.al (1995a) the class was instructed to develop questions which stemmed from the personal, structural and conjunctional knowledge domains. Personal questions were based upon the views, experiences and interpretations of the individual students.

Structural questions were designed to move the class from the specifics of their personal experiences into an institutional or wider societal sphere of knowing. Conjunctional questions were designed to move students' reflective analysis into an even wider environmental sphere. For example, later in the course students were encouraged to identify environmental shifts which

influenced the African American educational journey. These shifts were predicated upon the socio-political, economic and ideological factors of a particular era. Importantly, students were challenged to speculate on the possible responses to these shifts by segments of the African American community.

The second dialogical venue for the course was created online. I created small-group online communities as informal discussion sites for students to develop and sort through ideas germane to education. To stimulate thought and discussion I developed a critical consciousness worksheet, adapted from the work of Peavy (1998). The critical consciousness worksheet consisted of education related thesis statements and corresponding questions that elicited students responses representing the three spheres of social analysis.

Research Project

A collaborative research project was the culminating experience in which students were instructed to select and research, in accordance to the courses' conceptual frame a topic in African American education.

Grounding with My Students: The Research Participants

There were fifteen students (n=15) who participated in the study.

Table 3: Research Participant Grid

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Academic Standing At the completion of the study</i>	<i>Major</i>
Abdul	M	Graduated, pursuing graduate school	African American Studies
Akila	F	Junior	Education
Balla	M	Senior, looks forward to pursuing graduate studies	Psychology
Barbara	F	Graduated, completing a Masters degree	Communication
Camille	F	Graduating, pursuing a Masters degree	African American Studies
Imani	F	Graduated, completing a Masters	Psychology
Issa	F	Graduated, pursuing a graduate degree	Anthropology / African American Studies
Jazzy	F	Senior	African American Studies
Kareem	M	Graduated, pursuing a graduate degree	Journalism
Liz	F	Senior	Social Work
Nasha	F	Pursuing a two-year degree at a local college	Business
Neesha	F	Graduated, pursuing a graduate degree	Communication
Rich	M	Senior, looking forward to medical school	Pre-med - Biology
Venus	F	Senior	Computer Technology

Purposeful sampling was used to give a detailed and rich picture of the phenomenon studied. The participants were selected primarily because their backgrounds,

education experiences and perceptions represented the diversity that exists in the African American community. All of the students selected to participate completed the course with a grade of "C" or better. In addition, these students expressed on-going sensitivity to the course experience. To protect anonymity pseudonyms and personal identifying markers were removed or altered.

Abdul

Abdul is a soft-spoken, thick, twenty-four year old African American male. He was raised in a tight knit extended family in which community and achievement were stressed as personal values. As such, Abdul finds it difficult to balance the demands of work, school and community activities. His love for learning has caused him to amass more credits than necessary to graduate. At first glance his tousled shoulder length dreadlocks and laid back demeanor camouflages a wisdom that far exceeds his years. He described himself as a "pretty good" student, because of his ability to "connect the dots", even though he's easily distracted. Throughout high school Abdul was considered a high-achieving student who was enrolled in honors classes.

Initially, he sought to major in English or Engineering, but found himself drawn to African American studies in search of answers. While at the university

Abdul began to question his own family struggles, which led him to question "why Africans in all countries seem[ed] to suffer from similar plights." After taking some courses in African American studies he decided to change his major. In comparison to other courses, African American studies courses offered "a good sense of where I stand in the world, both literally and figuratively." Abdul plans to obtain a Ph.D. in education, perhaps. Since the completion of the study he obtained the bachelor's degree and is seeking to enroll in a master's program.

Akila

As the elder of the group Akila observes the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Though she identifies with the Nation of Islam she does not in its entirety honor the dress code for women. Her long, lightly colored dreadlocks cascade from beneath African inspired head dresses. She is a matriarch who does not shy away from giving her opinion. Her height, straightened back emits a queenly pride which sends the message "do not mess with me." Akila reserves her warmth for individuals who she has come to know and love.

As a "wild child" daughter of the 60s, Akila is no stranger to struggle and takes pride in being labeled "rebel". Ever since she could recall teachers have always

commented on her quick wit. In Akila's opinion there was little to no benefit in "school smarts." She began her post-secondary journey several years after high school, but eventually dropped-out for personal reasons. Recently she returned to her post-secondary studies in pursuit of a degree that would allow her to start a business. However, she still struggles with the cultural discontinuities between home life and school. She continues to question whether she can conform enough to be awarded the degree.

Ariel

Ariel has the quiet resilience of a first-generation college graduate whose life is governed by the expectation that she serve as an example for her younger siblings. Her warm, earthy skin tone is accentuated by a small cropped afro. At the age of twenty-two years Ariel is on a mission to prove that she can be the first in her family to "get school done" in spite of hardships. As a student she is studious and organized. However, she tends to procrastinate when the courses are "boring." Throughout her academic career Ariel has been considered a high-achieving student, because she "always did what was expected of her." This characteristic was solidified when she began her post-secondary studies as an academic scholar.

Prior to coming to the university Ariel knew very little of African American history. For Ariel the university has provided her with an opportunity to learn the "richness and beauty of African American culture." She majored in psychology with a minor in African American studies. Since graduation Ariel is continuing her studies in psychology at a university on the east coast. She hopes to earn a Ph.D. in psychology in which she plans to focus on issues that impact the African American community.

Balla

Balla is a lanky, quick witted, energizing, hip-hop enthusiast whose inquisitiveness and charm has led him down some of life's paths that he now regrets. The self-described "b-boy" was suspended from high school more than he was present. He was expelled regularly for some mischievous act or mouthing off to a teacher or administrator. He viewed high school as a stepping stone to get to college, and looked forward to post-secondary study.

At twenty-four years he is responsible for a young family and is challenged by the demands of schooling and work. For a short time Balla left the university, not due to life's hardship, more so because he "was confused about his purpose." After a brief hiatus Balla has returned to

the university more determined to complete the degree. His goal is to teach on the university level. A decision that he made hesitantly in that his first choice was to teach at the high school level. He is currently looking at graduate schools. Balla is an excellent motivator and dynamic teacher who facilitated several community-based workshops on Hip Hop as a skill development tool.

Barbara

Barbara is at 31, soon to be 32 year old, single and proud of her independence. She describes herself as a "loner who is compassionate and sensitive." Her medium frame is augmented by a no nonsense air and coiffed appearance. As the eldest child of a large family Barbara is expected to be "the strong one", a role that she has internalized. However, her infectious laughter and heartfelt poetry offer glimpses of her fun loving and vulnerable sides.

Barbara was raised to take care of herself, and considers family and gainful employment the most important attributes of a good person. Though she was expected to do well in school, she was neither encouraged nor discouraged to attend college. Throughout high school she was an "o.k." student, who never really applied herself. Barbara

graduated from the university and is completing a master's program.

Camille

Camille is a petite and gregarious twenty one year old junior majoring in psychology. She is a self-confessed free-spirit who thrives on a good debate. Camille's curiosity and creativity enables her to "think fast on her toes." As she looks back over her high school experience Camille feels as though she may have a learning disability, and has learned to overcompensate for it with well-developed verbal and creative skills. Camille described herself as an average student prone to underperformance. Her high school performance was undistinguished, as was her initial college experience. She was never considered a high achieving student. She believes she was given deference in high school based upon her father's academic achievements.

After completing the class Camille chose African American Studies as a minor. Since then she has maintained a cumulative GPA of 3.8. Though she loves the African American studies department she is quick to criticize the limited availability of resources. She has been accepted into a master's program. Soon after completing the master's she looks forward to completing a doctorate.

Imani

As the primary informant Imani's participation in the research was invaluable. After completing the course she continued to be involved, volunteering to be my teaching assistant for over four years. Year after year Imani attended the class to engage in the course dialogues and activities, assisting students, as well as providing resources. Our countless conversations helped me to sort through my own feelings to see that transformation was occurring.

Imani's sparkling dark eyes set in honey colored skin communicate a lovable cuteness that softens her statuesque appearance. Her mid-length dreadlocks are typically covered with a brightly colored African inspired cloth. She is boisterous when expressing ideas, the more passionate she is the more tongued-tied she becomes.

Throughout pre-school and pre-adolescent years she struggled with a severe speech impediment. Because people did not understand what she was saying they simply stopped communicating with her. As a result she learned to be quiet, submerging herself in books. After intensive speech therapy over the course of several years Imani speaks with a slight east coast accent. After she found her voice, she has "been talking ever since." Having learned to be quiet

developed in Imani teacher likeable qualities. As a student she was compliant and always exhibited a desire to please her teachers.

In high school Imani was considered a high achieving student completing both AA and AP courses, but stopped short of mastering any given subject. As a first generation college graduate whose family income fell below the poverty level Imani participated in several academic and cultural enrichment programs. Upon her graduation from a large urban high in the top 13% of her class Imani attended a historically black college (HBCU) in the south, but returned because of finances. Upon her return Imani felt a sense of loss and "just slacked off." After the course Imani attempted to start several student organizations and became active on campus and in the community. Prior to the study, Imani graduated from the university and has since started a family and expects to enroll in graduate school.

Issa

Issa's round bespectacled face gives a youthful appearance well below her twenty one years. Issa's introspectiveness could be mistaken for shyness, rather than retrospective and observant. Her straightened, shoulder length hair when pulled back into a ponytail gives

her an unassuming appearance. In high school Issa was an exceptional student, graduating as the school's valedictorian. She enrolled in the university as an academic scholar, but was on the verge of dropping out prior to enrolling in the course.

Shortly after completing the course she started tutoring neighborhood children. Her goal was to pass onto them a passion for learning. Issa graduated from the university and traveled abroad to "just get away." Upon her return she accepted a position with a major company and looks forward to completing a master's degree.

Jazzy

Jazzy is a thirty four year old poet whose whimsical Caribbean flare comes across in her love of bright colors with various patterns. Jazzy's slight stature and assertiveness could be likened to the heart of a pit-bull locked in the body of a poodle. She is a talkative person who does not shy away from asking difficult questions. Jazzy was considered a high achieving student in junior high, but lost interest in high school, a decision she now regrets. She attempted college several years prior to taking my course, but quit after several semesters. The ultimate idealist, Jazzy wants to change the world. Her goal is to be teacher and to eventually open a school. She

came to the university to learn as much as she could about African Americans and to "incite change of the current system." Jazzy is completing her degree and seeks a teaching certificate. She is very active in the community.

Kareem

Kareem is an old soul whose smiles are infrequent. At the age of twenty-four he feels as though he has yet to live up to his potential. Considered an intelligent individual throughout his schooling career, Kareem graduated from a prestigious public school. His grades were marginal at best. At the university he majored in journalism with a minor in African American studies. An African American studies minor is important to Kareem because it helped him to "understand my [his] people and the contributions we have made to the world stage."

For Kareem taking African American studies classes laid a firm cultural foundation that will allow for his transition from one phase of life to the next. Kareem graduated from the university and is currently pursuing a graduate degree from an HBCU (historically black college and university). His goal is to study Africans who came to North and South America before European colonization, as well as African cultures in South America and the Caribbean countries for a Ph.D.

Liz

Liz is a twenty-six year old sociology major whose sarcastic wit is quick and deliberate. Liz admits that she is a good test-taker, who rarely puts forth any effort. If she is interested in a course she tends to perform well, if the course is boring she tends to stray and wait for the test. Throughout her schooling experience she was considered a high-achieving student, until high school. She achieved little in high school and "thought less about it." Liz does not major or minor in African American studies, but enrolls in the courses because "they have been useful and eye-opening."

Before taking the class African Americans and Education, Liz planned to continue to graduate school to increase her earning potential. However, many times she wondered if she was smart enough or had the work ethic to complete a graduate degree. At the end of the course, Liz decided to study in South America focusing on education. She says that she doubts she would have considered traveling abroad for learning purposes had she not taken the class.

Nasha

Nasha describes herself as her father's middle daughter. She has always had a natural inclination toward

her African ancestry and a hyper-sensitivity toward feelings of oppression. Nasha is a highly intuitive individual who feels that she was born in the wrong era. She believes she would have found her purpose had she been born during the Civil Rights Movement. She came to the university in search of understanding, but found more inner turmoil.

After the course Nasha left the university, frustrated and confused. She began volunteering in the community with various community based tutorial and environmental programs. Since the study she enrolled in a local two-year college.

Neesha

Neesha is a vivacious, twenty year old diva, with an uncanny memory and ability to get to the heart the matter. Neesha attended a suburban school in which she was tracked into AA and AP courses. Neesha's strength is that she is motivated by a good grade. She always puts forth good effort, even when she does not like the class. She hates to study and found she does not have to study too much. She is confident that if she studied a little more she would have a 4.0 at the university, though she is satisfied with her 3.5 GPA.

Neesha does not major or minor in African American Studies, but feels that the courses are very important in the development of African American women and people in general. Shortly after the course she began mentoring and volunteering at a community based organization targeting urban African American students. In her church she worked to develop a summer learning program to "put into action some of the things she learned in the class." Prior to the study, Neesha graduated with honors.

Rich

Rich would rather listen than talk, but that does not mean he does not have anything to say. It only means that he enjoys listening. At his large urban school teachers associated his desire to listen as congenial and introspective, thusly he was considered a high achieving student. In retrospect he would disagree with the notion that he was in fact high achieving, though his grades were good.

In college his desire to listen was construed as not having read which explained his quietness during class discussion. He started his post-secondary study with the hope of majoring in biology and continuing on to medical school. Experiences at the university caused him to doubt his abilities to be a doctor, therefore he changed his

major. After completing the course Rich returned to the biology major and looks forward to medical school. Soon after the course Rich started volunteering at a local hospital to blend his career and community interest.

Venus

Venus is a young mother of one. Her quiet shyness gives the impression that she is hiding. When Venus opens herself she reveals an easy-going and fun-loving person who excels in math and science. She is not sure if she was considered a high-achieving high-school student, because she was not sure if anyone paid close enough attention to her. She was on the college preparatory track, but toward the end of her high school career began to lose momentum and her grades reflected the lost of interest. She found that she did not need to do much work to succeed and started doing just the minimum to pass classes. That habit is hard to break and she has continued those behaviors at the university.

She knows that her college performance thus far does not warrant her being identified as a high achieving student. Her post-secondary studies are marked by academic deep ebbs and flows. She sat out a quarter because of personal and financial reasons, but has since returned. She is committed to completing the degree in information

systems. Since taking the course she has found a keen interest in women's studies issues, and plans to follow that course of study.

These fifteen individuals with their unique personalities, backgrounds and perspectives came together to create a community of learners that gave shape and soul to the research.

Positioned as an Insider with Outsider Tendencies

Denise Taliaferro (1998) in her dissertation draws upon the respective epistemologies of W.E.B Dubois' (1989) double consciousness and Homi Bhabha's (1994) ontological in-between concepts to illustrate the existential reality of the African American intellectualism in higher education. Taliaferro (1998) posits, "as African American academics and intellectuals, then, we are negotiating a place in-between two ways of being in and seeing the world: that which is defined by our folk experiences and that which is constructed by our academic endeavors" (p. 23).

Taliaferro's conceptualization of African American intellectualism is extracted from the schism between the politics of oppression and the struggle for self-determination. I use this ontological construct to reappropriate Taliaferro's "conditions" as dialectical

challenges. My reconceptualization is based upon several conclusions. First, that the politics of oppression and the struggle for self-determination have dialectical relation. Secondly, the paradoxical challenges of African American intellectualism are the consequences of an internalized hegemonic consciousness. As such, the most important cultural force working in opposition of the hegemony is the development of a critical consciousness (Freire, 1985; Freire, 1995; Hillard, 2001; Peavy, 2000; Mansbridge and Morris, 2001; Memmi, 1965; Morris, 2002; Nkrumah, 1970).

To support my reconceptualization I too rely upon the insight of Dubois. Later in his intellectual development, Dubois' (1989) grew frustrated with educated African American's inability to serve as stewards of social justice. He came to understand that his advocacy of classical education and Booker's T. Washington emphasis on vocational education underestimated the powerful relationship between education, false consciousness and cultural production.

Within the larger context of the politics of oppression and the politics of self-determination there are three dialectical challenges which affronts contemporary African American intellectualism (Taliaferro, 1998).

First, African American intellectualizing requires a face-to-face confrontation with the education of one's own miseducation.

The recollection of these memories unearthed the ambiguity of perceptions and values embedded in my own taken for granted knowledge. I can vividly remember my own schooling and educational confusion. Familial assurance that schooling and education were good for me along with the expectation that I would "finish my schooling" was contradictory to the hatred and invisibility I lived at school. My desire to please my people callused unarticulated rage and frustration. For me it was easier to internalize the messages that I could not do any better, that Cs were the best I could do, then to attempt to succeed. Though I was turned off by my education and schooling experience, not once did my desire and belief that I would attend college wane.

The second dialectical challenge of African American intellectualism is the requirement of an individualistic perspective in isolation from socio-historical, political and economic events that have worked in unison to cultivate a cultural identity with corresponding responsibilities. My first challenge to this dialectic occurred in a rap session some fifteen years ago. At the time I was working

and heavily involved in community work. For a class I gathered a group of sistas to talk about education, when one of the sista's dropped a very intriguing metaphor. Without hesitation this sista constructed a metaphor that articulated our educational hopes, passion and objectification as individuals with collective responsibilities. She said:

Somebody said that Martin Luther King said that entering into integration was like entering into a burning building. That's how I feel, when I send my son off to school, feels like I'm sending him to a burning building (Charlotte McCoy, parent)

As a single mother, struggling to protect and provide for her son, this sista saw education as a means to increase her son's opportunity.

Embedded in the metaphor was a semi-conscious awareness of the dual transformative powers of education. As the group pondered what the sista was saying, she continued in a more subdued voice, "I mean I want him to be scorched with knowledge, but I don't want him burned to the point where I don't even recognize him". The latter part of the narrative sums up the ways in which education as a transformative force can work against socio-cultural and political individual/group interest.

We, all of the mothers present, had witnessed this type of betrayal by the educated, their "acting white" antics had caused enough grief, embarrassment and political concession too many times. For a brief moment we internally debated if the educational dowry, repression of identity, cultural dissociation were too high of a price to pay for "knowledge." Our head nods and blank silence affirmed two messages, one of hope and doubt. With certainty we knew that we would seek the promises of education for our children's benefit, but we did not know what to do with the doubt. We believed with all of our hearts the cliché that education is the key that allows you to burst through erected doors of racism; to attain some semblance of economic flexibility and respect. But what about that doubt, distrust, and insecurity we felt about education, would it just disappear? The question was never asked, and never addressed.

What struck me as much then as it does now is how we, as a community, were inured by this confliction; it was a normal fact of education, of life. Although I was unaware at that time, this metaphor became the catalyst that stirred my sensibility to actively resist the oppressive duality inherent in education for African Americans.

Another experience in graduate school would prepare me to act on this awareness.

The final dialectical challenge of African American intellectualism is the imposition of hegemonic consciousness. In his autobiographical essay, Douglas Davidson (1998) highlights the task of the final challenge:

To further compound this already anxiety-producing situation, the Black graduate student finds [herself] responding to those segments of the Black community who say that education is irrelevant; that we should be in the streets organizing our people 'for the revolution.' The student knows that the 'people' respect education. The 'people' have struggled all their lives to make it possible for [her] to attend these institutions. Thus, the 'people' feel that graduate student has arrived; [s]he's made it. Yet the Black graduate knows this belief is another part of the colonizer's myth which people have accepted. The man has convinced them that education is 'the answer. (p. 49-50)

What becomes apparent in Davidson's (1998) analysis is the challenge of using traditional academic knowledge to cultivate an consciousness beneficial to African American people hood.

Courses grounded in liberatory theory deepened my awareness of these challenges. There were several catalytic events that drew me to this study, namely my own struggles as a student and university instructor. As a graduate student I experienced the critical praxis of Dr. Liz Peavy over a prolonged period of time. Peavy's (2000) "kuona journey" as a critical race theoretical construct, used skill development techniques and strategies to engage students in the process of consciousness rising.

As my thoughts were developing questions emerged that I resisted asking in fear of being branded "anti-intellectual" or worst "malcontent". I bore witness to the dismissals of radicals, regardless of their brilliance or commitment. Questioning of my reasons for continuing the doctorate intensified. When the opportunity presented itself to develop and teach a course in African American studies I was elated, it seemed like an opportunity for me to give back.

Having fully internalized social transformation as the foundational principle of liberation education, I conceptualized the course as an initial training ground for would be revolutionaries. Over the course of ten weeks I became so enmeshed in the course process I did not realize my repeated emotions and reactions to students. Nor did I

realize the course impact on myself or the students. This research allowed me to collect the experiences of my former students and to reflect on my own perceptions.

To preface the dissertation proposal I wrote the following diatribe:

I am sick and tired of being sick and tired. Sick and tired of bearing witness to African American students at the university waiting for the great moment of liberation. I am sick and tired of self-aggrandized attitudinal airs validated with statements such as, 'I'm going to school.' These statements are always embedded in a plea to be accepted as a gatekeeper. In that the underlying plea is not to be judged as the 'others' because the correct/only/acceptable choice has been made with the intent of bettering oneself. Sick and tired of open displays of hostility that question my sanity because 'there's too much reading in this dang on class.' Tired and sick of African American students amassing student loan after student loan only to drop out or be cooled out until frustrated kicked out. I am sick and tired of low expectations or no expectations. I am sick and tired of being placated as a stray pet and forgotten as quickly as I leave a room. Just tired of being

silenced and remaining silent. Sick of not knowing what to do, or finding resolve in feeling that 'it is the way that it is' and 'there is nothing we can do about it, but make the best of it,' 'because it will never change.' Tired and sick of believing that 'I'm not smart enough' or 'I don't have time' so please 'just tell me what to do.' So, sick and tired of 'playing the game' as a means of comeuppance, overlooking or worst not realizing when being played. Tired of 'I'm only doing what I need to do to get the grade,' yet not making the grade or making the grade still left unchanged by the experience. Sick and tired of academic nihilism. I am as tired as I can be of not being able to articulate a pulsing sensation that something just ain't right. Sick and tired of African American students realizing upon graduation that the dream is only another phase of the same ole thing.

In this passage I wanted to convey to my desire to engage in polemic research which worked to demystify traditional education and its ancillaries as socio-cultural numbing agents that represses academic ability. I entered the research space with an idealistic expectation that I would find my former students hotly engaged in community

activism. However, the participants of this study would give voice to their own perception and interpretations of their experiences without the imposition of an insider with outsider tendencies. So, from there I journey through the research process began.

Chapter Summary

Chapter three introduces the rationale for critical ethnography in the exploration of the guiding research questions. A brief history that grounds critical ethnography in critical and interpretative approaches is followed by a discussion detailing the implementation of research. The data collection procedures and interpretations are unfolded in five stages.

CHAPTER FOUR

Giving Voice to Power

When I told my Minister that I was going to college, he told me that I would take a class that would change my life. He said that I would remember it always and it would become a force in my life. Well, this is that course for me. I can't even look at education the same.

(Balla, personal email)

Introduction: Conceptualizing the course as a

Dialectical Challenge

Good morning, good people. Before I introduce the course, pass-out a syllabus or anything I'd like to ask a question. Is that alright? O.K., I want to know why you decided to continue your post-secondary studies. I mean, why did you decide to continue on to the university? I mean, were you or are you seeking to be educated or are you simply seeking a degree. So, by a show of hands tell me if you are here for an education. O.K., cool, alright, by a show of hands, who came for the degree?

On the first day of every class I posed the preceding questions to students enrolled in my African Americans and Education course. In response, the vast majority of students raised hands to indicate that the goal of their post-secondary study was to receive the coveted degree. A small number of reluctant students raised hands to specify their desire to be educated. Far fewer students questioned the inherent contradiction of my questioning. To prompt a critical discussion I immediately follow the vote with a series of questions. "Can you tell me why you voted that way?" "Humph, that's interesting ..."

My comments would bring about a short dialogue after which an irritated student would exasperate, "I'm gonna keep it real, I know I wouldn't be here unless I thought I could get a degree. I mean I can't do what I want to do without it." The conclusion was typically supported with a couple of high fives and "true 'dat' affirmations.

Though many students were satisfied with the conclusion that the award of the degree was the object of their post-secondary study, sensitivity to the intrinsic contradiction of my questioning did not go unnoticed. The question manifested itself in etched frowns across foreheads, raised eyebrows and quizzical gawps. I would intentionally interrupt the confusion of thoughts with

additional questions, "what's the problem, some of you look perplexed? What are you thinking, what are you feeling? What about... "

Depending upon the energy and makeup of the class a short dialogue would ensue exposing the dialectics embedded in the students' taken for granted perceptions of education. It would begin with a reluctant student questioning if getting an education and a degree were in fact synonymous processes.

Therein, marked the first of many dialectical challenges created by the course, as experienced by the fifteen African American students who participated in the study. The study participants as a community of learners used the movie, *The Matrix*, as a metaphor to describe the ultimate decision making task placed upon them by the course. All agreed that the most prolific scene which mirrors their collective experience is Neo's decision to take the red pill over the blue pill. The pills symbolize the decision whether or not the contradicted reality of education was in fact worth pursuing.

The blue pill signifies the decision not to question the taken for granted perception of education. To not question was based upon some known perceptions: that education and degree attainment are associated with job

opportunities, future success, social acceptance, financial security and fulfillment of goals. The blue pill meant continuing on the path already set in motion even if it meant suppressing, rejecting or accepting the existentially contradicted and taken for granted notions of education as beneficent and powerful.

The red pill represented the decision to interrogate the contradicted perceptual values of education without comparable benefits. The very act of questioning necessitated risk taking behaviors which evoked overwhelming emotions, incessant self reflection and brings about an awareness unassociated with academic achievement. Taking the red pill meant change and transformation, as Imani described:

... the red pill took you to awareness, a continuous road of possibilities. You realize that you can't be schooled, but educated. You want to control your education, not have your education control you. You can no longer just get a degree. As you go through the process your desire to act gets stronger and stronger, and it's always fighting with the reality of life ... (DC.2)

The participants' Matrix analogy conceptualizes the course as a dialectical process. Dialectal processes do

not follow unilinear pathways (Nkrumah, 1964). Ramified themes unfolded as perceptions manifested. The course as a dialectical process is an overarching interpretative concept that substantiates and is substantiated by the three primary themes that emerged from the data. Resistance, skill development as it relates to awareness and academic self-concept were the three primary emergent themes. Resistance as it relates to skill development is a methodological component of awareness (consciousness) enhancement which in turn influenced the academic self-concept of the study participants. These themes are undergirded and interconnected by the presence of conflicting values of education.

Demystifying Educational Duality

The African American traditional faith in education as redemptive and beneficent is well documented throughout the literature (Anderson, 1988; Bond, 1966; Cornelius, 1999). The dehumanizing conditions of slavery and Jim Crow era fashioned the ex-slave's faith in education as liberating around self-determination and humanization as oppositional values. As the accessibility of education became more apparent for African Americans, overt race-based oppression morphed into cultural controlling processes creating socio-

cultural and political conditions in which oppositional and hegemonic values co-exist with some dis-ease.

The ex-slaves' oppositional value of education aligned with and corroborated the hegemonic value of education. The conditional alignment of conflicting value systems has functioned to culturally validate normative evaluative claims of education as beneficent and empowering. These claims are reliant upon the congruence between counter-oppositional and oppositional values. Evidenced in this research is the reality that oppositional values do not disappear, but are convoluted by the uncritical over-internalization of hegemonic values of education.

The study participants when articulating their reasons for continuing post-secondary studies corroborate and reveal the fastidious parallel between counter-oppositional and oppositional values.

I initially came to college trying to become a
'better person.' I was well versed in the dream that
college can help shape well rounded human beings.

(Abdul, Q1.1)

Embedded in Abdul's expository is the congruency between the oppositional and hegemonic value of education. Education as a means of becoming a better person is a normative claim of both value systems. For others the

oppositional value of education as redemptive is present, yet counter-balanced by the counter-oppositional value of education as a credentialing process.

I came to college because I know there aren't many career opportunities for those without higher education. I also want to prepare a better life for my family. I'm also the first in my family to go on to higher education so in a way I'm proving to my younger siblings and family members that it can be done.

(Ariel, Q1.2)

Ariel's deconstruction of her perceptual value revealed an overvaluation of education as means to traverse oppressive conditions relative to the lived experiences of African Americans.

Before taking the class I thought getting an education was a cure-all for any economic or career problems African Americans faced. I thought that if we earned an education by receiving our degrees there was nothing that could be withheld from us. (Ariel Interview).

Ariel's comment discloses her awareness of racialized oppression as experienced by African Americans. This awareness founded upon the existential realities of being African American could be linked with oppositional values.

Implicitly, she communicates an oppositional value of education as a means of traversing racism. However, this oppositional value is culturally counter-balanced by the hegemonic value of education as a credentialing process.

Other participants having internalized the counter-oppositional value of education simply felt that continuing their education was "just the right thing to do", as indicated by Rich:

I decided to come to college because I felt it was the right thing to do. Wanting to achieve the American dream, I felt as if a college education would help me to get" (Interview).

Rich's reason for continuing his post-secondary studies indicates that he has internalized the counter-oppositional value of education as beneficial and powerful, in so much that his statement is presented as a taken for granted normative evaluative claim. Liz's reflection of education prior to the course mirrors Rich's uncritical overvaluation of education as liberating.

I just saw education as a pill to take in order to make my life better. Now I'm looking at the side effects of seeing education like this. (Liz, Q9.11)

The subtle residual of an oppositional value of education as articulated by Ariel is conspicuously absent from Rich

and Liz's normative perception of education as a means of achieving the "American dream." Likewise, Imani internalization of counter-oppositional/hegemonic values of education were configured around issues of acceptance and validation by the larger society in the attainment of "American dream."

Well, [inaudible] ... well, uhmmmmmm ... when I first started in the [higher] education process I thought it [education] was beneficial. Like you equate education with power. The more education I receive the more I have this symbol that I am worthy; that I'm not just another welfare person ... I'm doing what I'm suppose to do to live the American dream (Imani, DC.2).

Like Rich and Liz, Imani's reflective perception does not disclose the presence of any oppositional nuances.

Centralized in her reflection is the value of education as a source of cultural gratification by the dominant society. Cultural gratification as a consequence of over-internalized hegemonic educational values manifested in the participants' perception of education as a privilege.

I thought the education I was receiving was supposed to be liberating. I felt privileged. (Neesha, Q9.13)

Perceptions of higher education as socio-cultural upliftment stirred in Nasha feelings of grandeur simply by her "attending college."

Before I took this class I perceived education as a status symbol. The fact that I was attending college, I was doing something with myself, productive. (Nasha, Q9.12)

In an in-class assignment Nasha expounded upon Neesha's implication of education as a controlling process which facilitates the over-internalization of hegemonic values. She perceived higher education as a cultural badge of honor symbolizing worthiness and acceptance as humanizing tools.

I love this statement. It reminds me of the man walking down the street in his three piece suit with his briefcase. It reminds me of the people in high school that would give you a funny look when they were walking into their honors classes. It also reminds me of how I felt my first year of school when I would be walking with a Dubois bookstore bag in my hand, having the nerve to feel pride because I was buying college books. (Nasha, completed coursework)

Public displays of educational paraphernalia serve as cultural symbols which triggers an over inflated perception of self and achievement. While in reflective dialogue Issa

brings to light feelings of superiority based upon her high academic achievement status.

I always thought that I'm straight; I don't feel better than nobody ... yada, yada, yada. But in reality I did. This class brings those feelings of insecurity up with the feelings of superiority, puts'em side-by-side with your actions. You got to deal with that little dialogue that goes on in your head that you don't want nobody to know you thinking. You gotta deal with that, you have to know it, be aware of this internal talk. It really made you look at yourself differently. You begin to see some things that you didn't or couldn't see, things you don't like. You gotta deal with that; you have to know it, be aware of this internal talk. You really got to look at yourself, it pushes you to change. (Issa, DC.2)

Issa's over-inflated self-perception based on her academic achievement was challenged by feelings of "invisibility" and the revelation of institutionalized racial disparities exacerbated by the realization that these perceptions were acknowledged by neither white professors nor white peers.

My first quarter I wondered where the black people were (I wanted to go to a HBCU) and I couldn't understand why I was 1 of maybe 5 blacks in a class of

300+ (Biology). I didn't do well that quarter, but I knew I was smart. I didn't know why I wasn't getting the grades or putting forth the effort I was capable of. The next quarter I finally saw some blacks - they all congregated at University College, where you couldn't really graduate. When I found that out, I was angry but I didn't know it then. Then the next quarter I was in a class, the only African American. We had to read a story that was clearly racist. I had to fight and argue with 30+ white students alone. Every one of them insisted that racism no longer existed. I couldn't believe it, so I decided not to speak up again. For the rest of the quarter I withdrew into myself. That's the only way I could survive the quarter ... I barely survived. I considered dropping out, but something kept me here. Up until that point that I took this class, I felt like I was drowning and couldn't catch my breath. I wanted out but I didn't know what else to do. (Issa, Q7.7)

Illustrated in Issa's reflection are the objectifying possibilities of an over-internalization of the hegemonic value of education. Issa's higher educational journey provides a cogent example of the dialectical tension experienced by African American students when the normative

hegemonic value of education as beneficial and powerful is confronted by the subtle nuances of institutionalized racism. Contentious university based situations cause aggravation in the alignment of hegemonic and oppositional values creating an internal dialectical tension.

Engaged Passivity

Rather than discontinuing their post-secondary studies, Issa and other study participants navigate the post-secondary terrain as engaged passivists. Engaged passivity is an objectified academic stance adapted by the participants to nullify the presumably negative effects of dialectical tension. In an assignment Issa shapes the characteristics that distinguish engaged passivity as an objectifying possibility of an over-internalization of hegemonic values.

I thought being determined was registering for classes I thought I needed (not what I wanted/or was interested in) to move to the next level. But I didn't dedicate any time to learning. I skipped classes simply because I didn't want to go and forgot things after the test. It was like I was sleep walking through college. Don't get me wrong, I still got good grades. I did enough work to keep me at my

required 3.0 for my scholarship. (Issa, completed coursework)

Discernable in Issa's reflection are invisibility and mechanistic behaviors as factors indicative of engaged passivity. The sense of "floating" through the higher educational process is accompanied by a deep sense of powerlessness which situated Issa at a crossroad in her academic studies.

For Akila, invisibility was not possible in that it caused too much internal contention when juxtaposed with her oppositional orientation. Therefore, Akila relied upon mechanistic behaviors as navigational tools of the post-secondary landscape.

... I have to play games with myself ... I have to keep playing poliachi in order to get an education ...
Psychologically I have to condition myself, to be conditioned and be affected by it as little as possible (Aikla DC.2)

In an interview Kareem echoed similar feelings, in that schooling expectations were undertaken with automated behaviors as means of negotiating the specifics of the college culture.

I expect instructors to lecture. I expect to learn the requirements of my major. I don't expect to be pushed hard, nor do I expect to push myself hard.

In his reflection Rich introduces "blind faith" as another distinguishing characteristic of engaged passivity. When asked of his expectations of various courses in general, Rich simply answered that he initially had "no expectations, not really." His inability to articulate his expectations is not due to the absence of expectations. Rather, his expectations are linked fundamentally to his value of education as liberating.

Rich's expectations are fixed in his traditional faith of education. As he is "doing the right thing" as deemed by society, the promises of beneficence and empowerment are expected. In essence he is living up to the cultural obligation and expects to be rewarded accordingly. Hence, engaged passivists go through the motion of being educated as a third person voyeur. Traditional faith in education is contingent upon the belief that the process of learning is fixed by external forces that are fundamentally beyond individual control.

The degrees to which the participants were engaged as passivists varied. Participants such as Issa, Imani and Neesha maintained high academic statuses, but identified

themselves as "turned off" or mechanistic in their approach to learning. Balla, Kareem, Rich, Liz and Nasha attributed their marginal or inconsistent academic performances to being "turned off." Though Rich did not identify or use the words "turned off" he acknowledges that he was "totally unaware" and "honestly believed" that he would be rewarded by doing what was expected. Each of these degrees of engaged passivity indicate a profound loss of power by the study participants.

Resisting the Dialectics

Resistance

As the participants unpacked the concept of the course as a dialectical process what became obvious was resistance as a primary relational theme that exposed and highlighted dormant oppositional values that cultivated an oppositional identity. Resistance as cultural development unfolded in an interloping pattern of reflection and action during which the participants experienced deep emotions from the dialectical tension created by the course's aggravation of the conflicting value systems.

Abdul likened the experience of dialectical tension to a "battle" overrun by extreme emotions.

I felt confident. Then I felt stressed. Then angry. Then confident again. It was a battle, but a good one. The readings were very loaded with information that would make you emotional. But it was also loaded with concepts that would constantly challenge your world view and how you came to have it. (Abdul Q14.1)

The "battle" did not ensue without an all out war of resistance. Initial challenges to the participants' taken for granted perceptions of education were met with open hostility that held my commitment for education, teaching abilities and motives suspect. Issa wondered if my mental health was intact, her initial perception was that I was teaching the course as a means to recruit students "for some sinister social mission." For Rich I was arguably a "whacked out Africentric activist" whose "knowledge and passionate" were intriguing.

These unsettling emotions in combination with the participants' perception of my being "knowledgeable and passionate" kindled a maiden curiosity aimed at protecting the normative integrity of education. Camille still "feeling" the class discussion would go home to "debrief" with her family, but she still resisted the cultural connection between what she was feeling and what she was learning.

In the beginning I was not connecting with the literature as my history, written on those pages all abused and stuff. It's a skill, well not a skill, but it is what I've learned to done distance the emotion from the learning process. (Camille, DC.3)

Unlike Camille, for Jazzy the dichotomization of emotions from learning was inherently problematic, based upon her pervious experiences in other African American studies courses.

... in African American Studies classes you are not encouraged to separate the emotion from learning, because you dealing with you. You can't help but feel, you gonna feel that emotion, this is you; it's like learning about yourself, so it really goes hand in hand. The fact that the emotions are there, pushes you to go deeper. (Jazzy, interview)

Critical self-reflection as a skill development strategy was integral in assisting participants cultural connections with existing oppositional values. Issa's succinctness calls attention to the significance of reflexivity as a foundational skill development strategy.

In no other class did I never had to look at how I thought or why I thought the way I thought. (Issa, DC.2)

Identification with oppositional values provoked an overflow of powerful emotions which brought about another level of awareness. An arousing reflection by Neesha communicates the intensity of feelings when association with existing oppositional values became more apparent.

I mean I just, even now I still feel it, do yall feel it. I was like, my whole life. I mean my whole life, I've been tricked my whole life. I just had this idealistic notion of education, how it's gonna free me. And, you know, you know ... I was so excited ... and then I was like what. Like, I was dead and the class resuscitated me. When I was resuscitated, the first question I asked was what just happened here. I know ... is this the world I live in? I saw that people have been lying to me; I've been believing these lies. Just suckered in, I know I'm gullible, but I did not think I was a fool. (Neesha, DC.3)

Implicit in Neesha's reflection is a greater perception of the structural nature of oppression. For Camille coming into this new structural awareness was confusing and disarming.

I felt scared, and confused at the magnitude of the topic. It was like waking up from the "Matrix" and not

having a clue about how to live or what your life has meant up till this point. (Camille, Q14.4)

Ariel's reconstruction of the perceptions behind her own feelings of "suspicion" and "confusion" gives depth to Neesha and Camille's empathetic reflections.

I think my suspicion came from, well first there is confusion. It came from, like Neesha said, working your whole life to get to the university. You've done everything they told you to do. You strived, been striving for the best, which was to make it here to the university. Then, you begin to question why you here. Asking yourself about everything you believed. Ask about just what you have worked your whole life for. You don't wanna believe, believe that the things you are reading is true. But, deep down you know it is, and as you keep studying yourself, your experiences and the material ... you see that it is true. But, before you make those connections you don't want to believe it's true. You want to hold on to that idealistic view of education. That it's going to make you a better person, a successful person. But, the feeling that you been sold a bill of goods just starts to take over. You just be confused, you struggling, resisting the urge to believe, cause deep

down inside you know you have to change. Once you take this class you've got to change. (Ariel, DC.3) "Change" as an idiosyncratic response to the concentrated aggravation of conflicting value systems was a consistent theme in participant responses.

Like no other class you really have to change everything about yourself, it pushes you ... you can't just spit out the information anymore. You really got to look at yourself, it pushes you to change. Like no other class you really have to change everything about yourself, it pushes you ... (Issa, DC.2)

The point at which the participants connected with existing oppositional values fueled an naïve desire to change. These feelings serve as an indicator that the participants transitioned into a "new" semi-transitive awareness. At the onset of this "new" awareness participants experienced high levels of emotional and psychological vulnerability.

I mean there are so many emotions. You go through so many processes. Like, during the class you go through confusion, anger, more confusion, I know for me I was like the hell no! Forget school, why the heck am I here, all this is gonna do is oppress me more. Then

as you keep on going you realize how deep the paradox is. (Imani, DC.2)

The preponderance of emotion which fueled desires to "change" was based largely on an uncritical identification with oppositional values though interpreted through hegemonic lens. While situated at this psycho-cultural crossroad Imani contemplated discontinuing her post-secondary studies. Entrenched in Imani's reflection is a profound sense of powerlessness in that the most logically perceived choice was to quit school.

Essentialized in the participants' reflections is the development and use of conceptual skills to bring about a transitive awareness that transforms the desire for change into the drive for action.

Unearthing Seeds of Fire: Reclaiming Power

Skill Development as it relates to Awareness

The reflections of participants revealed the ways in which the decodification of education from its historical, socio-political, economic and cultural encasement activates conceptualization. In the preliminary stages of conceptualization participants' ruminations reflect a first person analysis of specific post-secondary experiences. Again, Issa's reflection highlights the use of critical

self-reflection as a skill development technique to make causal linkages to specific problems that she has experienced.

This quarter I've been sitting back and watching what is going on around me instead of just letting it pass by. I watch my so called professors in a new light. And it's very disturbing, almost depressing. I have not been called on once in 4 of my 6 classes. And in one of the other two, it was once. We are almost out of this quarter, so what are we in, like the 9th week? For nine weeks, I have been ignored. I don't think my professors know my damn name. And it's not like all my classes have hundred people in them where it would be would be hard. In one class, there are about 10-15 who come on a regular basis. He calls on the same white boys and girls every day. I wanted to explain it away at the beginning of the quarter and think that it was just because they were more visible or wanted to speak in class, but I thought about it, and being the only black person in the class, wouldn't I stand out more in the crowd? And one of the girls that he calls on is very quiet and never has the right answer. I used to be content with that because I'm a very shy person and I didn't want to be noticed, but this is

something totally different. I was killing my spirit, and I keep thinking about the children in the [Ray] Rist study that turned on themselves and it makes me want to cry everytime. I don't want to turn on myself. So now I have to evolve myself. I used to think I had a good head on my shoulders but I'm learning things about myself that I don't like. I used to be so proud to be able to say that I graduated number 1-the first black-in my high school class and I am now in the pre-med program, like it was a badge of honor. I don't feel ashamed of it, but I now see what it is really worth, and that is how much I make it worth, and now I'm in the process of figuring out my next step. It's like everywhere I turn is a dead end. But now I'm really determined to break through those dead ends - if only I can get through the last few weeks of this damn quarter! (Issa, completed coursework)

In a scientific way Issa went about demystifying institutionalized racism and internalized racism as underlying causes of her own academic apathy. Issa's emergent oppositional identity began to generate questions that gave meaning to ways in which she could direct her "evolution." She was no longer content with being an

engaged passivist in the learning process. Implied in her reflection is her unconscious use of skills in assist in the active resistance of hegemonic influences.

The participants' conscious use of skill signified diminishment of the dual perception of education, thus a conceptualization of education. As Neesha evaluated her skill ability she also made political inferences as it related to her skill and knowledge development.

I wanna speak on that. I just wanna say that for me this class has ... I already knew that I could critically think. I'm a thinker anyway, I like to analyze stuff. But, we talked about rote memorization, that was easy for me I could get by with an A, no problem. You know, I would think when I was pushed to or asked to. And for me, now, that I've taken this class I can't rote memorize anything now. I have to critically, take a real critical look and go through everything with a fine tooth comb in every class. I looked at the rest of my classes and began asking what's the purpose, why are you telling me this, what perspective are you presenting this from. I'm questioning everything, and I think that was really important. (Neesha, DC.3)

Backgrounded in Neesha's reflection is awareness comprehends of the benefits of rote memorization in certain context, but also recognizes that it has the capacity to limit in other context. Therefore, a conclusion based on Neesha reflection could be that conscious skill use is a tool for self-determination. Likewise, Rich recognizes the value of questioning across living spheres.

Honestly, in everything that I do I am asking questions. In church, class, work, whatever, I ask and investigate things for myself. People don't particularly care for my questions but I ask anyway, I want to understand. (Rich, Q13.14)

With the conscious skill use participants deconstructed the hegemonic value of education, without the communication of powerlessness.

... the skills that we developed in the class are like armor so you can go on in the system. Really makes it possible for you to navigate this system. That don't mean you ain't gonna be burnt in the process because we in the system, but you know what you being burnt with and you know how to heal yourself. The skills that you use, that you develop in this class become

armor for you to resist all that crazy shit. (Imani, DC.2)

Duality as a state of paradoxical conditioning is understood by the participants. However, the metaphor of skill development as "armor" or "defense mechanism" communications the growing presence of an oppositional identity to contest the internalization of hegemonic values.

My new deductive reasoning skills will probably act as a defense mechanism and guide for human interaction.

(Camille, Q13.4)

The final stages of the conceptualization process were marked by the participants conscious applicability of the skills learned and developed in the course to other aspects of their lives. For example, Liz felt that the skills garnered from the class gave her the "ability to really think in all areas of life" (interview). Conscious skill use brought forth academic confidence, as articulated by Camille and Balla.

... but you feel more confident, more assured, in what you're seeing. You're able to see how things have worked together, and you want to understand, talk about it even more. (Camille, interview)

Balla's reflection communicated a sense of control over what he internalized.

I have learned to approach things with an open mind at the same time keeping what I know in perspective
(Balla, Interview)

The articulated conceptualizations of education by the participants also contained more political and oppositional undertones.

For me the class taught me how to question, and the importance of questioning. I'm clearer on those things that people don't tell you. (Jazzy, Interview)

In addition, subversive value was conveyed was assigned to the new found skills.

I can read anything! No one can sneak their ideas across to me because I can see between the words.
(Kareem, Q13.10)

Issues of social justice were embedded in participants' perceptions of their own capabilities to impact change in their everyday and academic lives.

In my everyday life I will be able to deal with injustices and go around stumbling blocks. I will be able to communicate with all types of people. In my academic life this course has really taught me to educate myself by researching information and not

being afraid to ask questions or question the professor this class gave me a 'do it myself' attitude. (Nasha, Q13.12)

This "awareness" cultivated by the participants' conscious use of skill rekindled a more focused desire to act.

This sense of awareness causes an urgency to do something. For real I have a deep sense of responsibility. (Neesha, DC.3)

This desire to act was based on values of reciprocity and responsibilities to "create change".

These skills have instilled in me the will to do something to create change in the institution we are now faced with. (Jazzy, Q13.8)

Venus' concise statement communicated the groups' desire to function at a higher academic level.

I have a hunger to continue to be educated (Venus, DS.3)

The participants' conceptualization of education indicated the presence of a more transitive awareness which sought to act upon education as an articulation of resistance.

I think I would call it [the course] an Afrocentric skill development class. It was centered around us,

as African American students. That's how I would describe it. And it will also, lead you down the road to master every class you in after this class. If you don't master every class you in, there are no excuses, it's your own fault. No such thing as excuses, that's what I learned in this class.

Power Reclaimed

Academic Self-Concept: Conceptualizing Education as an Articulation of Resistance

The culmination of these experiences resulted in the participants' conceptualization of education as an articulation of resistance. Rich in the following passage began to see himself differently in his conceptualized state. In this new awareness he re-conceived himself from a mediocre student to a more capable student.

I honestly gave no thought to education. I was simply something that society expected you to have. My perceptions have changed completely. The quarter following the class, I drained the textbooks of every bit of information that I could use. I also changed my major to Pre-med Biology, something that I have always had a passion for but didn't want to take the time to study (being a lazy student). I feel more confident

when it comes to difficult areas of study and welcome challenges, I have never wanted to actually be challenged mentally, but now that's all I want, nothing less. (Rich, Q15.14)

As a more capable student his expectations of education were transformed:

Yes this class did influence the way that I approach learning. As I said in earlier questions, I read everything and more. I no longer study for an exam by cramming and hoping for a "C", I buckle down and study everyday and don't expect anything less than an "A". If I get a B, I'm pissed because I know that I am capable of better. I even study on the weekend. I repeat the information to myself over and over again whenever I think about it. I also try to relate the information in the classroom to everyday life. (Rich, Q31.10)

The fledging oppositional identity as communicated by the participants in the final stages of the course helped to move the participants' from being engaged passivist to subject resisters in education. This conceptual shift signifies transition from one mode of consciousness to another.

So, now it makes me want to go back and do some research. I need to do some more I need to step up my game as a student. I'm getting by fine; I'm getting by doing what I'm doing. But, I need to challenge myself. This whole experience was a reality check. I'm gonna have to do more if I wanna say that I've been empowered, if I've been empowered with all this information I'm going to have to act on it. (Neesha, DC.3)

As subject resisters participants' educational expectations changed, importantly they sought to filter the hegemonic influences of education.

How can I negotiate the system? I see it like you have to go to school like a revolutionary. You have to be bold, upfront, but tight. So, you don't have to go into the system deaf, dumb and crazy. You know. You know that there is something you get when you research, continue to reflect on a lot of stuff. I mean it's gonna be a hard road. You always gotta ask, what are you internalizing, not only from your peers, but from professors, from the material? (Imani, DC.2)

Imani sums up the overall experience by re-focusing the discussion on the three primary themes as interrelated concepts:

I never had to do any reflective of analysis of my perception, as far as my position in my educational process. That made me passive in the process, because as far as I knew I was doing what I was supposed to do. But after taking this class I started to realize the double edge sword of education. It's like going near a fire ... you know if you touch it it'll burn you up, but if you go close enough you'll be warmed. You try to get the benefits of it, but you stay or avoid the downfall. I see it as you can be a victim of education or an active member. For me there are no gray areas with that ... you are a victim or an active member. As an active member you use education as a tool, not letting the tool destroy you.

Chapter Summary

The chapter discusses perceptions and experiences of African American students who completed a course which utilized transformative education techniques and strategies. Unearthed in the discussion are the ways in which participants' conceptualization of education functions as or *conscientization* of the education repositioned them as subject resistors in the higher education learning process.

CHAPTER FIVE

Resistance in African American Culture

It's like going near a fire ... you know if you touch it it'll burn you up, but if you go close enough you'll be warmed. You try to get the benefits of it, but you stay or avoid the downfall. I see it as you can be a victim of education or an active member. For me there are no gray areas with that ... you are a victim or an active member. As an active member you use education as a tool, not letting the tool destroy you.

(Imani, DS.2)

Introduction

Chapter five explores resistance and opposition as acts of cultural development for African Americans. Resistance manifested in the research evolved as participants moved along the continuum of awareness. The participants' perception of oppositional knowledge as counter to the normative evaluative claim of education as liberating was met with resistance. This initial resistance focused on defending the integrity of the normative claim. As the participants' oppositional identities became more apparent, resistance in the

conceptualization of education became a transformative concept.

Establishing an Oppositional Culture: Reconstructing Hush Harbors

On a very basic level of the human psyche the oppressed experience a range of emotions including rage and shame resulting from the dehumanization inflicted upon them by the dominant group's unjust use of power (Mansbridge, 2001a). Building on Foucaultian resistance theory Mansbridge (2001a) concludes that oppression breeds resistance as a fundamental source of humanity. Subordinated groups have had the formidable task of identifying, naming, representing and responding to the complexities and benign contradictions of their personal and group lived experiences while intertwined with systems of domination (Freire, 1995; Nader, 1997). As the oppressed struggle to construct identities beyond the marginality of institutionalized power structures they rely upon experiential knowledge buttressed by ideals of social justice.

In response to the socio-cultural conditions of systemic domination, the oppressed create oppositional cultures as means to physically and spiritually exist under systemic domination (Freire, 1995, Mansbridge, 2001a;

Morris and Braine, 2001). Oppositional cultures contain uncritical critiques of the status quo and the larger community, as well as knowledge of isolated rebellious acts and organized episodes of resistance (Morris and Braine, 2001).

The existence of an oppositional culture indicates that disenfranchised groups existed in segregation from the power group. Segregation provided an inkling of autonomy which allows the oppressed to create "free spaces". Free spaces are carved between the private lives of the oppressed and large-scale institution (Evans and Boyte, 1986; Morris, 1993; Scott, 1990). These settings are intrinsic to its members' lifelong experiences as the oppressed, and become the locales where courage, self-determination and action are formulated and nurtured (Evans and Boyte, 1983). Evans and Boyte (1986) provide insight into the complexity, contradictions and cultural influences that govern these spaces:

Free spaces are never pure phenomenon. In the real world, they are always complex, shifting and dynamic - partial in their freedom and democratic participation, marked by parochialism of class, gender, race and other biases of which maintain them. (p. 20)

In free spaces the oppressed build cultural cohesion, ferment oppositional ideas drawn from everyday traditions, practice rituals and articulate deeply held feelings and desires about their powerlessness (Mansbridge, 2001a).

The licentious conditions of the slavocracy and preceding reign of terror through the Jim Crow eras spawned an African American oppositional culture. In free spaces, African Americans laid the foundational counter-hegemonic knowledge that ultimately gave rise to a unique educational schema. During the slavocracy African Americans were able to cultivate their desire for freedom and construct its components in free spaces identified in the literature as "hush harbors" (Evans and Boyte, 1986; Morris, 1993; Scott, 1990).

For a finite time during the slavocracy African Americans were generally permitted to convene groups for religious purposes. These opportunities to socialize as a group diminished as slave owners became aware of the underlying acts of resistance. The Vesey and Turner insurrections planned and organized under the guise of praise fellowship were used as an example to disallow independent group slave socialization. White slave owner fear of insurrection facilitated the institutionalization

of hyper-surveillance systems that discontinued and/or regulated slave gatherings. Groups of five or more slaves were not permitted to assemble outside the watchful eye of a white, male observer (Scott, 1990).

Plantation owners who viewed African American religiosity as "childlike" and/or psychologically subduing continued to allow groups of slaves to meet. As did those owners who felt some sense of Christian duty to allow slaves to meet. Regardless, laws and/or the use of real or implied physical and socio-psychological violence were used to govern slave social interaction.

Enslaved African Americans did gather together in unauthorized hush harbor meetings without the intrusion of white supervision (Scott, 1990). Hush harbors were located on or nearby the plantation, their exact locations known only by the slaves. As liberated zones, hush harbors provided space for slaves to construct knowledge, and practice cultural rituals. Characteristic of free spaces, hush harbors were steeped in African and African American culture.

To alert members of a hush harbor meeting, slaves sang gospel hymns such as, "Steal Away to Jesus" (Scott, 1990). The coded songs informed other slaves that a hush harbor gathering would take place after dusk. Overturned clay

pots would encircle the gathering and were believed to "catch the sound" cloaking the meeting with veils of secrecy (Scott, 1990). The use of oppositional language was a critical attribute of the hush harbor. In an attempt to understand and critique the complexity and contradictions of oppression; subordinated groups create "hidden transcripts". Hidden transcripts are the thoughts and plans of the oppressed spoken behind the backs of the power holders (Scott, 1990).

Hush harbors as privileged sites for hidden transcripts allowed African Americans slaves the opportunity and means to vent deeply held feelings and perceptions that could not be expressed in public without fear of individual, family or group retaliation. Portions of the hidden transcript that breached the public domain were concealed in folk wisdom to protect group oppositional beliefs. Songs, tales, metaphors, proverbs and euphemisms served as interlopers in public discourse that served not only to deceive slave owners, but provided vehicles by which these oppositional ideals could be institutionalized in the culture. The public release of these beliefs functioned to sustain the group's oppositional awareness of their paradoxical existence (Levine, 1978).

In the hush harbor slaves were able to speak unencumbered with masks of docility and subservience. In these spaces they were free to authenticate symbolic language with real world coping mechanisms, and to formulate resistance strategies as core group values. The solidarity of the hush harbor built a symbolic wall of protection for the dialogues that expressed the desire for freedom and the ways in which it could be attained. From the analysis of everyday practices emerged counter hegemonic knowledge that nursed an oppositional culture and nourished the development of an oppositional consciousness. The praxis of this higher level of consciousness revealed itself during various acts of resistance (Marable and Mullings, 2000c).

Centuries later it is the development of the oppositional consciousness which African and African Americans liberation struggles have been the most triumphant (Biko, 1978; Greer, 1971; Levin, 1978;; Morris, 1981; Morris, 1993; Morris, 2001; Morris, 2002; Nkrumah, 1970; Ture and Hamilton, 1982, Yeshitela, 1982). The knowledge constructed in the hush harbors facilitated the development of a group oppositional consciousness that inflamed the cultural and political landscape of the United

States igniting systematic acts of resistance (Marable and Mullings, 2000c).

Hush harbors provided the structure for a burgeoning oppositional culture. This in turn gave nourishment to the development of an oppositional group consciousness which demonstrated its power during the Civil Rights era. It is imperative to acknowledge that the explicit social control strategies exercised during the slavocracy and Jim Crow regime made clear the delineation between those with power and those without. White terrorist organizations, racialized justice, substandard housing, and wide-spread economic disenfranchisement worked in unison legitimizing the belief that African Americans were powerless because of biological and cultural inferiority.

These circumstances provided the oppressed with more than enough empirical fodder to identify and agree upon the principle agencies of oppression. However, in modern days blatant forms of social control have ebbed into cultural forms of dominance. The former relates to the establishment of control over groups and the latter relies upon the subordination and manipulation of ideas (Patterson, 1967; Patterson, 1982; Patterson, 2000; Nader, 1995). This is not to imply that social control tactics have been abandoned. It is meant to discuss the insidious

nature of cultural control as it relates to politics of oppression and the politics of cultural development. The qualitative shift, which included reliance upon cultural control processes, has been the primary function of education and schooling. Education as a controlling process devalues oppositional knowledge created in the deep structures of an oppositional culture.

Reconnecting Resistance with Academic Achievement

Resistance in African American culture has been necessary to alleviate the burden of oppression and is an essential theme of survival. Broadly defined threads of resistance are intricately woven throughout the African American socio-cultural experience. However, its estrangement from education renders a conceptual disconnect in the discourse. In educational circles, resistance is conceptualized as a fundamentally political act, yet its practicality in the ideological matrix it is perceived as quixotic at best or an academic fatality at worst.

There is an abundance of literature which explores the cultural and sociological causalities of African American educational resistance. Though many of these theories have been conceptualized around the experiences of high school students, their generality are easily transferable onto the

whole African American academic experience. Ogbu's (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1990, 1993, 1994, 1997, 2001a, 2001b, 2003) cultural ecological perspective is perhaps the most widely accepted authority explaining African American school resistance and academic underachievement. Ogbu's (1990, 1993, 1994, 1997) voluntary/involuntary minority theory was very successful in instigating a much needed shift in the dialogue away from inherently racist cultural deficit models and paternalistic cultural difference models.

Cultural models emerged during the civil unrest of the 60s in response to the overtly racist propaganda that dominated American educational discourse. Culture deprivation and difference theories had broad appeal because they placed conceptual distance between the overtly racist intellectualizing of genetic deficit and cultural deficit theories. In particular, the difference models "downplayed the social and historical forces responsible for the reproduction of cultural differences" (Levinson and Holland, 1996, p. 8).

According to Ogbu (1994) a conceptual shift was needed, because established cultural models which attempted to explain African American underachievement in terms of cultural language differences, lack of cultural capital or

hidden curriculum were restricted in that they were: 1) ahistorical; and 2) decontextualize the minority experience; 3) marginalized experiential knowledge and its effect on group "interpretations of and responses to school" (p. 365); 4) relied upon a noncomparative analysis. Ogbu (1994) posits that in the absence of historical and socio-cultural appositeness patterns were overlooked or manipulated according to political agendas.

In response to this void in the literature, Ogbu (1994) interjected two environmental factors that shape minority adaptation and subsequent school achievement in the United States: 1) the way in which the group was incorporated; 2) history of subordination by the dominant group. Based upon these factors there are three categories of minority groups in the United States: autonomous, voluntary and involuntary minorities. The thrust of Ogbu's research focuses upon the latter two categories, voluntary and involuntary minorities. African Americans were brought to the United States as a laboring class which makes them involuntary minorities. Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and Native Hawaiians are also involuntary minorities because they too were forced into minority status by conquest, slavery or colonization.

Both voluntary and involuntary minorities experience instrumental and symbolic discrimination as subordinated groups in the United States. Instrumental discrimination includes mistreatment of minorities that is beneficial to the advancement of whiteness and white privilege. Symbolic or expressive discrimination are social, socio-psychological and cultural practices which misconstrues minority groups as inferior. To understand how voluntary and involuntary adapt to their subordinated status Ogbu (1994) constructed a typology consisting of four domains: instrumental, relation, cultural and identity.

The first pattern of minority adaptation are instrumental factors which "arise from the minorities' responses to environmental exploitation, such as discrimination in jobs, political participation, housing, education and other activities that yield tangible benefits to white Americans" (Ogbu, 1994, p. 368). He elaborates:

Several factors influence the instrumental adaptation of immigrant minorities. One is their *positive dual frame of reference*: The immigrants tend to compare their present selves or situation with their former selves or with their peers 'back home', they generally conclude that they are better off in the United States than they were back home or than their peers back

home, even which they are allowed only marginal jobs. They may think that their menial job and discrimination are temporary. (Ogbu, 1994, p. 368)

Because voluntary minorities have access to natal interpretations they do not believe their exclusion from the job market is because they do not have the skill. Education for voluntary minorities is perceived as a tool to gain access to goods and services under the control of the dominate group.

Involuntary minorities exiled from their "homeland situation" experience a type of hopelessness in regard to their situation:

Because they do not have a 'homeland situation' to compare with their situation in the United States; they do no interpret their menial jobs and lower wages as 'better.' Neither do they see their situation as temporary. Instead, they [involuntary minorities] interpret the discrimination against them as more or less permanent and institutionalized. (Ogbu, 1994, p. 368)

Without benefit of their "homeland" perspective involuntary minorities are subjected to the cultural authority of the dominant group. White America becomes the measuring stick by which success is measured. "They compare their

situation with that of their white American peers and conclude that they are worse off than they should because of discrimination" (Ogbu, 1994, p. 368).

To illustrate the patterns of adjustments Ogbu (1994) developed three cultural domains. The domain most discussed in education is the relational domain. The relational domain conceptualizes variant patterns of adaptation based upon relationships developed between minorities and superordinating groups. Involuntary minorities mistrust of dominate groups control of institutions causes them to reject these institutions and processes. Primary and secondary cultural systems are the primary factors influencing adaptation in the cultural domain.

Since voluntary minorities are able to draw upon natal cultural ways of knowing they operate within a primary cultural frame of reference. In contrast, involuntary minorities develop adaptation patterns drawn from secondary cultural system as a result of their oppression. For African Americans the secondary cultural system would be the oppositional culture or oppressor/oppressed paradigm. In accordance the final domain concedes that patterns of adaptation are constructed around an oppressor/oppressed paradigm which yields an oppositional identity.

According to Ogbu, this oppositional identity cultivated in isolation of natal knowledge has limited ability to construct transformative knowledge. An oppositional identity is transfixed on the permanence of institutionalized discrimination which cultivates in African American students a fatalistic "twin phenomenon of cultural frame of reference and collective identity" (Ogbu, 1994, p. 376). For example, Ogbu (1994) elaborates:

More specifically, it appears that the oppositional identity and oppositional cultural and language frames of reference generate a cognitive orientation whereby the minorities consciously and unconsciously perceive and interpret learning standard English and school-related aspects of mainstream culture as learning to act like 'oppressors', their 'enemies' - white Americans - and as threatening to collective identity. Such learning or behavior is, therefore, 'resisted.' Some interpret schooling as a linear acculturation or assimilation process or as a displacement/replacement process. They equate school rules and practices enhance academic success with norms and cultural practices of white Americans. As previously noted, this failure to separate instrumental attitudes and behaviors from acculturative attitudes and behaviors

into the cultural and language frames of their 'oppressors' or 'enemies' adversely affects their academic orientation and efforts. (Ogbu, 1994, p. 377)

Fordham and Ogbu (1986) further unpack the significance of the cultural and identity adaptation domains in education in their conclusion that "acting white" is an intercultural concept evolved from the African American interpretation of education and schooling from a secondary cultural source.

The experience of natal alienation, as set-forth by Ogbu requires additional attention. African Americans as involuntary minorities did experience natal alienation. However, sociologists provide an in-depth analysis and definition of natal knowledge. Patterson (2000) defines natal alienation in terms of the slave's complete isolation "from all formal, legally enforceable ties of 'blood', and from any attachment to groups or localities other than those chosen for him [her] by the master" (p. 36). The enslavement and forced migration of the Africans imposed a genealogically exile that severed and forbade the integration of ancestral wisdom and experience in interpretation his/her social reality. Patterson (2000) points out that natal alienation is transferred from one generation to the next.

The African's natal alienation perceptually removed each succeeding generation from ancestral wisdom. As such successive generations were disallowed the benefit of genealogical in knowledge in the interpretation of their lived experiences. Therefore, each generation consciously or unconsciously internalized the cultural authority of the slave holders, thereby fracturing the African American consciousness.

In a recent ethnographic study of the academic disengagement of affluent African American high school students, Ogbu (2003) sought to further solidify the voluntary/involuntary theory by broadening the factors that pointed to intercultural cultural values which work in opposition of academic achievement. In his recent study Ogbu (2003) speculates that the internalization of the "White belief that Black Americans are not as intelligent as Whites" invokes African American students to disengage from their academic studies.

Ogbu (2003) substantiates his conclusion in the recollection of an epoch in African American history in which a highly developed, black consciousness, forced and sustained a collective resistance that resonated globally. He posits,

The internalization [of the hegemonic value] is, of course, strongest among the oldest generations. In a comparative study conducted in the early 1990s, Stanback (1992) found that the internalization was probably strongest among Blacks born before 1930, followed by those born between 1930 and 1960. It was weakest among those born or who grew up during the Black consciousness period, or Black Power Movement. (Ogbu 2003, p. 79)

What can be discerned from this line of reasoning is that there is a critical link between an oppositional identity and consciousness development as primary cultural task. The presence of both hegemonic and oppositional values present during and throughout the time span mentioned in Ogbu's discussion is very important. The research of protest scholars has confirmed that the presence of a mature consciousness, Black consciousness, indicates the presence of an oppositional culture. Based upon the work of these scholars coupled with the historical value of resistance/opposition in African American culture prevents the marginalization of an oppositional culture as a secondary cultural system.

An oppositional culture is comprised of both hegemonic and oppositional values. It would be within the boundaries

of this analysis to infer that the intensified domination and repression of oppositional knowledge for African American people during slavery and the Jim Crow eras facilitated an over-internalization of hegemonic values which worked to undermine oppositional values. When cultures of opposition and subordination weave back and forth, "the culture of subordination often wins out because it focuses on the abundant knowledge of the negative consequences associated with rebellion" or change (Morris, 2002, p. 26).

Internalization of hegemonic values was "weakest" during the Black consciousness and Black Power, implies an over-internalization of oppositional values as supported in the literature. During periods of high internalized oppositional values, resistance was conceptualized as cultural development, education was used to construct, gain access and maintain bodies of oppositional knowledge to offset the internalization of hegemony. Further investigation concludes that those periods of over-internalized hegemonic values impacts negatively on the collective educational achievement of African Americans.

It is imperative that resistance models in education segue into discussions which explore the linkages between opposition and culture development. Resistance by its

broadest definition is amorphous in African American culture subjected to situational and historical context.

For example, the term "acting white" has its origins in signifying terms such as, "Uncle Tom", "House Negro" and "sell out". Within the context of an oppositional culture these identities represented the behavioral norms that worked against the African American collective struggle. Intellectually these terms were associated with an over-identification with hegemonic values. However, as revealed by Fordam and Ogbu (1986), the contemporary interpretation of "acting white" shows some oppositional relevance, but minimizes the internalization of hegemonic consciousness. Left unattended and mystified in the discourse are the ways in which the internalization of hegemonic values impacts the perception of schooling and achievement. From the vantage point of this research the contemporary interpretation of "acting white" by African American students in relation to schooling and achievement results from the over-internalization of hegemonic values and uncritical awareness of oppositional values. Resistance models in education which assume that oppositional identities have no value are ahistorical.

Though resistance theories in education have skillfully challenged the perception of education as the

"great equalizer", narrow definition and placation of resistance as a viable tool to enhance academic achievement ignores a critical portion of the African American culture experience. Resistance models with historical displacement of African American oppositional culture and the core values that have shaped educational values suggest that African Americans must cultivate cultural codes of conduct and values which sustain the dual consciousness. Education as an articulation of resistance equips African American students with the skills necessary to make sense of oppositional values buried in dialectics of cultural development.

Chapter Summary

Dominant models of resistance in education do not adequately represent the perceptions of the participants involved in this study. Chapter five explores the nature of resistance as it has functioned, structured and been interpreted by the African American experience. The chapter serves as a larger systems relation analysis in which resistance is a dialectical concept of African American cultural development.

CHAPTER SIX

Speaking Truth to Power: Consciousness

By knowingly using these skills it has changed my whole outlook on life. There so much more out there for me to know, and that I want to know. The research that I did in class made me look at my life and made me realize that I needed to step it up on all levels. It has helped me sort through things that have been going on in my life personally. It has helped me go above and beyond what has been asked of me in class.

(Venus, Q13.15)

Introduction

As the participants conceptualized education they articulated transition from a semi-transitive awareness to more transitive modes of awareness that compelled action. The participants' movement along the continuum was discernable in their ability to move beyond their own experiences to make generalizations about education in general. Chapter six is a literature review of consciousness intended to apprehend the nebulous definitions and attributes of consciousness, thereby giving meaning and structuring meaning to semi-transitive and

transitive modes of awareness as articulated by the study participants.

Epistemology of Consciousness

Karl Marx used class consciousness as an analytical tool to speculate upon the circumstances in which the proletariat would rise up against the bourgeoisie. Once the proletariat began to identify their oppression as an exploited class, they would unite to overthrow bourgeois domination (Marx and Engels, 1972; Robinson, 2000). The definition of consciousness is highly contestable.

However, Marx's class analysis outlines the fundamental principles of consciousness as an indomitable force that when used by the oppressed works to alter or undermine systems of domination (Hill and Jones, 1993; Morris, 1993; Morris, 2001, 2002). In that the oppressed internalize the "myths" used in their oppression.

Because consciousness is intrinsic to the individual there is a desire to analyze it on a linear continuum which moves from less to more. Linear continua offer tremendous insight into the individual dimensions of consciousness, but they do not take into account how these dynamics are shaped by the social world. Scholars who study the cultural development of historically oppressed groups have

given shape to the nebulous form of consciousness. These scholars agree that consciousness though implicitly internal to the individual psyche is contrived from the social world (DuBois, 1989; Freire, 1995; Harris, 1997, Peavy, 2000; Mansbridge, 2001a, Mansbridge and Morris, 2001).

An individual's sense of justice and equity, right or wrong, good and bad are shaped by each one's own perception and group interpretations. As such, consciousness is subjected to historical periods where political opportunities, mobilizing institutions and "certain repertoires of action and self-understanding become available" to the oppressed (Mansbridge, 2001a, p. 5). For certain consciousness is more than awareness. However, the sensitivity of feelings cannot be misplaced from the dialogue, emotional connection trigger cognitive and behavioral responses that may led to social transformation (Freire, 1985; Peavy, 2000).

Ontology of Consciousness

Social Protest Movements and Consciousness

The study of liberation and/or social protest movements have uncovered deeply veined socio-cultural influences on consciousness development (Morris, 1993, 2001, 2002). Through cultural and structural analyzes

these scholars have found the emergence of a group-based oppositional consciousness throughout specific historical periods which signifies an oppositional culture. The term oppositional consciousness does not disentangle the individual from the social world; rather it refocuses attention on the role of oppositional communities on the development of identity and cultures.

Morris and Braine (2001) loosely define oppositional consciousness as an empowered mental state that prepares members of an oppressed group to engage in praxis that seeks to promote reform or overthrow systemic domination. According to Mansbridge (2001b) any definition and identification of an oppositional consciousness requires four tasks that revolve around issues of justice.

First, an individual with an oppositional consciousness must identify with an unjustly subordinated group. Second, the oppositional consciousness recognizes the injustice in their group's position. Third, the oppositional consciousness opposes the injustice. Finally, the oppositional consciousness recognizes identity with the interest of ending the injustice. An oppositional consciousness is not simplified in the acknowledgement that oppression exists, nor does it seek to identify oppositional groups. It is concerned with bringing

injustice to an end through socio-cultural transformative efforts.

To further illuminate the dimensions of oppositional consciousness Mansbridge (2001b) makes distinctions in consciousness from minimal to mature. In accordance carriers of a mature oppositional consciousness perform several tasks:

They identify the enemy as an oppressor, thus politicizing preexisting 'we' vs. 'they' dichotomies. They describe the nature of the oppression and the ways in which it is maintained. They highlight and reinterpret countercultural expressions previously somewhat camouflaged in rituals, religious ceremonies, music, poetry, dance, and jokes. They create free spaces where resistance can be contemplated, acted out, and condoned. They attach moral wrongness to their oppression while imbuing thoughts and acts of resistance with the mantle of rightness. Like hegemonic culture, oppositional consciousness must constantly be reproduced and refined to address the conditions of oppression as they appear in real time and space. (Morris and Braine, 2001, p. 27)

Black Nationalist Consciousness

Black Nationalist consciousness emerged during the apex of the civil rights movement and matured into a cultural identity shaped by an established body of oppositional knowledge. Black consciousness ideologically bound to Black Power materialized as a cultural and political movement that altered the landscape of American colleges and universities (Ladner, 1971). Black power rested on the principles of self-determination, community engagement and cultural pride.

The concept of Black Power rests on a fundamental premise: Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society. (Ture and Hamilton, 1992, p. 53)

Black consciousness was necessary before African Americans could successfully develop the tools and techniques for acquiring Black power. A SNCC worker reflecting on his/her experiences identified Black consciousness as the central tool in the movement:

...an awareness of oneself as a removed nation of Black people who are capable of running and developing their own governments and who have pride in their blackness

to the extent that he can say, I'm no longer ashamed of my blackness. The individual redefines the society's rules in terms of his own being. There is a new kind of awakening of the individual, a new kind of realization of self, a type of security, and a type of self-confidence. (Ladner, 1971, p. 311)

Another student emphasized the importance of community in black consciousness:

Black consciousness is not the question but rather [the question is] from which community one comes from. If you know that, you can identify with Black people anywhere in the world then. That is all that is necessary. (Ladner, 1971, p. 311)

Other activists gave insight into the practical dimensions of Black consciousness, "Black power [is] incomplete without Black consciousness. Black consciousness is basically the search for identity; or working out one's own identity... There must be a long process of learning and unlearning in between and a period of self-questing" (Ladner, 1971, p. 311).

Theoretically, Black consciousness and Black power is grounded in post-colonial theory. In public discourse the profundity of post-colonial theorists Memmi (1965) and Fanon (1967, 1968) was instrumental in illuminating how

psychological, social and cultural coercion of the colonial powers manifest existentially in the colonized. As a concept Black Consciousness and Black Power drew heavily from the work of Fanon. His work provided the frame of reference through which African Americans could explain the psychological and cultural issues unique to the African American experience. Black Nationalist and post-colonial theorist, Ture and Hamilton (1992) appropriated the term "internal colonialism" as an analytical schema to explain internalized subordination experienced by African Americans.

From this discourse sprang the term "internalized colonization" used to characterize African American behaviors and attitudes that worked against group interest that indicated the internalization of hegemonic consciousness. Blauner (1971) makes a distinction between "classical" colonialism and the colonization experienced by African Americans and nonwhite citizens of the world. In essence he describes the African American experience as a special form of colonization outside the context of a colonial system.

The internal colonial concept derived from post colonial theory, and seeks to explain the psycho-cultural internalization of race based disenfranchisement of African American. Though systematic discrimination does not

provide adequate explanation of the "essential and dynamic features of American race relations" (Blauner, 1971, p. 348), post colonial theory is representative of the principles that guide colonial theory, such as the caste theory.

Colonization in the United States did not include the settlement of land that was unequivocally Black. In addition colonizers were also outsiders and were the numerical minority. Yet, classical colonialism of the imperialist era and American racism developed out of the same historical situation and reflected a common world economic and power stratification.

The differences between traditional colonial theory and thought on internal colonization are fundamentally hinged upon several variables as outlined by Blauner (1971): 1) the process of colonization begins with the forced, involuntary entry; 2) "colonizing power carries out a policy which [seeks] to constrain, transform, or destroy, indigenous values, orientations, and ways of life (p. 351), creating a hegemonic culture. Patterson's (1982) discussion further elucidates the complexity of the colonial power relationship. He posits, in the case of African Americans, the severance of the natal cultural line

enabled the oppressor to control the symbols that submerged the colonized deeper into the hegemonic consciousness.

Hence, the colonization process seeks to destroy linkages between the indigenous values, orientations and ways of life. Third, colonization involves a relationship by which members of the colonized group tend to be administered by representatives of the dominant power. The final fundament of colonization as presented by Blauner (1971) is racism. "Racism is a principle of social domination by which a group seen as inferior or different in terms of perceived biological characteristics is exploited, controlled, and oppressed socially and psychically by a superordinate group" (p. 351).

Post-colonial theorists have been instrumental in linking the cultural experiences of the African Diaspora. Accordingly, it is the work of South African martyr, Stephen Biko, lauded as the founder of the Black consciousness movement in South Africa who provided the most comprehensive definition of Black consciousness. Using the technique and strategy of the Black power movement, Biko argued that Africans suffered from inferiority complexes resulting from 300 years of deliberate oppression.

For Biko the socio-psychological and cultural dehumanization impaired Africans from engagement in a liberation movement. He reconstructed the Black Power movement, grounding its philosophy in African culture, history and politics, creating a formidable weapon led by students and grassroots activists. Biko (1978) defined Black consciousness as:

...the realization by the black [wo]man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation - the blackness of their skin - and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the 'normal', which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realization that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black Consciousness therefore, takes cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people black. It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life. The interrelationship between the consciousness of the

self and the emancipatory programme is of paramount importance. Blacks no longer seek to reform the system because so doing implies acceptance of the major points around which the system revolves. Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make of it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realized in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand. Liberation therefore, is a paramount importance in the concept of Black consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. (p. 49)

He continued to elaborate on the socio-cultural need for Black consciousness development, "in other words, the 'Black Consciousness' approach would be irrelevant in a colorless and non-exploitative egalitarian society. It is relevant here because we believe that an anomalous situation is a deliberate creation of man" (Biko, 1978, p. 89). By the time Biko was murdered in 1977 Black consciousness had taken hold and proliferated throughout South Africa.

On the heels of the Black Power movement was a renewed interest in Black scholarship by African American scholars particularly as it related to a racialized identify. Cross

developed a linear model to determine the levels of Black consciousness with the goal of determining the educational needs of African American students (Okech and Harrington, 2002; Tatum, 1992). The Cross model presents the evolution of Black consciousness present in four distinct stage: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion and internalization. Cross believed that individuals passed through the stages of consciousness in a progressive order. Expanding the Cross model, Parham made two fundamental changes. For Parham individuals passed through the stages of consciousness not in a linear way but circularly. The cyclical motions resulted from the causal link between lifespan and identify development. Therefore, individuals could progress through the stages or stagnate.

Milliones refashioned the Cross and Parham models with descriptors that denoted the socio-cultural influences on Black consciousness. Milliones stages of Black consciousness consisted of preconscious, confrontation, internalization and integration (Okech and Harrington, 2002). Individuals in the preconscious stage have internalized hegemonic values that conceive resistance as a threat against harmony. With feelings of antagonism toward the enhancement of a Black consciousness, these individuals do not progress. The confrontation stage is marked by

feelings of rage and discontent against Whites.

Individuals in this stage have focused creating conceptual binaries in which Whites are the power brokers and Blacks are powerless.

Individuals in the internalization stage of Black consciousness are not fatalistic, but remain in the specifics of the Black/White binary. These individuals have internalized the positive messages of their ethnic identity, and have a strong desire to externally showcase this identity. Individuals may experience intense feelings of ethnic pride and the desire to display this pride. External manifestations of culture may be construed as acts of resistance. They may also exhibit impatience with those who do not do share their feelings of ethnic pride. Parham's integration stage of Black consciousness development is marked by the individual's reconceptualization of socially constructed binaries.

Comprehending the dynamics of oppressions these individuals focus their energies on issues of justice. Importantly, Cross's theory and those that expanded upon the model general premise is that a healthy African American identity not only identifies with being African American, but demonstrates behaviors that address the problems and issues of the group (Johnson, 2001).

Consciousness and Education

Conscientization

The term consciencism was introduced by Kwame Nkrumah in 1964 predating Freire's (1985, 1995) use, as an intellectual map to guide African decolonization. However, it is Paulo Freire's (1995) work with the peasants of Brazil initiated a paradigmatic shift in understanding the functional purpose of consciousness in education. Freire (1995) used the term *conscientization* to describe the development of consciousness as an act of cultural production. Meshing several theoretical approaches, Freire posits that, "one of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge human beings' consciousness" (Freire, 1995, p. 33). According to Freire (1995) the world is knowable, however oppression represses the epistemological curiosity or reflective consciousness of the oppressed. The repression of consciousness prevents the oppressed from ascertaining the true causality of their oppression (Freire, 1998; Haymes, 2002).

Conscientization as revolutionary praxis or cultural action is a transitive process through which individuals move from objects (semi-transitive) of their reality to

subjects (transitive), cultural creators of reality. For Freire critical consciousness is characteristic of a deep awareness of life shaping socio-cultural and structural realities buttressed with the capacity to act in the transformation of reality (Freire, 1984, 1995, 2000; Heaney, 1995). Through it the oppressed develop the perception and volition to change their reality (Freire, 1995).

While working with peasants in Latin America Freire noted that they transitioned through two spheres of consciousness, semi-intransitive and transitive. One sphere of consciousness he identified as "dominated", semi-intransitive or magical mode. This mode of consciousness is conditioned by social structures (Freire, 1985). However, arising from the semi-transitive mode were the transitive spheres, naïve and critical modes of consciousness.

The magical or semi-intransitive mode of consciousness has limited perception. An individual in this mode is regulated by biological needs which overwhelms and incapacitates the structural perception of oppression. Elaborated upon by Freire (1985):

...this mode of consciousness cannot objectify the facts and problematical situations of daily life. [Wo]men

whose consciousness exists at this level of quasi immersion lack what we call structural perception. (p. 75)

Trapped within the specifics of their lived experiences the oppressed cannot apprehend the structural impediments which shape and reshape reality. The individual is then regulated to a "state of stuck", unable to see beyond their personal experiences or ways of knowing. They are prone to "simply apprehension [of] facts and attributes to them a superior power by which it is controlled and to which it must therefore submit" (Freire and Macedo, 2000, p. 83). The magical belief in the invulnerability and power of the oppressor cultivates in the oppressed what Freire phrased as a "fear of freedom" (Freire, 1995).

Submerged in the culture of silence the oppressed are unable to question the infrastructures of their powerlessness instead develop a fear of freedom. The fear of freedom may impress upon the oppressed to become the oppressor or it may bind the oppressed to the internment of domination.

one of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed is prescription. Every prescription represents the imposition of one individual's choice upon another, transforming the

consciousness of the person prescribed to into one that conforms with the prescriber's consciousness. Thus, the behavior of the oppressed is prescribed behavior, following as it does the guidelines of the oppressor. (Freire, 1995, p. 28-29)

Marred by a sense of hopelessness and pessimism the semi-intransitive perception is marked by passivity.

The underlying principle of the semi-intransitive consciousness is that the oppressed are uncritically aware of their oppression. As they engage in conscientization the outer shell of the culture of silence is cracked. At this transformative point individuals begin to transition into the transitive spheres of consciousness.

... there are no rigidly defined frontiers between the historical moments that produce qualitative changes in [wo]men's awareness. In many respects, the semi-transitive consciousness remains present in the naïve transitive consciousness.

The semi-transitive consciousness injects itself culturally into the new consciousness making it naïve. Distinctive of the naïve transitivity mode is the individual's emersion from the culture of silence. Emergence from the semi-transitive into the naïve transitive sphere is not without the higher levels of anxiousness and anxiety, explains

Heaney (1995). The naïve transitive consciousness is marked by:

an over-simplification of problems, nostalgia for the past, an underestimation of ordinary people, a strong tendency to gregariousness, a disinterest in investigation, a fascination with fanciful explanations of reality, and by the practice of polemics rather than dialogue. (Heaney, 1995, p.5)

The naive conscious state is transitional and dominated by hegemonic ideology. The oppressed are anxious for change and as such begin to articulate their dissatisfaction or awareness of oppression's infrastructure creating, creating tension between the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressor privy to this information is able to alter reality in a way that appease the oppressed, restoring order and harmony. Open to hegemonic manipulation those in the naïve mode of consciousness are influenced by "superficial transformations [of the oppressor], designed to prevent any real change in their [the oppressors] power of prescription" (Freire, 1985, p. 78). One can never really transcend naïve consciousness, because it contorts into the cultural fabric of the oppressed (Freire, 1985; Heaney, 1995).

One of the tasks of the oppressed is to create data that will support continued transition into succeeding modes of consciousness. The final mode of consciousness is the "the maximum of potential consciousness" or critical consciousness (Freire, 1985, p. 86). Individuals who are critically consciousness "represent things and facts as they exist empirically, in their causal and circumstantial correlations" (Freire and Macedo, 2000, p. 83).

Freire insists that "once [wo]man perceives a challenge, understands it, and recognizes the possibilities of response, (s)he acts (Freire and Macedo, 2000, p. 83). Hence, this individual ascertains causality, understanding that perception is shaped by external and internal factors; importantly they see that they too can make culture by acting upon reality. The commitment to action is the most essential component of a conscientized or critically conscious individual.

Kuona: Perceiving beyond what is apparent

Fundamentally, the liberating process of education is consciousness development. Freire does not provide a standardized approach to *conscientization* as the process of consciousness development. Processes are guided by the overarching principles of cultural contextualization,

democracy, reflexivity and transformative action. The absence of a standardized prototype enables a diversity of thought, in that authentic models of emancipatory education can emerge with its own distinct praxis.

Peavy's (2000) *kuona* paradigm is one such model. Influenced by the respective educational philosophies and histories of Highlander (1981), former Tanzania President, Julius Nyerere (1972), and Paulo Freire (1995), Peavy (2000) developed the *kuona* model, a Swahili word which means to perceive beyond what is apparent, as a emancipatory educational epistemology to guide the transformative pedagogical approaches for African Americans.

The *kuona* model is wedded theoretically to Freirian pedagogical approach to consciousness development in its essentializing of skill development. As a teacher committed to the use of collaborative and participatory approaches in both community and university based educational settings Peavy (2000) observed "... that those who had been victims of oppression had to be taught to read, write and think so as to recognize their oppression and change their course of life" (p. 58). She found that liberatory skill development assisted learners' transition

through the modes of consciousness into a conscientized state.

Traditional educational frames of reference have yielded pedagogical approaches that fail to engage students in a way that enables the apprehension of the underlying complexities of the African American experience.

Mechanistic skill development has no room for nor does it tolerate critical consciousness. The educational institutionalization of skills developed in mechanistic ways confines students to the thicket of rote memorization (Peavy, 2000). As well, the routinization of these skills traps individuals in the magical or semi-intransitive mode of consciousness, namely in the specifics of their lived experiences.

The kuona paradigm interrupts these traditional thinking patterns and behaviors by engaging students in a process conceptualization. The process of conceptualization takes students "out of the specifics of an experience and/or text to a more general sphere so that they are better able to learn from the experience and predict patterns of behavior" (Peavy, 2000, p. 58). As students engage in the process they begin to sort out their experiences and the experiences of others to "absorb the lessons essential to their growth, change and spirit" (p.

59). The formation of general concepts facilitates transition through semi-transitive consciousness into a conceptualized or critical state of awareness.

As students continue in the conscious process of skill development they are able to perceive and predict the dynamics of oppression and, importantly to resist its objectification. The true benefit of kuona journey is that students walk away from the process with the "perception of what can and cannot be accomplished in developing self, other, and institutions" (p. 64), thereby re-entering the educative process as transformational subjects.

Axiological Experiential: Fragmentation of the African American Consciousness

The Civil Rights uprising that occurred in the US and South Africa demonstrate that the oppositional consciousness is a powerful tool when used by the oppressed to work against systemic domination. However, it is not invincible. Meshed between the dialectically opposed culture of subornation and culture of opposition, an oppositional consciousness is vulnerable to the abrogation of a hegemonic consciousness (Mansbridge and Morris, 2001). An oppositional consciousness presupposes the existence of an oppositional culture, but the reverse is untrue (Mansbridge, 2001a, 2001b; Morris 2001).

Oppositional culture transfers its values and non-critical ideas to its members through music, speeches, written documents and religion (Gamson, 1975). This raw cultural material becomes the catalytic force that nourishes, but does not necessitate an oppositional consciousness. An oppositional culture borne from the dialectics oppression and opposition contains values of resistance and subordination. The predominance of either value-set is influenced by socio-cultural factors.

An oppositional consciousness challenges dominant beliefs and ideologies by instilling and synthesizing oppositional ideas set forth by an existing oppositional culture. As the carriers of an oppositional consciousness rally around oppositional ideals a cohesive bond formulates a symbolic blueprint for individual and collective action (Mansbridge, 2002b; Mansbridge and Morris, 2002; Morris, 1981, 1993).

The internalization of competing value stances jeopardizes maturation of critical consciousness. Dual consciousness or duality complex is a reoccurring concept in African American discourse. The perception of education as a liberator and oppressor has evolved from the ontological circumstances of double consciousness or dual consciousness. Its paradoxical thread is interwoven across

the African American experience in such concepts such as: duality complex or psychic duality.

These terms have been appropriated to explain the psychological and spiritual discontent experienced by African Americans as an oppressed people. Its ideological foundation was laid by the works of David Walker, Maria Stewart, Henry Highland Garnet, Sojourner Truth and John Rack, belaboring the social, psychological and cultural dehumanization of slavery. Double consciousness illustrates the ineffable entanglement in the socio-cultural world revealing the ways in which power replicates itself in the construct of the human consciousness (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000).

In 1903, Dubois (1989) intellectual sustenance gave shape to the double consciousness as a viable theoretical frame of reference. He theorized double consciousness as:

... a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One every feels his two-ness, - an American, A Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged

strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

(Dubois, 1989, p. 5)

Double consciousness results from the repression of "a true self consciousness", for Dubois (1989) it was not a pathetic or feeble mental state. He continues,

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world. (p. 3)

The cultural significance of the word "veil" implies a type of clairvoyant ability. In this context the word takes on a more concrete meaning that implies a greater capacity to transcend marginality and exclusion.

What emerges from the succeeding discussion are the causal circumstances that fragments the African American consciousness.

This, then, is the end of his striving: to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. These powers of body and mind have in the past been strangely wasted, dispersed, or forgotten. The shadow of a might Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx. Through history, the powers of single

black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness. (Dubois, 1989, p. 3)

The African American consciousness is bifurcated by the repression of humanity. Conceptualized in this way, double consciousness is a dialectical phenomenon which results from the politics of oppression and the politics of cultural development.

Here in America, in the few days since Emancipation, the black man's turning hither and thither in hesitant and doubtful striving has often made his very strength to lose effectiveness, to seem like absence of power, like weakness. An yet it is not weakness, - it is the contradiction of double aims. (Dubois, 1989, p. 3)

Contemporary scholars grappling with psychological dis-ease, social contention and cultural discord experienced by African Americans have explored the impact of double consciousness. Akbar's (1991) typology conceived as a mental health pathology undergrid the essential psychological and cultural features which demark the workings of the duality complex.

Individual and group behaviors that indicate the presence of a dual consciousness are debatable. The importance of this model is gleaned from the magnitude and

encompassing ways in which the clashing of hegemonic and oppositional values affects the psychological and cultural development African American people. Akbar's (1991) typology consists of four classifications: the alien-self, anti-self, self-destructive and organic disorders. The latter classification, organic disorder, focuses on biological influences that cause mental illness making it the least significant in this discussion.

According to Akbar (1991) the alien-self, anti-self and self-destructive disorders result from the collective and persistent exposure to oppression experienced by African Americans. The model, Akbar insists, recognizes 'anti-life' forces within itself [the African American community] and threatening from without.

The first classification, alien self disorder, is characterized by the perception that racism does not exist or has been ameliorated by social mobility. Present in the value system is an unremitting belief that oppression has been elevated with the acquisition of material gain or cultural status. These individuals may wrestle with identity contradictions, but feel a sense of gratification when successful by system standards. The second classification, anti-self, denotes the internalization of

the dominant group's hostile perceptions of African Americans.

In education, individuals who suffer from the anti-self disorder may hold the belief that the majority of African American students are lazy. As gatekeepers those identified with anti-self disorder work to maintain structures of dominance for personal gain or because they perceive the structures as fair and just. They may also believe that no alternative structures exist; therefore the structure becomes the standard by which excellence is measured.

The third classification, self destructive disorders are typified by those who live self and community destructive lifestyle. This group as characterized by Akbar (1991) as "the direct victims of oppression" (p. 346), because they may have developed identities inconsistent with the dominant group's standard of achievement. Pimps, whores, addicts, alcoholics and psychotics having succumbed to powerlessness through destructive measures as an "attempt to survive in a society which systematically frustrates normal efforts for natural human growth", according to Akbar (1991, p. 346). Turning rage and frustration inward upon self and outward upon the

community these individuals engage in self destruction as a retreat from reality.

The relativity of Akbar's (1991) typology is in its documentation of a struggle existing in African American psyche originating from the lived experiences of duality. The inherent struggle of the dual consciousness creates a dialectical tension caused from the fractious internalization of competing cultural values (see Akbar, 1991; Ani, 1994; Caldwell and Stewart, 2001; Welsing, 1991; Wilson, 1998; Ture and Hamilton, 1992).

Paradoxically, education is recognized as the reconciliator and reproducer for dual consciousness. Education in its reproduction of hegemonic culture facilitates the overinternalation of hegemonic values while vilifying oppositional values. In education, the political inertia, race neutral behaviors and community disengaged behaviors of African American intellectuals have been singled out as prominent behavioral indicators of a dual consciousness (Frazier, 1998; Hare, 1998; Marable, 2000b).

Asante (1992) classification of the dichotomized African American consciousness is illustrated in the ways in which individuals or groups respond to the influence of power and repression. He posits, that the victims of oppression possess the cultural capacity to articulate

their domination based on their existential location (Asante, 1992; Bhabha, 1999; Freire, 1995, 1972). However, a victimized consciousness conceives itself as powerless against oppressive forces. This type of consciousness is acutely aware that oppression exists, but perceives itself as powerless in the wake of injustice. Victorious consciousness, identified by Asante (1992) as a higher level consciousness can be achieved through the internalization of Africentric ideology.

Reflexivity in an Africentric cultural worldview allows the determination of what "constitutes objectivity and subjectivity by deciding what is necessary in order for the relationship between history and consciousness to work" (Asante, 1992, p. 51). A victorious consciousness ascertains the types of behaviors and attitudes needed for liberation from mental subjugation, a concept intrinsic to the internal colonization experienced by African Americans. Asante's typology balances the psychological, sociological and cultural constituents of consciousness as concepts that make up an oppositional identity.

Education and the African American Duality Complex

The ambiguity of consciousness is concretized in the perception of education as a liberating or oppressive transformative agent. Liberating education in the African

American tradition has been emblematic to self-determination, resistance and self-agency as sustaining values. The paradoxical role and function of education on the development consciousness has been a source of contention for African American scholars.

Dubois (1989) as well as many scholars thereafter, did not conceptualize the fragmentation of the African American consciousness as fixed nor fatalistic. Dubois believed that the permeation of ignorance fueled racism and discrimination. Initially, he argued that the elimination of this ignorance would come through meticulous educational research (Alridge, 1999).

And, so in this great question of reconciling three vast and partially contradictory streams of thought, the one panacea of Education leaps to the lips of all: - such human training as will best use the labor of all men without enslaving or brutalizing; such training as will give us poise to encourage the prejudices that bulwark society, and to stamp out those that in sheer barbarity deafen us to the wall of poisoned souls within the Veil, and the mounting fury of shackled men. But when we have vaguely said that Education will set this tangle straight, what have we

uttered but a truism? Training for life teaches living; but what training for the profitable living together of black men and white? A hundred and fifty years ago our task would have seemed easier. Dr. Johnson blandly assured us that education was needful solely for the embellishments of life, and was useless for ordinary vermin. To-day we have climbed to heights where we would open at least the outer courts of knowledge to all, display its treasures to many, and select the few to whom its mystery of treasures to many, and select the few to whom its mystery of Truth is revealed, not wholly by birth or the accidents of the stock market, but at least in part according to deftness and aim, talent and character. (Dubois, 1989, p. 64)

A scientific approach to education would provide counter knowledge needed to reconcile the fragmented consciousness into one truer, healthy consciousness. His educational agenda advocated "training and knowledge in liberal and classical education (the sciences, history, political science, economics, law, and other professional fields)" (Alridge, 1999, p. 1985). Ten percent of the population consisting of the most educated African Americans would lead the majorities from the deleterious hold of ignorance

and oppression in the construction of counter hegemonic knowledge. For Dubois, this approach was the most expedient in attaining liberation for African Americans and America in general (Alridge, 1999).

By the 1920's Dubois began to doubt the applicability of a classical education as a means to unite the African American dual consciousness. In the 1930's Woodson published an angry work admonishing education as the "velvet gloved" purveyor of hegemonic consciousness. Woodson's mis-education theory gave explanation to the ways in which the American curriculum stunted the socio-psychological and cultural development of African Americans. According to Woodson curriculum developed within a hegemonic culture had an intoxicating effect on African Americans senses in that it persuaded and influenced participation in one's own domination.

The philosophy and ethics resulting from our educational system have justified slavery, peonage, segregation, and lynching. The oppressor has the right to exploit, to handicap and to kill the oppressed. Negroes daily educated in the tenets of such a religion of the strong have accepted the status of the weak as divinely ordained, and during the last three generations of their nominal freedom they have

done practically nothing to change it. Their pouting and resolutions indulged in by a few of the race have been of little avail. No systematic effort toward change has been possible, for, taught the same economics, history, philosophy, literature and religion which have established the present code of morals, the Negro's mind has been brought under the control of his oppressor. The problem holding the Negro down therefore is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his 'proper place' and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door. He will go without being told. In act, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary. (Woodson, 1990, p. xi)

In essence, education functions to maintain hegemonic culture in the normalization of the African American duality complex. Implicit in Woodson's discussion was the presentation of critical consciousness as a means to circumvent the numbing effect of education (Murrell, 1997).

Building on Woodson's theory, Hayes (1981) underscores the normalization of the duality complex under the guise of intellectual progress. Hayes (1981) argues that that the mechanistic objectivism embedded in technological pursuits shields the reconfiguration of hegemonic consciousness into what he identifies as a technocratic consciousness.

Technocratic consciousness reflects not the sundering of an ethical situation but the repression of 'ethics' as such as a category of life. The common, positivist way of thinking renders inert the frame of reference of interaction in ordinary language, in which domination and ideology both arise under conditions of distorted communication and can be reflectively detected and broken down. The depoliticization of the mass of the population, which is legitimated through technocratic consciousness, is at the same time men's self-objectification in categories equally of both purposive-rational action and adaptive behavior. The reified models of sciences migrate into the sociocultural life-world and gain objective power over the latter's self-understanding. The ideological nucleus of this consciousness is the elimination of the distinction between the practical and the technical. It reflects, but does not objectively

account for, the new constellation of a disempowered institutional framework and systems of purposive-rational action that have taken on a life of their own. (p. 15)

The technocratic consciousness represents the contemporary destabilization of oppositional values and education's normalization of internalized hegemonic values. To combat the pervasiveness of technocratic consciousness, Hayes (1981) implores African Americans to engage in a culture of struggle. A culture of struggle necessitates a healthy suspicion of formalized educational processes.

Chapter Summary

Each discipline interprets and terms consciousness according to its respective epistemological frames of reference. Intersectionality occurs at two major points. The first overlap occurs at the acknowledgement of conscious and consciousness development as an inherently psychological process amendable to social world. The second point of intersection is the perception of consciousness as a cultural phenomenon that when used by the oppressed is the most forceful weapon against hegemony. The third point of intersection occurs in the belief that consciousness exists on a continuum, indicated by its highest point.

Sociologists in their study of protest movements term consciousness as a transformative weapon, a mature oppositional consciousness. Scholars using a post-colonial frame identified the existential manifestation Black consciousness as upper most developed form of consciousness. Black Nationalist consciousness as a constituent of the Black Power Movement centralized race-based oppression as a key rally point that bridged African Americans with the Diasporic collective struggles. Freire (1995) *conscientization* captures the amorphousness of consciousness with the centralization of skill usage as a transitional force through the modes of consciousness. Peavy's (2000) kuona paradigm weaving together Black Nationalism, Africentrism and Freirian liberatory pedagogy capitalizes on the functionality of consciousness development that address the unique experiences of African Americans.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Critical Race Pedagogy as Praxis

A lot of people ask me ... like I tell a lot of people about this class, I tell them you got to take this class, you got to take this class, when they ask me what's it about. I tell them beyond the title African American and Education, it's a class that basically deals with the underlying implications of education, especially with black people. And I tell them, education is very powerful. It is designed to make you do something, what is your education preparing you to do? So, that's what I tell'em the class is about. It's about everything to do with education, with life ... in general. I think every student should take the class, not just African American students ...

(Balla, DS.2)

Introduction

The above statement communicated by Balla is a cogent illustration of the vital way in which critical race pedagogical techniques and strategies structured a "learning environment" conducive to African American student development. The chapter explores critical race

pedagogy in general as a transformative approach to education and the course, in particular, as a model for accomplishing pedagogical ends.

Centralizing Race

Freire's (1995) emancipatory approach to education has been the most influential in solidifying (critical) consciousness development as the liberating force of education. The importance of this end on the academic development of African American students is reiterated in a study conducted by Okech and Harrington (2002). Okech and Harrington (2002) used the Millions tool to identify the presence of Black consciousness and quantify its relationship with African American academic achievement.

Their findings indicated that such consciousness correlates with increased academic perception and esteem. In the study, African American men with higher levels of Black consciousness exhibited higher levels of academic self efficacy and self esteem. Though the subjects of the study were men it is highly probable that the generalities of the study can be applied to African American women as well. The researchers suggested that academic interventions intended to improve the academic performance of African Americans should first and foremost enhance Black consciousness.

Within the same vein, African American scholars and activists have co-opted Freire's liberatory epistemological approach to education to elucidate and alleviate the overt and covert contradictions embedded in African American education. Race as social construction disfigured in the cultural identity of African Americans is a point of contention in emancipatory dialogues. For many, the deliberate silencing of race in critical dialogical circles is highly problematic.

Haymes (2002) argues that Freire's theoretical reluctance to "overindulge" in the lived experiences of race precludes his critical consciousness development.

Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed lacks an existential phenomenological understanding of the existential ontological problem of racial oppression, and thus the pedagogical conditions necessary for African American freedom and liberation as 'black people' in the United States. (p. 152)

For Freire, preoccupation of race overlooks the "true reality" of race as a social construction causally linked to class. Haymes (2002) posits that Freire's epistemological fixation on knowing "true reality" through causal linkages occludes the existential ontology of race,

in so much that it ignores how race is lived by people of color.

The institutionalized contestability of Black humanity causes African Americans to question and justify existence and self-worth on a consistent basis. Hence, African American internalization of systemic racist teleology binds Black identity with hegemonic interests. The axiology of this dialectic is deeply embedded in everyday life. The deconstruction of this dialectic necessitates the specific cultural engagement of race as an extremely important and central social construction (Peavy, 2000).

Before African Americans can interface in a pluralistic society, they must first close ranks to deconstruct what it has meant and continues to mean to be Black in America. Hence, the marginalization of race is discursive in that it "denies black existence and in doing so it denies that black people have a point of view in the world" (Haymes, 2002, p. 158).

Critical race theorists and pedagogues have been instrumental in injecting the ontology of race into transformative dialogues. Critical questions and analyses, drawn from the lived experiences of African Americans, have challenged the extent to which critical theory and critical pedagogy can address the specific, "social, political,

economic and educational concerns" (Ladson-Billings, 1997, p. 131). Furthermore, the silencing of race peripheralizes the historical links between race, cultural identity, consciousness and social action (Ladson-Billings, 1997; Bell, 2001). Emergence of the oppressed critical consciousness is a critical point of acceptance among African American scholars who embrace transformation epistemology.

Critical curriculum theorists have been the forerunners in unveiling the pervasive ways in which educational hegemony work to repress and splinter African American consciousness. Fervent challenge to school-based subjugation has been in the development of transformative curriculum designs with an intentional or unintentional goal to elevate conscious awareness.

The grassroots experiences of critical race pedagogues who have wrestled race from the periphery of transformative dialogues into its center. Critical pedagogue and scholar, Peter Murrell (1997) returns to Freire's emancipatory epistemology to re-articulate an alignment of the Freireian approach with the emancipatory needs of African American students. He contends that Freiere's literacy and pedagogical framework:

... provides some basis for realization of African-American emancipatory pedagogy. A Freirian theory views education as essential and integral to black people's continuing struggle for humanity in American society. In this view education is the practice of assisting people to find agency in and responsibility for, the struggle for freedom. On this account emancipatory education does not merely take place at instructional sites we call schools, but is inextricably linked to political action and the responsibility that all of us have toward trying to realize a democracy that truly delivers on the promises of humanity for all. (p. 29-30)

Within this context, Murrell posits the foundational principles on which an emancipatory pedagogy for African American must function. First, an emancipatory pedagogy for African American students must demystify and expose the causalities of race and its impact on lived experience. Secondly, an emancipatory pedagogy for African Americans must provide opportunities for students to "deconstruct and decode white supremacy as a cultural phenomenon" (p. 30).

According to Murrell (1997), the Freirian theoretical and pedagogical epistemology intersects with principles of emancipatory pedagogy for African American students at five

distinctive points. First, Freire's view of education and schooling as societal processes that shape and influence the choices of subordinated groups in accordance with the values and perceptions of the dominant culture is the most relevant to African American emancipatory education. Education viewed in this way allows for individuals to "accept or reject the remediation of power and interpretation of culture" (Murrell, 1997, p. 30).

For African American students, this is important because it makes available practices for self determination. Secondly, the Freirian concept of "resistance to oppression as an educational principle" (Murrell, 1997, p. 30) is historically aligned with African American oppositional culture. Importantly, this concept broadens the perception of resistance taking into considerations of the ways in which African Americans have approached education.

The third intersection occurs at Freire's politicization of culture, in that people make culture, culture does not make the people; therefore individuals can make and change culture. Drawing from this concept is an opportunity to synergize the African American dual consciousness, in that individuals come to know that

"culture functions in the interests of the dominant group"
(p. 31).

The fourth feature relevant to African American emancipatory pedagogy is Freire's critical consciousness. Critical consciousness development as the dynamic force of liberating education for African American is stressed by Murrell (1997),

The dynamic tension of these two moments in the process of becoming literate constitutes and is constituted by two aspects of emancipation: (1) individual emancipation resulting in a subjectivity where the learner is the subject rather than the object in the educational enterprise; and (2) collective emancipation resulting in African American children having the tools of critical dialogue, thought, and action through which to transform themselves and their relationship to larger society.
(p. 31)

The final intersection of Freire's approaches to education with African American emancipatory pedagogy lies in Freirian interpretation of dialectical epistemology (Murrell, 1997). According to Freire, objective and subjective knowledge is constructed according to historical, political and economic antecedents. In

specific historical epochs objective and subjective knowledge collide as dialectical opposites. At these moments of contention what is called into question is the purpose and circumstances that validate what authentic knowledge is or is not. Therefore, subjective and objective knowledge must be used to decode and deconstruct as to reveal what is real or taken for granted.

Skill Development as an Essential Component of Consciousness Development

In addition to the works of scholars such as Murrell (1997), the social criticism of Africentrics (Lynn, 1999a; Peavy, 2000; Shjuuaa, 1994), womanist/feminist (Collins, 1991; Gordon, 1994; Henry, 1992; Tatum, 1992), the collective narratives of African American teachers have recast race as a dialectical and ontological phenomenon in consciousness development of African Americans students. This comprehensive body of literature has given form to transformative approaches that comprise critical race pedagogy (CRP).

CRP emerged from critical race theory (CRT) oppositional legal scholarship. In education critical race theory takes a historical, socio-cultural and economic approach in the analysis of America's failure to educate

its subordinated racial and cultural citizens (Lynn, 1999b). Broadly defined CRP is "an analysis of racial, ethnic, and gender subordination in education that relies mostly on the perceptions, experiences, and counter-hegemonic practices of educators of color" (Lynn, 1999b, p. 615).

As classroom praxis CRP concerns itself with: 1) exposure of racism's endemic nature; 2) connection to collective cultural identity; 3) exploration of the causalities of oppression and the impact of intersectionality on the historical underdevelopment of dominated groups; 4) utilization of liberatory pedagogy approaches (Lynn, 1999b; Murrell, 1997).

Teaching methodologies have been shown to have a significant influence on African American student development (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lynn 1999a; Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998; Shujaa, 1994). In the literature teaching philosophies are classified into two opposing binaries, knowledge transmitters (banking method) and knowledge facilitators (transformative methods) (Freire, 1995; Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998).

Knowledge transmitters prefer the "banking" approach (Freire, 1995) to teaching and learning. Within this paradigm teaching is a means to transfer knowledge and

skills to students. Students perceived as unengaged repositories develop skills in isolation of real world experiences. In opposition, critical race pedagogists advocate the knowledge facilitation approach to teaching and learning, wherein the classroom methods necessitates dialogical and an active/collaborative classroom environments.

There are small amounts of data which speak to the types instructional methods that are congruent with African American learning styles. Learning and cognition research reveals that African American homes are culturally energized by various forms of stimuli which predisposes youth to "increased behavioral vibrancy and an increased psychological affinity for stimulus change" (Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998, p. 457). Therefore, African American students may respond favorably to the inclusion of verve incorporated into classroom praxis (Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998).

Discussion of cultural influences on learning and achievement is encompassed in Ladson-Billings' (1994, 1997) culturally relevant teaching as critical race pedagogy. Culturally relevant teaching has illustrated the ways in which culturally congruent teaching supports student development and learning. Culturally relevant pedagogy

involves the use of cultural referents as a means to empower students and increase academic achievement.

African Americans are not culturally monolithic as represented in the diversity of literature indicating that African American students respond favorably to holistic teaching methods (Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998). Holistic approaches reject the stereotypical view that African American students are primarily relational learners. Holistic approaches acknowledge the diversity of conceptual styles in the African American community.

Educators who use holistic approaches use collaborative techniques that engage students in analytical and relational conceptual activities. The germinal works of critical race pedagogues aligned with the current research specifies that holistic teaching with sensitivity to emotional cues are constructive in the development of African American students (Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998).

Though the empirical data that informs critical race pedagogy has been gathered in primary and secondary educational situations it validates the experiences of post-secondary students. A small body of literature exists which specifies the inclusion of mixed media and technology in the classroom to support the learning styles of African Americans at the colligate level (Neville and Cha-Jua,

1998). The scarcity of pedagogical literature for higher education is confounded by the lack of research "on effective teaching strategies with African American college students" (Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998, p. 449). From the review of literature emerged two educational paradigms, kufundisha (Neville and Cha-Jua, 1998) and kuona (Peavy, 2000) which offer as critical race-foci pedagogical designs for college students and/or adult learners.

The classroom praxis of the kufundisha and kuona models fit within the realm of critical race pedagogy, overlapping, complimenting and expanding its foundational principles. Both the kufundisha and kuona approaches are grounded in African-centered values and worldview. Each model evolved from the instructional/learning experiences of teachers working with African American college students or adult learners.

Characteristic of each model is the utilization of nontraditional strategies and techniques (i.e. participatory, poetry, role-play, reenactments, oppositional and subjective material) to engage students in a transformative process. Both use dialogical and reflective methods as major instructional tools.

Kufundisha, a Kiswahili word meaning "to teach", is fashioned around eight components:

(a) teaching philosophies; (b) goals and objectives of the discipline and course, (c) learning styles, (d) texts and readings, (e) methods of instruction, (f) creating a safe learning environment, (g) evaluating learning objectives for students, and (h) evaluating the course for revision. (p. 450)

The implementation of the kufundisha model requires that the instructor(s) make public personal and course partisan goals and objectives of the course. Emphasized in the model is the cultural compatibility of teaching and learning styles. Because the model is closely aligned with learning theories, its teaching strategies and techniques are holistic and attuned to cultural affects on student learning. The classroom culture in the kufundisha model is collaborative, dialogical and active.

The kuona paradigm overlaps with the kufundisha approach in its similar use of non-traditional instructional designs and processes of student engagement. However, the kuona model emphasizes the use of CRP techniques and strategies as a means to engage students in the process of liberatory skill development oriented around the history, politics and cultural development of African Americans. Explicit in the kuona model is the intent to increase consciousness as a tool for social transformation.

Based upon these values, there are three underlying principles that guide the kuona journey as a transformational pedagogical approach: 1) skills cannot be developed in isolation of one's culture and politics; 2) the process is dialogically rooted in the culture of the participants [students]; 3) conceptualization stands at the base of scientific inquiry guided by Africentric principles.

These underlying principles guide the process of conceptualization, as a relational conceptual skill in the process of awareness development. Within the context of the kuona journey conceptualization allows students to "unveil patterns and themes crucial to political, socioeconomic, and spiritual growth and awareness" (Peavy, 2000, p. 64).

Foundational in the process of conceptualization are holistic pedagogical strategies and techniques. Critical to the process is decodification as a radical skill strategy that addresses the unique challenges African American students. Decodification is a dialectical process of analysis that allows access into the deep structure of culture allowing African American students access into reservoirs of objective and subjective oppositional knowledge.

The vitality and source of power in the process of conceptualization is activation of an emotional, spiritual and cognitive response, thereby stimulating conceptual movement along the consciousness continuum into a mode of critical consciousness. As students engage in the conscious process of conceptualization they begin to make the correlations that these skills are transferable to any academic situation.

Both kunfundisha and kuona models offer radical pedagogical approaches targeted to increase African American student academic vitality. The emancipatory pedagogical techniques and strategies set forth by both models assist in the establishment of critical race pedagogy as a viable approach to African American student development.

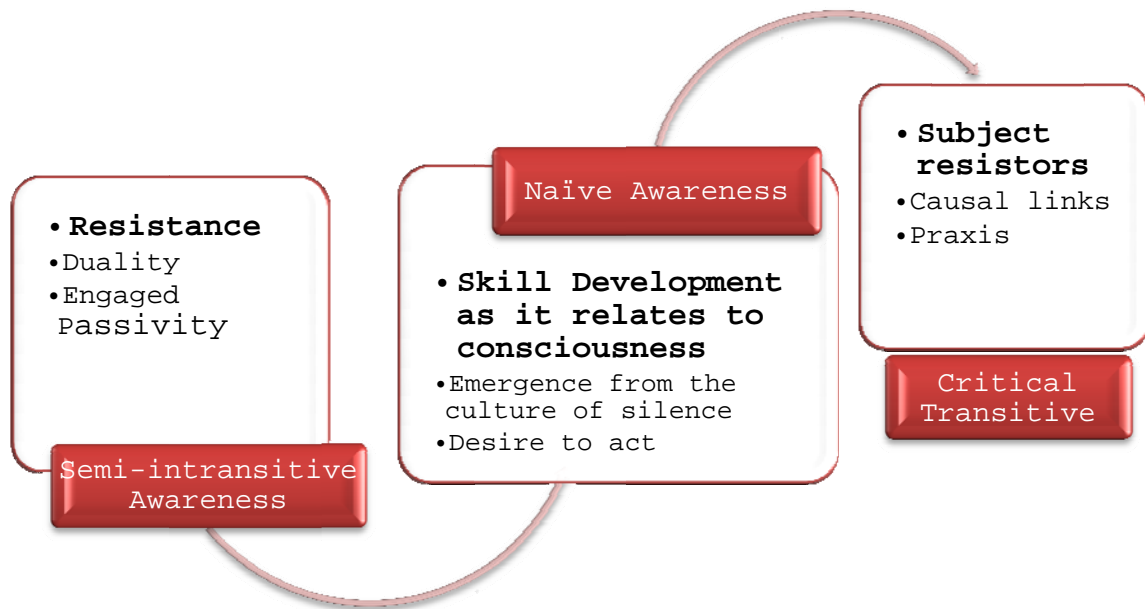
Radical Skill Development: Conceptualization as Conscientization

Critical race pedagogy (CRP) as transformative praxis is a foundational theoretical and methodological cornerstone of this research. Awareness as articulated by the participants is an intrinsic psycho-cultural interpretive phenomenon malleable to external forces. The use of CRP techniques and strategies triggered an

irritation of the competing values which facilitated participants' transition from one mode of awareness to another. In my classroom, the adaption of Peavy's (2000) skill development approach made operational Freire's (1989) *conscientization* as a method which facilitated the participants' movement along the continuum of awareness from magical or semi-intransitive to semi-transitive.

Figure 3:

Conceptualization and the Process of *Conscientization*



The student participants' articulated perception of course at the beginning of the course reflected conflicting values of education representative of the magical or semi-intransitive awareness. An example of magical or semi-intransitive awareness is Kareem's inability to perceive

education and the learning process beyond the normative value of education. Even though he feels that getting a degree for a good job was the right thing to do, he resisted committing himself. His detachment from the learning process has entrapped him in the specifics of his normative perception of education.

For a long time I just wanted to get a degree so I could get a "good" job. I couldn't make myself work hard because I didn't really care about what I was learning. (Kareem, Q8.10)

In a state of stuck, Kareem is unable to make structural linkages that could give possible meaning to his "not caring." Implicit in his perception is a sense of hopelessness and pessimism characteristic of a semi-intransitive awareness.

As participants' wrestled to decode oppositional knowledge buried in the deep structures of culture they began to formulate critical questions which challenges their taken for granted perceptions of education.

After working hard in school and getting an education, I am faced with a bunch of questions. The main one. Why am I here? What's my purpose? Why wasn't I able to see what was going on? What am I going to do to change things? This class has definitely been a

wakeup call for me. I'm starting to question various teachers and their motives behind what they do. I'm also beginning to see how the educational system has played a role in the socialization of African Americans. I started to talk to some of my Black classmates, and they just regurgitate things about our people that Europeans taught them. It's amazing.

(Nasha, completed coursework)

Nasha's questioning moves her from the specifics of her own perceptions into a sphere of structural analysis. As Nasha made these structural connections, she articulated her disgust with the system, herself and peers for internalizing their oppression. The communication of these feelings indicates a breach in the culture of silence marking a transition from an uncritical awareness to a semi-transitive mode of awareness.

According to Freire (1985) the semi-transitive modes of awareness are marked by the intense desire to act. However, Imani's desire to act is fueled by both hegemonic and oppositional perceptions.

I just can't sit back. I've changed different than what I was last year. Right now my heart is telling me to act. This system how it is right now, but I just can't be complacent ... I was blinded and could not

see, there was a picture, but not a real picture. It was an illusion. Hopelessness, though there is a desire, feels like I wanna blow the top off my head.

(Imani, DC.2)

Though Imani's articulated dissatisfaction and frustration with education's duality, she is rendered hopeless by its normative value. In this naïve state of awareness, Imani perceives herself as powerless within the vast perceptions of education as a cultural institution.

Imani's perception is aligned with Freire's (1985) assessment that the new semi-transitive awareness is marred by dominate hegemonic perceptions characteristic of the semi-intransitive consciousness. According to Freire (1985) emergence from the semi-intransitive state of awareness is marked by a heightened perceptions of structural violence and a burning desire to articulate one's dissatisfaction. This breach in the culture of silence draws attention and increased vulnerability to hegemonic influences. Imani's perspicacious reflection reveals the interjection of the magical awareness on the semi-intransitive consciousness.

I think some of us are scared, because if we go along with the plan everything will be o.k. If we go along with the system we'll be the same [as the dominant

group], we can be comfortable like them. That's the new black group, if I'm comfortable with what I'm doing now, and I'm not hurting anybody that is the perfect citizen. If we revolt against the system that helps us, we'll end up like an outsider or dead. These people go along with diversity. They say things like I love Latino people even though I don't know anything about Cinco de Mayo, but I love you. Oh, I love Asians, want one of those kimonos, but I don't want to know anything about the culture, but I love them. This fits into the whole mold of the perfect citizens, being politically correct, even though that term is used in two ways too. (Imani, DC.2)

Rich affirms Imani's postulation, however his reflection illuminates critical race pedagogical as essential component which assist participants in the transition from magical to semi-transitive mode of awareness.

After reading the assignments and listening to the discussions, I began to feel like crap. It was the thought of knowing that America had treated my people like they were sub-human and incapable of learning. But, Pam would restore bring put things into perspective and that would make me feel like I could do something to combat the injustice. (Rich, Q14.14)

Critical in Rich's reflection is the implied emphasis on my use of critical race pedagogical strategies and techniques to ease his psycho-emotional transition from a semi-intransitive awareness to semi-transitive awareness. These sentiments are echoed by other participants.

In this class students were allowed to think for themselves and come up with their own ideas or theories about certain issues. The material wasn't shoved down our throats, but we had a chance to digest the information, form an opinion or stance, and defend it. The class basically taught us to think for ourselves for once. In a way other classes pretty much tell us what we should think and how we should feel about certain topics or issues and we express ourselves in a way that's pleasing to the professor. We do or say what we must to get by. In this class things were different because the emphasis wasn't on the grade, but on what we were learning about the world we live in and how we personally felt about it. Other African American studies classes attempt to do the same, but for some reason this class was more concerned about what we thought and how we felt not how the professor felt or her stance on a particular issue. (Ariel, Q11.2)

The use of CRP techniques and strategies created a safe and secure hush harbor in which the participants could explore deeper their own feelings and perceptions to make deeper structural connections and causal linkages.

the teacher was upfront and personal, and it inspired the students to consider themselves and their environment. (Rich, Q15.14)

As participants continued to decode education from its binary they became more conscious of their skill usage.

Yes, it [the course] opens up your brain, your mind to think and to challenge ... (Akila, DC.2)

For Akila strengthened conceptual skills "opened the mind" to other ways of perceiving and interacting in the world. The conceptualization of education marked a transition from the naïve mode of awareness into a semi-critical mode of awareness. In the semi-critical mode of awareness the participants assume an empowered perception of themselves as cultural makers. In that they begin to articulate the necessary tools needed to navigate an oppressive terrain.

Education is a 2-edged sword. On one hand, education is the key to understanding and decoding the system, but on the other hand, education plays a role in the systemic oppression. So it too needs to be decoded and deconstructed. (Balla, completed coursework)

Barbara expresses the semi-critical mode of consciousness as a state of being which prepares her to actualize the tools needed to resist forces which seek to limit her potential.

... I am better equipped to negotiate and I'm able to manipulate it to get what I need. It better equips me with the tools needed to deal with opposition

(Barbara, DC.1)

For Kareem the increased skill level indicative of the semi-critical awareness had profound academic consequences.

I had somewhat of an epiphany. I was writing the research paper and I started to be able to relate principals that I learned in stats class to your class and vice versa. It's like the walls are coming down and I can see the connections- or like our favorite example, the matrix where Neo starts seeing the codes in everything... wow.. thank you! Just thought I would share." (Kareem, personal email)

For Rich, the conceptualization of education moved into a very general sphere. The semi-critical awareness had far-reaching community implications.

Yes, this class has changed the way I conduct my studies. I feel that I can do anything that I set

myself out to do. Not just in school but in life.

Thanks, Pam!" (Rich, interview)

For the participants the process of conceptualization brought about movement along the consciousness continuum. This movement was facilitated through the use of critical race pedagogical techniques and strategies. Participants moved through semi-intransitive modes of awareness to more transitive modes of awareness in the construction structural perceptions which shaped and compelled action. These perceptions moved the participants from the position of objects in the educational process to subjects.

Chapter Summary

Chapter seven does not focus on specific pedagogical techniques and strategies used in the course. Rather, the chapter is an exploration of critical race pedagogy as a foundational theme throughout the research. The chapter links skill development with awareness as articulated by the participants. Importantly, the chapter discusses the importance of critical race pedagogy on the development of consciousness.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

The Struggle Continues

My feelings throughout the quarter fluctuated a lot. At first I was very skeptical about the information that was being shared in class. At the same time I couldn't believe what I was reading about the education process and certain ideologies. I'm not sure which reading broke the barrier, but something happened during this class that finally allowed me to see things just as they are. It was like a veil was lifted and all this new information was pouring in and I could hardly contain it all.

(Ariel, Q14.2)

Claims to Power

Repression of humanity brings about resistance that is essential to survival. The conditions of oppression have given rise to oppositional cultures as a means of survival under the weight of systemic domination (Freire, 1995; Morris and Braine, 2001; Morris, 2002). Oppositional cultures derived from the dialectical relation between the

politics of oppression and cultural development which make it a servant with two masters.

The oppressed submerged in the intoxicating reality of oppression go about the cultural business of reading and interpreting their everyday experiences. Perceptions of oppression formulated by the oppressed are impaired and coiled around hegemonic and oppositional interest. At the very least the oppressed are tactical or "magically" aware of the contradictions that make-up their reality (Freire, 1985). In this magical state of awareness the oppressed wish simply to exist as sanely as possible within the structure of dominance. To do so, the oppressed identify language, artifacts, symbols and behaviors to aid in the understanding, navigation, negotiation or negation of systemic domination. The extent to which these cultural apparatuses can be used as tools in the elevation of oppression depends upon conscious use of skill as a means of consciousness development.

The impairment of perception resulting from the over-internalization of hegemonic values undergird by pre-existing oppositional values is a consistent theme in African American discourse. Concepts such as duality complex, psychic duality and dual/double consciousness have been used to explain the replication of power hierarchies

in the human consciousness. Dubois (1903) conceptualized double consciousness as a socially constructed condition unique to the race-based dehumanization experienced by African Americans. Factors which illustrate the relational underdevelopment of African American peoplehood and duality are well documented in the literature (see Akbar, 1991; Ani 1994; Caldwell and Stewart, 2001; Ture and Hamilton, 1992; Welsing, 1991; Wilson, 1998).

Education as a site for Normalizing Duality

Education with its far reaching abilities across the human experience is a primary site for the institutionalization and demystification of duality as a cultural phenomenon. Educational historians, critics and researchers have unearthed the ways in which the duality or double consciousness maintains hegemonic interest (see Hillard, 2001; Peavy, 2000; Shjuaa, 1994; Woodson, 1990). An example is the metaphoric canonization of African American education as a double edged sword possessing both the capacity to liberate and oppress. Woodson (1990) was perhaps the first to identify and openly castigate education and schooling, post-secondary education in particular as hegemonic methods of control. Thirty plus years later African American scholars following the

Woodson's train of thought identify the apolitical, race neutral and culturally confused behaviors of African American intellectuals (Frazier, 1998; Hare, 1998) as indicators of dual consciousness.

The lure of power and beneficence by way of the post-secondary pathway occupies a special place in the hearts and minds of African American people. Ex-slaves handed-down the value of education as a prized symbol of freedom. In combination with post-secondary promises of indemnity and redemption flaunted in the neutrality of knowledge, which suggests the entitlement of self-determining knowledge as cultural capital. Because education has provided no absolute or linear pathway toward liberation for African Americans (see Butchart, 1994; Taliaferro, 1998) scrolled beneath the narratives of triumph are remnants of oppositional knowledge constructed from powerful experiential lessons learned in an oppressive society (Newby and Tyack, 1971). Newby and Tyack (1971) explain:

... in many ways the most powerful 'education' Blacks have undergone in this country has taken place quite outside schools and quite contrary to the democratic rhetoric of the main line - i.e. white - educational institutions. It has been a powerful socialization in

what it means to be powerless. In various times and places it has meant walking to school in the red clay beside the road whole white children rode by in a yellow bus; learning intricate rules of racial etiquette whose violation might bring death; gaining knowledge and skills useless in a job market that blocked people with dark skins; living under a system of law and order in which no Black has a voice. (p. 192)

The realities of oppression did not afford the mindset that education and the acquisition of knowledge was the panacea for African American liberation, however knowledge acquisition as a function of skill development were valued as avenues for liberation (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1999; Taliaferro, 1998; Watkins, et al., 2001b).

Paradigmatic shifts away from social, overt acts of oppression into cultural, controlling processes of oppression have obscured the social contours of systemic domination in vastness of culture. The dichotomy of thought/feelings, real world experiences and cultural representations filtered through the African American cultural milieu has given rise to a paradoxical value of education (Anderson, 1988; Grier and Cobb, 1968; Shujaa, 1994; Woodson, 1919, 1990). Oppositional knowledge

constructed within the context of an oppositional culture is deeply encoded in the dialectical schism between the politics of oppression and cultural development. Limited and/or uncritical awareness of oppression results in the over-internalization of hegemonic values and negative interpretation and application of oppositional knowledge.

Plagued by an uncritical dual perception of education African American students may begin their post-secondary studies with an over-inflated value of education. When these perceptions are challenged by the realities of institutionalized racism African American students experience a psycho-social aggravation caused by competing cultural values. Situated at this psyche crossroad African American students begin to question taken for granted notions of education as cultural capital that leads to the attainment of the "American dream."

However, the development of skills in a mechanistic fashion retards students' ability to make the structural linkages that could give possible meaning to the conflicting perceptions and feelings as it relates to education. Overcome by intense feelings of isolation and alienation many African American students simply opt out of their post-secondary studies. Others may remain, but go about their studies as engaged passivists, clinging to the

unrealistic hope of re-entering the world as subjects upon graduation.

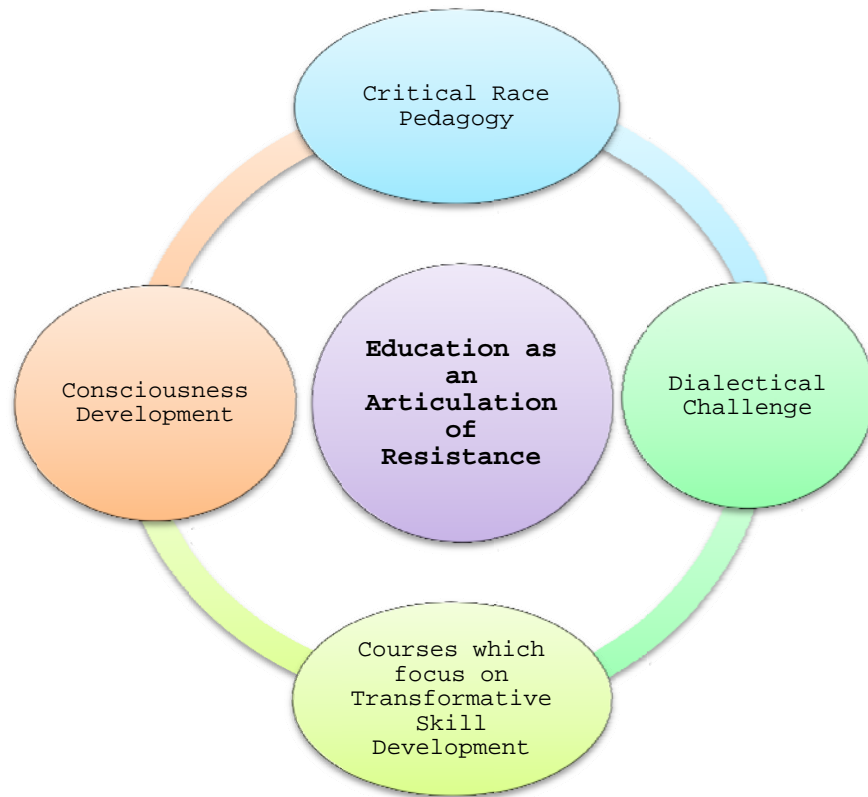
Education as an Articulation of Resistance

Intellectualized as a psychological condition or cultural phenomena the bifurcation of the African American consciousness is a co-conspirator in the spiritual, psychological and socio-cultural underdevelopment of African American peoplehood (Hillard, 2001; Peavy, 2000; Shjuaa, 1994; Woodson, 1990). The poignant point of critical education researchers is the implication of education and schooling, particularly higher-education, as a socio-cultural process which works in the interest of hegemony by maintaining and normalizing duality.

This research advances the notion of education as an articulation of research as a means to amend duality as a residual concept of false consciousness, thereby increasing the retention patterns and graduation rates of African American college students (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Educational as an Articulation of Resistance Conceptual Model



Education as an articulation of resistance rest upon four interrelated principles. First, education as an articulation of resistance recognizes that African American students need to experience a dialectical challenge as means of resisting the internalization of hegemonic values. Second, education as an articulation of resistance uses the transformative approaches of critical race pedagogy to create dialectical tension in the alignment of hegemonic and oppositional values. Third, education as an articulation of resistance uses critical race pedagogical techniques and strategies as praxis to transition African

American students through various modes of consciousness. Finally, education as an articulation of resistance uses conceptualization as a skill development method that when used in the classroom operationalizes Freire's (1995) *conscientization*. The implications of this study suggest that the courses modeled African Americans and Education is viable in the development of African American college students.

APPENDIX A:

E-invitation to participate in the Research

Greetings _____,

I am writing to invite you to participate in a research study to explore your educational experiences, particularly in the course African Americans and Education. I am asking you because you completed the course with a grade of "C" or better. Your involvement is voluntary. If you decide to participate you can stop at anytime without notice. If interested, please contact me by email Pamela.Hoff@uc.edu or telephone, 281-1902.

Thanks so much,

Pam Hoff

APPENDIX B:

Consent Form

Consent to Participate in a Research Study
University of Cincinnati
College of Education, Criminal Justice, and Human Services
Researcher: Pamela Twyman Hoff
(513) 281-1902/Pamela.Hoff@uc.edu

Research Title: Learning to resist

Introduction: Before you agree to participate in this research study, it is important that you read this consent form and understand the purpose, procedures, risks, and benefits of the study. Being a part of the study is entirely your choice. You are free to stop at any time without penalty. Feel free to ask questions about anything you do not understand.

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to explore the educational experiences of African American college students who completed the course "African Americans and Education." There will be 15 former students participating in the research.

Procedures: For about 6 hours spread-out over a six week period you will do the following:

1. You will receive an access code and web site address to complete an online questionnaire about your views on education, experiences at the university, and in the class.
2. One-on-one audio taped interviews will be scheduled at your convenience. In the interview, I will ask you about your experiences during and after the class.
3. Participate in one videotaped focus group discussion to be scheduled at your convenience. In the focus group, you will be asked to describe the feelings you had during the class and provide your views on the educational experiences of African Americans.

Risks/discomforts: There are no expected risks associated with participating in this research study. You may discuss discomfort and risks with me, Pamela Hoff, investigator (281-1902).

Benefits: There are no benefits to you for your participation. The findings may be used to improve support systems for African American students.

Confidentiality: I will use your completed coursework and online discussion as data in the study. None of your personal information will appear on these documents. Only I will have access to your data, which will be stored in a password protected laptop. Hardcopies of your information will be kept in a locked file cabinet. Only I will listen to your interview or view the focus group discussions. The data from this research may be published and presented at conferences; however, you will not be identified by name. Your consent form will be stored in a secure place for three years after the end of the study and then will be destroyed. I will make sure that all of your personal information stays confidential, but there is a chance that another person participating in the focus group might tell someone what you said during the discussion. Please keep that in mind as you participate.

Compensation: You will receive no compensation for taking part in the research.

Right to refuse or withdraw: Your participation is strictly voluntary. You may refuse to participate or may discontinue participation at any time without penalty, embarrassment or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Offer to answer questions: If you have any other questions about this study, you may call Pamela Hoff at 281-1902 or Dr. Annette Hemmings at 556-3621. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may call the University of Cincinnati's Institutional Review Board for Social and Behavioral Sciences at (513) 558-5784.

Legal Rights: Nothing in this consent form waives any legal right you may have nor does it release the investigator, the institution or its agents from liability for negligence.

I HAVE READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOVE. I VOLUNTARILY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY. I WILL RECEIVE A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM FOR MY INFORMATION.

Signature of Participant
Date

Signature and Title of Person Obtaining Consent
Date

APPENDIX C:

Online Questionnaire

Student Data Questionnaire

Name

Pseudonym

Age

Major

Are you a current student?

(yes / no)

If you are not a current student, why did you leave school?
Do you plan to return?

What was your standing when you completed
the course African Americans and Education
(Fr., Jr., Sr., Gr.)

When do you expect to graduate
(year)

Graduated (year)

What is [was] your G.P.A.?

Why did you decide to come to college?

Does the GPA accurately reflect what you've learned in
school?

Describe yourself as a student (strengths and weaknesses)?

Have you or were you considered to be a high-achieving
student? Why or why not?

Are you an African American Studies major or minor? If
yes, why did you select the major or minor? If not, do you
think the major or minor is necessary for what you hope to
accomplish?

What are your educational goals?

Schooling Experiences:

What have been your experiences as an African American
student pursuing an undergraduate degree at a predominately
white institution?

Who or what influenced you to continue your education?

How did you perceive education before taking the course, African Americans and Education? Did your perception of education change after taking the course? If yes, in what ways?

Course Expectations:

When you enrolled in the course African American and Education what were your initial expectations? How did the course differ from other courses at the university or in African American studies? How was it similar?

Did this course help you to develop your skills? If so, what skills?

How will these skills be used in your everyday and academic life?

Course Process:

What were some of your feelings throughout the quarter? (Particularly in the beginning, middle and end)

How did you feel about the instructor over the quarter?

What did you think about your peers?

What were some of the course challenges?

How did you relate to the course content?

What course improvements would you suggest?

What did you learn about yourself while taking the course and now that you've completed the course?

What did you learn about education and schooling after taking this class?

Continuing the Dialogue:

What would you call this class? How would you describe this class to someone?

Have you taken similar classes? If yes, what? How were they similar?

Has this course changed how you perceive yourself as a student?

How did the class influence the way you approach the learning process? If so, in what ways? If not, why? (*Give specific examples or thoughts*)

Since you've completed the course, what are your plans? Are you active in the community?

Thank you!

APPENDIX D:

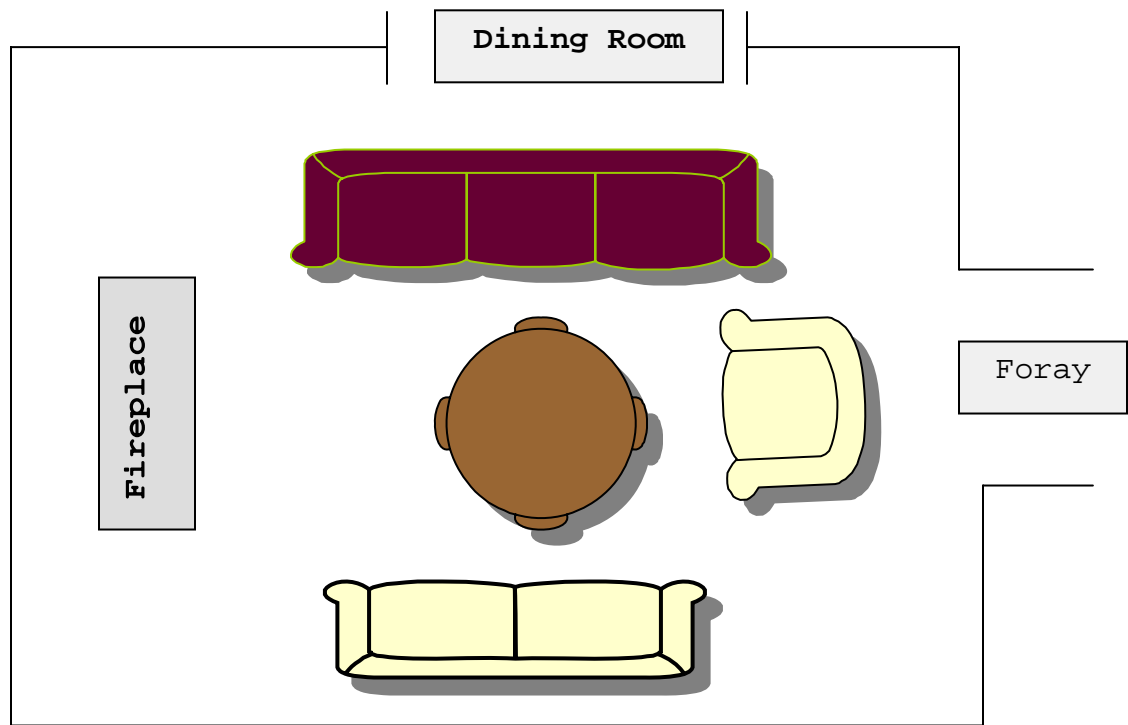
Interview Protocol

Interview Questions

1. What have been your experiences as an African American student on this predominately white university campus?
2. What were some of your memorable moments in the class?
3. What did you least enjoy about the class?
4. Describe yourself as a student prior to taking the class?
5. Have you recommended this class to others, why?
6. In your opinion, what efforts should the university make to support African American students?
7. What plans are you considering now that you've completed the course?
8. How did the class transform your university experiences?
9. How have you become active in the community?
10. What was the impact of this class on your community involvement?

APPENDIX E:

Debriefing Circle Location Map



Appendix F:

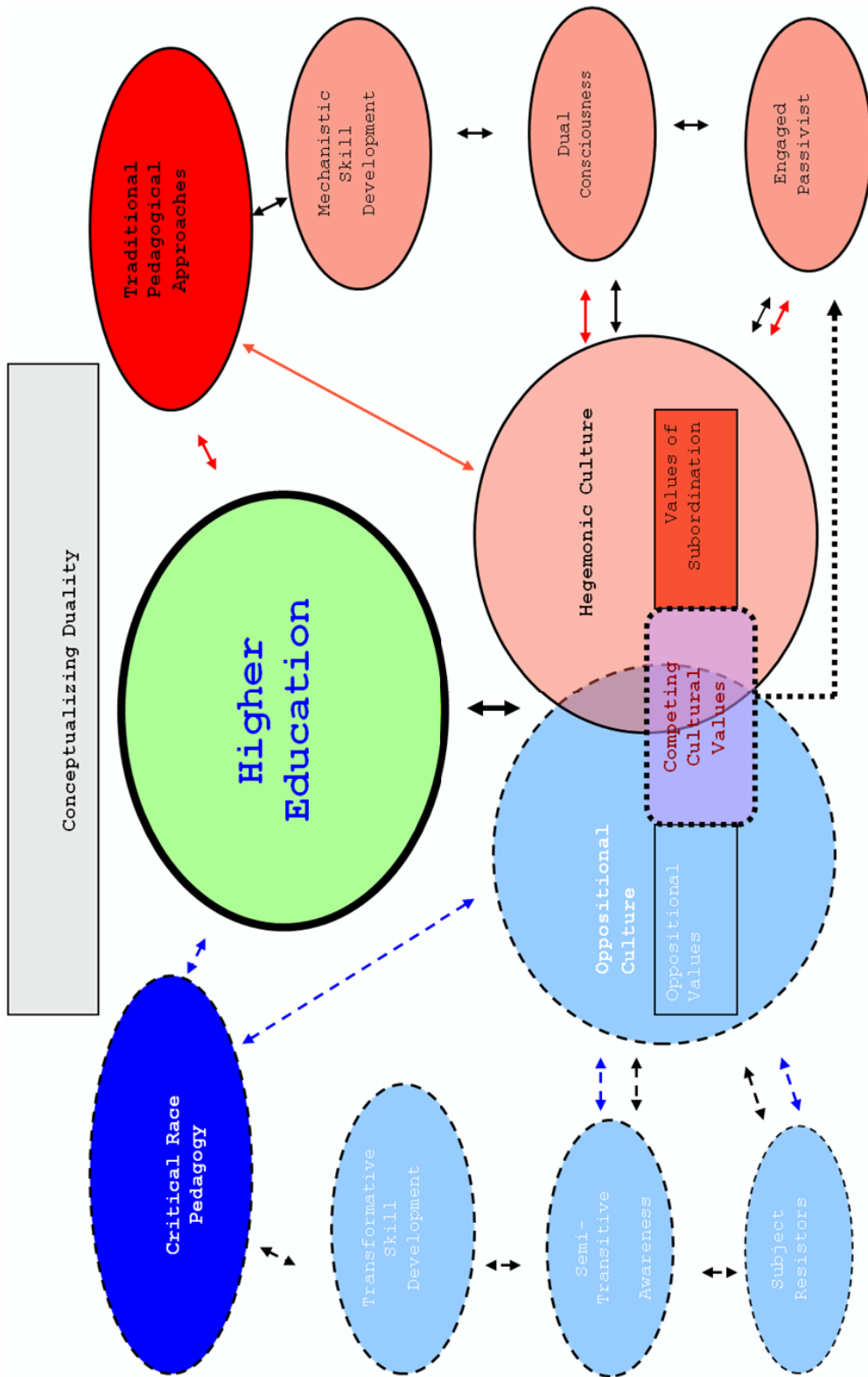
Debriefing Circles Thematic Guide

Debriefing Circles Thematic Guide

- Themes describing participants' educational experiences
 - Faculty/student relations
 - University culture
 - African American student support
- Themes describing participants experiences in the course
 - Teaching methodology
 - Teacher expectations
 - Course content
 - Course structure
 - Benefits
 - Weaknesses
- Visceral responses
 - Emotions experienced during the course
 - Emotions experienced after the course
- Academic perceptions
 - Prior to taking the class
 - After taking the class
- Student disengagement
 - Students who drop the course
 - Students who do not participate in the course
 - Students who withdrew from the university
- Community Engagement
 - Community-based projects
 - Community-based organizations
- African American traditional faith in education
 - Education as liberator
 - Education as equalizer

APPENDIX G:

Education as a Primary Site for Duality



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