CONTEMPORARY BLACK HISTORY

Series Editors: Manning Marable & Peniel Joseph

Africana Cultures and Policy Studies

Edited by Zachery Williams

Scholarship and the Transformation of Public Policy

Africana Cultures and Policy Studies

Contemporary Black History

Manning Marable (Columbia University) and
Peniel Joseph (Brandeis University)
Series Editors

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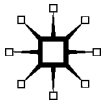

AFRICANA CULTURES AND POLICY STUDIES

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This volume is dedicated to the enduring life, legacy, and memory of "Baba" Dr. Louis Djisovi Ikukomi Eason.

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Series Editors' Foreword

Peniel E. Joseph and Manning Marable

Africana Cultures and Policy Studies: Scholarship and the Transformation of Public Policy is an important and groundbreaking contribution to the fields of Africana Studies and Contemporary Black History. Historically, a core theme of the black freedom struggle has focused on transforming public policy on behalf of African Americans. Indeed, from the antebellum period of chattel slavery through Jim Crow segregation that marred much of twentieth-century America, blacks have been the most stalwart advocates of utilizing legal and legislative processes toward the promotion of equal citizenship. During the postwar civil rights movement, blacks fundamentally transformed American democracy, in large part through a robust, creative, and provocative engagement with public policy. The civil rights era's *heroic* period culminated in the successful legal challenge against segregation, handed down in the May 17, 1954 *Brown* Supreme Court decision. Over the course of the next decade, through sit-ins, bus boycotts, marches, and countless demonstrations, African Americans fought to end legal and legislative restrictions that restricted personal, economic, and political growth and opportunities based on race. Local and national efforts to transform public policy dovetailed with global concerns, as efforts to aid African independence struggles buoyed domestic antiracist protests. Although signed into law by President Lyndon Baines Johnson, the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act were the culmination of bruising protests waged by African Americans.

The Black Power Movement offered a different take on public policy, arguing that political self-determination would produce the power required to fundamentally transform black life. On this score, African Americans successfully built new urban political machines, elected local and national politicians, ignited a national movement for Black Studies and Black Arts, and placed aid for an independent Africa at the center of black foreign policy interventions. The March 1972 National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana found disparate strands of the black freedom struggle united in a cohesive identity that sought to leverage racial solidarity into sophisticated and politically progressive domestic and foreign policy engagement.

In the post–civil rights and post–Black Power Era, policy concerns continue to animate much of the black freedom struggle. Rooted in the belief that

intellectual work matters and it is intimately connected to politics and public policy, the essays in this volume seek to critically analyze the global black experience through the interdisciplinary lens of Africana Studies. Eschewing the either/or nature of top-down/bottom-up approaches to history and public policy, the chapters that follow link intellectual theory and political praxis, culture and policy, social and political history to present a bold, provocative framework for interrogating the relationship between contemporary black life and public policy. In so doing, *Africana Cultures and Policy Studies* continues in the best tradition of bridging intellectual work and public policy that is personified by the examples of W. E. B. Du Bois whose legendary resistance to racial segregation fused towering intellectual work with historic civic engagement and Ida B. Wells, the heroic antilynching crusader whose commitment to democracy and human rights remains unsurpassed. Although acutely aware of the historical roots of black engagement with policy studies, what makes this volume significant is its pragmatic efforts to situate the interdisciplinary work of Africana Studies scholars in the realm of local, national, and global public policy. *Africana Cultures and Policy Studies* offers policymakers, intellectuals, community organizers, politicians, and ordinary citizens valuable tools of analysis, debate, and civic engagement. Most importantly, it challenges all of us to reimagine contemporary understanding of policy studies, history, community activism and organizing, culture, and politics, and the role of Africana Studies scholars in shaping the twenty-first century's global political, racial, economic, and cultural fault lines.

Acknowledgments

So much goes into the production of a work of this magnitude. To propose a new area of study is a bold and somewhat arduous task, requiring a huge amount of support, commitment, and understanding. It is indeed a community endeavor. First, I would like to humbly thank the founding Senior Fellows of the Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute: Robert Smith, Babacar M'Baye, Seneca Vaught, Tim Lake, Tara Jabbaar-Gyambrah, Lyndell Robinson, Carlos McCray, and Floyd Beachum. Your collective friendship and intellectual brilliance are always inspiring. This volume could not have been developed without your invaluable and insightful critiques. *Africana Cultures and Policy Studies* is a reality because each of you believed along with me.

To Dr. Lillian Ashcraft-Eason, Donald Nieman, Rachel Buff, and Liette Gidlow, and Bowling Green State University professors (1999–2003), words cannot express my appreciation for the knowledge and wisdom each of you imparted to me, in relationship to the synthesis of Africana history and public policy. Our institute is a reality because of your steadfast devotion to developing us into serious, innovative scholars.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to all contributors to this volume. Your important contributions have greatly enriched this book. It would not be the important volume that it is without your path-breaking scholarship.

Without question, I am indebted to series editors Manning Marable and Peniel Joseph for believing in this book and supporting its development. Both of you epitomize the best of what it means to be a scholar-activist. I sincerely appreciate your mentorship and support. Thank you to Alessandra Bastagli for helping me to navigate the early stages of the proposal process and for supporting this project from the start. I am also indebted to the editorial brilliance of Palgrave Macmillan editor Christopher Chappell for guiding this work to completion. You are incredible.

Gratitude goes to my darling wife Kesha and precious daughter Zion. Your never-ending patience, unconditional love, and unwavering support kept me going each day. Words cannot express my love and devotion for both of you. Thank you both for believing in me. You are my inspiration.

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Introduction: Africana Cultures and Policy Studies

Zachery Williams

Africana Cultures and Policy Studies: Scholarship and the Transformation of Public Policy introduces Africana cultures and policy studies as an interdisciplinary field of study, rooted in the historical experience of people of African descent. Intentionally, the essays in this volume seek to canonize Africana historical studies for the purposes of policy development, analysis, and practical application. *Africana Cultures and Policy Studies* calls for a relocation and synthesis of policy-derived research emanating from public and private culture spheres. In the process, our goal is to use history and culture to engage the policy process from a top-down and bottom-up approach, thereby dissolving the previously impenetrable divide existing among academics and policymakers, community constituencies and related social/civic institutions.

Africana Cultures and Policy Studies represents a reentry of African American scholarship in an international dialogue on race, policy, and culture. It reintroduces practitioners and policymakers to the field of Africana studies through a critical inquiry of the global cultures of the African Diaspora and construction, implementation, and evaluation of policy. The Africana cultures and policy studies (ACPS) paradigm challenges academics, policymakers, and the general public to use the multidisciplinary nature of Africana studies (history, sociology, law, literature, political science, economics, anthropology, education, religion, philosophy et al.) in creating and critiquing policy solutions.

It is no secret that our generation has struggled to create effective policies to improve the quality of life for the global African Diaspora. We have witnessed two genocides (Rwanda and Darfur) barely more than a decade apart, the rapprochement of institutional racism on a global scale through policies that pose as racially neutral, in addition to greater dependency and less autonomy for postcolonial countries of the African Diaspora.

While the last quarter century has seen the reemergence of crisis for much of the African world, it has also provided evidence of opportunity and hope. Barack Obama, an African American man, the 44th president of the United

States of America, is the most popular political figure in the world and the first African American to hold the post. More African and Caribbean immigrants have declared the United States as home, more than at any other time in the postslavery history of this nation. By contrast, many immigrants see this moment of hope through the lens of desperation, given the severe impact postcolonial policies have on their homelands. No doubt globalization has brought many unintended harsh consequences; however, it has also brought many positive consequences and perhaps the most positive of them is that it has made the distance between African American and Africa smaller than ever before.

ACPS considers the challenges and the promises of contested and varied meanings of the global black experience and seeks to engage these problems in a systematic way. ACPS goes beyond previous paradigms because it is simultaneously descriptive and prescriptive. This book is unique in that few attempts before now have been made by intellectuals to analyze global black culture and policy in an intentional manner, incorporating interdiscplinary and discipline-specific points of reference, while combining theory and policy praxis. Engaging top-down and bottom-up perspectives, ACPS links historical studies, cultures studies and policy studies in a systematic manner that promotes critical examination and evaluation of historically and culturally seminal issues.

The book's contribution to both the fields of Contemporary Black History and Africana studies is found in its intentional goal of canonizing Africana historical studies for the purposes of policy development, analysis, and application. Going beyond mere analytical framework, ACPS deliberately incorporates into its methodology, culture/policy, recommendations that can be applied and implemented by everyone from grassroots citizens to local, state, and, national policymakers. Furthermore, ACPS encourages intellectual inquiry and activism into the manner in which culture affects public policy. Simply stated, ACPS demonstrates the intertwined nature of culture and policy.

The essays in this volume examine the manner and method by which African American history and culture function as centerpieces in the development of the emerging discipline of Africana cultures and policy studies. This work is distinctive in that, previously, minimal concentrated and canonized attempts have been made by historians or Africana studies intellectuals to link culture and policy in a manner that effectively combines scholarly theory and policy praxis.

This book seeks to address the reasons for the prevailing gap between the creation of sound African American history and Africana studies, possessing evident applied characteristics, and its utility as a source for developing constructive public policies. It explores the failures of the academics and policymakers to promote Africana scholarship for collaborative purposes with the policy world—a kind that brings about decisive social change and sustainability. Such scholarship would help to spur decisive social change and the sustainability of effective policy measures. ACPS seeks to add to existing research, targeting the challenges faced by Africana communities typically

disconnected from the theoretical and practical knowledge contained within these particular studies.

Historically speaking, the ACPS paradigm argues that culture(s) studies by Africana scholars, past and present, have been sparingly used, misused, or outright ignored in policy analysis. This situation translates into the creation and maintenance of flawed policies on Africana populations, promoting little or no transformation of economic, political, sociological, psychological, and religious conditions. Africana cultures and policy studies provides for the construction, implementation, evaluation, and recognition of culturally derived prescriptions that emanate from Africana communities and populations, normally not perceived as policy-conscious or overtly political.

Furthermore, *Africana Cultures and Policy Studies* addresses the gap between the ivory tower of Africana studies intellectualism and the peoples and communities who can shape and experience most directly the very connections necessary for this research area. Thus developing constructive public policies that forge greater ties between the academy and the community becomes essential. ACPS challenges biases evidenced in academic and policy institutions toward the implementation of Africana scholarship in social change and sustainability projects. We argue that this bias coupled with severe underutilization of research studies has contributed to the policy paralysis and paranoia of the status quo.

The cultural research of black intellectuals has always held policy value, particularly black applied studies. Public intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter Woodson, Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Merze Tate, Rayford Logan, and Mary McLeod Bethune created linkages between ideas and public policy. In *Living Black History: How Reimagining the African-American Past Can Remake America's Racial Future*, historian Manning Marable criticizes historians and black studies scholars for constantly producing work that has no broad applicability to address concerns of the black community. While he agrees that the quality of scholarship should never be compromised, Marable laments that a lack of public engagement with issues of importance through our scholarship hampers the relevance of today's black scholarship. Similarly, Houston A. Baker offers a stinging critique of contemporary black public intellectuals, elite Ivy League types and neoconservatives alike, for abandoning the role of the organic public thinker and scholar, advanced most notably by Martin Luther King Jr.[1]

Manning Marable's notion of "living black history," instructively explicates the meaning and value of Africana cultures as productive policy repositories. Marable argues that Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon understood the power of history to challenge white supremacist structures and, in the process, enhanced the condition of black and poor people worldwide. Relatedly, Marable offers a challenging perspective of what the exact role of African American studies should be:

> African American Studies as an interdisciplinary field of scholarship is increasingly disengaged with the pressing problems of the urban poor. Today's elitist discourse of liberal multiculturalism speaks the safe language of symbolic representation, but rarely of resistance. Our scholarship must be rigorous and objective, but if it lacks vision or is not informed in its substructure by passionate collective

> memory, how meaningful can it be to the one million African Americans who are currently incarcerated in the nation's correctional Facilities?[2]

Currently, much of black history and black studies scholarship, with the exception of a notable number of works, ignores the importance of policy studies. The resulting disconnect between town and gown occurs as scholars, resigned toward tenure strivings and the cult of the personality, develop research and public positions that have no applicability beyond very narrow circles within the ivory or ebony tower. Contrast that with policymakers, politicians, and social service professionals who continue to underutilize the scholarship of black academics and public intellectuals, preferring to consult with highbrow Washington, DC think tanks, who themselves are out of touch with the daily realities of grassroots communities of African descent.

Black studies intellectuals must realize that individual and collective transformations occur most effectively by actively participating in policy construction, evaluation, and implementation. It is problematic to debate the contours of social struggle in a safe classroom or executive suite. The more responsible approach is to connect interdisciplinary research with the development of proactive strategies that improve social conditions for the least of these in our society and world. This is where Africana cultures and policy studies can serve as the missing link between Africana studies and the policy world.

Renowned historian John Hope Franklin brings clarity to the ongoing debate of whether black scholars can appropriate their scholarship for means of advocacy. Franklin argued against propagating polemics for the sake of sound scholarship but he also mentioned that thorough research could have applicability for addressing matters of public policy. In "The Historian and the Public Policy," Franklin examined the role of scholarship in the service of solving many of society's most perplexing problems:

> But one must attempt to distinguish between the historian's role, on the one hand, in supporting causes or offering explanations *after the fact* and, on the other, of trying to assist in the search for solutions to difficult problems in the arena of public policy.[3]

Franklin characterized the utilization of scholarship for the blatant support of causes as "essentially partisan and defensive," while the function of offering explanations represented a process that demonstrated the manner by which "historical events can provide some basis for change." Franklin's argument opened a necessary discussion concerning the role of the historian in the construction of public policy.[4]

Reinterpreting the Relationship among Culture, Policy, and Black History

Popular culture and Diaspora historian Robin Kelley defines and relates such peripheral politics deriving from marginalized populations to anthropologist

James Scott's notion of "infrapolitics," acts of agency that challenge sociocultural and political phenomena. Constitutive of an amalgam of applicable Africana studies scholarship, notably James Scott's notion of "infrapolitics," and Manning Marable's concept of "living black history," ACPS represents a cultural theory that analyzes contemporary issues impacting the black community, using history as both context and subtext. In tracking the historical foundation laid by black intellectual pragmatists and activists, ACPS underscores a direct relationship with the construction, implementation, and evaluation of policies on local, national, and transnational/international levels. It is necessary to glean the untapped and underutilized expertise and organic intellectualism of Africana peoples and communities in direct utility for global social transformation.

Africana communities and oppressed peoples are rarely directly engaged in the policy development process, and while transformative policies have emanated from the bottom-up or grassroots, most policy talk is still imposed upon these communities. Here the work of cultural anthropologist James Scott grounds a significant aspect of the reinterpretation of cultural policy. In constructing ACPS, James Scott's notion of "infrapolitics," heavily conditions our understanding of the manner by which oppressed communities can construct and respond to policy matters, even as they experience the underside of life. The fact that any group can construct a culture that is "political" is a profound shift from how many traditionally come to understand politics or policy, for that matter. Concerning the infrapolitical nature of what he terms "hidden transcripts," Scott writes:

> So long as we confine our conception of the political to activity that is openly declared we are driven to conclude that subordinate groups essentially lack a political life or that what political life they do have is restricted to those exceptional moments of popular expression. To do so is to miss the immense political terrain that lies between quiescence and revolt and that, for better or worse, is the political environment of subject classes. It is to focus on the visible coastline of politics and miss the continent that lies beyond.[5]

Oftentimes the meaning of policy is filtered through the perspective of elites down to the rest of society, especially the underclass. Using Scott's definition of hidden transcripts or infrapolitics, one can surmise that policy can be constructed using everyday culture that is constructed in a myriad ways. Culture, in all its complexity, becomes the source of policy engagement and development for those who lack significant power to win elected office or amass great wealth to function as influential lobbyists. Even more acute is the challenge located in transforming historic problems such as racism, poverty, and inequality into solvable public policies. All of society should view public policy from the vantage point of what theologian Howard Thurman called the "disinherited."[6]

Soon after the publication of Scott's work, a number of significant black scholar-activists and public intellectuals began to incorporate his theories into their work examining various aspects of black culture. Robin Kelley, in his

analysis of 1940s' black working-class youth culture, makes use of infrapolitics to speak of the manner through which cultures of young black men interject their desire for social change by employing everyday acts of resistance and survival. Writing history from below, Kelley demonstrates how these everyday acts inform organized political movements, be they local or at some point national. On the basis of the utility of hidden transcripts, he calls for a redefinition of politics:

> Too often politics is defined by how people participate rather than why; by traditional definition the question of what is political hinges on whether or not groups are involved in elections, political parties, or grass-roots social movements. Yet the how seems far less important than the why, since so many of the so-called real political institutions have not always proved effective for, or even accessible to, oppressed people…I am rejecting the tendency to dichotomize people's lives, to assume that clear-cut "political" motivations exist separately from issues of economic well-being, safety, pleasure, cultural expression, sexuality, freedom of mobility, and other facets of daily life. Politics is not separate from lived experience or the imaginary world of what is possible; to the contrary, politics is about these things. Politics comprises the many battles to roll back constraints and exercise some power over, or create some space within, the institutions and social relationships that dominate our lives.[7]

Kelley's interpretation of Scott's theory provides a seminal conceptual brick for the ideological and pragmatic house Africana cultures and policy studies attempts to build. *Africana Cultures and Policy Studies* asserts that the development, analysis, and application of policies originate from the context of culture and in concert with the dynamic nature of cultural change. For example, Africana cultures and policy studies seeks to gain insight from the leadership model advanced by countless black men and women intellectual pragmatists. Manning Marable's *Black Leadership* evidences much wisdom that can assist us in our day as to how to develop an effective leadership cadre. The work of Ula Taylor in examining the life of Amy Jacques Garvey provides detailed knowledge of the manner by which we can accurately examine the impact of black women on the development of social movement ideology. Black feminist scholars' in-depth discussion of black women's cultures and experiences has joined with womanist scholars to point the way to measuring the contributions of black women to freedom movements in America and around the world. John D' Emilio's rich biography as well as Devon Carbado and Donald Weise's important edited collection of civil rights policy strategist Bayard Rustin offer useful material with which to project a model leadership paradigm from the life and times of an important civil rights activist.[8]

ACPS examines the historical and evolutionary impact of many contemporary issues, such as Hurricane Katrina, affirmative action, the criminal justice system, poverty, and urban underdevelopment. Theoretical material for Africana cultures and policy studies focuses specifically on policy issues or represents studies that have cultural and/or policy value for communities or peoples of African descent or leadership personages or groups. For example, James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* provides a method by which race relations can be addressed using a model of cultural empathy and role reversal. Addressing his

nephew in his stirring essay, "My Dungeon Shook," Baldwin laments, "[your grandfather] is dead, he never saw you, and he had a terrible life; he was defeated long before he died because, at the bottom of his heart, he really believed what white people said about him . . . you can only be destroyed by believing that you really are what the white world calls a *nigger*." For instance, provided universities, colleges, churches, and civic groups can translate Baldwin's cultural lesson of internalized racism into a functional diversity/conflict resolution training program, it could promote transformative human cultural empathy among the respective communities identified.[9]

Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Methodology

The methodology of Africana cultures and policy studies seeks to examine the comparative engagement and synthesis of cultural analysis with policy analysis. Furthermore, it purposefully seeks to offer critical recommendations and/or praxis models based on particular Africana studies scholarship. This methodology synthesizes traditional disciplines that study the Africana experience into an interdisciplinary canon of study that has practical and policy applications. ACPS is evolutionary in that it is not a fixed theory but one that will certainly develop complementary methods over time.

Top-down ACPS attempts to frame the particular cultural and/or policy analysis from the perspectives of Africana and mainstream elites, leadership, and those possessing substantial amounts of power. Scholarship contributing to this analysis showcases groups who either desire maintenance of the status quo or shift in policy, depending on the group they are compared with. Studies of the congressional black caucus, black legislators, or mainstream political leaders can function as material for such an approach to ACPS.

Bottom-up ACPS provides "infrapolitical" cultures analysis and/or policy analysis from the standpoint of Africana grassroots and marginalized communities and constituencies. Top-down/bottom-up ACPS combines both elite and grassroots persons and communities in a comparative analysis of the manner by which each influences the other, producing some complex result. For instance, comparing and contrasting Kelly Miller's Negro Sanhedrin movement with Minister Louis Farrakhan's recent Millions More Movement can yield a proper reassessment of the efficacy of mass group mobilization for modern organizations struggling with sustainability issues. Further, an investigation of the parallels and divergences between the National Negro Congress and the Gary Political Convention offers a number of lessons for the Black Radical Congress in attempts to develop viable grassroots political advocacy organizations. The urban history studies of Cleveland, Milwaukee, Chicago, and other cities can offer much material for revamping the urban blight, poverty, violence, and inequality that still exist for African Americans in many of the nation's major inner cities. These pioneering studies can be used to develop intracommunal as well as citywide social programs that can reverse the negative and recurring patterns of poverty, crime, underemployment, poor education, and the like. In each

of these instances, we allow the present to learn from the past and thereby inform the method of engagement through a specific policy analysis.

The praxis of Africana cultures and policy studies evidences as one of three ends: (1) development of a cultures and policy report that provides recommendations for local, state, national, and/or international policy interventions. Such recommendations include commentary on evaluation, implementation, and application methods; and (2) development of an institutional mechanism that pragmatically addresses, either immediately or for long term, the particular challenge or problem faced by the group in question. For instance, the urban CommUniversity functions as the embodiment of a definite ACPS praxis result, using studies concentrating on African American adult and community education. In this sense, the work of black intellectuals, Alain Locke and Sterling Brown, pedagogies of Myles Horton and Paulo Freire, as well as CommUniversity curriculums of the 1960s and 1970s, enable the public to gain an insight into the manner by which black public intellectuals have used their scholarship and expertise to promote lifelong learning, heavily grounded in the Africana experience. Many other examples abound, distilling the manner by which Africana studies can inform contemporary Africana policy change.

Outline of the Volume

In part I, the opening section, "Public Policy Foundations and Culture Critiques," Nathaniel Norment Jr.'s "The Fields and Functions of African American Studies and Public Policy" introduces a preliminary discussion of the role(s) African American studies (AAS) and Public Policy (PP) can assume through applied research, public discourse, policy formation, and community partnership. Based on experiences in African American studies and Public Policy, Norment explores the manner in which African American social scientists and policy leaders "can collaborate to formulate, implement, and evaluate policies relevant to African American communities" Seneca Vaught, in his chapter, "A Law unto Themselves," discusses the reasons why Africana studies is vital in the formation of both domestic and foreign policy analysis. Using as case histories, Daniel Patrick Moynihan's 1965 *The Negro Family*, the Reagan administration's 1986 Omnibus Anti-Drug Act, the Clinton administration's response to the 1994 Rwandan crisis, as well as the 2000 African Growth and Opportunity Act, Vaught proposes a method by which Africana studies could have assisted in the development of more coherent and effective public policies. Wornie Reed advances the notion that the manner in which racism is addressed is "problematic," crippling constructive efforts to resolve this dilemma via public policy discussions and measures. Reed argues that a flawed "institutionalized thought structure" distorts any real public discourse, leading to a reification of the status quo belief that racism is purely individualistic in character, rather than institutional.

In part II entitled, "Urban Culture and Public Policy," Robert Smith and Debra Smith examine the significance of the acclaimed HBO series, *The Wire*, in fueling a nuanced public discussion around the myriad challenges facing

contemporary urban America, demonstrating how the fusion of sociohistorical and contemporary popular culture analysis can aid the proper appraisal of solutions for inner-city problems of gangs, drugs, working-class strife, deindustrialization, political corruption, and the like. Loretta Prater analyzes the interrelationship between institutionalized terror and police brutality. Prater argues that police brutality represents a form of domestic terror, one that has a tremendous societal impact on families and urban communities. Authors Tekla Ali Johnson, Pearl Ford, Greg Wiggan, and Deborah Brown Quick analyze the case study of the Omaha public schools to represent the segregated nature of public education in America today. The authors call attention to a brewing educational crisis in urban America, one that disproportionately affects black children. Finally, they advance innovative proposals for the reversal of such a devastating occurrence.

In part III, "Gender and Policy Construction," Zachery Williams argues for the development of a black male leadership model based on the life, legacy, and typologies of black religious intellectual, namely educator, minister, and theologian Benjamin Elijah Mays. Williams proposes an intracultural policy model of black leadership development, directed at academia, grassroots practitioners, and public policymakers. Greg Childs, using biographical and historical literature of Sojourner Truth, Harriet Jacobs, Ida B. Wells, and Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, articulates the manner by which black women's political activism functioned as an effective method of demanding social justice and supplanting legal critique in American society.

Authors Kenyatta Phelps, Jennifer Goode, Kaarin Danielle Perkins, and Renata Harden argue that parent and friend influences on academic performance are well documented, but little research has examined links of romantic involvement with school performance during the adolescent period, especially for African American adolescents. The current study draws on interviews with 224 currently dating African American students, finding that an association exists between romantic partner variables and self-reported school grades for African American students. For example, the number of dating partners is negatively associated with self-reported school grades, even after respondent's own orientation toward school and traditional family, as well as peer, and demographic controls have been taken into account. The authors separate analyses by gender and find differences between boys and girls. However, traditional parent variables do not appear to significantly explain African American students' self-reported school grades. These findings underscore the importance of continuing to explore the role of African American romantic partners in connection with a broad range of pro-social as well as problem adolescent outcomes.

Tara Jabbaar-Gyambrah explores the cultural effects of British colonial influences on gender roles and British educational policy during the nineteenth century in Ghana. Jabbaar-Gyambrah argues that while there are several outcomes that had a profound impact on West African countries, including but not limited to the development of social classes, the production of the ideals of racism and discrimination, one factor that has not been studied as much is the establishment of educational institutions for males rather than females.

In part IV, the final section, "African/African Diasporan Culture, Immigration, and Policy," authors Babacar M'Baye, Amoaba Gooden, and Wendy Wilson-Fall, examine a brief history of black immigration into the United States and Canada. This collaborative chapter uses the experiences of Malagasy, Senegalese, and Caribbean immigrants to debunk the traditional view of Black Atlantic studies as exclusively representative of the African American experience. They counter this marginalization by scholars and policymakers by emphasizing the vital role played by recent African and African diasporic populations in "circumventing stringent policies of racial and economic domination and control through subversive use of spirituality and communalism as tools of building economic power and cultural space." Last, but not least, Tim Lake concludes this work with his provocative essay, "Speaking of Africa and Singing of Home." Lake accounts for the value of space and place in Africana cultural memory and its relationship to the maintenance of a sense of cultural belonging. Lake calls for a reinterpretation of Africa as cultural and spiritual home, operating within the consciousness of those populating the African American historical experience. He raises the stirring question, "What are we to make of Africa—its role, function, and import—in telling the stories of African American religion in particular and African American popular history in general?"

The Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute

Contributors to this collection include members of the Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute (ACPSI). ACPSI, created by a unique community of scholar-activists, holds as its central mission, the task of defining the field of Africana cultures and policy studies and, thereby, strengthening the disciplines of African American history and Africana studies. By our very presence, we intend to fill a much-needed gap in the global public sphere of knowledge creation and implementation by bridging the study of Africana cultures' phenomena with relevant application toward matters of public policy advocacy, development, and evaluation. We use the research of Africana studies scholars to shape this emerging paradigm, creating and analyzing theories that have policy impact.

ACPSI advances the notion that the next phase of the evolution of Africana history, culture, and studies is the clear definition, articulation, and advancement of the connection between historical culture and policy. As an institute, we are poised to lead the way in addressing vital issues of global political economy with regard to the policy study of Africana cultures and people, which hitherto have been neglected.

ACPSI, with its multidimensional structure, serves to create a new paradigm among think tanks and research institutes, one that effectively communicates the vast cultural relevance of Africana peoples while simultaneously developing pertinent mechanisms of global outreach and policy advocacy. In this way, ACPSI functions as an institution whose character, structure, and mission illustrate a successful amalgam of research institutes, private think tanks, and public/private policy centers. Drawing upon the complementary utility of

interdisciplinarity and community, ACPSI seeks to bring college and university academics, government and policy experts, journalists, theologians and black religious leaders, artists, grassroots leaders, as well as public and organic intellectuals into a critical engagement with important issues of our collective past, present, and future as Africana peoples.

ACPSI believes that the construction, evaluation, and application of policy are not limited to elites and those with technical training. Imbibing the original mission of Africana studies, we believe that scholarship and experience are intertwined, resulting in substantial social change on every level of society for those marginalized. Furthermore, the assertion of ACPS signals a new day for Africana studies scholars (African studies, African American studies, Pan-African studies, etc.) to reassess the role of their research as well as their relationship to the larger community and society. Africana studies must take the lead in providing adequate solutions to the problems plaguing the world, especially the global black world. We believe that the scholarship of countless black intellectuals, activists, educators, theologians, leaders, and so on provides useful lessons and knowledge that can be transformed into new and improved social organizations, institutions, strategies, and models directing all of black life. In this regard, Africana cultures and policy studies stands to change the way Africana studies functions in the twenty-first-century global world.

Notes

1. Manning Marable, *Living Black History: How Reimagining the African American Past Can Remake America's Racial Future* (New York: Basic Civitas, 2006); Houston A. Baker, *Betrayal: How Black Intellectuals Have Abandoned the Ideals of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).
2. Marable, *Living Black History*, 58.
3. John Hope Franklin, *Race and History: Selected Essays, 1938–1988* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 311.
4. Ibid., 311, 312.
5. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990, 1999).
6. Howard Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1949).
7. Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 9–11.
8. Devon Carbado and Donald Weise, eds. *Time on the Cross: The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin* (San Francisco: Cleis, 2003); John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Ula Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey: The Life & Times of Amy Jacques Garvey* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Manning Marable, *Black Leadership* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
9. James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Vintage International, 1993), 18.

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Part I

Public Policy Foundations and Culture Critiques

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1

The Fields and Functions of African American Studies and Public Policy

Nathaniel Norment Jr.

> If detrimental effects on African American communities are to be neutralized, they must be countered by an effective Afrikan American controlled network. This network must provide "the powers that be" in the Afrikan American community with the relevant information, intelligence, strategies and tactics for advancing the community's interest and for liberating African peoples.
>
> *Amos N. Wilson*

> Public Policy . . . is whatever governments choose to do or not to do.
>
> *Thomas Dye*

This chapter[1] is a preliminary discussion of the role(s) African American Studies (AAS) and Public Policy (PP) can assume through applied research, public discourse, policy formation, and community partnership. On the basis of our experiences in African American studies and public policy, we can explore the dynamic ways in which African American social scientists and policy leaders can collaborate to formulate, implement, and evaluate policies relevant to African American communities. The accomplishment of this goal requires the intersection of both disciplines to extend and challenge the traditional boundary confines of both academia and community. African American studies and public policy can provide the framework to interpret the social political dynamics among decision makers in communities, universities, governmental agencies, and other organizations.

African American Studies and Its Social-Community Responsibility

The core principles of African American studies embrace a commitment to serve the community.[2] The discipline of African American studies focuses on

(1) experiences; (2) problems and solutions; and (3) prospects of individuals and groups whose heritage, wherever they may be, is African. The experiential dimension of the discipline examines the historical record of black people in Africa and the African Diaspora. African American studies also examines the sociological, philosophical, and psychological problems confronting African Americans and Africans (seen as independent and interacting groups). In addition, the discipline deals with theoretical questions including (a) conceptual theory and thinking for the best approach to studying the black experience; (b) analytical theory or sets of ideas and concepts for studying the black experience; and (c) strategic or social change theories.[3] As in any discipline, the academic and intellectual components[4] in African American studies frequently overlap since it is impossible in practice to completely isolate them from one another.

African American Studies

Since its institutional beginning, many perspectives on the purpose and function of African American studies have been presented.[5] According to Nathan Hare,[6] "The main motivation of Black Studies is to entice Black students to greater involvement in the educational process. Black Studies is, above all, a pedagogical device."[7] Vivian Gordon states that "the curriculum of Black Studies must help the student develop his or her skills in the use of the tools which are important to both a critical analysis of interaction of the past and present and to the students' future participation in the analyses of factors which affect the life of Black people in America."[8] Other scholars in the discipline (Adams, Aziibo, Karenga, Pentony, Turner, and Walters) argued further that black studies should develop and facilitate racial awareness and pride among black people. In the 1970s and 1980s Cruse, Daniels, Gordon, Kershaw, and Hare argued that black studies must be communally based, community controlled, and committed to be a vehicle for social change. After more than four decades, these arguments are still relevant to the purposes of African American studies**.** In a sense, part of the growth and development of African American studies comes from the fact that we have been traditionally left out or neglected from public policies debates and decisions. Today, there is still an indisputable need for African American studies to develop theoretically grounded, empirically sound, and cutting-edge research covering all aspects of African Americans' lives to formulate public policy to change their life experiences.

African American Studies as a Research Enterprise

Research should be conducted to identify what is needed to improve the condition of our communities.[9] If research is to provide reliable knowledge that can guide and support our discipline, African American studies researchers will need to have skills of research, evaluation, and will have to use theories of the discipline to analyze and solve the problems facing our communities. The focus

and purpose of all research in African American studies should link the academic and social communities to develop policy agendas.[10]

Research institutes and centers[11] must be created to conduct research projects to address urban/societal problems. Interdisciplinary research teams should include individuals with special background in African American studies in the social sciences (such as psychology, political science, anthropology, and sociology), the arts and humanities (such as film, literature, and music) and in the public policy field. Representatives of these different areas must participate in research conferences and symposia. The interdisciplinary connections established should be expanded into research networks that promote collaborative investigations of issues in African American communities. Besides networks that cut across disciplines, there is even a more urgent need for networking within our own discipline to create an African-centered research framework.[12]

Applied African American Studies

African American cultural and historical knowledge, approaches, and perspectives will be applied to a range of courses, problems, and community action programs.[13] African American scholars must offer their expertise to develop, implement, and evaluate social factors that favor or hinder programs of economic, educational, and political development. They must become involved in community-social organizations to advise the community about the social conditions that cause the problems now plaguing the African Americans.

African American scholars must work in many applied contexts. We must be involved in efforts to change the institutions that affect African people. African American linguists, for example, must evaluate the effects of Black English Vernacular and dialect differences on classroom learning. Ethnographers must study actual schoolroom behavior to improve the educational system for African American children. Social workers must become activists and agents of change within the various social services institutions. Psychologists must provide strategies for African Americans to cope with the emotional and mental crises we face. Political scientists must analyze the negative impact of the voting process on African American communities and provide a black political agenda. African American lawyers must be legal activists for equal justice. Health professionals must deliver needed healthcare. Teachers and educators must identify and propose "best practices" to improve the quality of education for African American children. In recent years, many African American studies graduates have chosen to use their specialized training in a variety of nonacademic careers by working in federal, state, and local governments, international agencies, healthcare centers, nonprofit associations, research institutes, and marketing firms as research directors, science analysts, and program officers. At present, there is no discernible limit for employment of African American studies Ph.Ds in the nonacademic realm.

Public Policy

Public policy is an interdisciplinary field. Public policy practitioners work in the public sector, at universities, centers and institutes, or for organizations that seek to influence policy studies.[14] Public policy research and scholarship is used to analyze and evaluate how national, regional, and local institutions of the state initiate, develop, and implement policies. Policy products examine policies in the context of political values and culture as well as economic and political participation and explain how and why particular policies are adopted by organizations and the local, state, and federal governments.[15] Policy evaluations assess the impact of policies on different groups within society. Traditionally, the public policy realm, at no level, has functioned for the empowerment or betterment of African Americans. Ronald Walters notes:

> Polices oriented toward Blacks, it was argued, must be devalued of their perceived advantages, and the Federal Government must be weakened. This could be accomplished through policies which redistribute power to state and localities and promote flexible regulation of programs, thus permitting resources to be utilized in the interests of White-majority communities.[16]

Considering the assessment of Walters, the involvement of African American studies is most critical in all phases of policy formation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation. African American scholars need to become partners with public policy practitioners to propose specific policies and present the consequences for black people when African American studies does not provide the leadership and support to our communities. Leadership and partnership are key functions. We cannot be left out of the formative process of public policy. Policies generated by the Welfare/Crime Bill/Drug Laws negatively affect African Americans. It makes a difference when only certain persons are allowed to participate in the formulation of policies for whatever reason because these policies are instruments of power and social control.[17]

Similarly, the principle issue in the matter of policy adoption is what requirements should be met before a policy can be prepared for actualization and eventual implementation. For, when we do not have the research data, we do not know what answers we seek, and nor are we in a position to assess the consequences of the policies we formulate. There is a real scientific connection that can be established between the "losses" we have in our community (education, economic development, healthcare, criminal justice system, etc.) and the lack of (and the level of) participation in traditional public policy procedures and processes.

It is important to develop a public policy component of our multidiscipline to connect directly to our theoretical center.[18] In this sense, an African American studies practitioner (social scientist) is simultaneously a theorist, a reformer, and policymaker.[19] An African American studies practitioner should be well trained in a multitude of subjects, but his or her interests in these areas must be further distinguished by his or her total commitment to the betterment of the black community. We have not fulfilled an important mission[20] of African American

studies. African American studies and public policy must conduct needed research[21] and propose specific policies[22] from the disciplines to direct change in our communities.

Politics is the study of who gets what, when, where, and how. Public policy is the process that makes this axiom real. African American studies must address each of the five stages of the policy process as outlined by James E. Anderson.[23] We should provide leadership relevant to (1) problem definition; (2) policy formulation; (3) policy adoption; (4) policy implementation; and (5) policy evaluation for African people. It is important that a public policy component of African American studies relates directly to our mission of community involvement and responsibility. Each aspect of the policy process involves asking and answering questions about the need for particular policies. These questions include (1) demographic analysis as part of that needs assessment; (2) the most promising strategies to address the social need; and (3) the impacts of different policy approaches (including disparate impacts on different groups).[24]

Urban Policy Research

Urban policy research is applied research. It conducts objective, relevant, and timely research on a broad spectrum of public policy issues focusing on crime/criminal justice, education, health, housing, zoning/planning (land use policy), and environmental issues. Urban policy research combines basic scholarship on race and ethnicity with policy-relevant studies and community-development strategies to address pressing urban problems in areas such as health, education, workforce diversity, family poverty, safety, and racial justice. In recent years, urban policy research has extended well beyond an analysis of governmental actions, to include the patterns of decision making in other major social and economic institutions. Many such organizations can have serious impacts on the quality of life and opportunities of citizens, including schools (for example, by tracking students into different curricula), hospitals (by "rationing" care to particular subgroups), or banks and other lending institutions (by investing in some communities and not in others).[25]

Public Policy and African American Studies

The study of public policy and the methods of policy analysis are among the most rapidly developing areas in the social sciences. Policy analysis provides a better understanding of the policymaking process and supplies decision makers with reliable policy-relevant knowledge about pressing economic and social problems. Therefore such public policy in African American studies has the following objectives: (1) to develop theories and concepts of the social and behavioral sciences as they relate to sociopolitical, economic, and, cultural issues in the black community; (2) to provide students with the necessary tools and skills of public policy research and applied public policy analyses; (3) to critically examine various modes of inquiry (methodologies) and the relationship between

policy research and policymaking; (4) to emphasize the importance of political institutions and economic relations as determinants of the policymaking process and context; (5) to define policy and its numerous dimensions and identify and describe various policy mechanisms relevant to the disciplines; and (6) to identify the theoretical underpinnings of the policy areas and critically debate the structure and implementation practices of policies[26] that affect the black community and define how the discipline and African-centered scholarship can transform the lives of all African Americans—not only those in the academy.

Therefore, African American studies and public policy should integrate their fields and functions:

1. To incorporate theories and concepts of African American studies and public policy to resolve sociopolitical, economic, and cultural issues affecting the black community: We must identify and debate the major issues and problems relevant to African Americans. There is need to design and develop programs that will form the African American community's internal and public policy agendas and strategies for improving its cultural, economic, educational, and political conditions. The continued inequality of opportunity to acquire a quality education, housing, jobs, and equal justice demand that we fully develop a structure to foster an African American public policy agenda.

As shown in figure 1.1, African American studies and public policy can provide the framework/structure to interpret the interlocking cultural-social-political dynamics affecting African Americans. Needed work in policy studies relevant

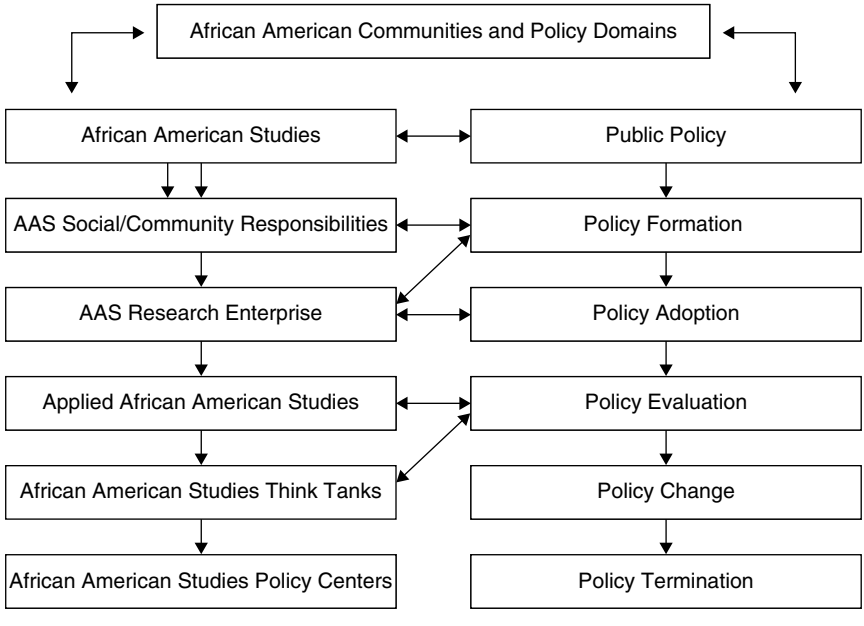

Figure 1.1 African American Communities and Policy Domains

to the African American communities can take place in African American studies, think tanks, research institutes,[27] public policy centers, universities, governmental agencies, and other organizations.

2. To provide students and lay persons with the content, knowledge, and methodologies of African American studies applied research: The fact that African American studies emphasizes human agency and people's capacity to act on their own behalf even when they lack material resources, suggests that the field can enrich the study of policies to empower African American communities. Empowerment is a strong theme in public policymaking in both the United States and internationally, as "big government" solutions have lost popularity.
3. To provide students and lay persons with the tools of public policy research and applied public policy analyses: Technical advances in computer technology in recent decades have given policy analysts new tools, particularly for data handling and mapping the impact of policy. While such digital techniques are more likely to be used in academic and professional settings than in communities, other research tools such as opinion surveys can often be effectively administered by lay persons working in communities they know well.[28]
4. To critically examine various modes of inquiry (methodologies) and the relationship between policy research and policymaking: A hallmark of African American studies has been its insistence on subjecting entrenched scholarly methods to critical scrutiny, questioning whether those methods tend to privilege some values or perspectives at the expense of others. The field of public policy, like other social sciences, could benefit from that kind of critical scrutiny of its methodologies.
5. To assess the importance of political institutions and economic relations as determinants of the policymaking process and context: Design programs that benefit African Americans; attract support from other minorities and from the white majority; develop coalition-building strategies among African Americans and other constituencies; examine which institutional venues are most promising for gaining access to policymakers and exerting pressure for change—for example, federal, state, or local government; judicial, legislative, or bureaucratic institutional venues.[29]
6. To define public policy and its numerous dimensions and identify and describe various policy processes[30] relevant to the discipline: Attention should be given not only to governmental processes, but also to other important social processes that affect the distribution of resources, burdens, and opportunities. Among these are market processes, particularly those that shape the distribution of capital, since business formation and investments are crucial elements of successful communities. In addition, spatial processes such as segregation, gentrification, and displacement have serious effects on the communities in which they occur. A particularly rich area for research is the intersection between governmental policies, market forces, and spatial processes.[31]

7. To analyze the public policy process and to implement practices of policies that positively affect African American communities[32]: Part of this analysis must examine the likelihood that some policies may have disparate impacts on different communities. Policy analysts must question whether there are conditions prevailing in African American communities that would lead to different outcomes—whether more positive or more negative—than in other communities.

Public Policy Tools and Their Relationship to African American Studies

The tools and resources of public policy can direct research in African American studies. Public policy provides a perspective to address old and new problems in our communities and challenges us to rethink our mission, purpose, and strategies for working for/in our communities. Many of the initiatives in past decades, particularly transportation, education, urban renewal, civil rights, and anti-poverty policy were aimed at urban areas with large concentrations of African Americans. Some of these policies were aimed at perpetuating segregation and inequality, while others were intended to overcome them. Whatever the case, social scientists responded to the growth of governmental activism by developing fields of public policy studies.[33]

Policy Formation and Adoption

Once an issue is accepted in the policy domain, a specific policy is formulated.[34] Legislators outline the course of action that the policy will follow. This plan can be enacted into law. To determine the plan, lawmakers specify objectives, identify policy alternatives, and adopt the one alternative that gives the best results. Although analysts may participate in each stage of the policy cycle, their involvement is most critical in the phases of policy formation, implementation, and evaluation.[35]

Policy adoption comes at the end of the formation process. Once the policy analyses are complete, they are sent to the official decision-making bodies that enact legislation or issue an executive order. In the long cycle of policy formation, the adoption stage is for the most part well defined. Typically the analyst's job ends with policy formation when decision makers review the alternatives. The outcome is based on the decision makers' values, their constituents' concerns, their party affiliation, public opinion, and pressure from special interest groups.[36] Usually there is a coming together of an intellectual consensus with a ripe political environment. That is, the existing policy, if there is one, has been discredited and a consensus has developed among some experts at least around a new policy that they think will work or should be tried. One or more "policy entrepreneurs," who commit themselves to getting the issue on the agenda, are needed to enact a new policy. These people wait for windows of opportunity when the political conditions are right to get their ideas on to the agenda.[37]

Critical Questions That Need to Be Asked regarding Policy Formation and Adoption as They Affect African Americans

1. To what extent were individuals from the community directly involved in the formation of the policy?
2. Does the policy adequately address the problem and the concerns of the community?
3. Does the policy have the support of special interest groups, lawmakers, and community coalitions?
4. Will the policy outcomes have negative or positive effects on African Americans?
5. To what extent were individuals from the community directly involved in the adoption of the policy?

Policy Implementation

After a public policy has been adopted, it must be implemented. Adopted policies, particularly legislative acts, almost never specify exactly what is to be done. Do the formal and informal coalitions developed in the previous stages of the policy cycle disappear in the implementation stage? Or does the power coalition that brought about policy change remain active in overseeing implementation?[38] The issue of why policies succeed or fail is often traced to their implementation. There can be many reasons for policy failure during implementation: (1) the initial idea that the policy rests upon is misguided; (2) there is a lack of money, administrative skill or capacity, or other resources to implement the policy effectively; and (3) the political coalition that helped get the policy adopted falls apart or disappears, while political enemies work to block the program. Many policy studies are devoted to figuring out "what went wrong" or "right" during implementation.[39]

Critical Points to Be Raised for Ensuring that Policy Affecting African Americans Is Implemented and Sustained

1. Specify exactly what is to be done during implementation.
2. Involve competent policy practitioners and community leaders.
3. Maintain the structure and support of the original coalitions involved in the policy formation.
4. Make sure that funding for the policy is adequate and sustained.
5. Monitor and adjust to the legal, social, and economic factors that may challenge implementation.

Policy Evaluation

If there is one area which policy analysts exercise primary responsibility in the policy cycle, it is the evaluation phase. Analysts inquire about the possible impact

of an adopted policy. Does the policy meet the greater needs of society and is it achieving its goals? The impact of policy may be evaluated on several levels. For example, we may examine policy output, performance evaluation, policy outcome, and feedback.[40] This is the more technocratic end of policy studies. The aim here is to design studies according to the canons of scientific inquiry to isolate the impacts of a given policy. Part of the task here is to see whether the problem that the program was intended to ameliorate in fact was ameliorated. If we find that the problem was ameliorated after the policy was implemented, we want to determine whether it was indeed the policy rather than some other factor that accounts for the outcome. These studies often use comparison groups, pre- and postprogram designs.[41]

An important question to ask during this evaluation phase is whether policies produce different outcomes for different groups of citizens. Asking the question about disparate impacts is not a standard element of policy studies yet, but policy researchers are beginning to discover that policies may have very different effects on different populations. For example, research suggests that charter schools produce more benefits for African American students than for other student groups, and criminal justice scholars have pointed out that drug laws that treat "crack" differently from powder cocaine lead to disparate effects on different groups of offenders.[42]

Some Questions the Policy Analyst Should Ask to Determine Whether the Policy Is Empowering and Emancipatory for African American Communities

1. Did the policy adequately address the problem and the concerns of the African American community?
2. Did the policy improve the life circumstances and situations of African Americans?
3. Did the policy outcomes have negative or positive effects on the African Americans?
4. Was funding for the policy adequate and sustained?
5. What recommended changes, if any, should be made in the policy cycle?

Policy Change

Analysts traditionally have reviewed policies up to the stage of evaluation and stopped there. However, the policy cycle continues beyond policy implementation, as adopted policies encounter the real world problems of interest group pressure, client complaints, legal challenges, and changing financial conditions. Facing these scenarios, policies evolve and go through numerous changes until some of them finally are terminated.[43] Policy studies is generally divided into two groups: the people who focus on the political process and are interested in the politics of public policymaking. They look at how political conditions and institutional arrangements shape policy change. The other group consists of people who are

more technically analytic and they study policy analysis (for example, they would use cost-benefit analysis to calculate the costs and benefits of a proposed policy; or they would conduct policy evaluations of the kind described above.[44]

Policies are sometimes changed because they lead to unintended consequences that policymakers did not foresee. For example, few of the officials who favored loosening federal regulations to encourage banks to make mortgage loans to low-income borrowers would have predicted the avalanche of predatory loans and home foreclosures that resulted from deregulation. Policymakers are currently sponsoring proposals to shift policy back in the direction of stricter regulation.

Critical Questions the African American Community Need to Ask When Policies Are Changed

1. What recommended changes were made in the policy cycle?
2. Who recommended the change(s)? Policymakers, community coalitions, lawmakers or special interest groups?
3. Why were the change(s) recommended?
4. Will the recommended change improve policy outcomes? How will it affect the African American community?
5. Does the change invalidate existing policy?

Policy Termination

Scholars define policy termination as "the deliberate conclusion or cessation of specific public sector functions, programs, policies, or organizations." They have identified four types of termination—functional termination is sweeping; organizational termination withdraws support from an agency; policy termination abandons a specific policy and; program termination occurs when a specific program ends.[45] Even when policies are not officially terminated, budget shortfalls may prevent them from being fully realized as they were intended to be implemented. This has often occurred in American politics, for example, with some Great Society programs of the 1960s that failed to achieve their goals partly because they were never appropriately funded. When a policy is terminated, it makes sense to ask whether it is being abandoned because it did not work or because it was never fully tried.[46]

Critical Questions That Need to Be Asked regarding Policy Termination as It Affects African Americans

1. Who terminated the policy?
2. Why was the policy terminated?
3. Will the policy termination negatively affect African Americans?
4. Did the policy resolve the issue/problem affecting the African American community?
5. Does the policy termination end a specific program for African Americans?

Conclusions and Recommendations

African American studies/public policy should be at the forefront of debate and policymaking for the black community. They can be the preeminent policy analysis and leadership development disciplines for/to the African American communities. Through independent research and analysis, African American studies must define new agendas for change and provide practical solutions to challenge the full range of public policy issues affecting African Americans.

African American scholars must offer their expertise to develop, implement, and evaluate social factors that favor or hinder programs of economic, educational, and political development. African American scholars must become specialists on community-social organization to advise the community about the social conditions that cause the problems now plaguing the African American community and family. African American researchers and scholars must be the leaders of our community and culture, and create multidisciplinary teams and projects to solve problems African American people are confronting in the twenty-first century. African American studies has a critical role to play within the policy domain.

African American studies must engage in explicitly public and political issues with policymakers and policy leaders to formulate public policy. There must be a "movement" for Applied African American studies to revitalize the discipline by leveraging its empirical methods and theoretical paradigms to undertake relevant research. Thus, African American studies will have an undeniable impact in/on our communities. Informed policymaking can foster positive outcomes for the African American community.

Given the above, it is incumbent upon African American studies and public policy practitioners to understand the black community and culture and design of programs that involve the black community and solve community problems. To do that effectively, practitioners must **e**ngage all aspects of community that affect African Americans. Scholars and students in African American studies and public policy need to work collaboratively with public officials, representatives of business and labor, academia, community- and faith-based organizations, and other public and private institutions to:

- Adequately define policy and its numerous dimensions; identify and describe various policy mechanisms; recognize and discuss the theoretical underpinnings of the policy areas discussed in this course; and critically debate the structure and implementation practices of policies that effect the black community;
- Examine public and private policies with respect to trends, conditions, and best practices, to identify the implications of existing and emerging public and private policies for local, regional, and national community-building efforts;
- Link the diverse voices of the community and the academy through public and professional forums, service on task forces, work groups, commissions and boards, presentations and speeches, and; participation in external policy-related meetings;

- Identify relevant institutions and engage them as partners to provide research and documentation assistance;
- Assist in the development of resident-driven advocacy linked to community-defined issues based on both formal and informal data collection, policies, and trends;
- Assist in the preparation of ethical and competent practitioners, academicians, and community leaders who are committed to social and economic justice and to the eradication of barriers to the fullest development of human potential;
- Establish think tanks, public policy and research centers;
- Develop a staff of policy analysts, economists, attorneys, researchers, and industry experts specializing in a vast range of topics headed by an associate director and staffed by senior policy advisors and other researchers and analysts;
- Establish a policy data and research system aimed at educating and informing policymakers, practitioners, community-development corporations, and other community stakeholders, with information and data to enhance practices and heighten public policy priorities;
- Host conferences and forums that engage community-based organizations, social activists, community residents, representatives from academia, business, labor, and government officials to discuss the policy implications of the center's research findings;
- Publish periodic reports on the "State of Black Communities" and make them available to community organizations, policymakers, and other interested parties;
- Produce policy briefs on relevant issues to inform public policy and community development and to address the major problems affecting our communities;
- Maintain a Web site of the center's research activities; provide community residents with access to the knowledge, skill, and ability to plan and work for social and economic justice;
- Develop a core course for African American studies to examine the various dimensions of public policies and their impact on the black community in the United States including "Introduction to Public Policy: Foundations of Policy Formation." Using historical, economic, political, sociological, and psychological lenses of analysis, students will analyze policy within a system framework, paying particular attention to poverty, education, criminal justice, housing, and healthcare. Students will engage local participants in the policy process in communities, while also debating key policy issues highlighted during this course;
- Adequately define policy and its numerous dimensions; identify and describe various policy mechanisms; recognize and discuss the theoretical underpinnings of the policy areas discussed in this course; and critically debate the structure and implementation practices of policies that effect the black community;
- Establish partnerships with higher education institutions and organizations; provide resource to the academic community, and administer internship program for students.

Notes

Adaptation of the title of an article by James B. Stewart entitled "The Field and Function of Black Studies." Adaptation of the title of the Fisk Memorial Address delivered by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1933 entitled "The Field and Function of the Negro College." This chapter proposes ways in which African American Studies and Public Policy can provide the framework to participate in interdisciplinary projects in the Policy Process (see note 11).

1. I would like to express my gratitude to my colleagues at Temple University (Carolyn Adams-geography/urban studies, Richard Greene-sociology, Darwin Fishman, Aimee Glocke-African American studies and Gary Mucciaroni-political science), and also Greg Carr (Howard University), Karanja Carroll (New Paltz-SUNY), Eric Edi (Knox College), David Norment (New York City Public Schools) for their suggestions that significantly improved this chapter and Rosemarie Norment (who constructed figure 1.1).
2. African American studies must fulfill its mission to empower African American people and to commit itself to the communities' needs. There is an urgent need for African American studies to provide directions to nonacademic communities in order that they can confront existing sociopolitical and economic challenges that African Americans still face daily. Perhaps the central goal in the years ahead should be for African American studies to help improve the quality of life for all African American people.
3. See Russell Adam's "African American Studies and the State of the Art" in *The African American Studies Reader*, 2nd ed. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 126–144.
4. Within the general context of academia, African American studies has not only contributed to existing bodies of knowledge, but has also generated new and challenging fields of study, epistemologies, perspectives, and approaches for examining the historical and contemporary experiences of people of African descent.
5. Although one single definition of African American studies may be useful, there has been—since its beginning—different nomenclatures for the discipline such as Negro studies, Afro-American studies, African American studies, American studies, Afro-American and African studies, black studies, Africana studies, and Pan-African studies.
6. See Nathan Hare's "Questions and Answers about Black Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader*, 16–24.
7. African-centered pedagogy seeks to instill identity and purpose in African American students by creating educational environments capable of engaging students, promoting identity development and intellectual participation, and cultivating a sense of belonging to the educational enterprise [African Centered Pedagogy: Developing Schools of Achievement for African American Children. Peter C. Murrell Jr. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002)]. It involves more than the teaching and comprehension of knowledge. It includes the complete integration of teacher, student, content, and community.
8. See Vivian Gordan's "The Coming of Age of Black Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader*, 275–283.
9. See Nathaniel Norment Jr.'s, "Needed Research and Related Projects in African American Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader,* 832–847.
10. The conditions of African Americans related to education, family, economic conditions, unemployment, health, crime/violence, and the impact of crises and disasters

(credit/mortgage/homicide/Katrina) that affect us most severely demand that we develop an African American Policy Agenda.

11. The Center for African American Research and Public Policy (CAARPP) is a research and public policy center dedicated to the defense, development, and empowerment of the Philadelphia African American community so that residents can determine and reach their own life goals. CAARPP engages all aspects of community that affect African American life in Philadelphia. It works collaboratively with public officials, representatives of business and labor, academia, community- and faith-based organizations, and other public and private institutions to examine important policy issues and build a foundation for positive community outcomes.
12. African-centered research seeks to use the cultural knowledge and experience of African American researchers and their participants in the design of research projects as well as in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data. See Linda C. Tillman's "Culturally Sensitive Research Approaches: An African American Perspective," *Educational Researcher* 31:9 (2002): 3–12 and Terry Kershaw's "The Emerging Paradigm in Black Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader*, 496–505.
13. African American studies as a discipline can make use of the analytical methods, theoretical paradigms, and tools of other disciplines and develop new approaches and methodologies grounded in African-centered paradigms. It is important for the "policy" component of our multidiscipline to radiate directly to our theoretical center. African American studies must offer its expertise to develop, implement, and evaluate social factors that favor or hinder programs of economic, educational, and political development. Applied African American studies seeks to investigate phenomena and interrogate issues of the world from an African-centered perspective. The resulting findings should be transposed into communally relevant data that will ultimately liberate the African community and cause it to see its own worth once again.
14. See Marguerite Ross Barnett and James A. Hefner, eds., *Public Policy for the Black Community: Strategies and Perspectives* (New York: Alfred Publising, 1976); Mitchell F. Rice and Woodrow Jones, *Contemporary Public Policy Perspectives and Black Americans: Issues in an Era of Retrenchment Politics* (Portsmouth, NH: Greenwood, 1984); Dipak. K. Gupta, *Analyzing Public Policy: Concepts, Tools and Techniques* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2000); James E. Anderson, *Public Policymaking: An Introduction* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005); John Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies,* 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 2002); Thomas Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, 12th ed. (New York: Prentice Hall, 2007).
15. Historically, local, state, and federal governments have been involved at various levels and with varying degrees in the public policy process. At any phrase of the public policy cycle, any level of government can intervene to demand policy changes.
16. Ronald W. Walters, *White Nationalism, Black Interests: Conservative Public Policy and the Black Community* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), 3.
17. For an analysis of power relations and the African American community, see Amos Wilson, "Class, Race and Power in America" in *Blueprint for Black Power: A Moral, Political and Economic Imperative for the Twenty First Century* (New York: Afrikan World Infosystems, 1998), 136–151.
18. In any academic discipline, there exist varying, oftentimes even conflicting, conceptual and theoretical models, methods, and paradigms. Theory incorporates new and alternative models and frameworks that are designed to give meaning and provide clarity to existing information, as well as to provide the building blocks for the foundation and construction of new knowledge. Theory can be defined as a system of generalizations based on empirical findings or testable empirically. The essential

functions of theory in African American studies are to provide a general orientation to the important concepts central to the discipline; establish parameters regarding form and content; formulate empirical generalizations by fusing qualitative and quantitative methods and; utilize different paradigms and disciplinary modifications in the interplay of theory and practice.

19. See Phillip T. K. Daniel's "Theory Building in Black Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader*, 461–468.
20. African American studies must become an active agent and participant in educating, organizing, and empowering black children, families, and communities to improve their lives.
21. Undergraduate and graduate students' research projects, theses, and dissertations should research discrete problems and issues that affect African American communities. Those departments that offer Ph.Ds in African American studies should form a consortium to sponsor conferences, conduct research, create new knowledge, research the Diaspora, create a publishing company, and continue to produce inter and intradisciplinary research.
22. African American studies/public policy, cooperating with our communities, must identify and analyze the issues and problems of AIDS, crime/violence, family, mental and physical health, poor education, and unemployment that affect African Americans and design research and policy proposals to provide positive incentives and outcomes that will empower individuals and communities to improve and control the circumstances and conditions of their lives.
23. Anderson, *Public Policymaking.*
24. My colleague Carolyn Adams provided this comment.
25. My colleague Carolyn Adams provided this comment.
26. Public policy focuses upon what governments actually do (or don't do) to and for people. Therefore, it is highly relevant to the lives of African Americans. Public policy as a field emerged in the 1950s and 1960s partly as a response to a growing conviction that government could have a large impact on social problems and that the government was undertaking a larger role.
27. Centers and institutes of African American studies seldom have academic programs. They sponsor cultural and community programs; provide counseling, career guidance, and extracurricular activities of interest to African American students. Institutes encourage and support advanced scholarship in the arts, the social sciences, and the humanities.
28. My colleague Carolyn Adams provided this comment.
29. My colleague Carolyn Adams provided this comment.
30. I suppose that it is fine to use these steps or stages, although the real process is not as neat and sequential. Policy experts are involved at all stages, although they are primarily involved in the following tasks: (1) bringing problems to the attention of policymakers; (2) formulating specific solutions (usually the solutions have been kicking around for a while and often they were designed for problems other than the ones that they are used for); (3) program evaluation (this is when the policies/programs that have been implemented are evaluated so that their success or failures can be measured and causes of success or failure can be assessed.) (My colleague Gary Mucciaroni provided this comment).
31. My colleague Carolyn Adams provided this comment.
32. Adapted from Anderson, *Public Policymaking.*
33. My colleague Gary Mucciaroni provided this comment.

34. At this critical stage of formulating the policy, American politics gives disproportionate influence to interest groups that are effectively mobilized and well funded. In fact, sometimes the interest groups (or lobbyists working for them) actually draft initial legislation, which is then introduced by legislators [John R. Wright, *Interest Groups and Congress: Lobbying, Contributions and Influence* (London: Longman, 2002)]. How different segments of the society and economy are affected by policies often depends on whether and how their interests are represented at this early stage. (My colleague Carolyn Adams provided this comment.)
35. See Gupta, *Analyzing Public Policy*, 56.
36. Gupta, *Analyzing Public Policy*, 60.
37. See Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives.*
38. Gupta, *Analyzing Public Policy,* 61.
39. My colleague Gary Mucciaroni provided this comment.
40. Gupta, *Analyzing Public Policy,* 63.
41. My colleague Gary Mucciaroni provided this comment.
42. My colleague Carolyn Adams provided this comment.
43. Gupta, *Analyzing Public Policy,* 64.
44. My colleague Gary Mucciaroni provided this comment.
45. Gupta, *Analyzing Public Policy,* 65.
46. My colleague Carolyn Adams provided this comment.

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A Law unto Themselves: Historical Consequences and Cultural Realities from the Neglect of Africana Studies in Policymaking Processes

Seneca Vaught

Introduction

This chapter discusses why Africana studies is essential in foreign and domestic policy analyses. I discuss several historical episodes in which Africana culture and policy issues intersected in the civil and post–civil rights era. These episodes include Daniel Patrick Moynihan's 1965 *The Negro Family*, the Reagan administration's 1986 Omnibus Anti-Drug Act, the Clinton administration's complacency regarding Rwanda in 1994 and the 2000 African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA).[1] In each of these case histories, I illustrate how Africana scholarship has been ignored, deemed irrelevant, or misused while examining ways in which Africana studies scholarship could have contributed to a clearer understanding and engagement of key policy developments.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a historical, cultural, and political context in which Africana studies and its subdisciplines can become *applied* disciplines, moving beyond the ivory tower of the academy and the self-congratulatory "amen corners" of black self-esteem circles into the realm of public policy and social change.[2] I unapologetically invoke a pragmatic model of Africana studies, recognizing the discipline's historical roots in this approach. During the late 1960s, as the first black student unions made demands on various educational institutions to increase the scope of black academic resources on their campuses, their key concern was to develop programs that had a direct connection with the lives of the people they examined.[3]

I have attempted to provide a brief descriptive narrative of the cultural contexts in which these major policies have developed. Thinking broadly about the development of public policy and its impact, the applicability of Africana studies extends beyond the formal decision-making processes of governmental branches. Since I define the basis of policy as relational, I inquire about the nature of these arrangements, whether it is amongst people demanding social change, scholars proposing paradigms, or governments creating, interpreting and enforcing the law.[4] From this perspective, these brief case histories provide an argument for a broader application of Africana studies in government policymaking processes while also presenting a model on how the emerging field of Africana Cultures and Policy studies presents a policy-oriented approach to historical and cultural academic research.

Moynihan's Misfires: The Negro Family and the Misapplication of Black Studies

As a junior member of Lyndon Baines Johnson's cabinet, Moynihan represented the best face of American liberalism in the 1960s. He was the product of rugged self-determinism with an ideological slant toward helping the poor. Moynihan was a brilliant scholar and social scientist and by all accounts he was viewed as deeply sympathetic to the plight of African Americans.

Early in 1965, Moynihan drafted a private report for President Lyndon Johnson prompted by uneasiness with the worsening situation among urban blacks. The growing disparity of wealth between blacks and whites troubled him as much as urban malaise did. He had reason to be concerned that the legislation proposed in the recently signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would do too little and act too late to address the racial crisis devouring America. In 1964 Moynihan's foresight was vindicated as urban race riots exploded in Harlem, Philadelphia, and Rochester—all on the heels of the Civil Rights Act.

According to his biographer, Moynihan's original intention in writing the report was to prove that the civil rights legislation of 1964 was not sufficient to address racial issues in America. Conceiving it as a private working paper, Daniel Patrick Moynihan drafted *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (also known as the Moynihan Report) to keep the issue of race at the forefront of the Johnson administration's agenda. Johnson was embroiled in a steadily escalating engagement in Vietnam beginning with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in August of 1964 and Operation Rolling Thunder in the spring of 1965.[5]

The major premise of the Moynihan report was that social ills faced by American blacks stemmed from the legacy of slavery, the persistence of racial prejudice, and most importantly the deterioration of the black family structure. Moynihan controversially claimed that the black family was severely retarded by a matriarchal structure. His critique did not dwell upon the inability of black women to lead their families, but rather he argued that this arrangement prevented black men from achieving economic and social roles comparable to those

of their white counterparts—a problem remaining even after certain civil and political rights had recently been achieved.[6]

Experts on both sides of ideological spectrum used his claim to support arguments that were based on a much longer historical trajectory according to historian Daryl Michael Scott.[7] On the left, critics zeroed in on Moynihan's implication that the black family could not find the source of its hardship in institutional and cultural structures of a racialized market-driven society but rather in the past historical trauma of slavery and an underdeveloped work ethic.[8] On the other side, conservative critics pointed to the report as evidence that blacks were inherently damaged and that recent demands for civil rights and social legislation could do nothing to change that.

Controversially Moynihan proposed no cure for such a "tangle of pathology" that lay in an underdeveloped manhood. He did suggest however that the problem of black masculinity could be addressed through increased military service and work programs. He based this rationalization on the assumption that "the United States Armed Forces is the only experience open to the Negro American in which he is truly treated as an equal: not as a Negro equal to a white, but as one man equal to any other man in a world where the category 'Negro' and 'white' does not exist."[9]

The response to the publicizing of the report in the summer of 1965 was varied. There was denial. There was agreement. There was outrage. Floyd McKissick, Bayard Rustin, Robert Carter, and Martin Luther King, all criticized the report for different reasons. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders were initially pleased that the report came as a means to address the plight of black Americans independent of any episodic crisis or pressure from the protest wing.[10] Despite the initial optimism, bad timing, and political posturing, depending on one's perspective, played a role in emerging black response.[11]

One important criticism leveled at Moynihan dealt with scholarly authority. Moynihan did cite several scholars, activists, and scholar-activists such as Bayard Rustin, Thomas F. Pettigrew, and Whitney Young and E. Franklin Frazier whose works are now regularly used in the canon of Africana studies and sociological circles.[12] However, Rustin criticized Moynihan's report stating that "[i]t was first of all incomplete . . . Moynihan posed as a great scholar of the Negro family and this was a mistake. He left out a great deal of what E. Franklin Frazier has done."[13] In this manner, Rustin pointed to the posturing of *experienced* social scientists being inadequately equipped to address the problems of the black American community. In Rustin's opinion, this was a work to be surrendered to specialists on black American culture, which was in his estimation not a credential awarded by skin color but by expertise and methodology.[14] This conclusion in itself was ironic since Rustin soon became an outspoken critic of the black studies movement.[15]

While Moynihan recognized the problem of the post–World War II African American community as hinging on the developments of culture and policy, he failed to apply a more rigorous lens of analysis to the historical and cultural realities of blacks in the 1960s. *Dark Ghetto*, another study to address black "pathology," was also published in 1965 by the celebrated black psychologist Kenneth Clark.

Clark's findings had contributed to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) victory in *Brown v. Board* by demonstrating the psychological impact of segregated education on black children.[16]

Differing from Moynihan's isolation of the black family as a determinant of black underdevelopment, Clark presented a much broader analysis of the alleged cultural decay of urban black communities. His findings were based on fieldwork conducted in the black Harlem. His analysis in *Dark Ghetto* incorporated the complicity of whiteness in the dynamics of power paralleling the degradation of the family, both as contributors to an "invisible wall" of isolation.[17] Clark concluded his study with a scathing rebuke to white liberals who failed to understand the true nature of racial and economic isolation. Considering the impact of racial isolation, Clark asserted, "[W]hen Negroes insist upon sharing the rewards and status symbols, Whites then tend to close ranks in what seems to Negroes to be a solid wall of resistance to their demands. There is a temporary decrease in rivalry among whites and a joining of forces."[18]

Summarily, Clark criticized white liberalism for presuming to possess an objectively and intellectually superior understanding of the Negro problem without a deeper understanding of the long-standing cultural dynamics of power and their inescapable complicity in the dilemma. To be black in 1965 carried certain psychological, economic, and social meanings that needed to be critically and systematically addressed, as the Black Power movement was beginning to articulate.[19]

The Negro Family ultimately failed not because it recognized problems in the black community but because it did not have the cultural context and community-centered solutions to those problems.[20] Moynihan lacked the systematic cultural approach to black life that African American scholars since W. E. B. Du Bois have argued for.[21] From 1965, we can clearly see that this presented a need for an integrated approach to policy addressing black folk in America and in the rest of the world. Sensing some of the cultural dynamics of policy in America, a later work by Moynihan addressed cultural assimilation in America beyond the African American dilemma and was received more warmly.[22]

To contextualize the release of *The Negro Family*, it must be mentioned that Moynihan's report was merely the outgrowth of his own views of social welfare deeply influenced by Catholic welfare philosophy. From his cultural background and observation, he perceived that focusing on assisting the family was central to developing a poverty policy. According to Lee Rainwater and William Yancy's analysis of the Moynihan Report, "He had observed that most European nations and Canada had adopted family-allowance programs to cope with difficulties of home maintenance at low-income levels… Therefore when Moynihan turned his attention to the situation of Negro Americans, it seemed clear to him that the question of the Negro family welfare should be central."[23]

Unfortunately, the greatest shortcoming of the Moynihan report was not the findings of the research but the inability of Moynihan and the Johnson administration to control the tone and context of its reception. It was leaked out in portions throughout the first few months of 1965, giving false impressions until the entire report was released in August of the same year.[24] In a political climate

where racial demagogues preyed upon racial imagery to reshuffle their own segregationist agendas, for black leadership to yield this much-contemplated issue in the black community to propagandizing purposes of hostile forces would be foolish. It was not that black religious and political leadership did not agree that more could be done to shore up the condition of the black family, but rather without proper context and concern, this issue would be used as justification for maintaining a racially and culturally insensitive status quo. Informally employing what was believed to be the best scholarship in the disciplines of sociology and social work, the Moynihan report rendered some rather controversial findings that initially endorsed but eventually enraged black leadership.[25] That Moynihan had used his own cultural cues to inform his assessment, now perceived as being a major reason for the fallout, was actually a minor problem.

The greatest problem in addressing Moynihan's race policy was not his mismanagement of the cultural context, nor his misuse of black scholarship, but rather the unintended consequence of isolating and politicizing black studies issues. The divorce of racial policy recommendations from an academic and social context prevented individuals with a critical understanding, experiential or empirical, of the black world from playing a central role in forming the policies that directly impacted that population.[26]

A well-intentioned study with a flawed conclusion, the controversy that surrounded the publication of the Moynihan report in 1965 revealed how academic research on race policy lacking the proper context and community-grounded policies can become a public relations disaster. The same dynamics of the Moynihan showdown would be reincarnated in Bill Cosby's "Pound Cake Speech" in May 2004 and in Barack Obama's "Father's Day Speech" in 2008. It was not that blacks necessarily disagreed with messages for a stronger family structure but rather that the recommendations often lacked a keen understanding of how the context of delivery and racial imagery could deeply impact the effectiveness of the policy.

Reagan's Shot in the Dark: The Omnibus Anti-Drug Act of 1986

While the previous case provided an example of ill-applied or misapplied study of African American culture in public policy, the following example provides a case in which African American scholarship was excluded in the formation of an anticrime agenda that came to deeply impact urban blacks. When Moynihan completed his report in 1965, the field of Africana studies had not yet been institutionalized in university and college campuses but by the mid-1980s, amidst the bitterly contested Reagan Revolution, the black studies movement was mindful, militant, and capable of a coherent research agenda. Nonetheless the public engagement of the field focused on rebuttals of the neoconservative countermovement to discredit the discipline instead of the most racially significant crime policy of the post–civil rights era.[27]

Reagan was hardly amused by the new black intelligentsia. According to Manning Marable, "During the eight years of the Reagan administration, both black studies programs and black access to higher education experienced some

destabilization and decline. Ideologically, African American studies increasingly came under fierce attack as promoting 'racial separatism,' and in some notable cases 'anti-Semitism.' "[28] As Africana studies had now been added to the curriculum of many colleges and campuses across the country, the political discussion was evolving in ways that also would limit the meaningfulness of what the discipline had to contribute to public policy discourse. As race-neutral language and multiculturalism (including the celebration of white ethnicities) grew in stature, policy strategies veered from focusing on race-specific outcomes to "color-blind" agendas. The birth of the second bout of anti-drug policy, a hallmark of the Reagan administration, is one example of such an adjustment.

In a letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, Sherry Sylvester, head of the Correction Association of New York City's public policy advocacy project, voiced her disapproval of the 1986 Omnibus Anti-Drug Act as a policy founded on multiple errors and directing the bulk of the 1.4 billion dollar budget toward a defunct drug task force project at the expense of education and rehabilitation programs.[29] It was widely accepted that the crack-cocaine epidemic, a largely urban phenomenon, was closely related to black inner-city addicts. Experts testified before congressional committees on the drug's effect on black communities and made recommendations for targeted treatment and rehabilitation programs.

As a policy unfolded to control the crime that politicized statistics presented as being closely tied to a black drug market, concerns of crime and the increased need for law and order resurfaced with a vengeance. In retrospect, some consider the crack hysteria of the 1980s to be racially driven. In *Crack and the Evolution of Anti-Drug Policy*, Steven R. Belenko commented on the racial dimensions of the emerging policy:

> "More than any newly emerging drug in this century, crack generated unprecedented levels of public concern about its effects on crime and public order. This may have reflected fears among whites that crack-smoking blacks and Hispanics from the nation's inner cities would be running amok, high on crack and unable to stop using it. The early media accounts of the effects of crack fueled these stereotypes. Crack's appearance among urban minorities and resultant barrage of media and political coverage helped drive and enormously expensive enforcement-based response that has filled the nation's jails and prisons with crack users and dealers."[30]

The support for a national crime control policy stemmed most recently from Richard Nixon's law and order ticket but had found earlier roots in the rhetorically rampant Goldwaterism of the Johnson era. Goldwater's paranoia about black rebelliousness in the rioting and civil unrest of the post–civil rights generation was popular political ammunition for the Nixon administration and now was reloaded into Reagan's rifle but under slightly different circumstances. Unlike Reagan, Nixon had supported expanding methadone rehabilitation programs, supported the creation of the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), and emphasized eradicating the source of the drug trade regardless of foreign policy consequences.

In 1986 the political climate had shifted, and the Omnibus Anti-Drug Act (and the 1988 legislation that followed) emerged as a tentacle of an octopus of crime control policy, at the center of which the notion of a smaller federal government and conservative egalitarianism trumped pragmatism, scholarship, and common sense. Reagan prided himself on nominating judges with a conservative orientation, refusing to act on behalf of any group, and to uphold civil rights legislation of the preceding decades.[31] Under careful scrutiny, the notion of conservative egalitarianism proved to be deceptive. Still smoldering from the hardliner segregation episodes and urban violence of the 1960s and politically emboldened by resurgent white backlash of the 1970s, could conservative judges be reasonably expected to sentence without regard to race? In eight years, Reagan appointed more than 350 federal district and appellate court judges. Within the decade, the percentage of drug offenders nearly tripled and racially disparities also increased. While we cannot say the Reagan administration intended for this targeted incarceration of urban blacks to occur, there were certainly a number of blacks who perceived him and his policies in this light owing to his disregard for black scholarship on the subject.[32]

The response to Reagan's concern with crime within the black community could have been a welcome collaboration, considering the list of growing public concerns about his antiblack sentiment. Instead Reagan projected the image of the race hero of the white ethnic underdog—an image that precluded several things about African Americans—harking back to his approach to the Black Panther Party and race policy issues as governor of California.[33] First as governor and later as president, Reagan concluded that African Americans had little to contribute to the discussion of the development of policy and when they did, it would be at the expense of the American government. Reagan particularly perceived the black left, from the Angela Davis episode onward as potentially destructive, and as the Cold War intensified, increasingly subversive.[34]

Reagan's black policy agenda raises some interesting questions on popular national views on race during the 1980s. Although he opposed both the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Right Act of 1965, when asked about his personal feelings on race, Reagan referenced childhood association with black athletes to thwart accusations that he was a racist.[35] Ultimately, it was his simplistic yet contradictory views on race and not necessarily a conservative orientation that hampered the effectiveness of his administration in enforcement of the drug law and other domestic policies.[36] Reagan reduced race to a personal problem when it was clearly an institutional and cultural one—a persistently systemic component of American society.[37] While denying its presence, he augmented its scale and the aftermath was disastrous.

The Omnibus Anti-Drug Act of 1986 evidences the omnipresence of race during the Reagan Revolution and underscores the neglected role of Africana studies. It debunks the conservative egalitarian notion that policymakers create laws in a color-blind environment. While lawmakers did not descriptively, deliberately, and consciously isolate a racial group in the Omnibus Anti-Drug Act, whether purposely or not they used demographic information in such a way that discrimination occurred. When legislation is drafted on the basis of ideological

rhetoric rather than culturally sensitive and context- informed research, unintended consequences are likely to discredit the original intent of the policy.[38]

The crack epidemic exploded on the scene in 1985 but really was reported as a national epidemic in 1986, the same year that the Omnibus Anti-Drug Act was passed into law.[39] Between 1986 and 1990, crack-cocaine and its criminalizing effects carried the public policy debate, according to Beverly Watkins and Mindy Fulilove's study on crack in Harlem.[40] During this intensified and racially climatic era, Reagan announced his administration's angle on the crack problem. In 1986, the president vowed to eradicate "the scourge." Going against the counsel of congressional hearings, Reagan elected to pursue a backhanded approach to the epidemic, doling out approximately 86 percent of the $1.7 billon allotted to crime control mechanisms such as prisons and law enforcement.[41] Under Reagan's presidency, the Drug Enforcement Agency grew by as much as 40 percent.[42] The crime control approach to the black inner-city crack problem left only a stingy 14 percent of the budget to the combative measures suggested in the hearings: education, rehabilitation, and prevention research.[43]

The disparities of sentencing in crack-cocaine cases are now widely accepted as racially based.[44] During the 1980s, some black organizations saw the potential of discrimination as being a factor in antidrug policy. Although they remained wary, many considered the benefits of mandatory drug testing and other monitoring mechanisms to outweigh the costs, raising concerns about discrimination that could arise in the workplace with employers using drug testing as a racial mechanism.[45] Despite these fears, according to polls, blacks in greater numbers than their white counterparts wanted to address drugs in the workplace and move toward a drug-free workplace, and education and rehabilitation programs.[46]

In 1980, the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) found that there was no difference between the prevalence of drug usage among blacks and whites. It was confirmed however that blacks made up about 11.7 percent of the population and 22.5 percent in urban areas, placing them at greater risk of drug abuse, they assumed. That same year NIDA placed blacks at higher risk for AIDS because of the practice of sharing needles. Charles Schuster cited that nearly 25 percent of the adult AIDS victims in the country were black.[47] The other major impact of the policy was the consequential emphasis of law enforcement and sentencing disparities. According to Marvin Free, "African Americans and Hispanics convicted of federal offenses and subject to the provisions of the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 were more likely than whites to be sentenced to prison." In addition, blacks were more likely to receive longer sentences.[48] We now know that the growth in the federal prison population and the widespread inmate racial disparity can be traced to longer sentences given to drug offenders starting from this period.[49] But what suggestions did Africana studies scholars make? How could Africana studies be used in crafting a more effective antidrug policy?

A year following the passage of the act in May of 1987, the Office of Substance Abuse Prevention hosted a National Conference on Preventing Alcohol and Drug Abuse in Black Communities and it was attended by numerous black organizations, mostly professional but some academics were present. The conference, funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse, prided itself on cooperating

with a network of major black organizations but the lion's share of the monies and the emphasis of the approach had already been doled out to law enforcement before this conference was even planned. Predictably, deputy director of NIDA, Elaine M. Johnson, stated:

> Drug and alcohol prevention in the Black community seems to be more complex, as this issue cannot be dealt with in isolation. The drug problem in Black communities is so interwoven with economics, employment, the family, housing, education, teenage pregnancy, mental and emotional problems, crime and delinquency, that additional approaches must be developed. Many good things are happening in the Black community relative to prevention with little support or visibility."[50]

But alas, it was too little and too late. The "race-neutral" policy of shoot first and ask questions later had already commenced. Shots in the dark had already been fired. What was the outcome? Consider the fall of Harlem, whose nadir is sketched as occurring from 1960 to 1990.[51] While the Omnibus Anti-Drug Act cannot be blamed solely for the fall of Harlem, the neighborhood presents an isolated case to prove the impact of an allegedly race-neutral policy alongside drastic economic and demographic changes.

Watkins and Thompson present a major point that to present an effective approach to community problems, especially when the community includes a distinct culture, a holistic approach is needed. Reagan's approach to the crack epidemic, focusing solely on criminalizing the offender, failed to deliver preventative and rehabilitative measures to address the fallout of the drug siege. The fallout included rising HIV/AIDS infections, escalating drug-related crimes, increased violence, and psychological and social disruption. While the latter two may seem the most obvious, they were often treated as the most irrelevant because they lacked the empirical data that politicians and policymakers need to prove that their policies are effective. By the late 1980s it had become more politically expedient to boast about drug arrest statistics than to devise a policy to comprehensively reduce crime.

Evidencing those fears and its political potential in 1989, some 50 percent of those surveyed cited drug usage as the gravest threat to the national security of the United States.[52] Implied in this danger was the perception that drug-addicted blacks were at the center of a coming assault on the United States. Drug offenders were given lengthy sentences and denied rehab programs that had previously been employed under Nixon's narcotics policy.[53] Conspicuously absent from the political dialogue until the 1990s was the fact that the drug wave was the outgrowth of racially discriminatory criminal justice policies that had inadvertently and disproportionately affected black urban communities and actually exacerbated the inner-city drug market.

Ironically, at a time when Africana studies was emerging into a credentialed program around the nation, the problems of urban blacks were being surrendered to policymakers whose insight failed to include any extensive culturally conscious or community-centered scholarship. Had Reagan been in touch with the developments of Africana studies or the recommendations of black grassroots

organizations, or at least admitted their credibility on the formation side of the policy, we might have seen a drastically different prison population than we now have. Now we are only left to speculate what could have been.

Why the Rwandan Genocide Seemed like a Drive-By Shooting: The Clinton Administration's Complacency in an African Holocaust

The final discussion here addresses what cultural factors contributed to the lack of American intervention in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide. This is an important subject to be considered along with the preceding policies because it presents an international perspective on the relevance of Africana studies in navigating foreign policy. For the Western world, much of what we know or what we think we know about Africa is filtered through cultural lenses and political ambitions. American policy approaches to black Americans face similar challenges. The abundance of debilitating stereotypes, the psychohistorical effects of colonialism, and parallel policies of racial oppression suggests the need for the application of Africana studies analyses to American foreign policy.[54] The Rwandan genocide provides an excellent example to begin that discussion.

In troubleshooting the roots of the Clinton administration's complacency during the Rwandan genocide, one must deal squarely with how knowledge of African people (black American or otherwise) is acquired and processed. The source of much of American knowledge on Africa (and arguably black Americans) has been based on journalism. An Irish journalist, Fergal Keane stated that news agencies generally lacked the detailed analysis or historical context for coverage of Rwanda and suggested:

> Where television is concerned, African news is generally only big news when it involves lots of dead bodies. The higher the mound, the greater the possibility that the world will, however briefly, send its camera teams and correspondents. Once the story has gone "stale," i.e., there are no new bodies and the refugees are down to a trickle, the news circus moves on. The power images leave us momentarily horrified but largely ignorant, what somebody memorably described as having "compassion without understanding."[55]

Contributing to the complacency about the macabre presented by often well-meaning journalists, the executive branch was apt to employ a short-term historical approach in African foreign affairs. Instead of thinking about long-term consequences of racism and economic exploitation, themes all-too apparent in North American democratic vistas, the State Department and the United Nations traced the beginning of the genocide and hostilities to the killing of Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana and counted the developments that followed as an episodic exchange of ethnic hostility.

Using such a short-term and ideologically restricted approach in 1994, no one was discussing how Belgians used the Tutsis as accomplices in their policy of imperialism in Rwanda shortly following World War I until 1962. No one was asking about the Russian SAM missiles that obliterated the president's plane

midair on his flight back from neighboring Tanzania in 1994. There was no broad inquiry into the weapons used in the attack, similar to the way that no one was discussing how drugs were ferreting their way across borders only to emerge as a front-page epidemic of the ghettoes and barrios.

One unperceived effect of failing to incorporate these broader connections and critical questions about race policy was accompanied by a lack of value for black lives. In the early 1990s, it could be quickly deduced from newspaper articles chronicling police brutality, gang wars, and burgeoning prisons that the preservation of black life was not a priority for American policymakers. Black popular music and culture at the time seemed to appeal to white American audiences precisely because it depreciated black life and commoditized it. Gangsta rap increasingly appealed to black listeners in equally destructive ways; it presented the allure of black power through wealth and violence, even if that power came at the cost of cultural unity.

In 1992, Sista Souljah was excoriated for posing a controversial rhetorical question on white complicity in "black-on-black" crime. Her comment hinted at the failure of policymakers to carefully and extensively analyze black policy. In an interview with David Mills in the *Washington Post,* Souljah attempted to address the inequality of life by inquiring about a hypothetical genocide of white people:

> I mean, if Black people kill Black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people? You understand what I am saying? In other words, white people, this government, and that mayor were well aware of the fact that Black people were dying every day in Los Angeles under gang violence. So if you're a gang member and you would normally be killing somebody, why not kill a white person? Do you think that somebody thinks that white people are better, or above dying, when they would kill their own kind? . . . Unfortunately for white people, *they think it's all right for our children to die*, for our men to be in prison, and not theirs.[56]

In an era when the public was both fascinated and afraid of rap, the gangsta genre or otherwise, Souljah's question enraged and disgusted many who never really heard what she actually said. In an election year, white mainstream voters were beginning to identify rap as a major issue.[57] In June 1992, presidential hopeful Bill Clinton misquoted her question out of context to boost his standing in the polls and to center public opinion on the perceived danger of the rap industry. Rap record sales continued to soar the next month as the embroiled gangsta rapper Ice-T decided to drop the song "Cop Killer" from his album.[58]

Two years later in March of 1994, one month before the Rwanda disaster, Congress was picking up the topic of "gangsta rap" in exploratory hearings to determine whether the genre was as lethal as *Newsweek* had claimed.[59] As the Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLMC) was being used as a medium to incite the wrath of the Hutus against the Tutsi minority, gangsta rap was causing a comparable cultural effect on American listeners.[60] If radio served as a tool to incite Hutu wrath against Tutsis in Kigali, gangsta rap incited public wrath and fascination of the American public as they complacently watched African

Americans and Africans fantasize vistas of violence against themselves. Precisely at the moment when the nonconformist self-deprecating violence of gangsta rap was becoming a mainstream fare, a shift in American foreign policy toward Africa was also commencing.

Similar to the Rwanda crisis to follow, congressional hearings offered little examination of the historical and cultural themes of the gangsta wave. Black studies scholars were investigating the phenomena as a cultural outgrowth of deindustrialization, social isolation, and urban decay. In contrast, clueless spectators were happy to adopt a minimalist approach to the ever-emerging thug complex and conflate it with images of a black and violent Africa the subsequent month ignoring the broad type of questions that Africana studies scholarship tends to emphasize.[61] Why was it that Congress was more interested in censoring gangsta rap than listening to what politically conscious rappers had to say?[62] Perhaps for the same reason they were not listening to what the reports coming out of Kigali were saying.

Back in Rwanda, Habyarimana had practiced preferential policies toward his own ethnic group (Hutus) much to the anger of the Tutsi minority and had been pressured to sign the Arusha Accords in 1993 providing for more cooperation between the two groups. It is likely that Hutus who were part of the Interahamwe (a Hutu extremist paramilitary organization) killed Habyarimana because of his involvement in the Arusha Accords. From an Africana studies perspective, this could not simply be dismissed as "black-on-black" crime. There was something far more sinister, far more historically contrived, and far more *gangsta* at work.

As hostilities mounted, foreign nationals, NGOs, and ambassadors fled from Rwanda, taking wings like the white flight that had isolated inner cities of the United States, leaving behind truculent inner-city blacks and Latinos, and now Hutus and Tutsi to battle to the death. Still smarting from the downed Black Hawk helicopter in Somalia in October of 1993 and battling gangstas on the airwaves from Los Angeles to Chicago, the Clinton administration was not ready to commit troops to confront the crisis in black Africa.[63] In fact, the Somalia incident had sparked an extensive review of U.S. humanitarian policy in Africa and the developing world known as presidential decision directive no. 25 (PDD-25).[64] PDD-25 outlined a checklist of criteria to make countries "eligible" for American intervention and apparently Rwanda did not fit the bill.

Public opinion, largely uninformed and misinformed by trends in black popular culture conflated Africa with black American troubles and was not supportive of sending American assistance anyway. The American impulse had historically been to present Africa, its Diaspora, it problems, and its prospects as one-dimensional. In contrast, Africana studies scholarship tended to present the complexity of African people, its situations, and its prospects. Perhaps prone at times to emphasize the destructiveness of race in the historical narrative, never could an analysis have been more prophetic than here.

Throughout the Rwandan crisis issues of black diversity were central; Tutsi, Hutus, and Twa were the largest ethnic groups that inhabited Rwanda in 1994. These groups made up about nine, ninety, and one percent of the population respectively. They historically intermarried and lived amongst each other but

there was also a narrative of racial colonial policy pitting one group against another that culminated in genocidal politics. This history and the pressures of minority majority status weighed heavily on the developments that followed but were scarcely considered in the initial analysis.[65] Rather, a perverted knowledge of Africa and public fascination with "black-on-black" violence stemming from gangsta rap proved far more important in the cultural consciousness of the American public in the spring of 1994. Much of what Americans heard, saw, and thought about black popular culture, and by default African culture in the 1990s, was saturated in vistas of violence, drug culture, and as Cornel West has characterized it, nihilism.[66]

Just as the cultural and economic developments that precipitated gangsta rap in America went unnoticed, American policymakers were equally clueless about developments of postcolonial trauma in Rwanda, especially about the economic volatility of limited resources in the tiny hilly country. From everything on the radio to the television, Rwanda seemed just like a drive-by to American policymakers. Many missed the overarching logic of despair, confusion, and self-hate caused by systemic discrimination feeding the violence and cloning mass murderers.[67] Instead of confronting the cultural and historical realities of the trauma posed by both gangsta rap and Rwanda, in both cases policymakers opted for censorship—a blatant denial of unbearable truths.

As the bodies piled up that April of 1994 to pass the half a million mark, some quick arithmetic revealed that this was no gangster's paradise but rather it was a bloody apocalypse. The United States waltzed its way out of military engagement in the troubled East African country of Rwanda in 1994, in Liberia in 2002, and in Sudan in 2004. Instead of addressing significant problems in African foreign policy, all presidential administrations from Reagan onward have shuffled, failing to define an ambiguous position and to sidestep humanitarian responsibility.

Conclusion: The African Growth and Opportunity Act of 2000 as a "Law unto Themselves"

While I was working as an intern at TransAfrica forum during the summer of 2004, I remember attending a lunch session where a young human rights lawyer discussed the plethora of problems in the African Growth and Opportunity Act. Her last major point was that no one would speak up because they did not want to sound like they did not want Africa to benefit from the bill. She rightly asserted that the words in the title of the bill, "growth and opportunity," do not necessarily mean that—and if they did, for whom and at what cost?

In July of 1999, the Association of Concerned African Scholars (ACAS) created a brief that specifically addressed their concerns with the legislation. In summary, the ACAS and a long list of other organizations were concerned about the long-term effects of the legislation because it imposed conditionalities that are all-too reminiscent of International Monetary Fund structural adjustment policies.[68] In the spirit of the Africana studies, Jesse Jackson demanded a comprehensive policy on Africa that specifically addressed the historical trend of domination and

colonization and the racial themes that characterized those moves for the better part of the twentieth century.[69] Despite efforts of black scholars and policy advocates to expand the parameters of the legislation to include historical and moral legacies of colonialism and racism, the AGOA was amended according to plan. While we can certainly say that some good has come from the legislation, what cultural and political costs will Africans pay for it?[70] And what research methodologies will we use to determine the impact and the desired affect of this policy?

In the preceding cases, I established that in developing an informed policy-specific knowledge base for the African World, good intentions are clearly not good enough.[71] Policies have very real consequences regardless of intention. Policymakers addressing the African Diaspora need to apply all the knowledge available and especially that of black studies specialists to effectively assess the formation and outcome of policy. Africans on the continent and in the Americas share a healthy criticism of the so-called democratic and color-blind policies of the West, and yet black studies scholars have spent a great deal of time debating the legitimacy of the field of Africana studies when their energies could have been better applied to the pragmatic discourse of effective policymaking. There is also much to be considered in how policy relationships continue to sustain notions of ethnic superiority and enforce cultural and political schemas of subordination.[72]

An overarching argument interlacing each of the discussions presented is that some of the most controversial and misapplied governmental policies regarding African Americans have developed without considering much of what the African Diaspora has to contribute to that discussion. In this manner, these policies have been developed as a law unto themselves. Lawmakers and policy researchers have created rules of engagement for those who create the law without expending much thought on carefully integrating analyses of Africana studies scholarship into these pressing social and cultural issues. The result of a legislate-now-look-later approach to the African world has been devastating in consequence to both parties.

Policymakers need to move beyond the inclusion of Africana studies scholarship in a novel way, to actively synthesizing its research in a manner that most benefits the communities it addresses. To do this, some of the burden must inevitably be placed on Africana scholars and Africana studies departments to (re)shift the emphasis from celebration of the political and cultural institutions of the African world to an engagement and analysis of the policies that affect them. Of course this argument is not entirely new but it is certainly timely. W. E. B. Du Bois realized that merely researching the plight of blacks was not enough. He was compelled to action when confronted with the reality of racial violence in Georgia upon seeing the body parts of a lynch victim prominently displayed at a grocery store.[73]

Perhaps some will interpret the tendency of government powerbrokers to make poorly or uninformed decisions regarding the African Diaspora as racist. As Bayard Rustin suggested in Moynihan's case, this misunderstanding and misapplication of knowledge about the African Diaspora is not always racist but certainly it stems from the architecture of racism in Western society.[74] When expert

analysis is consistently invoked for other geographical, gender, and cultural issues, but personal conviction or public opinion (or both) is the main determinant for policy concerning the African Diaspora, we must admit the presence of cognitive dissonance.

Let us remember, the Moynihan report and the Johnson administration, as historians have looked back, were interested in addressing black issues through targeted policies aimed at eradicating discrimination and providing equal access to resources. The Reagan administration's adoption of conservative egalitarianism ended this approach and cast a suspecting eye on programs that were not considered racially neutral. The Reagan administration made a disastrous mistake by attempting to engage a culturally and historically distinguishable population with a race-neutral approach. From that misstep we have learned that there can be no race-neutral policy in a race-plus society. Clinton learned that American attitudes toward Africa were based on racialized perceptions of blacks and violence. Public opinion is not formed in a racially or culturally neutral environment.

Aside from these issues, a major problem common to all these scenarios is that Africana studies is not taken seriously as an academic discipline having meaningful contributions to make to public policy. In part, it is the discipline's own fault for failing to press its relevance. Reagan used Russian specialists in his dealings with the Soviets and the State Department continues to do so in other regions of the world. Where does the Africana studies specialist fit in? The problem of Africana policy will not be solved by Barack Obama's election as president or through political appointments. In addressing policy issues, decision makers and academics have an ethical responsibility to use the best research possible before crafting a policy and that scholarship must democratically include those it seeks to assist. The best research available for the African Diaspora is not found in public opinion or personal conviction but in scholarship of the discipline. To summarize black historian John Bracey on this issue, engineers go to college to learn to build and design; business students pursue a business degree to learn to improve the corporate sector; similarly, Africana studies was created to improve the life of those in the African World and to train its students to play a meaningful role in social change.

The Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute believes that understanding and addressing socioeconomic inequalities in American society and throughout the world must go beyond reactionary impulses to episodic acts of racism to a thorough analysis and engagement of cultures, institutions, and policies. Until we are able to effectively create social change by engaging both culture and policy, Africana studies scholars are merely writing for themselves, and that manifestation of ghetto oligarchy is an old rule of law worth breaking.

Policy Recommendations

- Africana studies scholars should pursue a model of scholarship that uses a proactive approach to problems of the African Diaspora instead of a

media-driven responsive/reactive approach. Black studies intellectuals and their supporters should be actively engaged in framing the debate on policy and not merely in reacting.

- Black public intellectuals should increasingly refrain from arguing in public morality/ideology debates of the culture wars. Historically, culture war arguments have a complex history that cannot be adequately addressed or resolved in sound bytes. In addition, these debates often have no realistic policy solutions and have served only as distractions from scholarly, culturally informed, outcome-based public policy.
- Africana studies scholars should base their responses to culture war issues as realistic, specific, policy solutions based on scholarly, culturally informed, outcome-based strategies.
- Africana studies scholars should develop greater awareness of policy issues by developing relationships with elected officials, congressional staffers, and others to more effectively maneuver the labyrinth of the policy industrial complex in Washington.
- Africana studies scholarship should challenge potentially damaging race-neutral and race-plus policy initiatives by engaging the historical impacts of these agendas beyond the title.

Notes

An expanded section of this essay, "Why the Rwandan Genocide Seemed like a Drive-By Shooting: The Clinton Administration's Complacency in an African Holocaust" appears as a full article in "Why the Rwanda Genocide Seemed like a Drive-By Shooting," *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 1:10 (November 2007).

1. The terminology "Africana" refers to the theoretical investigation of a global black experience that connects to Africa as a central point of reference. Since there is such a broad diversity of people and traditions throughout the African continent and Diaspora, the term "culture(s)" refers to broad similarities stemming from a central point of origin while recognizing complexities and particularities throughout the African world.
2. Many have expressed displeasure with the quagmire in which Africana studies has descended in recent years. Considering the plight of the discipline, Henry Louis Gates Jr. lamented: "The bad news is that too many Black studies programs—where this new knowledge ought to be created and disseminated—have become segregated, ghettoized amen corners of quasi-religious feeling, propagating old racial fantasies and even inventing new ones." Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Black Studies: Myths or Realities?" *Essence* (February 1994): 138. According to Johnetta B. Cole, "Black Studies advocates respond that Black teachers and students should be accountable to Black people as they struggle for a place of dignity, integrity and equality in American society…Black Studies advocates argue, like C. Wright Mills, that we should strive to be objective, but we should not be detached. Education they argue is one means by which Black youth could be prepared to play a significant role in the improvement of the conditions of Black communities." Johnetta B. Cole, "Black Studies in Liberal Arts Education" in *The Black Studies Reader*, ed. Jacqueline Bobo, Cynthia Hudley, and Claudine Michel (New York: Routledge, 2004), 26. Others place the context of the

emerging discipline as a community-based endeavor in a legacy of the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. See Adams Russell, "African American Studies and the State of the Art" in *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora*, ed. Mario Azvedo (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 33.

3. See Abdul Akalimat, *Introduction to Afro-American Studies* (Chicago: Twenty-First Century Books, 1986), 15–17. Also see Bobo, Hudley, and Michel, *The Black Studies Reader*, 2.
4. An influential work in developing this position has been James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), esp. 28–47. Also see James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
5. See Douglas E. Schoen, *Pat: A Biography of Daniel Patrick Moynihan,* 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).
6. United States Department of Labor. Office of Policy Planning and Research, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. U.S. Govt. Publishing Office, http://www.dol.gov/oasam/programs/history/webid-meynihan.htm (accessed February 1, 2009).
7. See the introduction to Daryl Michael Scott, *Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880–1996* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
8. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, Office of Policy Planning and Research (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 1965), 5, 15–17.
9. Ibid., 42. Moynihan was not entirely naïve about the presence of racism within the armed forces. He went on to say, "If this statement is an ideal rather than reality, it is an ideal that is close to realization. In food, dress, housing, pay, work—the Negro in the Armed Forces *is* equal and is treated that way." See Moynihan, *The Negro Family*, 42.
10. Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, eds., *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy* (Cambridge, MA: M. I. T. Press, 1967), 188. Rainwater and Yancey state that a speech made by President Johnson earlier that June at Howard University had actually been submitted to Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young for prior approval. See Rainwater and Yancey, eds., *The Moynihan Report*, 4, 189.
11. It is also important to note that the Watts riots that August paralleled growing black frustration with governmental responses to urban crises.
12. Moynihan cites E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (New York: Collier, 1962), Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," *Commentary* (1965), Thomas Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American* (Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand, 1964), Whitney Young, *To Be Equal* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), E. Franklin Frazier, "Problems and Needs of Negro Children and Youth Resulting from Family Disorganization," *Journal of Negro Education* 19:3 (Summer 1950): 269–270.
13. Bayard Rustin quoted in Rainwater and Yancey, eds., *The Moynihan Report*, 200–201. Also see Bayard Rustin, "Why Don't Negroes…" in *The Moynihan Report*.
14. The Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute (ACPSI) raises similar concerns in that when issues related to policy recommendations for blacks are considered, public officials tend to rely more on opinion polls and personal feelings than an scholarly informed approach. In an era where everyone is an expert on black folk and black culture, public opinions and talk show hosts are weighed equally and sometimes more

than the recommendations of academicians and those who work directly and systematically within the African Diaspora.

15. See Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 11; Noliwe M. Rooks, *White Money/Black Power: The Surprising History of African American Studies and the Crisis of Race in Higher Education* (Boston: Beacon, 2006), 70–72.
16. See Kenneth Bancroft Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child*, 1st Wesleyan ed. (Scranton, PA: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 185–186, 236–272.
17. Kenneth Bancroft Clark, *Dark Ghetto* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).
18. Ibid., 235–236.
19. Clark discussed how white alliances in the face of black demands contributed to a "compensatory defense alliance" between blacks from different class groups who would otherwise be opposed in interests. Ironically, these forces of defensive cohesiveness came to factor in the establishment of Black Studies Programs across the United States several years later. Ibid., 236.
20. A key criticism of Moynihan was, as Rainwater and Yancy state, "Moynihan had achieved his main goal of defining a problem rather than proposing a solution." See Rainwater and Yancey, *The Moynihan Report,* 6.
21. See Donald Gibson, "Introduction" in W. E. B. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Penguin, 1989), xxvii–xxviii.
22. See Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 1974).
23. Rainwater and Yancey, *The Moynihan Report*, 20–21.
24. Douglas E. Schoen, *Pat: A Biography of Daniel Patrick Moynihan,* 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 110.
25. Moynihan, *The Negro Family.* Also see Daryl Michael Scott, *Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880–1996* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
26. As criticism of the report and eventually his own character came under fire, Moynihan retreated from the issue. In 1969, a deeply disturbed Moynihan suggested a period of "benign neglect" as a course of action to President Nixon. This statement spoke nothing about the racial issues or a policy framework, as the initial impression suggests, but rather about a period that "Negro progress continues and rhetoric fades." Once again, the context of the report and the policy strategy was lost in the political moment.
27. On neoconservative critiques and attacks on Africana studies and multiculturalism in general, see David Horowitz, *The Heterodoxy Handbook: How to Survive the PC Campus* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1994). See Bobo, Hudley, and Michel, *The Black Studies Reader*, 1–3.
28. Manning Marable, *Living Black History: How Reimagining the African-American Past Can Remake America's Racial Future* (New York: Basic Civitas, 2006), 194.
29. Sylvester Sherry, "The March of Folly in the War on Drugs," *New York Times,* September 21, 1986, E24.
30. Steven R. Belenko, *Crack and the Evolution of Anti-Drug Policy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993), 2.
31. See Raymond Wolters, *Right Turn: William Bradford Reynolds, the Reagan Administration, and Black Civil Rights* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1996), 12–13.
32. See Ronald W. Walters, *White Nationalism, Black Interests: Conservative Public Policy and the Black Community*, African American Life Series (Detroit: Wayne State

University Press, 2003), 67–68. In recent news, Reagan's "drug czar" Bill Bennett (appointed in 1988) has refused to recant a troublesome statement that aborting "every black baby in this country would reduce the crime rate." The National Drug Strategy of 1988 was written by Bennett notable for recommending the punishment of "functional users" equally with major drug traffickers. See Belenko, *Crack and the Evolution of Anti-Drug Policy*, 16.

33. For a detailed analysis of the emerging association of white ethnicity and presidential politics, consider the discussion of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan in Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
34. Ronald *Reagan*, George P. Shultz, Kiron K. Skinner, Annelise Anderson, Martin Anderson, *Reagan: A Life in Letters* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 194–195.
35. Michael Schaller, Robert D. Schulzinger, and Karen Anderson, *Present Tense: The United States since 1945*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 440. In addition to these objections, Reagan wanted a constitutional amendment to outlaw school busing, supported the apartheid regime in South Africa, and opposed a national holiday for King. Schaller, Schulzinger, and Anderson, *Present Tense*, 441.
36. For an overview of the problems of race and Reaganism, consider Clarence Lusane and Dennis Desmond, *Pipe Dream Blues: Racism and the War on Drugs* (Boston, MA: South End, 1991), esp. 15–17.
37. Joe Feagin, *Racist America* (London: Routledge, 2000), 4–5.
38. Also consider the duplicity of adopting a "color-blind" policy approach, while identifying black women as welfaremongers as the feminization of poverty accelerated in bounds between 1983 and 1993. African American children being raised by unwed mothers held the highest average in the nation and Reagan used this information to further politicize the misapplied "pathology" claim of Moynihan. This political decision revealed deep contractions and did little to build camaraderie with blacks in decaying urban metropolises. Paralleling with the plight of urban cities during the stagflation of the 1970s and culminating in the decay and crime wave of the 1980s, solving the drug problem was central to defining the answer to the black American problems of the era.
39. Beverly Watkins and Mindy Thompson Fullilove, "Crack Cocaine and Harlem's Health," *Souls* 1:1 (1999): 38.
40. See Ibid.
41. Ibid., 38.
42. *Proceedings of a National Conference on Preventing Alcohol and Drug Abuse in Black Communities: May 22–24, 1987, Washington, D.C*, DHHS Publication (Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration Distributed by the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information, 1990), 5.
43. Watkins and Fullilove, "Crack Cocaine," 38.
44. Belenko, *Crack and the Evolution of Anti-Drug Policy*, 17.
45. *Proceedings of a National Conference on Preventing Alcohol and Drug Abuse in Black Communities: May 22–24, 1987, Washington, D.C*, 5. Many of the members present at the conference wanted a two-pronged approach to both alcohol and drugs. Consider the isolated and devastating impact of alcohol on other ethnic minorities such as Native Americans. Further complicating this issue was the rise in commercial and targeted advertising of alcohol in the black community. See *Proceedings of a National Conference on Preventing Alcohol and Drug Abuse in Black Communities: May 22–24, 1987, Washington, D.C*, 15.

46. Ibid., 5.
47. Ibid., 8.
48. Marvin D. Free Jr. "The Impact of Federal Sentencing Reforms on African Americans," *Journal of Black Studies* 28:2 (1997): 278. The Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 was enacted as part of the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of that same year. This legislation was noted for its widespread approach to crime, prison crowding, and criminal justice reform. See Edward M. Kennedy, "Prison Overcrowding: The Law's Dilemma," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 478 (1985).
49. On the impact of drug policy on the imprisonment of African Americans, see Troy Duster, "Pattern, Purpose and Race in the Drug War: The Crisis of Credibility in Criminal Justice," in *Crack in America: Demon Drugs and Social Justice*, ed. Craig Reinarman and Harry Gene Levine (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 261–268. The application of policy often has unintended consequences. Reagan wanted to apply supply-side economic theory to the drug war. It backfired in the same manner as some argued the Reagonomics backfired. Representing the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), Thomas Burke spoke at the conference and outlined the primary responsibility of the DHHS as it related to the drug issue: "There are two basic components to winning the battle against the scourge of drug and alcohol abuse: reducing the demand and reducing the supply. These two facets are very much interrelated. Demand is induced if you have a flood of drugs on the street, and there is a supply response where is demand for drugs. They go hand in hand." Summary of Remarks by the Honorable Thomas Burke in *Proceedings of a National Conference on Preventing Alcohol and Drug Abuse in Black Communities: May 22–24, 1987, Washington, D.C*, 14–16.
50. "Plenary Session May 22, 1987," in *Proceedings of a National Conference on Preventing Alcohol and Drug Abuse in Black Communities: May 22–24, 1987, Washington, D.C*, 13.
51. Watkins and Fullilove, "Crack Cocaine," 37.
52. Schaller, Schulzinger, and Anderson, *Present Tense*, 443.
53. For a detailed analysis of Nixon's drug policy, see Michael Massing, *The Fix* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998).
54. See Martin Keim, *Rethinking Africa: Curiosities and Inventions of the American Mind,* 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2008), 3–28, esp. 63–104.
55. Fergal Keane, *Season of Blood: A Rwandan Journey* (London; New York: Penguin, 1996), 7.
56. The italics in the block quote are mine. See David Mills, "Sister Souljah's Call to Arms," *Washington Post*, May 13, 1992, quoted in Jeff Chang, *Can't Stop, Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation* (New York: St. Martin's, 2005), 394–395.
57. Zillah R. Eisenstein, *The Color of Gender: Reimaging Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 93–96.
58. Eric Nuzum, *Parental Advisory: Music Censorship in America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), 278–279.
59. Michael Quinn, "Never Shoulda Been Let out the Penitentiary: Gangsta Rap and the Struggle over Racial Identity," *Cultural Critique*, no. 34 (1996): 65. Also see, United States Congress House Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Commerce Consumer Protection and Competitiveness, *Music Lyrics and Commerce : Hearings before the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer Protection, and Competitiveness of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, House of Representatives, One Hundred Third Congress, Second Session, February 11 and*

May 5, 1994 (Washington, DC: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the U.S. G.P.O., Supt. of Docs., Congressional Sales Office, 1994), Cheryl Lynette Keyes, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness (Music in American Life)*, 1st paperback ed. (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 163–164.

60. Linda R. Melvern, *A People Betrayed* (New York: Zed Books, 2000), 70–71.
61. Marc Anthony Neal and others have considered how a long-term historical analysis of gangsta rap places it in a trajectory of the "commodification of black dysfunction." Neal writes, "Because of precarious economic conditions, African-Americans are often forced to be complicit in their own demonization by producing commercially viable caricatures of themselves." See Marc Anthony Neal, *What the Music Said: Black Popular Culture and Black Public Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 10.
62. Jon Parales, "Pop View; Can Good Guys Challenge Ganster Rap?" *New York Times*, June 12, 1994.
63. For an impressive analysis of the lyrics and timetable for production of particularly offensive gangsta rap during the years leading up to the genocide, see Edward Armstrong, "Gangsta Misogyny: A Content Analysis of the Portrayals of Violence against Women in Rap Music, 1987–1993," *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 8:2 (2001): 96–126.
64. Melvern, *A People Betrayed*, 191.
65. Charles Freeman, *Crisis in Rwanda* (Austin, TX: Raintree Steck-Vaughn, 1999), 16–17.
66. Cornel West, *Democracy Matters: Winning the Fight against Imperialism* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 25–27.
67. Charles K. Mironko, "Ibitero: Means and Motive in the Rwandan Genocide" in *Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda: New Perspectives*, ed. Susan E. Cook (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2006), 163–164.
68. "Africa Growth and Opportunity Act Passes House; Efforts to Oppose Economic Conditionality Defeated; Opponents Focus on Senate," Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/30/105.html (accessed February 1, 2009). Some of the conditionalities imposed widespread privatization, a trend that has been increasingly debated in the developed world. Consider the possible effects on countries of the developing world that do not have the history of the public works infrastructure.
69. Stressing the need to equate African humanity with European humanity, Jackson has consistently emphasized the need for debt relief and investment and equal access to capital as necessary for both the development of Africa and African America. See Jesse Jackson, "A Marshall Plan for Africa" in *State of the Race: Creating Our 21st Century, Where Do We Go from Here?* ed. Jemadari Kamara and Tony Menelik Van Der Meer (Boston, MA: Diaspora, 2004), 342–343.
70. Why are the questions of development in the African Diaspora so narrowly defined? Africana cultures and policy studies incorporates a much broader perspective into development. For a traditional view on development policy in sub-Saharan Africa, see William R. Cline, *Trade Policy and Global Poverty* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics: Center for Global Development, 2004).
71. As stated earlier in this chapter, even African-centered scholarship is multidimensional. Consider the debate of African scholars on Ali Mazrui's problem-centric approach to the continent. See James N. Karioki, "African Scholars versus Ali Mazrui," *Transition* 45 (1974): 55–63.

72. For an intriguing discussion on the philosophical basis of race in modernity and cosmopolitan liberalism, see Lucius Outlaw, *On Race and Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
73. W. E. B. Du Bois in *Our Souls Have Grown Deep like the Rivers: Black Poets Read Their Work* (Los Angeles, CA: Rhino/Word Beat, 2000), sound recording.
74. Outlaw, *On Race and Philosophy.*

3

Framing the Discussion of Racism

Wornie Reed

Racism is a persistent problem in the lives of African Americans. While racism is not the only factor in issues adversely affecting African Americans, it is directly or indirectly a factor in many of the social ills in black communities. However, the way racism is addressed is often problematic. The primary argument of this chapter is that a better and wider understanding of how racism works in American society is essential to the development of social policies to resolve racial issues.

At local and national levels, policy discussions of remedies for racism are often hampered by an "institutionalized thought structure"[1] about race and racism that distorts the issues. Two key components of this institutionalized thought structure are: (1) the widespread belief among white Americans that racism is no longer a major factor in American life and; (2) the belief that the main dynamic in racial discrimination is simply racial prejudice leading to individual acts of racism, with intent (to commit racism) as a key dimension. Racism is seen as the intention and choice of individuals.[2] However, most African American scholars know better. They know that racism is prevalent in the operation of American institutions. The reason for calling attention to this issue here is to argue that most policymakers are less knowledgeable, and in fact that they still operate within a thought structure that hampers the creation of effective policies to address persistent racism. Consequently, it is difficult to get agreement on the very framing of questions when racism is the issue.

Social policy arguments about matters of race are debates over the institutionalized thought structure—the predominant ways of thinking about social problems. It is extremely difficult to get established social policies that are contrary to this prevailing thought structure. Consequently, analysts must devote more attention to detailing the existence of racism. It is difficult, however, to discuss occurrences of racism when the predominant ways of thinking about racism is that it is the intentional product of occasional bigoted individuals, and not of institutional practices. I am addressing the latter point—the nature of racism in America.

This chapter argues that prevailing views in America about racism impede productive discussions about social policies around racial issues. I discuss prejudice, individual racism, and institutional racism, and the overwhelming emphasis in American society on the first two—prejudice and individual racism. I follow that discussion with a demonstration of the importance of emphasizing institutional or systemic racism as the more serious of these three dimensions of racism. Next, I discuss two major national studies that did not take this systemic approach and one that did. I show how we ended the 1960s with scholarship and legislation that took systemic approaches and produced policies that emphasized impact over intent in describing racist actions. Since the 1960s however there has been an erosion of much of the impact orientation.

Prejudice and Racism

Today many Americans, especially white Americans, want to get "beyond race," using the argument that racial distinctions no longer have any meaning. Yet race persists as a major social and political designation and is still seen operating in the daily realities faced by African Americans and other Americans of color.

Some people confuse prejudice with racism. For that reason, we should speak clearly about the nature of these two concepts. Racial prejudice and racism both refer to ways in which people devalue, demean, and disadvantage others. By "racial prejudice" we mean negative attitudes toward people belonging to other racial groups, and by "racism" we mean negative treatment of these people. More broadly, *racial prejudice* is a negative attitude, judgment, or feeling about a person that is generalized from beliefs held about the group to which that person belongs. *Racism* is the behavioral manifestation of that racial prejudice. White racism is built on a belief in white superiority over black Americans and other people of color, and it is rooted in racism that assumes and maintains superior and inferior racial hierarchies.

When racial prejudices and behaviors are expressed by individuals either alone or in small groups, we may speak of individual racism. A dramatic and conspicuous act of individual racism is the bombing of a black church. Other less observable acts of individual racism are encountered by African Americans in the essential areas of everyday life—in employment (applying for, keeping or being promoted in a job), shelter (trying to rent or buy housing), consumer activities (being served in stores, hotels, restaurants, etc.), transportation (driving or hailing a cab), to mention just a few. Clearly, racism significantly affects the everyday lives and life chances of African Americans.

Many people see a one-way cause and effect connection between prejudice and racism (see figure 3.1). In this view those who hold prejudices tend to commit acts of racism, and to reduce the incidence of these acts we need to reduce prejudice. This view is useful, but it neglects the reverse direction: the impact of racism on prejudice. Where does racial prejudice come from? A person is not born prejudiced. Rather, prejudice develops as the person develops. What people think about those of another race is shaped by many social forces, and racism has been a

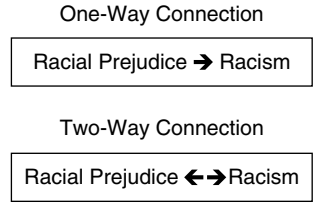

Figure 3.1 The Two Views on Causal Connection between Prejudice and Racism

central force in American society and history. Life experiences and socialization processes shape attitudes, values, and personalities. Social institutions, including the family, schools, and the media play roles in this process. Individuals growing up in a racist society almost inevitably develop racial prejudices.[3] The causal connection between prejudice and racism works both ways: racism leads to prejudice, and prejudice reinforces racism (see figure 3.1).

In discussions of racism, individual racism gets most of the attention, with a clear emphasis on *intentional* acts of racism. However, individual racism can be *unintentional* as well as *intentional*. Such unintentional actions emanate from subconscious attitudes of racial superiority. Subconscious racist beliefs manifest as actions that subordinate nonwhites.[4] A widely researched example of an action generally considered to be *unintentional* racism is classroom teachers having lower academic expectations of black students than they have of white students and interacting with the former on that assumption. The result is black students often perform at lower levels than they would otherwise. Other examples include assuming that a black physician is an orderly, or automatically presenting a valet parking check to a black man in a suit and tie standing at the entrance to a restaurant.

Institutional Racism

Social institutions are central to the operation of societies. They are social arrangements through which collective action takes place to maintain and perpetuate the society and its culture. Major American institutions include the family, education, business and labor, healthcare, housing, religion, welfare, law enforcement, and politics. To have social institutions function in desired ways, societies establish formal and informal rules, that is, policies, practices, and procedures within institutions. In American institutions these are established by the predominant culture. These policies and practices may *unintentionally* or *intentionally* be racially discriminatory. However, racism in American institutions is normative. In other words, racist patterns operate as ordinary forms of behavior and bureaucracy.[5] Some scholars hold that these racist patterns are the result of historical practices.[6] Historically, the United States was developed on the basis of a system of racial slavery and the ideology that was developed in its institutions to support slavery. Slavery was followed by hundred years of formal discrimination (segregation) and the ideology that supported that practice.[7]

Although antidiscrimination laws have been legislated, old racial practices still exist in many social institutions. Until these practices are changed, we will continue to have institutional racism.

Focusing primarily on reducing individual prejudice and racism has limited usefulness because it ignores institutionalized racism, the most serious and entrenched form of racism. Institutional racism provides the context for individual prejudice and racism. Institutional racism is racism that is inherent in, and manifested in, the operation of major institutions in society. It encompasses the established laws, customs, and practices that systematically reflect and produce the racial inequities of U.S. society. Institutional racism can also be intentional or unintentional. Consequently, intent is not a relevant issue. "If racist consequences result from an institution's laws, customs, or practices, that institution is racist whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racist intentions."[8]

Institutional racism can be overt or covert, de jure or de facto, and intentional or unintentional. Institutional racism was given much more attention in the past, when we had the sage rhetoric of the 1960s civil rights and black power movements, the conclusions of the U.S. government's Kerner Commission about white racism,[9] and widely read scholarly books on institutional racism.[10] In recent times, however, much public understanding of racism has centered on individual attitudes and behaviors. A notable example of this was President Clinton's Race Initiative in the late 1990s:

> I want this panel to help educate Americans about the facts surrounding issues of race, to promote a dialogue in every community of the land to confront and work through these issues, to recruit and encourage leadership at all levels to help breach racial divides, and to find, develop and recommend how to implement concrete solutions to our problems… solutions that will involve all of us in government, business, communities, and as individual citizens."[11]

This initiative was intended to honestly address and find solutions to the issue of racism in America; however, the dialogue at the center of the initiative devolved into discussions of individual attitudes and behaviors and debates on affirmative action. There was little focus on deep-seated social structural issues, that is, institutional racism.

Racial prejudice is nurtured by and manifested through racialized institutions and culture. We can see and measure its effects, for example, in the power of the dominant white group to control the lives of the racial "others." When control is organized around racial categories, institutional practices create and sustain racial hierarchies. For example, the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963 was a horrendous act of individual racism. The individuals who committed this crime were not prosecuted at the time because such justice was not usually accorded to blacks in Alabama at that time. Thus, in this instance, institutional racism gave de facto impunity to an act of individual racism.

Institutional racism is significant because its effects are widespread. These effects can result from overtly racist actions (such as the failure of the criminal

justice system to vigorously prosecute the Birmingham bombing) taken by individuals enforcing negative race-based policies or from the actions of individuals who are carrying out supposedly bias-free policies. Thus, a white supervisor can dislike someone of color because of racial prejudice and consequently give the person a poor job rating regardless of performance. While such individual-level racism affects a modest number of individuals, a racist institutional policy can systematically disadvantage many members of a racial group, and the consequences can endure for many years, even for generations. Historically, we have seen many examples of this. For years, African Americans and other Americans of color were excluded from many white-dominated trade unions. This institutionalized discrimination in unions has had a lasting impact. African American workers today often have less seniority than whites even though the current process may be open and fair. Since older African Americans were once systematically excluded from jobs when they were younger, many now find themselves at the back of the line for seniority, and more vulnerable to "last hired, first fired" practices. Such persons often end up as low wage earners who cannot provide the educational and cultural experiences to their children that higher wage workers provide to their children, thus perpetuating a cycle of disadvantage.

A recent example of institutional racism can be seen in the criminal justice system in New York City. The brutalization of Abner Louima in New York City in 1997 and the killing of Amadou Diallo in New York City in 1999 were widely viewed as cases of "rogue cops gone bad," that is, acts of individual racism. On August 9, 1997, more than three years into Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's first term, a thirty-year-old Haitian immigrant named Abner Louima was arrested and taken to the 76th Precinct station house in Brooklyn, then brutally beaten by four police officers, and sodomized with a plunger; this caused severe internal damage to his colon and bladder that required several operations to repair. The attack became a national symbol of police brutality and fed perceptions that white police officers in New York were harassing or abusing young black men as part of a citywide crackdown on crime.[12]

Twenty-three-year old Diallo was shot to death in the vestibule of his Bronx apartment building on February 4, 1999, by undercover officers who said they mistook his wallet for a gun. The officers fired forty-one shots, hitting Diallo nineteen times and making the killing an international symbol of police brutality. The officers were acquitted of state criminal charges in a February 2000 trial that was moved to Albany because of pretrial publicity. The Justice Department decided not to bring federal civil rights charges against the officers.[13] Both Louima and the Diallo family sued and received multimillion dollar settlements from the city.

The policemen in the Louima case were each found guilty of some aspect of the crime. However, many observers pointed out that these police officers were operating under a policy created by Mayor Giuliani that advocated or condoned aggressive police action in minority communities. Even before the Louima and Diallo cases, critics of Giuliani's policy were protesting the disproportionate instances of police brutality against blacks and the lack of official censure of the severity and frequency of these instances. Thus, in the Louima and Diallo cases

we were seeing the institutional racism in the political and criminal justice systems manifested in individual racist behaviors of police officers.

This interplay of individual and institutional racism can also be illustrated by racial profiling, the "driving while black" phenomenon. Over the past decade, data have clearly shown that blacks are stopped and searched by the police substantially more often than are whites, resulting in disproportionately higher *numbers* of "hits" among blacks. Therefore, more blacks than whites are arrested for having contraband—illegal drugs and guns—even if in many cases the yield *rates* are higher for whites. The practice becomes entrenched: because more blacks were arrested in the past, more blacks are stopped, thus creating a self-fulfilling prophecy based on faulty reasoning, and avoiding the question of how many "hits" would be made if more whites were stopped and searched at comparable rates. This disparity has been demonstrated on the New Jersey turnpike, on Maryland and North Carolina highways, and in New York City.[14] In each instance, the yield, or *hit rate,* among whites was equal to or greater than that for blacks. However, also in each instance, substantially more blacks were stopped and searched, providing more hits (and arrests) of blacks even though they were offending at lower *rates* than whites. Given the employment and earnings difficulties that individuals with felony records face,[15] the discriminatory operation of the criminal justice system, resulting in disproportionate levels at which blacks are arrested, convicted, and imprisoned has devastating effects on African American families and their communities, as well as on cities and American society in general.

If we are going to move toward solving problems of racism in the United States, we must define it appropriately. Racism is a social phenomenon, and it is a major and continuing problem for the United States. The focus on prejudice and its relationship with individual acts of discrimination is an incomplete and misleading definition of the national situation. Consequently, we must demonstrate the institutional racism that is still central to U.S. society.

Correcting this institutional racism means much more than just converting or punishing racial bigots. It means eliminating the discriminatory practices of our institutions. If these institutional practices are changed by policy, law, and legislation, the adverse impact of racially bigoted individuals will also be lessened. In much current discussion of racism, individuals are called on to confess to their racially biased intent and to change their prejudiced attitudes and practices. This type of dialogue makes it difficult to talk about race because we are calling attention to petty individual acts while letting institutional racism continue unchallenged. We must return to the focus on institutionalized racism and its negative impact on all aspects of this society.

Problematic Past Approaches

In the 1940s, the first major national social science study of African Americans may have helped promote a misunderstanding of the social structural nature of racial discrimination. Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist, was recruited to

direct this major study. (Sweden was a country with no history of colonization and no apparent vested interest in the history of black-white relations in the United States.) The Myrdal-led study, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy,* was published in 1944 and considered for nearly a quarter of a century to be the definitive study of black life in the United States—a classic, seminal work in American social science, reaching a broad readership. This two-volume work was a great source of information about race relations in the United States. For civil rights activists, ministers, teachers, and social workers, it was a major reference in their struggles against segregation.

In a masterfully crafted argument, Myrdal concluded that the racial oppression of African Americans was the result of an American conflict, an American dilemma: the discrepancy between an egalitarian ideology and racially discriminatory behavior. While he addressed the real issue, racial oppression, he presented it in combination with a very positive statement about America which he called "the American Creed":

> Americans of all national origins, classes, regions, creeds, and colors, have something in common: a social *ethos,* a political creed. It is difficult to avoid the judgment that this "American Creed" is the cement in the structure of this great and disparate nation.[16]

Thus, the "American dilemma" regarding race was a conflict between values and behavior: "From the point of view of the American Creed the status accorded the Negro in America presents nothing more and nothing less than a century-long lag of public morals."[17]

Despite its widespread influence in both the African American community and the northern white community, the Myrdal study had its black critics. Many questioned whether racism could be reduced merely by addressing the contradiction in America's conscience. On the other hand, liberal social scientists were reluctant to criticize a book that so forcefully condemned racism and spread this message to a wide audience.

Some social scientists argued that Myrdal paid too little attention to institutional racism and that the elimination of racial discrimination and domination would require the addressing of social structural problems and institutional change. In a significant critique, the novelist Ralph Ellison situated the Myrdal study in a historical line of social science writings that had done more to maintain the status quo for African Americans than to change it. He wrote his critique in the year that the Myrdal study was published; however, the critique was not published until twenty years later, in 1964.[18] The African American sociologist, Oliver Cox, was another prominent critic,[19] arguing that in studying social problems it is important to examine the relationship between social problems and the underlying social structure, something the Myrdal study did not do. Cox chided the Myrdal analysis by declaring that "[i]f beliefs, per se, could subjugate a people, the beliefs that Negroes hold about whites should be as effective as those which whites hold against Negroes.[20]

In 1984, with $2 million in funding from foundations, the National Research Council (NRC) of the National Academy of Sciences set out to update the Myrdal

study, examining the status of blacks from the 1940s to the mid 1980s and projecting their future status in the United States. The NRC study, published as *A Common Destiny* in 1989, faced severe criticisms along the way. Many complained about the limited involvement of African American scholars in the conceptualization, planning, and development of the project. While some African American scholars were added to the project's study panels, critics noted that some African Americans who were prominent in key areas of the study were conspicuously omitted from research panels.

Critics of the NRC's work were also concerned about the ramifications of a major study of African Americans in the ideological climate of the 1980s. There had been a dismantling of the Great Society Programs and a virtual cease-fire in the War on Poverty. Some critics were concerned that a major study by a prestigious academic organization such as the NRC might serve to validate the 1980s trends toward further limiting the role of government, contending that the NRC study groups, while including a number of persons committed to principles of equality and fairness, also contained significant number of scholars who ruled out the relevance of the historical oppression of African Americans and discounted the contemporary racism against blacks as a major influence in the existing conditions in black communities. For these reasons an alternative study, *Assessment of the Status of African Americans* was conducted.[21] Unlike the NRC study,[22] this alternative study addressed institutional racism through its analyses of social structural processes. The NRC study discussed racism but treated it as random incidents, rather than as a social structural issue. In other words, institutional racism was not considered a factor.

Apparently, the NRC study ignored the Kerner Commission Report,[23] which had been published in 1968, almost exactly halfway between the time of the publication of the Myrdal study in 1944 and the publication of the NRC study in 1989. Significantly, the Kerner Commission Report, issued by a blue ribbon group of commissioners, forthrightly described the nature and extent of institutional racism. Although they did not use the term "institutional racism," which was just coming into use at that time, they used terms such as "white racism" and "de jure and de facto racial segregation." They declared that "white racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II."[24]

In 1967 following the major riots in Newark and Detroit and other uprisings in many other cities across the nation, President Lyndon Johnson appointed a commission to investigate the cause of the riots. In 1968 this commission issued a report, the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* that became known as the Kerner Commission Report, as Otto Kerner, Governor of Illinois, was the chair. Many observers were critical of this commission and doubtful that it would address the issue forthrightly, as its membership was viewed as too moderate to do so. The membership of this commission is listed below.

> Otto Kerner, Democratic governor of Illinois, was the chair and John Lindsay, Republican mayor of New York City, was the vice chair. Other members were

Fred R. Harris, Democratic senator from Oklahoma; Edward W. Brooke, Republican senator from Oklahoma; James C. Corman, Democratic congressman from California; William M. McCulloch, Republican congressman from Ohio; I. W. Abel, president, United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO); Charles B. Thornton, chairman of the Board and chief executive officer, Litton Industries, Inc.; Roy Wilkins, executive director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Katherine Graham Peden, commissioner of Commerce, State of Kentucky; and Herbert Jenkins, chief of police, Atlanta, Georgia. Brooke and Wilkins were African Americans.

Despite its moderate cast, the Kerner Commission was quite candid in its analysis and its pronouncements. It declared that "white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."[25] The commission gave a major boost to the idea that racism could be an attribute of whole societies (through institutions), and not merely of discrete individuals.[26]

Impact versus Intent

One way the confusion between individual racism and institutional racism gets played out in the policy arena is in the efforts to replace outcome or impact with intent as the object of interest. The institutionalized thought structure tends to view racism as something that prejudiced individuals do—with intent. The most consequential racism, however, is institutional racism—what institutions do, irrespective of any individual's intent. It occurs whether or not any individual intends for it to occur. It is built into the processes of the institutions.

In the 1960s and the 1970s the civil rights and black power movements articulated how racism operated as a social phenomenon. The result of this articulation was an approach to civil rights laws and remedies that emphasized disparate *impacts* instead of individual *intent*.

In 1964, after the 1963 assassination of Medger Evers, the March on Washington, and the bombing of the church and murder of four little girls in Birmingham, and the 1964 murder of the three civil rights workers—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner—and after much agitation on the part of civil rights activists across the country, the 1964 Civil Rights Act was enacted. As part of this groundbreaking and comprehensive act, Congress prohibited recipients of federal funds from discriminating on the basis of race, ethnicity, or national origin. Pursuant to powers expressly delegated by that act, the federal agencies and departments responsible for awarding and administering federal contracts immediately adopted regulations prohibiting federal contractees from adopting policies that have the "effect" of discriminating on racial bases.

One of the major outcomes of the civil rights struggles of the 1960s was precisely this principle of the primacy of "effects" over "intent" as established in legislation and administrative directives. If a racial group is disparately impacted by some law or policy, the "disparate impact principle" holds that policy to be racially discriminatory, whether or not its intention had been discriminatory.

This was the imposition of the sociological concept of the "irrelevancy of intent" in social processes. Essentially, the principle of "disparate impact" states that if a policy, procedure, or act is discriminatory on its face or applied in a discriminatory manner, it constitutes discrimination, and thus is illegal.

The disparate impact principle extends the definition of illegal discrimination, declaring further that if policies, procedures, or acts have a significantly greater discriminatory impact on members of a protected class (a group protected against discrimination—for example, sex, religion, age, disability, national origin, and sexual orientation, as well as race), they too are illegal. For example, a city adopts a regulation requiring that all janitors have high school diplomas. On the surface, the regulation does not seem to discriminate. Yet it is likely to have a "disparate impact" on minority groups with high dropout rates. In such a circumstance, plaintiffs may pursue a disparate impact theory of liability to shift the burden to the city to show that a high school diploma is a legitimate business necessity for a janitorial job, and not just a clever, seemingly neutral method for weeding out minority applicants.

We may be losing this all-important principle of the importance of effects. Since the 1970s there has been a chipping away at the legal standing of "disparate impact." I cite several developments in this direction: (1) U.S. Supreme Court decisions; (2) The Reagan administration's efforts; (3) fair housing legislation; and (4) environmental justice law suits.

U.S. Supreme Court Decisions

In 1980, the Supreme Court, ruling in the *Bolden v. Mobile*[27] case, made a major strike against the disparate impact principle and practice. The case involved a challenge by black plaintiffs to the at-large method of electing the city commission of Mobile, Alabama. The racially discriminatory impact of the system, established at the end of Reconstruction, was undeniable: although African Americans made up more than a third of Mobile's population, none had ever been elected to the commission. The Fifth Circuit had held for the plaintiffs, but the Supreme Court reversed the decision, asserting that section 2 of the Voting Rights Act required proof of a discriminatory intent, something very difficult to establish. This strict stand of intent adopted by the Court made it much harder for minorities to win voting rights cases. In 1982, however, in direct response to the Supreme Court's "intent" precedent set forth in *Bolden v. Mobile* in 1980, the U.S. Congress amended section 2 of the Voting Rights Act to create an explicit "results"-based test for discrimination in voting—in other words, an impact test.

In 1996, decades after the establishment of laws like Title VI[28] of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Martha Sandoval, a Mexican immigrant, sued the Department of Licensing in the state of Alabama over its policy of offering driving tests only in English, claiming that the English-only rule had a discriminatory impact on her and the 13,000 other non-English speakers in Alabama who as a result could not drive legally. Under discrimination law, this practice can be considered

illegal discrimination based on national origin. Sandoval won in the district and appellate courts. Because there was no disagreement in the lower courts, many were surprised when the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. When the Court judged the case, it did not consider whether Alabama's policy was illegal, but instead focused on whether a person can go to court and sue under Title VI to challenge practices that have racially discriminatory effects. On April 25, 2001, the United States Supreme Court substantially limited the effectiveness of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, when it held in *Alexander v. Sandoval*[29] that lawsuits could be brought only for *intentional* discrimination on the basis of race and national origin and not over policies that have a discriminatory *impact,* even if that impact can be demonstrated. This Supreme Court decision overturned thirty-five years of practice on which the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court had agreed, even if sometimes only implicitly, that individuals could sue if the practices of entities that received federal funds were deemed discriminatory. Specifically, the Court in a 5-4 decision written by Justice Antonin Scalia ruled that (1) individuals could not sue; only federal agencies could bring suit; and (2) federal agencies can only bring suit where there is *intentional* discrimination. Relatively few cases are now brought alleging intentional discrimination. The vast majority instead seeks redress for practices that have a discriminatory impact, meaning that certain groups are adversely affected by policies. This ruling makes it substantially more difficult to enforce antidiscrimination laws.

The only optimistic point here is that since the decision depended on statutory rather than constitutional interpretation, Congress is free to overturn it, as it did in the *Bolden v. Mobile* case. Getting Congress to take such action may require considerable efforts to change the institutional thought structure on the institutional nature of racial discrimination, or racism.

The Reagan Administration's Efforts

Despite President Reagan's strong attempts in the early 1980s to apply the intent principle to the legislation reauthorizing the Voting Rights Act, the act was reauthorized in 1982 with various amendments, but without an intent clause. The Reagan administration had argued for the primacy of intent, arguing that voting laws and practices should be considered discriminatory only if the intent was to discriminate. They argued that proving intent is central to many, if not most, court proceedings, whether they were criminal or legal. But significantly, when the reauthorization legislation was passed, it included a codification of the results test, demonstrating disparate impact. The bill, in effect, restored the legal standard that had governed voting discrimination cases before the Supreme Court's 1980 decision in *Bolden v. Mobile*.

Fair Housing Legislation

Before the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1988, there had been a two-decade long struggle, with significant debate and a number of pro-fair housing and

anti-fair housing bills and amendments. In 1980 President Carter proposed fair housing legislation that would have enabled the Department of Housing and Development (HUD) to enforce the provisions of the Open Housing Act of 1968. Notable in the consideration of this bill were the efforts in 1980 by Senators Orrin Hatch and Strom Thurmond to weaken the Housing Act of 1968. Among other changes, their amendments to a new bill would have required the courts to use an "intent test" to determine whether fair housing violations had occurred. This of course was a more difficult standard to prove. These amendments did not pass; however, Hatch and Thurmond were able to filibuster and kill the bill.[30]

In 1988, in a more liberal climate, a fair housing act, initiated by Congress, was enacted with moderate enforcement provisions. In signing the legislation into law, President Reagan made the following remarks about the bill:

> I want to emphasize that this bill does not represent any Congressional or Executive Branch endorsement of the notion, expressed in some judicial opinions, that Title Eight violations may be established by a showing of "disparate impact" or "discriminatory effects" of a practice that is taken without discriminatory intent. Title Eight speaks only to intentional discrimination.[31]

It is doubtful that President Reagan's argument about the necessity to prove intent was widely shared in the Congress at that time. However, he was consistent throughout his administration in pushing for the requirement that intent be proved in cases of discrimination.

Environmental Justice

The intent standard has become an issue in the environmental justice arena. Environmental justice seeks to protect minority and low-income communities from bearing a disproportionate share of environmental pollution, in other words, protection from environmental racism. As environmental sociologist Robert Bullard defines it, "environmental racism refers to any policy, practice, or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended) individuals, groups, or communities based on race or color."[32] Initially, environmental justice advocates relied on the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to challenge environmentally discriminatory action. However, such constitutionally based litigation required plaintiffs to prove discriminatory intent. In other words, a plaintiff was required to show that defendants acted with an explicit racially discriminatory purpose. Of course, it is nearly impossible to show that the state acted with the intent of causing such discrimination; and in some cases, states may intend *not* to have racially discriminatory effects from their policies. Given the difficulty of proving discriminatory intent, environmental justice plaintiffs began to use Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which explicitly prohibited disparate impacts, regardless of intent. Under this authority, in 1973 the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) issued "disparate impact" regulations that prohibited recipients of EPA funding from engaging in acts that had discriminatory effects.[33]

In 1996, the EPA filed a friend-of-the-court brief in support of a Title VI suit in Chester, Pennsylvania, by a group of citizens protesting the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Protection's (DEP) permitting a solid waste facility near a minority community. The Chester residents contended that by concentrating a variety of waste facilities in this predominantly black community that comprised only 8 percent of the total county population but contained 60 percent of all its waste facilities, the state created a "discriminatory effect." In the next two years, the case wound its way through the appeals process until the Supreme Court declared the case against the state's DEP to be moot since the specific reason for the suit—the state's granting permission to Soil Reclamation Services (SRS) to construct and begin business in Chester—was a dead issue as SRS was denied their operations permit while the case was still on appeals.[34]

The thrust of the citizen complaint was that environmental justice claims can be based on discriminatory impact without proof of discriminatory intent. But, a relevant point here is that a civil court in the Chester decision stated that civil court cases require proof of intentional discrimination—another bit of chipping away at the idea of disparate impact. The Third Circuit Court reversed this decision, declaring that individuals may bring action under the discriminatory impact regulations of agencies (in this case, the EPA). What is important is that the U.S. Supreme Court has not ruled on this point, as the case was declared moot in 1998.

Summary and Conclusion

Despite many arguments to the contrary, racism is a persistent factor in the lives of African Americans. This can be easily demonstrated by noting the many disparate impacts of societal practices that African Americans suffer. To make such demonstrations clear, however, analysts may need to make the nature of racism clearer, especially among policymakers.

Much of the discussion on racism revolves around individual racism, with the predominant idea that prejudiced individuals do intentional acts of racism, and that the main remedial task is to reduce the racial prejudice that individuals hold. I have argued here that this orientation is of limited value for two reasons. First, the relationship between individual prejudice and individual racism may be two-way, from prejudice to racism and from racism to prejudice, with the latter—racism leading to prejudice—being at least as important as the former. Second, racism can be individual or institutional. While individual racism can be seriously harmful, even deadly, the number of people it affects is limited. Institutional racism affects larger numbers of people.

Public policy debates on racism are currently stalled because the institutionalized thought structure defines racism as the result of intended actions of bigoted individuals. With that as the "received truth," it is difficult to have any meaningful policy discussions on racism or racial inequality. Brown et al.[35] show that an emerging racial paradigm about racism and racial inequality is the result of a number of books that have appeared in the past several years that push the idea

that racism is not a factor in racial inequality in America. These arguments against the existence of institutional racism have been redefining the nature of racial inequality. At the end of the 1960s there was considerably more consensus about the existence and nature of institutional racism. At that time legislation and court decisions tended to emphasize impact more than intent. That consensus has dissipated under the assault of this emerging racial paradigm, as well as other actions by the courts and the executive branch of the federal government. Concomitant with these assaults—or because of them—there has been a serious weakening in the understanding of institutional racism. The argument here is that a necessary first step in fighting institutional racism is to make its nature and extent more widely known.

Notes

1. This term is adapted from Roland L. Warren, Stephen M. Rose, and Ann F. Bergunder, *The Structure of Urban Reform: Community Decision Organizations in Stability and Change* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1974). They defined "institutionalized thought structure" as "a combination of ways of thinking about social problems and social change."
2. Michael K. Brown, Martin Carnoy, Elliott Currie, Troy Duster, David B. Oppenheimer, Marjorie M. Shultz, and David Wellman, *White-Washing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).
3. James M. Jones, *Prejudice and Racism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997).
4. American Psychiatric Association, "Resolution against Racism and Racial Discrimination and Their Adverse Impacts on Mental Health," American Psychiatric Association, www.apa.org/pi/racismresolution.html (accessed June 24, 2008); Joseph G. Ponterotto, Shawn O. Utsey, and Paul B. Pedersen, *Preventing Prejudice: A Guide for Counselors, Educators, and Parents*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006); C. Ridley, *Overcoming Unintentional Racism in Counseling and Therapy: A Practitioner's Guide to Intentional Intervention,* 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005).
5. See Shirley Better, *Institutional Racism,* 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), for an in-depth discussion of the racially discriminatory operation of social institutions.
6. Jones, *Prejudice and Racism* (1997); Joe R. Feagin, *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations* (New York: Routledge, 2000).
7. Jones, *Prejudice and Racism* (1997).
8. James M. Jones, *Prejudice and Racism* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1972), 131.
9. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam, 1968).
10. Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967); Louis Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, eds., *Institutional Racism in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969); R. Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).
11. From President Bill Clinton's commencement speech at the University of California, Diego in June of 1997.
12. *New York Times*. Times Topics. "Abner Louima," http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/l/abner_louima/index.html (accessed June 25, 2008).

13. Court TV, "City of New York Agrees on $3 Million Settlement to Family of Amadou Diallo," January 6, 2004, http://www.courttv.com/trials/diallo/ (accessed June 25, 2008).
14. David A. Harris, *Profiles in Injustice: Why Racial Profiling Cannot Work* (New York: New Press, 2002).
15. Bruce Western, *Punishment and Inequality in America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006).
16. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1996), 3.
17. Ibid., 24.
18. Ralph Ellison, "An American Dilemma: A Review," in Ralph Ellison, *Shadow and Act*, (New York: Random House, 1964).
19. Oliver Cox, *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959; originally published by Doubleday in 1948).
20. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race,* 531.
21. The Assessment of the Status of African Americans Project produced four books: Charles V. Willie, Antoine Garibaldi, and Wornie Reed, eds., *The Education of African-Americans* (Westport, CT: Auburn House, 1991); Robert Hill et al., *Research on the African-American Family* (Westport, CT: Auburn House, 1993); Wornie Reed, *Health and Medical Care of African-Americans* (Westport, CT: Auburn House, 1993); and Wornie Reed, ed., *African-Americans: Essential Perspectives* (Westport, CT: Auburn House, 1993).
22. Gerald David Jaynes and Robin M. Williams Jr., eds., *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1989).
23. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam, 1968). The report was commonly called the Kerner Commission Report, after the name of the chair of the commissioner, Governor Otto Kerner.
24. Ibid, 10.
25. Ibid, 2.
26. Stephen Steinberg, *Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy* (Boston: Beacon, 1995), 77.
27. *Bolden v. Mobile*, 446 U.S. 55 (1980).
28. Title VI, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d et seq., was enacted as part of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. It prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance.
29. *Alexander v. Sandoval* (99–1908) 532 U.S. 275 (2001) 197 F.3d 484.
30. Hugh Davis Graham, "The Surprising Career of Federal Fair Housing Law," *Journal of Policy History* 12 (2000): 215.
31. Ibid.
32. Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality,* 3rd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000).
33. Julia B. L. Worsham, "Disparate Impact Lawsuits under Title VI, Section 602: Can a Legal Tool Build Environmental Justice?" *Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review* 27 (2000): 631.
34. Ibid. Rick Kearns, "Environment Justice Still Doable through Courts despite Recent Supreme Court Decision," (1998), http://www.ejnet.org/chester/moot.html; Gerald H. Yamada, "Environmental Justice Highlights and Trends," http://library.findlaw.com/1999/Apr/1/128062.html (accessed June 28).
35. Brown et al., *White-Washing Race.*

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Part II

Urban Culture and Public Policy

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4

The Wire: Media Placement and Postindustrial Landscapes

Robert Smith and Debra Smith

Described as "arguably the best drama in the history of television,"[1] "one of TV's most spellbindingly personal dramas,"[2] and "America's most brutal, realistic and groundbreaking television drama,"[3] *The Wire,* which began on Home Box Office (HBO) in 2002, wrapped up its fifth and final season in January 2008. During its tenure, the drama grappled with issues of law enforcement and the drug war, working-class strife in the face of widescale industrial and therefore employment decline, political corruption, shortcomings within the public education system, and the diminishing impact of the print media. While exploring such critical issues *The Wire* did not necessarily end each episode and season tidily but rather emerged as a catalyst for the interrogation of social and policy issues that plague many U.S. cities. This chapter seeks to accomplish two goals. First, we describe and comment on the show's placement and significance in contemporary popular culture. Second, we offer a sociohistorical analysis of the urban landscape in which the show is set, hoping to spur further engagement among readers and viewers with those issues—and their roots—under critique in the show. While the many accolades from critics and lay people encourage some scholarly exploration, the purposes of the show and its complex theses drive this piece. Similarly, because the show engaged these complex themes through the moving image, it opened a broad range of discussion points related to the media worthy of commentary.

While it is tempting for some to label *The Wire* a "cops and robbers" or "crime" show, such titles sorely miss the mark. In a revealing *New Yorker* article titled "Stealing Life," the show's creator David Simon explained that *The Wire* was about "how contemporary American society—and, particularly, 'raw, unencumbered capitalism'—devalues human beings." Because the nation and global markets have entered the postindustrial age, Simon continued, "from here on out, human beings are worth less . . . We don't need as many of us as we once did."[4] While the show and its title conjure immediate thoughts of the Special Crimes

Unit's use of a wiretap to monitor the drug operations of the Barksdale and Stanfield crews, the term suggests more. According to Margaret Talbot, author of the *New Yorker* article, "the show allowed viewers to eavesdrop on the various recondite power plays, and the way that poverty, politics and policing were interconnected in a post-industrial city." In fact, Simons and crew never intended to limit the show to street-level activity. "We were always planning to move further and further out, to build a whole city," he commented.[5] The writers were indeed recreating the broader Baltimore landscape and in the process putting America on trial in the court of public opinion.

Our scholarly pursuits of *The Wire* derived from engaging with the show as enthusiastic viewers. Because of our expertise in the realms of race, media portrayals, and public policy, we also see *The Wire* as an important social text because the show explores the convergence of these three phenomena and others. We define ourselves as enthusiastic fans of *The Wire* and as researchers of an important production from popular culture.[6] As with other scholarly comments on media productions, we use critical articles and contemporary news coverage to evaluate the show. This critical analysis of *The Wire* addresses the following: (a) the cultlike following of the show; (b) viewer demographics; and (c) season themes as we consider that what we typically know and believe about the escapist value of television does not hold true for *The Wire*.

Scholars describe "cult television" in a variety of ways including shows that audiences schedule their lives around,[7] and shows that have a "compulsiveness" about them.[8] *The Wire* certainly enjoys a committed audience and the show has achieved a high level of popularity. On average 4.4 million people viewed the show during its five seasons and a total of 13 million people viewed the entire offerings of season four.[9] While the show has not garnered a coveted Emmy Award or Golden Globe, it continues to appeal to two primary groups, according to Talbot: critics and people who identify with the inner-city characters.[10]

Critics, who have given the show glowing reviews, calling it "Dickensian" as when we make references to "Broadcast literature,"[11] are also fans of the show. The uncertainty of many of the character's destinies, along with deliberate references to poor social and economic conditions in Baltimore contributes to the Dickensian theme. But the show's writers insist that its audience also comprises people who are "invested" in the destinies of the characters on the show, possibly due to the sense of realism associated with characters who meet untimely fates and surprising repercussions of challenges to institutional norms. Furthermore, the show's Dickensian aura resonates in the viewers' certainty that the "fictional" world that the characters inhabit is simultaneously a reality—a truth that deserves contemplation beyond the television screen. These particular characters represent an American reality that is seldom blatantly acknowledged by TV in the manner that *The Wire* did and according to the show's writers, some viewers identify with that: "They worry or grieve for Bubbles, Bodie or Wallace."[12] It is not difficult to relate to Bodie, for example. He possesses a work ethic that would reap success in any legitimate source of employment despite being a pawn in the drug trade. He is, by all accounts, a "soldier" who exhibits an uncompromising commitment and an unyielding sense of loyalty to match. Thus, when

the Barksdale group is succeeded by Stansfield and company, Bodie is as a much a victim of a shifting corporate structure (in this case a hostile takeover), as he is a casualty of the underground drug trade. Bodie condemns Marlo Stanfield and company for failing to operate with a sense of ethics germane to the organizational culture of their street professions, which in turn results in his demise in season four.

Simon, Ed Burns, and the creative engine behind the show are keenly aware of how racial politics impact the show's viewership. Simon insists that "*The Wire* is everyone's story" though white viewers resist the show because it is "too black."[13] Simon continues, "many white viewers . . . see so many black faces . . . many of them discomfiting black faces from the nation's underclass . . . on a television screen and say to themselves 'this is not my show and this is not my story.' "[14] But, Simon asserts that "human empathy has its limits and some of those limits are based on race and culture."[15] He elaborates that white viewers quiver at the thought of being in the minority—a trend that is recurrent on *The Wire*. Simon emphasizes that Baltimore is 60–65% black and "we would not cheat the demographics to achieve more viewership."[16] This purposeful neglect of the show by white viewers in some ways mirrors society's purposeful neglect of urban landscapes.

The critique that *The Wire* engages the viewing public with a potent dose of realism that reinforces viewers' class-based and racial stereotypes seems plausible. The show's crafted realism is gripping and may lead uninformed viewers to overgeneralize the social conditions plaguing some urban areas, and thus make generalizations about the people who populate urban spaces. However, the show casts African Americans, for example, in widely varying roles, each with unique and complex dispositions. Few "cops and robbers" shows approach this production issue as effectively. For instance, Officers Carver and Herc arrive on the show fresh from the police academy. Beginning on equal footing, they approach their work with a shared level of indifference and occasional ethical breaches. However, later Carver is successful at earning his sergeant stripes while a series of job failures deny Herc promotion. An intervention from the commanding officer leads Carver toward a more ambitious role in the police department while Herc loses his job. Such honest characterizations of police work and the institutional shortcomings associated with policing added to the show's sense of reality. Equally impressive was the show's willingness to recognize how those officers such as Bunk Moreland, Kema Greggs, and in many ways Leandor Sydnor committed to unwavering ethical standards within police work and stayed true to these ideals despite such institutional failings.

Beyond formal police work, viewers witness *The Wire's* "cops and robbers" intersecting each others' personal space. One of the most interesting encounters saw the "corner boys" and detectives of the Special Crimes Unit bump into one another at the movies, with Poot inquiring, "Ya'll go to the movies?"[17] Lt. "Bunny" Colvin, for example, eventually becomes a foster parent to Namond Brice, a fourteen-year-old "runner" in the drug trade who meets Colvin in the school program.

The Wire was particularly effective at showing layers of personal realities rather than the typical roles expected of those in law enforcement and those

on the other side of it. And, though *The Wire* is unquestionably what McCabe and Smith call a "cop show,"[18] it does not rely on the tried and true typecast of that genre. Instead, tarnished police officers, sensitive drug dealers, conscientious drug addicts, and callous cold-blooded street kids portray what McCabe and Smith call "men and women who work on opposites sides of the socially acceptable." McCabe and Smith emphasize that the characters in *The Wire* are a deviation from the convenience of stereotypes. Instead, *The Wire* represents an investment on the part of the writers in an honest multidimensional portrayal of institutions as well as characters, whether they play major or minor roles. The authors say "detailed attention is lavished on every character, no matter how seemingly trivial."[19] Gay criminals in Robin Hood-like lore, lesbian police officers, and children taking care of children, to name a few examples, provide the plot with complex experiences for the viewer who can never quite predict how a character's role might develop in the show. In a rare case, the "writers cared enough about everybody who utters a line to invest each with a personality that sounds more reported than written."

Viewers are broadly defined as an "audience," which suggests a "homogeneous mass of people"[20] who derive the same conclusions as they passively digest television messages. Yet the most tuned-in audience member of *The Wire* is invited to play a role in negotiating meaning, solutions, and landscapes. In other words, there is nothing inherent in *The Wire* that would encourage a passive audience reluctant to at least *inquire* about functions of authority in American social order. Given this approach, it appears that *The Wire* viewers are probably more informed of the complexities of such social ills than the "average" TV watcher and suggests that the cult of supporters might be more willing to accept more complex assessments of the postindustrial urban landscape thus portrayed. In fact, future research from the authors will question whether *The Wire* challenges viewer's attitudes positively or negatively with regard to race, class, and gender attitudinal biases. Until such research is conducted, claims of attitudinal reinforcement remain mere speculation.

In effect, *The Wire* introduces its audience to a staged prospectus that, while presented as fictional, has very real implications. This type of "dramatic curriculum"[21] is successfully portrayed in *The Wire* and it emphasizes the media's ability to act as information gatekeepers. *The Wire*'s role in this gatekeeping process, we believe, is to present viewers with information about landscapes that some of them recognize while others find extremely foreign. Nonetheless, the issues that arise on the show are there to give pause to viewers to consider the myriad of realities that comprise the Baltimore landscape.

Cultivation theory approaches television viewing from two primary perspectives: (1) controlling and supplanting our symbolic life as it becomes a world in and of itself; and (2) influencing heavy viewers to believe the framed TV world.[22] In retrospect, viewers who identified with *The Wire* insist that the show is not a figurative world but rather a realistic representation of what the show's writers call a "venal war on our underclass."[23] Meanwhile, though the show's viewership figures approached 4.4 million weekly, it is difficult to believe or confirm that those viewers believed in the TV world presented by *The Wire*. Instead, according

to Simon, *The Wire* presented a "range of intricate, paradoxical issues" for audiences to grapple with, and yet, it is quite possible that the clamor for discourse on the ills presented by *The Wire* has fallen on deaf ears, or worse, has been studiously ignored.

Essential to the investigation of *The Wire* is what scholars[24] describe as media's "agenda-setting" capacity. Television programming, concurrently real and unreal, has the ability to place significant and relevant issues before its audiences. One relevant issue explored in *The Wire* is the War on Drugs. The concept that the media influence how and what people think is not foreign, hence Turow and Gans'[25] extensive work on television hospital drama shows' impact on health policy and health awareness. In a similar study, a 2000 report from the U.S. Center for Disease Control and Prevention stated that 52 percent of viewers of prime time TV said they trusted information they gleaned from prime time TV shows. *E. R.*, *House,* and *Grey's Anatomy* and even soap operas are shows that have been cited as providing healthcare, disease, and policy information to viewers who accept it as fact. With regard to health policy, Turow and Gans explain:

> Entertainment TV's impact can be even more powerful than news in subtly shaping the public's impressions of key societal institutions. The messages are more engaging, often laying out in compelling human dramas involving characters the audience cares about. Viewers are taken behind the scenes to see the hidden forces affecting whether there's a happy ending or a sad one. There are good guys and bad guys, heroes and villains and innocent bystanders. Instead of bill numbers and budget figures, policy issues are portrayed through the lives of "real" human beings, often in life-and-death situations.[26]

U.S. mass media (and television specifically) do in fact present policy issues to millions of people delivered through story plots.

Commercially televised presentations of African Americans is constructed primarily through the perceptions of white producers, writers, and owners who have no real reference point for the dimensions of African American existence, save for the few black directors and producers in Hollywood. That is, viewers primarily see African American characters with "values and outlook… shaped and designed by outsiders to their culture."[27]

Fortunately, guiding the storyline of *The Wire* are Simon and Burns, "insiders" to the crime-infested streets of Baltimore; they based their work on their experiences as a crime beat reporter for the *Baltimore Sun* for fourteen years and an officer for the Baltimore police department for decades, respectively**.** Simon "grew up in a mostly white world," and "went to suburban public schools that were heavily white." Yet his career taught him that "[to] be a decent reporter, he had to learn to listen to black people.[28] Thus, Simon and Burns' ability to peer into the reality of Baltimore makes their fictional account of the city's woes "real reality TV,"[29] delivered from a first-person perspective. They (Simons, Burns, as well as other writers and experts) effectively become inside informants of Baltimore street life rather than attempting to report on its activity from an outside perspective of ignorance. In this way they are effective in their ability to give multiple dimensions to a largely African American cast.

As the authors of this chapter, we are very much "outsiders" to Baltimore, Maryland, unlike Dave Simons, Ed Burns and other cast, staff and crew members. Further, we do not claim that the corners of West Baltimore depicted in *The Wire* are portraits of the entire city, nor do we want to suggest that Baltimore is a homogenous black community. Certainly, the city is home to blacks who range widely along the socioeconomic scale. Indeed, *The Wire* shows us this early in the show, though viewers were drawn most intently into the depictions of drug-related trafficking and activity.

As the show progressed, the subsequent seasons broadened its demographic lens even if the setting appeared unchanged. Nonetheless, it is useful to contextualize and historicize Baltimore's deindustrialization and the city's post–World War II social patterns. The city has been racially and ethnically diverse, with a significant influx of European immigrants and African Americans (most of the latter were free blacks) dating back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[30]

While we do not have the intimate knowledge of specifics germane to the city, we contend that this is not of supreme necessity. *The Wire* was as much a commentary on class division as it was a critique of the impact of the War on Drugs on the postindustrial city. In fact, we are aware, just as many viewers are that indeed Baltimore was merely the setting for a larger examination of almost any postindustrial landscape. One reason the show is so effective and seemingly a unique brand of reality television is that it gives viewers the opportunity to peer into an urban landscape recreated with shocking precision, through the instruction of well-informed tour guides. Baltimore was ideal because it is a city that embraces features common to northern and southern industrial hubs, as well as exhibits social patterns common to both the North and South. Baltimore is often referred to as the southernmost northern city and the northernmost southern city.

During a research talk deconstructing the divergent perspectives of workers and planters of twentieth-century Brazil's sugarcane fields, a colleague reintroduced the authors to the intellectual inquiry of *landscapes*.[31] According to Dr. Thomas Rogers, "People's perceptions of and feelings toward [their] environment, together with the surroundings themselves, form a landscape. Landscape is simultaneously material and discursive—a tangible place and the way that place is described and experienced." In this respect, landscapes are in no way static and as landforms and environments become altered, "ideas guiding their perception change also." Regarding northeast Brazil, Rogers further conceptualized the region as a "landscape of labor and a labored landscape": a landscape that worked for the planter class, quite obviously, and one that was worked by the laboring class.[32]

Because people from both groups experienced the hundred hectares of sugarcane quite differently—one from the vantage point of those who lived in laborer quarters adjacent to the very fields that demanded years of mercilessly planting, weeding, and cutting cane while earning wages akin to a slave's pay, the other from a position of power and affluence with the authority to direct and control others' bodies to make certain the environment worked for them—*landscape* serves as a useful tool to discern and dissect how ideologies about one's environment differed between these two worldviews.[33]

During Q&A that immediately followed Dr. Rogers' talk, the authors inquired about the application of *landscape* to the urban terrain. The small cadre of academicians debated whether dwellers of American cities were laborers, and to some degree prisoners of an urban landscape. With *The Wire* in mind, the authors left convinced that using *landscape* to help deconstruct the postindustrial city might offer a cogent tool for considering the relationship between urbanites and their shifting environment. We believe, as do critics, that *The Wire* is a significant artistic commentary on the current postindustrial landscape and that the show attempts to carefully capture and simultaneously examine that landscape using moving film. Thus, a critical evaluation of the *landscape(s)* inherent in the social systems under observation in *The Wire* series may uncover parts of the show's critique of the victimizing public policy systems portrayed. Characters, communities, and institutions in *The Wire* we advance are depicted as prisoners of two interrelated phenomena: that of the postindustrial urban sociopolitical landscape and that of the shifting postindustrial socioeconomic landscape.

In defining "landscapes" we focus largely on the concept of landscape as "territory." Sewell talks about the interconnectedness of landscapes[34] while Simmons considers the "historical depth" of landscapes: "Every piece of terrain speaks of a history in which environmental processes, whether natural or human-induced, have changed the face of the land more than once."[35] We ground our analysis in the view that landscapes are both interconnected and historical. Thus, we argue that characters in *The Wire* represent the interrelatedness of prisoners of urban socioeconomic landscapes and urban sociopolitical landscapes that fiercely struggle against and collude with changes that impact their "territory." In describing the landscapes of the drama, his inspiration for writing it, and the influences he drew on, Simon explains, "*The Wire* is decidedly not influenced by the good-evil continuum that seems to begin with Shakespearean drama. It's more about fate and systemic predestination, with the Olympian gods supplanted by postmodern institutional authority."[36]

Given the social scientific debates that swirl about urbanites and inner-city communities, it is useful to offer some clarifications. First, we do not intend to employ a strict structural analysis of the urban landscape, given the limitations of this approach. For example, case studies on drug-infested areas show drops in crime rates during the 1990s in various areas and a trend amongst urban youth to move away from violent behaviors. Both of these facts challenge general claims of structural forces overwhelming individuals.[37]

Assertions that *The Wire* is flawed because it fails to recognize the individual capabilities of people to change their circumstances (against insurmountable odds in most cases), strike us not only as absurd but also plain wrong. Such a charge cannot be leveled unless one has simply never viewed more than two successive episodes from any of the five seasons. For the record, Herculean individual efforts to rise above dire poverty and related circumstances are not only foolish, but are often trumpeted without any attention to how such individual fortitude is to be developed. And while we use terms such as "victims" and "prisoners" of that landscape, we do so to convey that such social marginalization often reported by urban dwellers (particularly the unemployed or underemployed) and social

scientists alike, presents formidable odds. These terms are not intended to suggest a lack of agency or acquiescence to such social conditions. However, what is clear and what *The Wire* communicates is that indeed people affected by the ills of inner-city living (i.e. inferior schools, de facto segregation as a function of the lingering effects of de jure residential segregation, economic doldrums owing to white and black middle-class flight, industrial decline and corporate withdrawal, virtually no recreational outlets, drug trafficking, unintentional consequences of the War on Drugs, etc.) can and do exhibit a high degree of agency despite their circumstances. The larger national discourse refers to those who have successfully distanced themselves from these concrete enclaves as having "escaped." And as those characters facing jail time on the show regularly reminded viewers, *"You only do two days… The day you come in, and the day you get out!"* This quote indicates that for those incarcerated or trapped in prison-like environments, learning to manage and negotiate that landscape is critical to their physical and emotional survival. Further, these terms are also applied to those not typically perceived as inner-city dwellers. Police, politicians, bureaucrats, and the many other faceless employed urbanites often left out of this discussion are also "victims" and "prisoners," though their conditions may not be as dire. What is most intriguing is that the creators of the show are in some ways an example of this very agency, given that they are people of and from the particular landscape under examination about which they are intimately informed.

Exploring the Postindustrial Urban Landscape

Urbanites of all races and ethnicities have often exhibited and stated an unrelenting attachment to their neighborhoods. While it is surprising that such admiration and devotion thrives in communities that have declined in so many ways over that last generation and a half, it becomes more intelligible when we reflect on the fact that many neighborhoods were once spaces where people lived, worked, and socialized. That this tendency to hold "hoods" near and dear in the face of widescale urban decline is also less surprising, given that some continuity has been sustained into the current postindustrial climate: urbanites still often live, work, and socialize in their neighborhoods. The housing has changed, eroded, or been gentrified; getting to work may require a commute on public transportation and labor now also includes participation in underworld economies for some and the creation of alternative legal economies for others; and the many urban dwellers learn about their placement as Americans in marginalized communities that somehow transmit to its constituents that they are indeed still citizens despite their physical, economic, and political dislocation. This relentless devotion resonates with those who escaped the drudgery of ghetto-living as well as those who remain. In either case, people figure out how to navigate the norms of the urban landscape in an effort to produce outcomes that improve their daily routines, recreating new forms of citizenship identity.

We explore Baltimore's landscape by examining general patterns of the city's residential history and the city's rich though declining labor history. Both these

factors reinforce Baltimore's unique merging of northern and southern socioeconomic patterns. Further, *The Wire* adeptly alludes to the more contemporary roots of this history with artistic nuances that may go unregistered by some viewers. We also contextualize how politics and political jockeying about and around the postindustrial landscape impact urban communities and are examined throughout the show.

A solid community of roughly 10,326 free black Baltimoreans had been established by 1820, compared to 4,357 slaves among the city's 63,000 inhabitants.[38] Manumission and "hiring out"[39]—the two primary modes to freedom in an urban port city—encouraged some political ambivalence toward slavery in the city, though plantation owners with power in the legislature worked to block full abolition.[40] By 1885, black Baltimoreans began battling an array of social challenges that included poor and dilapidated housing, dwellings located in overcrowded and disease-infested alleys, and political barriers to social and economic equality. Often unpaved and thus muddy pathways, these alleys frequently served as the centers of black residential districts in southern cities and Baltimore was no exception: "One of the most congested alley districts [in Baltimore] was bounded by Biddle and Preston Streets, and by Druid Hill and Pennsylvania Avenues in West Baltimore."[41] The Biddle Alley District, as it was called, included roughly 215 houses occupied largely by blacks with a small scattering of whites. Druid Hill Avenue was considered "the" street for African Americans by 1908. A second district with a sizeable black population was the Hughes Street District in south Baltimore. Both Biddle Alley and Hughes Street Districts received national attention during the turn-of-the-century era of Progressive Reform owing to its excessive poverty, diseases reaching epic proportions, malnutrition, crumbling buildings, "the abundance of whiskey shops," and social unrest. Such living conditions prompted a steady out-migration into traditionally white neighborhoods to the north and northwest.[42]

There were also affluent blacks, descended from the skilled, antebellum free black community, who by the early twentieth-century owned homes on Madison Avenue, Eutaw Place, Linden Avenue, and McCulloh Street, parallel to Biddle Alley. Some blacks of the approximate 85,000 in the city began moving to its edges, accompanying early white middle-class flight to burgeoning suburbs. Black migration into white areas prompted battles over racially segregated housing practices that lasted for decades, and certainly continue as a function of de facto patterns to this day. Along with the rise in Jim Crow legislation governing housing, schools, and churches, mob violence met some blacks attempting to relocate into traditional white areas.[43]

As is the standard narrative during the Jim Crow era, blacks were forced to look inward and create solutions to their problems. Black women progressives, communities of "bonafide colored lad(ies),"[44] led the charge in creating self-help and social service programs, and they also joined with white female progressives to address poverty and housing. These efforts lasted through the World War I era into the depression when blacks made up roughly 19 percent of the city's total population.[45] African American activism also extended from active branches of the Urban League and National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People (NAACP). Similarly, community engagement via the *Baltimore Afro-American* and black religious leaders rounded out the middle-class leadership focused on combating segregation.[46] The civil rights agenda from these protests groups included "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns as early as the 1930s, voter registration campaigns from the 1940s to 1950s, and protests targeting segregation in public facilities into the civil rights era.[47]

However, not all of these groups focused their efforts on problems related to poor blacks, and those that tackled problems such as housing were met with sporadic and little overall success. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 discriminated against blacks in housing practices and even required racially restrictive covenants.[48] Further, initiatives from the federal government and the Maryland legislature, fueled by propaganda from the local press, prompted Baltimore's early slum clearance program that demolished over three thousand units but only proposed the construction of just over four hundred new units. This process inflamed racial tensions as blacks with means moved into white communities challenging racially restrictive housing patterns. Most other blacks moved into other established black neighborhoods, greatly overcrowding these spaces. "In 1941," Neverdon-Morton writes, "one-fifth of the city's black population lived in one-fifteenth of the city's residential space."[49] For working-class and poor whites—largely immigrant communities—burgeoning suburbs were also becoming elusive as a result of patterns and practices around segregation.[50]

Because of Baltimore's location as a port city and industrial hub, it attracted a number of immigrant populations that greatly impacted the city's socioeconomic landscape. Alongside black Baltimoreans, European immigrants—most notably Irish, Germans, Poles, English, and Russian Jews—made up much of the balance of the city's communities. In 1830, Baltimore was the third largest city in the burgeoning United States and could brag of being home to the nation's first railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Complementing such industrial growth and immigrant labor pulls, Baltimore ports were, by the mid-nineteenth century, the largest exporters of American tobacco. Commercial ties to European ports, particularly ties with the German ports of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, via the tobacco trade encouraged migration patterns.[51] By 1850, Irish and German immigrants outnumbered blacks as tensions over labor opportunities were already festering.[52] At the dawn of the twentieth century, Baltimore had already become a "patchwork of neighborhoods woven around ethnic/(racial), economic and occupational patterns." From the early nineteenth century well into the post–World War II era Baltimore attracted roughly 2 million immigrants.[53]

Well before 1850 native whites had dominated the skilled trades, with whites, blacks and immigrants evenly divided across the semiskilled positions. Blacks were ultimately driven out of both skilled and unskilled jobs through a "combination of sharp competitive practices and physical violence. The Irish were particularly hostile."[54] While the commercial industry anchored Baltimore's economy as late as the 1880s, the turn of the century witnessed a shift to industrial manufacturing.

Jim Crow in Baltimore industry created an underclass of black laborers, most of whom were blocked from gaining the protections of organized labor, as was the case in other industrial hubs. By the 1920s, "only 2 percent of Baltimore's municipal employees were black, and 80 percent of the city's black workers were classified as common laborers." Compounding matters, the city's Republican political leadership had distanced itself from the black community, further isolating the overwhelming majority of blacks from both economic and political channels. Despite some World War II era access to industrial employment, jobs began moving to Baltimore suburbs during the middle decades of the twentieth century, the first phase of deindustrialization.[55]

Immediately after World War II, industrial hubs witnessed economic growth for a decade or so and then entered the steep decline of American industry. Baltimore's short-lived industrial vibrancy encouraged an influx of Southern and Eastern European immigrants who would jockey with German and Irish ethnics as well as native whites for political clout. Many black and white southern migrants chose to make Baltimore home as well after successful stints in industry during and after World War II, though Jim Crow in the northernmost southern city reserved better paying jobs for whites. Industrial growth after World War II was most evident in manufacturing positions in Baltimore, which were the mainstays of blue-collar work. Yet steel and iron made their marks creating an industrial community comparable to that of other northern industrial hubs, and further diversifying Baltimore's industrial landscape. By the 1930s Bethlehem Steel Corporation was the city's largest single employer and despite a dwindling garment industry, textile industry was Baltimore's second leading employer. Black Baltimore laborers entered industry after some agitation, both with government assistance and through their own labor radicalism complementing the activism of industrial workers in more southern and northern regions. Much like national trends, African Americans entered Baltimore industry in higher numbers and unfettered by occupational racism during the immediate post–World War II and civil rights eras, at the very moment that industrial decline was becoming more apparent. Between 1953 and 1962 the United States lost roughly 1.6 million industrial jobs.[56] By 1980 manufacturing jobs accounted for only 15 percent of Baltimore City's total employment index.[57]

Racially motivated residential practices created a dual housing market: one virtually all black the other virtually all white. Massive suburban sprawl coupled with the influx of black southerners from the World War II era and after greatly reshaped Baltimore's demography, steadily making it a black city with a largely white metropolitan, suburban ring. From 1930 to 1960 Baltimore's African American population increased from 142,000 to 326,000. Practices that helped to maintain residential segregation—blockbusting, zoning, and redlining—also encouraged white suburban flight.[58] During the 1950s and 1960s suburban Baltimore was flooded by 440,000 whites. Despite the increases in the city's black population, only 16,000 moved outward into metropolitan Baltimore during the same period, facing the hurdles of racial restrictive covenants and exclusionary zoning practices.[59]

As the United States economy embarked upon more aggressive forms of deindustrialization, inner cities such as Baltimore were becoming increasingly black. The few whites who remained in Baltimore probably could not afford to relocate, or were determined to stay in their long-standing communities. In fact, "the (suburban) exodus left a much deeper appreciation of neighborhood among those who stayed," as the "suburbs" were increasingly viewed by the remaining urbanites (whites and blacks alike) as "sterile and unfriendly—not neighborhoods."[60] Compounding matters, "slum clearance, urban renewal, and expressway construction" razed many black neighborhoods and forced the displacement of 75,000 residents between 1951 and 1971. The case for hypersegregation is easily made, given 89 percent of Maryland's African American population lives in urban spaces, with Baltimore being a primary region, and 63 percent of the state's white residents live in suburban areas.[61]

"The city of Baltimore, once the seat of power in the state, is now the state's greatest liability, spending more than it earns to poorly educate and manage its socially volatile, declining, majority-black population."[62] This comment from Baltimore historian Harold McDougal may fit best in seasons three and four if coming from Tommy Carcetti. Given that research from McDougal and other scholars chronicling Baltimore's rich history dovetails so perfectly with the issues Simons, Burns, and the creative force behind the show explore, *The Wire* emerges as instruction and more than entertainment; artistic commentary more than Hollywood fancy.

The socioeconomic landscape viewers experience in *The Wire* is not merely the brilliance of a realistic cop show but an exercise in recounting the realities of postindustrial America. Indeed, Baltimore is "an old industrial city plagued by crime, drug abuse, poverty, abandoned housing, high property taxes and violence in public schools… (with) seven times the rate of welfare dependency of the state of Maryland as a whole."[63] By 1975, Baltimore was ahead of the national average in unemployment, and by 1979 black youth unemployment surged to 50 percent, while over 20 percent of the city's residents lived below the poverty line.[64] These conditions created an urban space ripe for various forms of crime and the creation of various underworld economies, legal and illegal.[65]

But the heart of *The Wire*'s recounting is to remind viewers and especially policymakers that the larger engine of deindustrialization and the practices around race and ethnic segregation have wrought havoc. *The Wire* offers an artistic narrative of the urban socioeconomic landscape that has emerged over a century and a half of residential housing patterns and the effects and outcomes of the rise and then decline of a labor market recently ravaged by corporate and industrial withdrawal. The most recent half century has witnessed the most aggressive erosion of working-class employment institutions.

The corners that Avon Barksdale and Marlo Stanfield coveted, the corners viewers encountered with Bodie, are outgrowths of a range of socioeconomic forces deeply tied to the history of racially motivated residential patterns, long-standing poverty that has gone unchecked for centuries now, and an ironic industrial fate whereby no sooner did black laborers break onto the shop floor as skilled labor than these jobs were outsourced. Season two's examination of

how the nation's shifting economy has impacted the Sobotkas and other white ethnic Baltimoreans as a result of the declining port economy is most instructive here.[66] Yet, one need not visit B-more for a firsthand account of this lesson; simply vacationing in a former industrial hub near you will suffice.

Examining the sociopolitical elements of the landscape critiqued in *The Wire* requires both macro- and microanalyses of several matters: the inefficiencies of the War on Drugs and its impact on urban communities, the impact of federal and state funding allocations that often negatively impact public education, and the bureaucratic dysfunction and mismanagement of local politics in the face of rising concerns over challenges to the Constitution in Washington.

The most obvious sociopolitical critique emerging from the show's creative engine is the deconstruction of the failings of the War on Drugs, which is addressed next. The subject requiring initial attention is how *The Wire* suggests that local politics have been held hostage to systems of political jockeying and corruption that privilege individual political careers. Spiro Agnew's fall from grace in 1973 after having accepted "petty kickbacks from Baltimore County contractors" may have provided the kindling for the show's approach to local political corruption, but given the insider view of the creators, it is safe to assume comparable forms of political corruption continue in Baltimore's political "game."[67] One reality is resoundingly clear: the "game" of career-serving politics has strangled political structures into bureaucratic dysfunction in a number of postindustrial cities and other municipalities. From city to city, the Clay Davises (state senator) of the world could "give a fuck about policy."[68]

According to McDougal, waning group identity for African Americans during the post–civil rights era has been supplanted by the emergence of alienated individual identities. Whereas group-centered activism could demand some attention from politicians, alienated individual identities cannot do so as readily. Hence, individuals most distanced from political structures are unable to assert their political interests. As a result, governmental largesse—federal, state, and local—is reserved for those individuals and groups with direct influence within political structures. Even though urban politics has included nonwhite political leadership over the last thirty years roughly, a new landscape has emerged in which urban dwellers lacking group or individual political influence are virtually unable to access that governmental largesse or encourage more immediately effective public policy. However, a number of middle-class and working-class social, labor, and religious organizations did manage to anchor Baltimore's black communities and worked to stave off the eventual consequences of residential segregation and political marginalization as long as possible.[69]

Instead of improving inner cities, urban reform efforts have appeared to privilege those with means who can afford high-priced condominiums. Low and moderately priced inner-city real estate welcomed a policy regime encouraging the tapping of these "new markets" with "intensified reinvestments" from the economically mobile if not affluent.[70] Meanwhile, working-class urbanites remain in competition for jobs in a global market and are steadily priced out of gentrified areas, thus exacerbating the problem of residential segregation. Yet, the creators of the show do more than simply assess Baltimore's political

dysfunction. Carefully placed commentary on the current war against terrorism served as the political canvass to craft critiques and questions regarding the integrity of political systems, local to federal.

The fear over the spreading of crime is hardly a new narrative employed for largely minority communities. Such arguments were used to preserve segregation in housing and they reinforced notions of minority inferiority and their proclivity for violence. Drug trafficking, drug abuse, and related violence became the overriding themes used to define criminality in urban spaces, particularly during and after the 1980s. Arguably, the policy most debated in *The Wire* is the War on Drugs, which the creators mocked and demonstrated as ineffective and egregiously biased week after week for five seasons. In a succinct though cutting article in *Time.com,* Simons, Burns, and other creators urge, "If some few episodes of a television entertainment have caused others to reflect on the war zones we have created in our cities and the human beings stranded there, we ask that those people might also consider their conscience." The piece called for dissent in the form of jury nullification to challenge drug policies that have added significantly to the demise of urban landscapes.[71] Their dissent is not without merit, given the vicious disparities and ripple effects this war entails.

With one in every one hundred adults incarcerated, the United States is the global leader of imprisonment. These numbers are greatly impacted by the attention paid by police to nonviolent drug offenders, many of whom are first-time offenders.[72] Adding to the specter of bureaucratic dysfunction, police departments commit resources to drug-related arrests, while arrests for robberies and violent crimes such as murder have dropped significantly.[73] Racial profiling complements the systemic shortcomings inherent in drug-related policing, further demanding critiques of and changes to the nation's law enforcement system, which one watchdog agency referred to as a "national scandal."[74] A 2000 study revealed that 62 percent of the nation's imprisoned drug offenders were African American. The same study also found that the state of Illinois incarcerates fifty-seven African Americans for drug-related crimes for every one white. Maryland, as a prime example, leads the nation with African Americans making up 90 percent of their state's imprisoned drug offenders.[75]

Arguments over the codified biases of mandatory minimum sentencing for crack cocaine versus powder cocaine have been under attack since the federal law appeared during the 1980s. Recent acquittals of crack cocaine offenders, given these blatant racial disparities between users of the powder and the rock form, provide evidence that such federal legislation was flawed, but the impact of decades of racialized drug enforcement policy can never be reversed. Spikes in incarceration rates have led to an explosion in the prison industry.[76] In 2000 federal and state governments spent over $40 billion on the drug war, yet illicit drugs are "cheaper and purer than they were two decades ago" when the feds spent about $1 billion. By 2001, Department of Justice figures reported that state prisons were operating up to 15 percent above capacity with federal prisons operating at 30 percent above capacity. Such overcrowding helped to further stimulate the mushrooming private penal industry. State and private prisons combined, the United States prison system incarcerates more people for drug violations

than Western Europe does for all offenses. Yet, research by the Rand Corporation shows that funneling a mere fraction of funds into drug treatment and education programs would greatly reduce the likelihood of more serious crimes.[77]

Current policing, according to themes explored in *The Wire*, has destroyed most if not all of the relations police once had with local communities. Extending arguments that gained popularity and credence during the Black Power Era of the late 1960s and 1970s, black communities have increasingly become occupied, militarized spaces. The imagery of urban spaces being ravaged by criminal elements that were making their way to the suburbs served as propaganda widely circulated via politicians, media pundits, and the motion picture industry. Some are able to find support for these arguments from the widespread appeal of gangsta rap music. Nonetheless, wars require enemies, and the War on Drugs has molded blacks, black males in particular, and other minorities as the key targets in domestic battle. As "Bunny" Colvin clarified, "soldiering and policing aint the same thangs… this so-called war, just ruined this job."[78]

The expansion of federal and state funds directed toward prisons directly impacted budgetary support for education. In the decade after the War on Drugs legislation was enacted, state spending on education decreased by nearly 20 percent while spending on corrections surged.[79] In conjunction with decreased support for recreational outlets for urban communities, support for public education has been decreased dramatically. Failings of education policy such as "No Child Left Behind" are glaring and regularly heralded.

The Wire is the *only* show to effectively tackle the neglect urban children face as a function of the political ambivalence toward supporting public education. Similarly, the failure of public education testing procedures was called into question in a gripping fashion. For many viewers, season four's focus on middle school students making sense of their urban landscape was the most riveting and gut-wrenching. As the season unfolds, we witness the various politicized institutions failing these children repeatedly. Making matters worse, a program that appeared to have some positive effect was cut, reflecting government's neglect of public education.

Conclusion

The Wire is a historically relevant, smart, and critical exploration of postindustrial urban America. Yet, while viewers entered into the landscape of Baltimore, Maryland, many knew that it wasn't only *B-more* under examination. In many respects, it was America taken to trial in the court of public opinion. Surprisingly, so many Americans chose to ignore the show week after week, season after season. To use one of the many great quotes from the show, "That's some shameful shit." Some intellectuals while in conversation with the authors of this chapter dismissed it as another violent cop show. Some of these folks probably thought they were doing the responsible thing by not supporting the continued exploitative stereotyping and negativity that comes with crime and drug-related shows. While many others were probably convinced, without watching or after a short pause with the remote, that the show glorified drug trafficking.

On the contrary, *The Wire* held a mirror up to this very nation and asked that we consider what has occurred as a function of industrial decline in our urban spaces. (These devastating effects are equally as detrimental in rural America.) *The Wire* held a mirror up to this very nation, and dared us to face the overwhelming economic chasm that has emerged as a function of this widescale industrial decline. While the immediate response is to argue that each person has the same chance to compete for socioeconomic gain, to suggest so at this moment in this nation's history is the baldest assertion one could wager on. Instead of reinforcing this long-fabled idea, as many shows and movies do, *The Wire* placed at least some of the truths about socioeconomic disparities on the table, and welcomed viewers to consume a healthy plate of reality. The show explored the widening gulf between the "haves" and "have-nots" as a function of many broader systemic and structural insufficiencies, minus the absurd, politically fashioned explanations given to so much of our popular media.

The Wire held a mirror up to this very nation and asked us to stop lying about the War on Drugs. Urbanites have long questioned who the people are that help to flood urban spaces with drugs before dealers and corner boys get their hands on the contraband. Urbanites have long questioned why these people seem rarely to be targets of law enforcement efforts at interdiction on our national borders. But for those who are "natural police," *The Wire* taught us to respect the police's craft. According to the show, police are merely mid-level players in a high-stakes game of political misdirection. No other show has been as fair to police and criminals alike as *The Wire.* Politics aside, human beings are found on both sides of every war.

The Wire held a mirror up to this very nation and asked us to stop lying about our racial attitudes and prejudices. The show refused to cast African Americans, for example, only as criminals or only as flat, unidimensional characters. Instead, it offered a range of humanizing images whereby blacks emerged as people as well. Rarely, if ever, has this nation been exposed to black and white characters displayed in all their splendor and shortcomings. No one is all good or all bad—whatever either of those words means. And in case we forget, *The Wire* reminded us that addicts—those who are not wealthy celebrities—are people too.

The Wire held a mirror up to this very nation and asked us to admit to the institutional ineffectiveness inherent in many of our organizations, but especially in the structures that matter most: political organizations (local, state, and federal); our educational system; our criminal justice system, and; law enforcement. But the shining light in this commentary is that the show did not dismiss the possibility of effectiveness in either arena. Instead, *The Wire* carefully crafted a five-season story line that reminded us repeatedly of what was possible when resources were allocated with some sense of fairness and with some attention paid to making sure the talented people in these organizations are fully equipped to do their jobs. Contrary to the notion trumpeted by "supervisors" that "employees" must maintain or even increase production with stagnant or dwindling resources, to quote the show's creator, "You never do more with less."[80]

One final clarification hovers around debates of whether the themes under critique in *The Wire* render a fatalistic outcome of inner cities, metropolitan

political systems, urban policing of crime and drugs, public education, and human goodwill in general. This too is a fair critique, and one the authors have considered seriously. However, we surmise that fatalism may be too general a term used for assessment, given that several characters in the show exhibit a high degree of integrity despite their surroundings, past discretions, or institutional affiliations, street or otherwise. Instead, because the cyclical nature of institutional and structural dysfunction remains challenging to alter, we advance that *The Wire* exhibits a more uniquely problematic assessment that we refer to as authentic consciousness. That is, the characters and dysfunctional institutions represented in the show do not exist in a state of false consciousness in which they are unable to distinguish the objects of their own oppression, ineffectiveness, and stagnation. Instead, each is aware of the others' connection to themselves and each is implicated in exposing realities that are uncomfortable, compelling, and that require action.

Some may suggest the show is hardly deserving of this kind of acclaim, given, if viewers are not careful, they may come away completely void of hope that humans will, can, or even care to change themselves or their institutions. After all, it is human beings who help to maintain the dysfunctionality of so many of our organizations. But *The Wire* may have even given us some clarity to the age-old adage of whether "art imitates life" or "life imitates art." Maybe, just maybe, art imitates life with some hope that life might, in return, imitate the infinite possibilities art discovers and rediscovers over and over.

A show as gripping as *The Wire* confronts one major obstacle worthy of dissection. Viewers and nonviewers alike can easily come away feeling some sympathy for victims of racism, deindustrialization, and political dysfunction but never question how these systems reinforce ideals regarding race and class superiority. Indeed, the urban terrain may well be the new millennium frontier that requires conquering as reinforcement to American nationalist sentiments. These points require more consideration.

Those viewers and nonviewers who come into little contact with the people and topics under critique may very well sympathize with and humanize urban dwellers, particularly the poor and the working class most affected. However, geopolitical migratory practices leading back into inner cities and away from suburbs are generally encouraged by fundamental American ideals such as property ownership and land functionality/usage, property ownership and wealth accruement, and race- and class-based notions that suggest the poor are not entitled to such highly valued land, or prime real estate. The urban poor and working class are thus falsely classified as economically shiftless, given their inability to preserve the economic integrity of their landscape that could have amounted to more capital if they were not, well, inferior. Not unlike the "domestic tragedy" that was the Indian removal captured by early American cinema, which garnered some sympathy from late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century viewers, the urban landscape may be interpreted by many as a frontier not worth saving in its present form, but one requiring renewal and repopulation by a more responsible American. The urban landscape may be interpreted by many as a frontier with people not worth saving given how pathological, and thus un-American,

these communities have become.[81] Politicians, social scientists, and media pundits have proclaimed that "white middle class culture was being steadily eroded by the insidious spread of an amoral lifestyle characterized by crime, violence and drug misuse" that had slithered its way into suburbs and rural America. This plague of decadent values and behaviors that threatened mainstream America had spread beyond the inner city and had begun to infect white middle-class men, women, and children.[82]

Of course, this brings us back to the express outgrowths *The Wire* attempts to unsheathe. Yet, we advance that more is at stake with this new American frontier. Ideas about citizenship are functions of one's landscape and with a new, marginalized America come reinterpretations of citizenship that appear to not meld nicely with traditional American ideals and values. The ways in which urban dwellers, cut off from resources that encourage more mainstream inclusion, effectuate citizenship identity may appear in conflict with traditional American ideals and values. Yet, in many ways those very traditional values and ideals inform these emerging American identities. Throughout the show's five seasons, viewers regularly saw a range of urban people express densely traditional American ideals informed however by their altering landscape. The show's first episode, first scene in fact, reminded viewers with disturbing candor that indeed, "This is American, man!"[83]

A colleague reminded us that social change is rarely instigated by TV. Though we know he is correct, we remain hopeful that *The Wire* might encourage us to imitate just a few of the options this artistic recounting dared us to consider. Of course, the other extreme is possible. Maybe the revolution was televised this time. And if this is true, it is disturbing to consider that most of us didn't give enough of a damn to even click on the channel. The authors of this piece and fellow *Wire*-heads are sure glad we did.

Policy Recommendations

We encourage pressure to be applied on American media to increase unbiased coverage of minority groups in a manner that realistically portrays their broad perspectives.

We encourage pressure to be applies on American media to present a broad perspective of institutions especially law enforcement so that their flaws are not muted in favor of a "superhero" belief in equal justice.

We encourage HBO and other committed media outlets to continue producing groundbreaking series that offer fair representations of ethnic minorities and whites alike. In other words, we encourage continued explorations of tough societal issues that may not lend themselves to cinematic fancy.

We encourage increased dialogue between key constituent groups in urban environments, using *The Wire* as a conversation springboard, which will lead to more honest awareness of the issues and the challenges faced with their eradication.

We encourage continued investigation into the impact of the War on Drugs, with attention paid to the way to remediate its disastrous effects.

Notes

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5

Institutionalized Terror: A Social Systems Analysis of Police Brutality

Loretta Prater

Introduction

Terrorism is the use of violence to intimidate another. Using this definition, there appears to be a national problem of police officers who are violence addicts. Going merely by televised news reports featuring video clips, one can see that inappropriate, physically aggressive behavior by law enforcement officers is happening all over the United States. This causes one to ask, "Are police denying citizens the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?" Although female family members are also victimized by police brutality, most of the incidents involve fathers, sons, husbands, and brothers, who are being killed when confronted by police officers. These homicides can result from routine traffic stops and in circumstances in which the victim is unarmed and poses no threat to anyone.

Terror, terrorists, and terrorism are words that we hear about a lot lately. Most of the time, the media focus our attention on acts of terrorism in other countries or on efforts of the state to keep persons, labeled as terrorists in other countries, from coming to America to commit acts of terrorism. However, we must admit that there is terrorism in our neighborhoods in urban America. One does not have to go to Iraq or Afghanistan to experience terrorism. Terrorism is certainly not new to black Americans. Black people have experienced terrorism in America for decades. When some persons bombed a church in Alabama and killed children in a Sunday school, that was terrorism. When the Ku Klux Klan rode into neighborhoods and selectively burned houses, that was terrorism. When the police release dogs on people, that is terrorism. When our loved ones, mostly black men, were routinely taken and lynched from the nearest tree, that was terrorism.

Between 1882 and 1946, there were at least five thousand recorded lynchings in the United States;[1] however, lynching is not a thing of the past. It is alive and well

today, because there is more than one way to lynch, such as burning, beating, shooting, and dragging. Death by police brutality is the twenty-first-century-version of lynching. Common features of cases of lynching include group participation in the death, which is motivated by twisted notions of justice or racial hatred.[2] Emmett Till and Medgar Evers were victims of terrorism. If you think that terrorism is new or that it is not happening in black neighborhoods all over the United States today, think again. Some of these same sentiments were recently expressed by Harry Bellafonte in Tavis Smiley's town meeting on the state of black America. One might question whether brutal police officers are a new order of the Klan. Did some Klansmen take off their white robes and put on blue uniforms?

Terrorism is like a chameleon; it takes many forms. A popular form of terrorism today is police brutality, defined by Babovic as inhuman, cruel, and, violent behavior.[3] Homicides, resulting from shootings by police, use of tasers, positional asphyxia, or other methods of police brutality certainly shortened the life span of many fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers. Some of these incidents are well publicized, but most of these deaths remain unknown to the general population.

Terrorist acts of police brutality, comparable to the brutal attacks suffered by slaves, are camouflaged as police doing their jobs to serve and protect. These acts are not just isolated and unique sets of events, but are very much interconnected and interrelated within a network of societal systems. Accepting this hypothesis is the first step to one's understanding of the amazing level of societal acceptance of this criminal behavior of persons labeled as public servants, who get compensated for their actions.

The Ecosystem of Police Brutality

For unraveling the complexity of police brutality and its impact on society, the model developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner is a useful tool.[4] He developed a classic model that explained various networks associated with social functioning, including internal and external variables that impact families. Bronfenbrenner's approach identified micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrolevels as subsystems that significantly impact family functioning. According to Bronfenbrenner, all the interactions within the family unit, by whatever description, are at the microlevel. There are people, places, and situations, such as work, school, or friends, which have frequent, if not constant, interactions with the family and are at the mesolevel. Formal institutions, which directly or indirectly affect family functioning, are at the exolevel of the ecosystem. The formal institution most directly affecting families is the government, whether it is local, state, or national. Traditions, attitudes, customs, and beliefs are all part of a vast array of behavior preceptors, identified by Bronfenbrenner, as blueprints found at the macrolevel. The macrolevel includes attitudes and beliefs related to economic, social, educational, and political systems operating within a given culture. For the purposes of this discussion, Bronfenbrenner's model is inverted and the discussion is structured to begin with the macrolevel, followed by exo- and mesolevels, and to end with the microlevel of his ecosystem model.

Macro-Subsystem

Attitudes and beliefs are not developed in an instant, but are formed from a combination of years of influence. We are not born with these feelings; circumstances create imprints on our memory. We are taught certain constructs that propel us to internalize beliefs that motivate actions. Think about this question, is hatred learned? Feelings about police maltreatment, whatever they happen to be, did not surface overnight. These feelings are the result of years of input and complexity of experiences. Similarly, police attitudes toward certain populations and the roles of officers in securing law and order did not surface overnight. These attitudes can influence police officers' actions toward the public.

To illustrate the connection between attitudes and actions, consider the long-standing negative attitudes of the police toward black males, who are often the victims of police brutality. These negative attitudes are perpetuated through the stereotype of the black male predator, oftentimes reinforced in the media, in which black men are stereotyped as being criminals, pimps, drug dealers, and "gangsta-thugs."[5] Unfortunately, there seems to be acceptance of the brutalization and murder of black men by the police as a viable method of law enforcement. Citizens tend to voice complaints only when there is a video shown on network television. It is only when there is a well-publicized incident of police brutality that the attitudes of citizens are influenced.[6] Otherwise, the assumption is that the police are the good guys and the black men are the bad guys.[7] However, research reports that in the unfortunate situations in which police are killed by citizens, those citizens are rarely black men.[8]

Attitudes and beliefs about people often lead to the creation of stereotypes, a process of robbing one of individuality and assigning a common character. For this discussion, Jackson and Boyd[9] reported a perfect example of Skolnick's description[10] of the "symbolic assailant." According to Skolnick, the symbolic assailant is someone who by their dress, language, and manner of walking is perceived by the police as posing a threat. In policing literature, the symbolic assailant is a young, low-income, African American male. This stereotyping is very dangerous and can easily result in the abuse or the killing of innocent black men, and in blaming black men for society's crime problems.[11]

Remember when Willie Horton commercials were used by George Bush during the 1988 presidential campaign. Willie Horton became a metaphor for the demonization of all black men. In the law enforcement community, virtually every black man became a "suspect," a potential menace to society, who could legitimately be stopped and frisked, harassed, intimidated, and brutalized, if necessary, in the interest of maintaining public safety.[12]

When blacks complain that there is a racial dimension to this behavior and these negative attitudes, they are accused of "playing the race card." Feagin reported that this accusation may be the opposite of true.[13] He reported that black Americans often evaluate a situation carefully before judging it discriminatory. Furthermore, in the case of police harassment, Feagin found that the likely response from blacks is resigned acceptance or mild verbal protests.[14] It is highly possible that the race card is already in the deck, considering that blacks

are three times more likely than whites to perceive the police use of excessive force as a serious problem.[15] A comparison of racial victimization rates shows that the rate of police killings of blacks per 100,000 blacks is much greater than it is for non-Hispanic whites.[16] There is a disproportionate probability that blacks, and especially black men, will be killed by the police.

There are attitudes that serve to excuse the police when their behavior is inappropriate. Often, many assertions are made: police work is stressful; a particular officer was having a bad day; or the adrenalin started to flow, which caused the officers to resort to mob behavior. It is acknowledged that in police work, extreme personal risks are an inseparable part of the job. These personal risks give officers excuses to use violence, even when it may not be warranted. Where the perceived threat of underclass violence is greater, all that is required for political explanations for police killings to be upheld is for the powerful to be less willing to interfere with police methods, an all-too common occurrence.[17]

Black men put their health and their lives at risk just by driving their vehicles, more commonly known as DWB or "Driving While Black." Research reports that black men have the highest probability of being stopped and harassed by the police. This remains true, whether they are driving while black, walking while black, running while black, standing while black, sitting while black, bicycling while black, or just being black.[18]

Laville-Wilson[19] reported that a pamphlet entitled "What to Do When Stopped by the Police" was produced by the 100 Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care[20] to provide instructions in the following situations: what to do when the police knock at your door or when stopped by the police in the streets; how to interact with a police officer in the occurrence of an incident; and how to interact with the police if stopped while driving. While persons who developed this literature were well meaning, does anyone think that reading a brochure would have saved the life of Nathaniel Jones? According to the NAACP in Cincinnati, Ohio, unarmed Nathaniel Jones died of asphyxiation in 2003 and was at least the nineteenth black man to die in violent confrontations with Cincinnati police since 1995. So, instead of blaming the victim, we ought to ask "why are abusive police not trained to treat people humanly?"

Black men, whether incarcerated or free, innocent or guilty, must carry the stigma of "suspects." Other members of society know the stereotyped profile of the black male and use it to their advantage. Consider the case of Charles Stuart, a Boston resident who murdered his pregnant wife in 1989, and fabricated a story of a black male assailant killing his spouse. The Boston police did not even think twice before they invaded black neighborhoods to threaten and interrogate all the black males who vaguely fit the phantom suspect's description. Also, think about the big lie told by Susan Smith of South Carolina, who killed her two children in 1994 by drowning them in a car, but initially told the police that she had been carjacked by a black man who took her car and kidnapped her children. Again, the police did not think twice before initiating a manhunt for another phantom black man.[21]

Most white Americans believe that there are just a few bad apples in the police department who need to be thrown out. They do not see this as a systemic

problem.[22] However, the question, "Do white police officers believe in the concept of the minority threat hypothesis?" must be asked. According to Jackson,[23] as reported by Jackson and Boyd,[24] the minority threat hypothesis asserts that African Americans pose a psychological threat to whites. If officers believe this, they may be more likely to use coercive force as a control mechanism for protection, whether or not a real threat exists.

The Exo-Subsystem

At this level of Bronfenbrenner's model is the judicial system.[25] One might think that there might be some level of accountability for police brutality responsive to laws, or that victims might hope to find fairness and justice, but research does not support that premise. Police and public officials respond to reports of brutality with denials and "cover-up" practices. The administrative and criminal systems should deter these abuses by holding officers accountable, but instead they tend to virtually guarantee these brutal officers impunity.[26]

Reese reported that, in theory, the United States criminal justice system is based on principles of fairness, justice, and equity.[27] The preamble to the Constitution states that the purpose of the nation is to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for us and our posterity. Furthermore, the Bill of Rights proposed that for a democracy to flourish, the civil liberties of individuals must be protected. Are these merely words? The constitutional rights of citizens, who are victimized by police brutality, are violated. For example, while discussing an investigation of incidents of people being stopped solely because of their race, the governor of New Jersey admitted that racial profiling was commonplace. This investigation was a result of a 1998 shooting by New Jersey highway patrol officers.[28]

According to a 1999 report from Amnesty International, United States of America, "Race, Rights and Police Brutality,"

> [w]hile only a minority of the many thousands of law enforcement officers in the USA engage in deliberate and wanton brutality, too little was being done to monitor and check persistent abusers, or to ensure that police tactics in certain common situations minimized the risk of unnecessary force and injury. Racial and ethnic minorities were disproportionately the victims of police misconduct, including false arrest and harassment, as well as verbal and physical abuse.[29]

Is this brutal behavior learned or do people prone to such behavior gravitate toward employment as police officers? Chappell and Piquero proposed that police misconduct is learned behavior and officers are encouraged to be abusive.[30] According to their research, there is a subculture of deviant behavior that is transmitted. Officers indulge in corrupt behavior as a way of gaining peer acceptance and approval.[31] Is it a rite of passage or some type of initiation? A former police officer confessed that there were unwritten laws by which officers were expected to abide. In describing some of these situations, Doyle[32] stated

that, as a police officer in New York, one rule he learned was that any suspect who assaulted a police officer was supposed to be able to walk into the station house never again on his own. He was supposed to be beaten so badly that he would not be able to walk. If an officer did not abide by this law, he would be admonished by his or her colleagues and sometimes supervisors. Another unwritten law was that if an officer had to chase someone, by car or on foot, the suspect was to be beaten when captured.

The police are quick to release a prior arrest record or medical records as somehow being justification for the killing of unarmed citizens. How often have you heard it reported that the victim was mildly obese or had an enlarged heart? How is it that these conditions have not caused death, until after the victim is beaten by the police? Now, a recent assertion is that a sickle cell anemia trait can cause internal bleeding, resulting in death. However, the fourteen-year-old in Florida just happened to have been beaten by law enforcement authorities at a boot camp for juveniles.

If police wish to flash police records as justification for murder, there may be a number of these records. Black males make up less than 7 percent of the U.S. population, yet they constitute almost half of the prison population.[33] Whether they are guilty as accused does not seem to matter. Adult white crime is on the increase and over 70 percent of arrests in cities and rural areas are of whites,[34] but the penal institutions are overcrowded with black men. Blacks and Hispanics are about 70 percent more likely to have had contact with the police than whites are.[35] This is not surprising, considering the common practice of racial profiling.

What happens to police officers who are the perpetrators of homicides resulting from police brutality? Usually, the system gives them the benefit of the doubt, even when their lies have been documented, even when there is a video recording of their actions. Possibly, this is why the practice of using excessive force is growing instead of decreasing. If there is no accountability, what is the incentive for abusive officers to stop this behavior? What is the motivation for this behavior? Worden proposed an interesting theory.[36] He stated that in situations in which the police do not trust the court system and feel that courts are too "soft" on offenders, the police officers are more likely to enact their own form of justice, street justice.

As previously indicated, police brutality incidents are on the rise. New York City reported that complaints of excessive force increased from 61.9 percent in 1995 to 86.2 percent in 1997.[37] This trend is expected to continue, considering that, even when police officers are indicted, they are not likely to be convicted. In cases of indictments of officers in the Los Angeles Police Department, forty criminal cases had been overturned by the district attorney's office as of February, 2000.

Russell classified the outcome as a roundabout and identified the following six characteristics:[38]

- There is an incident of alleged police violence against a person of color.
- Expressions of outrage by members of the minority community are followed by calls for calm by the authorities (mayor, police chief).

- The authorities publicly classify the incident as an "aberration" and note that most officers do a good job and that the public should not rush to judgment.
- There are some attempts to portray the victim of the alleged police abuse as flawed or less than innocent. Attention may be drawn to a prior criminal record or the fact that the victim was engaged in deviant behavior at the time of the alleged assault.
- Community protests by the affected minority group (rallies) are met with further calls for calm by the authorities.
- A grand jury declines to issue a criminal indictment. No trial is held, and none of the officers involved in the assault is held accountable.

There are laws in place to address the behavior resulting in injury or death caused by another, but these laws are rarely applied to police. In fact, officers can receive more punishment for stealing than for using excessive force, even if it leads to death.[39] The legal system has different labels for homicides, such as first- or second-degree murder, aggravated assault, and reckless endangerment, to name a few. If citizens, other than police officers, engage in these criminal acts, there is a good chance that they will be indicted and will face a jury to determine their guilt or innocence. Police officers are shielded from justice and protected by the "blue wall of silence." They are above the law. The laws are for everyone else, but not for them. It is rare that criminal charges are filed against police officers who kill citizens. If any action is taken, it is more likely to be a civil, wrongful death suit, in which taxpayers bear the costs. Ignoring justice is costly. In New York City in fiscal year 1999 alone, settlements in claims and lawsuits alleging police brutality reached a record $40 million.[40]

To illustrate the point that the police are above the law, several police officer-perpetrated homicides or brutal acts causing injuries are included in the following review of case studies:

In 1981, Ron Settles, an African American student at Cal State Long Beach and a star football player, was found dead in a holding cell. He had been stopped by Signal Hill police officers allegedly for a routine traffic violation, but they arrested him for possession of cocaine, although he had no history of drug use. Settles mysteriously obtained a blunt object, beat himself, and then hung himself in his cell. Oddly enough, the department had no record of the incident.[41]

Wadie Suttles, a sixty-six-old black male, was arrested on November 25, 1983 for disorderly conduct in Chattanooga, Tennessee. He was found dead in his cell on December 2, 1983. According to the family, officials gave four scenarios for his death: heart attack; he rammed his head into the bars: fell from his bunk; and an inmate killed him, but they could not tell how, why, or, who. In September, 2001, this case was talked about at the World Conference against Racism in South Africa as an example of the kinds of human rights violations that occur in America.

Kevin Cedeno, a young black male from the Washington Heights section of Manhattan, was shot in the back by Police Officer Anthony Pellegrini on April 16, 1997. Police quickly announced that Cedeno had a criminal record and

speculated about his intentions on the night he was killed. Subsequently, while still under investigation for the shooting of Cedeno, Pellegrini was named "Cop of the Month."[42]

Amado Diallo from Guinea, was shot forty-one times and killed with nineteen bullets on February 4, 1999 by New York Police Department's Street Crime Unit. He was unarmed. The trial of the four police officers was moved from the Bronx to Albany, an overwhelmingly white county, 150 miles from New York. Almost all police officers who go on trial in Albany are acquitted. In this case also, all four officers were acquitted of all six charges, from second-degree murder to reckless endangerment, after the jury deliberated for two and a half days. Diallo was guilty of the crime of being black.[43]

Abner Louima, a Haitian American, was beaten and sodomized with a broken broom handle. The mere horror of this crime led to mass outrage. One officer pled guilty during the trial; another was convicted of restraining Louima while an officer sodomized him; and two other officers were acquitted.[44]

On April 14, 1997, unarmed Malik E. Jones, a twenty-one-year-old African American, was shot multiple times and murdered, while sitting in his car, by police officer, Robert Flodquist, a member of the East Haven, Connecticut (all-white) Police Department. Officer Flodquist was never held accountable for his actions and was subsequently promoted. The police department, fully clad in police uniforms, held rallies in support of Flodquist.

In 1995, Jonny Gammage was beaten and stomped to death by five white officers following a traffic stop in Pittsburgh. The assault on Gammage was so brutal that one of the grand jurors compared the case to a nineteenth-century lynching. None of the officers were indicted, but they were subsequently fired.[45]

Archie Elliott, a twenty-four-year-old black man, was killed in 1993 in Prince Georges County, Maryland. He was shot fourteen times by two police officers while his hands were handcuffed behind his back as he sat in the front seat of a police cruiser. The officers said that Elliott was able to get his hands on a gun and was threatening them.[46]

Malice Green, a black man, was killed in Detroit in 1992 by two white police officers who kicked and punched him, while other officers watched and failed to stop the beating. Green suffered a seizure and died on the way to the hospital.[47]

Unarmed Brandon Miller, a young black man, was shot and killed by a patrol officer in Cleveland, Tennessee after a routine traffic stop on June 27, 2003. The officer claimed that Miller had tried to run him down with his truck. Three eyewitnesses disputed the officer's claim. The grand jury cleared the officer of any wrongdoing, without even hearing the testimony of key eyewitnesses. Immediately before the killing, Miller had been visiting his mother in Cleveland and was traveling back to his home in Nashville, Tennessee.

On January 2, 2004, another young man from Tennessee, thirty-seven-year old Leslie Prater died from positional asphyxia. Two medical examiners completed independent autopsy reports and ruled the death as a homicide. Leslie was unarmed and unclothed when four police officers beat him causing numerous broken bones, contusions, and bruises, and held him face down until he stopped breathing. The officers received a week off with pay and reported back to work.

A civil lawsuit was settled, but the perpetrators of the homicide were never held accountable.

Marcus Nygel Elliott, a twenty-year-old male, died within less than forty-eight hours of being detained in the Texas Collin County Jail on June 30, 2007. On July 2, Collin County sent out an "official" press release stating that Marcus had committed suicide. Eight months later, the family was told that the cause of death was excited delirium, a symptom commonly used by law enforcement to blame the victim for the death. The family is convinced that this is another senseless murder at the hands of law enforcement. No officials have been charged, but a lawsuit outcome is pending.

There are rare instances in which a police officer did go to jail for killing an unarmed minority male. One such case was the killing of Anthony Baez in December, 1994. Police officer Francis X. Livoti killed Anthony Baez, who was unarmed, but who accidentally hit a police car with a football. The officer was acquitted of criminally negligent homicide, but was subsequently convicted of federal civil rights violations and sentenced to seven and a half years in prison. However, he was released 352 days early for good behavior. New York City paid 3 million dollars to the family (The Brown Watch).

The majority of police officers are hardworking and conscientious individuals. However, there are enough bad cops to give law enforcement a bad name. As reported by Laville-Wilson,[48] 50 to 70 percent of the brutality complaints are lodged against 5 to 15 percent of police officers.[49] When a black male is approached by a police officer, and his blood pressure begins to rise, he does not know whether he is being approached by a good cop or a bad cop. He is not automatically going to assume that he is being confronted by "officer friendly." Worden proposed that there are four types of officers; the professional, the reciprocator, the enforcer, and the avoider.[50] One wonders how many black males who were gunshot victims of police brutality unfortunately encountered an aggressive, "trigger-happy" enforcer.

Black family members should not assume that a black police officer is going to protect their constitutional rights. According to Crouch, the most dangerous situation for a black man is to be approached by a black cop on a bad night.[51] A worse situation is when a black officer is coupled with a white partner. The black officer would go out of his way to prove that he was not showing favoritism, which amounts to treating a black person worse than the person might have been treated by the white officer. In many instances, the color for black men to fear is blue, regardless of who is wearing the uniform.

The Meso-Subsystem

In some urban neighborhoods, the policing of neighborhoods has taken on the appearance of military occupation and surveillance. This is especially apparent in communities, labeled as the ghetto, in which the residents are at or below the poverty line. Are police socialized to view themselves as a military unit? For example, in the parking lot at the main administrative office of the Chattanooga,

Tennessee Police Department, the sign says "civilian parking." Are not police also civilians? If police departments are operating as a militia, this is unfortunate because this model does not encourage positive contact between the police and the community; on the contrary, it encourages police brutality and police torture.[52]

Police can use various tactics to intimidate and control neighborhoods. Consider the account of famed author Ishmael Reed.[53] His first experience with representatives of a hostile population treating African Americans as an enemy nation was when he was three years old. It happened on Elm Street in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The police had been called to get rid of a pack of dogs that had been disturbing the neighborhood. The police invaded the neighborhood and began shooting, as if involved in war games. They wanted to demonstrate their firepower in a neighborhood that they perceived could become troublesome.

Police officers have a lot of autonomy and discretion in how they choose to apply the law. Worden provided an example of the alternatives an officer has when engaging in traffic law enforcement.[54] The officer can take an offender into custody by making an arrest; issue a traffic citation; issue a written warning; issue a verbal warning; or take no action. Another alternative, as in the case of numerous situations involving black males, is that the officer can kill the motorist. There have been studies that have reported that police behave differently in neighborhoods in which there is a high concentration of black residents, in comparison with their behavior in other neighborhoods.[55] In predominantly black neighborhoods, coercive tactics, including the use of excessive force, tend to be more commonly employed, especially among accused younger officers.[56] The likelihood that police will be held accountable for these actions is slim to none, which empowers them even more to behave in this unjust manner. Because they have less power, people with the least resources have a reduced ability to protect themselves from police violence.[57]

Researchers have analyzed the interactions between communities and police by examining social capital as it impacts this relationship. Jackson and Wade reported that in communities with low social capital, police develop a higher sense of responsibility to control the social order.[58] Social capital is a multivariant construct, but collectively it is the ability of a community to gain and maintain empowerment. In neighborhoods with a high percentage of blacks living in poverty, there is little to no empowerment from abusive police behavior. In those neighborhoods, police are more prone to practice "get tough" behaviors of proactive policing, according to Hemmens and Levin.[59]

The sites of black communities have been and are battlegrounds. In 1917 in Houston, black soldiers returning from the war were assaulted and arrested for refusing to obey Jim Crow signs. Black men who went to Europe to make the world safe for democracy returned home to segregation, lunching, race riots, and police brutality.[60] Young black men know that the system is against them. They have seen friends, brothers, cousins, uncles, and fathers trapped by the system.[61] In their neighborhoods, the police use the enforcement approach, which is different from the serve-and-protect approach used in white neighborhoods.

In racially stratified cities, social distance and fear of an underclass may reduce the ability to see minorities and the poor as equally deserving of protection from executions without trial.[62] There appears to be a reciprocal relationship of mistrust and hostility between black neighborhoods and the police assigned to serve and protect them.[63]

The 1968 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders issued a report that was the first to identify police misconduct as a key element in the relationship between police and communities of color. According to the Kerner Commission, most of the insurrections in the 1960s were triggered by acts of police brutality.[64] The report clearly stated as follows:

> Police misconduct, whether described as brutality, harassment, verbal abuse, or discourtesy cannot be tolerated, even if it is infrequent. It contributes directly to the risk of civil disorder. It is inconsistent with the basic responsibility of a police force in a democracy.[65]

Micro-Subsystem

At the microlevel of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model is the family unit. When families are caught up in this web of police brutality, who comes to their aid? All the cards are stacked in favor of the police. In situations in which a family member is murdered by a nonpolice citizen, the judicial system is the family friend. When the family member is murdered by the police, the family is "on your own." Not only do they have to deal with the death of their loved one, but they also have to deal with their loved one being killed over and over, through the revictimization practiced by the police, in partnership with a judicial system that supports them. They eventually have to deal with the pain that comes from the reality that justice is beyond reach.

For black families with little empowerment, fiscal or otherwise, the process of dealing with the police can be overwhelming. Even for black families with some level of economic stability, the process can be equally overwhelming. In fact, there is no immunity for black Americans from hostile police practices, regardless of their income level or social status.[66] The major difference is that some families may be able to fight longer than others, especially if there is help from the larger community. Many black people fear the police, while others deliberately avoid identification with controversial matters involving the police. The question remains, who will lead the charge? If not us, who? If not now, when? Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Parks are gone, but the struggle lives on.

The powerless are vulnerable and the powerful maintain domination through surveillance, manipulation, coercion, or physical force,[67] which can lead to those without power viewing the police as the enemy.[68] For example, in black neighborhoods that have a large percentage of female-headed families and high poverty rates, there is more police violence against residents.[69] Many black families are in this category, in which female-headed households, with children living in poverty, are becoming the norm,[70] as reported by Prater.[71] When loved ones of families in poverty are killed by the police, they may not be financially

able to fight long legal battles. Their condition may require that their focus is on survival.

Families soon realize that Daniels is correct.[72] He reported that there is difficulty in getting justice because police officers refuse to come forward to expose brutal and corrupt fellow officers; police departments seldom vigorously investigate allegations of police misconduct; police officers have a special dispensation of trust in court proceedings; there is an automatic assumption that police officers are telling the truth; and citizens are often powerless to do anything about this system of injustice. Former officers may sometimes expose injustices within the system. For example, a former Los Angeles police officer admitted that in 1996, a gang member was shot at point-blank range. Though the victim was paralyzed, a gun was planted in his hand to make it appear that the shooting was in self-defense.[73] One has to ask, "How did that incident impact the victim and the victim's family?" Certainly, there were long-term consequences.

The October 22nd Coalition (1999) developed a "Family First Aid Kit" for families that have lost a loved one to police violence. According to the coalition, an untimely death of a loved one begins the tragedy for the family. Police killings consistently compound the grief in the following ways:

- Your world is filled with utter confusion as those sworn to protect you destroy your loved ones.
- You are made to feel isolated as the police force mobilizes to protect its own at the cost of the truth.
- To diminish their guilt, they publicly demonize the victim.
- Your natural support system may be unsympathetic when you turn to them for emotional or spiritual solace, as they have been influenced by the police slant that always receives most of the media attention.
- Even the strongest family's integrity is challenged by this onslaught, and at best, you and your family must assume a defensive posture instead of seeking the necessary closure in your grief.
- The natural search for justice shall set many tasks and obstacles before you.

To further cope with this trauma, the October 22nd Coalition suggested that families do the following:

- Develop a support system.
- Pursue legal strategies.
- Document all related interactions.
- Collect all pertinent records.
- Do your own investigation.
- Present your case to the media.

To deal with the grief and anger, families seek a variety of ways to express their feelings. One such outlet is a poem written by a brother in memory of his only

brother, a victim of police brutality. The poem, entitled "Never Be Another You," reads as follows:

Memories of you are all I have to get me through the day
Emptiness feels my soul now that you have gone away
I'm searching for any piece of you that I can hold on to
One thing is for certain my brother,
There will never be another you.

As your little brother, I always let you lead the way
Throughout my life, you held my hand
Making sure that I never went astray
Who'll be my guiding soldier, now that you're not here to look up to
There's no one else my brother,
Because there will never be another you.

Certain people are out to portray you as a man who was filled with hate
But as your little brother, it's up to me to set the record straight
Anyone who knew you, knew that you were a man full of life and filled with love
My brother, it's the real you we'll be thinking of.

You touched the lives of your family and friends for 37 years
We're all trying to be strong, even as we're fighting back the tears
How can we not be saddened by your leaving us so soon
There will never be another like you, my brother
For your life played like a melody reminiscent of a jazz tune.

It was just over a week ago, you and I were able to be together
We had so much fun and laughter
I wanted those moments to last forever
Your smile brightened the day of all your friends and all your family
There's no other, like you my brother Les.
I love you and you will forever live inside of me.
We love you and miss you.

(Stefan D. Prater)

Too many of our husbands and potential husbands, fathers and potential fathers, employees and potential employees; and leaders and potential leaders, are being lost to this madness of street injustice perpetrated by police officers. In a January 2009 presentation by Dr. Michael Eric Dyson, renowned author, speaker, and Georgetown professor, he shared a personal racial profiling experience, in which he could have easily lost his life. I hate to think about the great loss to society, if he had been shot while traveling alone on a New Jersey highway during his time at the Princeton University as a Ph.D. scholar. That is just one example that shows why we must reclaim the right for members of all families to have life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Americans are being sent all over the world to fight for democracy. Should we not first secure and practice democracy right here in America, right here in our own neighborhoods?

More Discussion or Action?

I am here to warn you that any of us or a member of our family can be a victim of police brutality. We could merely be at the wrong place, at the wrong time, alone or maybe not, and clothed in the wrong skin. No matter your status, income, or accomplishments, you are at risk of harassment, arrest, injury, or death by those hired to protect the public peace.

Many years ago, the Black Panther Party called for an immediate end to police brutality and the murder of black people.[74] The question now is, "Has there been any progress made in protecting black men from this system of ignoring their constitutional rights and preventing them from enjoying their God-given right to life?" In pondering the response, consider the following letter written by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. from the Birmingham jail on April 16, 1963. The letter reads as follows:

> Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at a whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your Black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society, then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait.[75]

As citizens of a country that guarantees freedom and democracy for all, we must act through proposing, passing, and enforcing public policy, primarily focusing on Bronfenbronner's exo-subsystem. Laws established to punish those who are perpetrators of homicide must be enforced to include police officers who commit these crimes. They must no longer be allowed to kill people without accountability. The system of justice, established to prosecute offenders, must be applied to all. A badge and uniform should not be a license, or excuse, to murder unarmed citizens. I am convinced that a zero tolerance policy applied to these crimes would significantly decrease these incidents.

Public policy should be established to provide oversight for requirements and qualifications used in screening and employing law enforcement officials. Yes, there is a shortage of officers, but employing ill-trained and unqualified persons is doing more harm than having fewer well-qualified and well-prepared police department professionals. These are life-and-death decisions that police officers make daily , and deciding whom to employ is a serious matter.

The widely used practice of allowing the police to investigate themselves is ridiculous. Given that most people believe that the police protect their own and that there is a blue wall of silence, the outcome of these investigations is consistently supportive of the police and against the victims and their families. Therefore, when these brutal acts occur, external and objective investigations should be initiated that include independent citizen review commissions. For the duration of the investigation, the officers involved should not be allowed to continue to work on the force.

At the meso-, macro-, and micro-subsystems, there is much work to do. The community, including church leaders, should speak out on these issues. Change can happen within an organized protest, as illustrated by the Montgomery bus boycott of decades past. As more families are impacted by police brutality, attitudes of those affected are being influenced, because all economic and racial groups are losing loved ones to this madness. Public policy should serve these families also, just as it assists victims of murders perpetrated by lay citizens. According to *USA Today*, December 18, 2007, the Department of Justice reported that police brutality cases increased by 25 percent between 2001 and 2007. If these brutal acts continue to increase, as they have been in recent years, you may get the dreaded knock on the door or the phone call that no parent, spouse, or sibling wants to answer.

We are either victims or silent partners in the brutal and racist acts of the police. We all pay when even one of us is denied his or her constitutional rights. Silence is not a friend, silence is an enemy. Remember the words of Frederick Douglass: "The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress."

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6

African American Administration of Predominately Black Schools: Segregation or Emancipation in Omaha, NE

Tekla Ali Johnson, Pearl Ford, Greg Wiggan, and Deborah Brown Quick

One of the most troubling contradictions of the past two decades is that as our society becomes increasingly diverse both racially and ethnically, public schools are becoming more homogenous along those same lines.[1] Even as the most conservative communities across the nation removed many of the formal means of desegregation such as court orders and student transfer policies that were designed to create an integrated public school system, new forms of division were created. This new phase of segregation has a strong class component. Today, when African American and Latino students are segregated into schools in which the majority of students are nonwhite, they are very likely to find themselves in institutions where poverty is concentrated. African Americans still earn only 62 percent of the salaries and wages of their white counterparts. This means that despite all the effort of the civil rights movement and Black Power generations, the American social class system is still a racial hierarchy. Furthermore, the higher the social class, the more the whites predominate.[2] In contrast, the lower class is bulging with poor black and brown workers. Often, this is the case with majority white schools, which tend to enroll high proportions of students from middle- and upper-class neighborhoods. The school that students attend affects their life chances because concentrated poverty is linked to lower educational achievement, crime, and low employment rates. Student academic achievement is related to many variables including the availability of advanced courses, the ability of the school to attract and retain teachers with credentials in the subject they are teaching, and the degree to which the school is segregated internally, that is, with disproportionate numbers of African American children in lower educational tracks. A school's success or failure is

ultimately reflected in its students' college-going rates and the numbers of its former students who matriculate from institutions of higher education. This chapter reviews the national trend toward resegregation of African American students in public schools since 1990, using the case of Omaha, Nebraska as an example. We argue that a number of educational practices used in public schools today have had detrimental impacts upon the lives of black children and that there is no evidence that a recent proposal for African American administration of predominately black schools would result in greater segregation or more uneven access to educational opportunities for African American children than they presently have. Parents, educators, and other citizens who care about today's youth should welcome the development of new paradigms of student-teacher-community exchange to examine how power relationships within schools and between schools and the larger community impact educational opportunities. It is essential that adults who understand their responsibility to the next generation help to create new definitions for the roles of administrators, teachers, and community members so that a structure emerges in which actors are held responsible for their responsibility in the process of communication and delivery of quality educational opportunities for all children.

In the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* landmark case, the United States Supreme Court found that racial segregation of schoolchildren violated African American children's rights to equal protection under the law. As V. P. Franklin points out, decades of resistance by whites has resulted in equal education remaining out of reach for the majority of African American youth. Segregationists' determination to squelch the implementation of the high court's ruling in *Brown* was particularly intense in the American South. At the same time that the legitimacy of violence as a tool to fight integrationists was being called into question, organized and highly publicized resistance to integration took shape in the form of new institutional policies that lasted from 1954 until the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare announced that the government would cut federal funds to schools in noncompliance with desegregation mandates. Pressed, white segregationists caucused, and soon came up with a variety of innovative ways to structure "integrated schools" that would ensure that black children were disadvantaged and that their own children's success was practically guaranteed.[3]

Foreshadowing the negative side effects that would accompany the theoretically positive concept of integration was the loss of jobs for thousands of African American teachers as black school populations merged into white schools. That African American teachers would not accompany black children during school mergers was a foreboding omen of things to come.[4] Resistance to the spirit of desegregation became secretive, but the vicious nature of the segregationist had not changed. African Americans arrived at predominantly white schools across the country, as children were bused into suburban schools from central cities. Many white school boards, parents, and PTAs sought and found ways to deny black students equal access to education. A university of Nebraska professor who is now near retirement age recalls having attended PTA meetings in the early 1970s where parents and school officials planned the details of how they would use "gifted" education classes to keep white children from having to be in the

same classes with, (i.e., to compete with) blacks. Another tactic for improving the educational chances of whites over blacks or "getting around *Brown*" was marked by increased reliance upon classifications for children according to achievement and IQ tests, and according to educators' beliefs about students' capacities for learning. Techniques for categorizing children mushroomed after *Brown*. Large numbers of African American youths were labeled "mentally retarded" or "special needs" or "learning disabled," taken out of mainstream classrooms, and given separate nonrigorous curriculum. This strategy was especially directed at African American male children.[5]

By the mid-1980s, many educators agreed that cultural isolation among African American students who underwent busing was pervasive, and that it was having a devastating impact on students' self-esteem. African American students' successes were elaborately celebrated by communities in midwestern cities such as Omaha, partially because they were statistically rare. In Omaha, Nebraska, an African American Achievement Council, funded by the Omaha Public School District, directed its efforts at improving retention and achievement rates among the city's black student body.

At the same time, critics of federal economic policies noted that long-term changes were occurring in the national economy. Deindustrialization diminished the number of traditional factory jobs straining a number of African American and low-income household economies severely. One federally supported industry, for-profit prisons and federally supported public correctional facilities, did expand. However, the new prison system absorbed out-of-work and undereducated African Americans and Latinos from urban centers not predominantly as employees but as prisoners.[6]

Nebraska State Senator Ernest Chambers, a veteran member of the Nebraska State Legislature and a lifetime member of the African American community of North Omaha, witnessed growing levels of poverty and the lack of an adequate preparation for life and employment for African American children in the education offered by the Omaha Public School (OPS) system. Obvious too were the prison doors that swung open at a disproportionately rapid rate for youth from the African American community in comparison with the incarceration rates for white youth. Observers would note that the public schools in Omaha had been resegregated since 1999, and that, instead of preparing African American children to compete in the new global economy, the district was preparing the children for employment within the prison-industrial complex.[7]

In 2006, Chambers offered an amendment (Section 41) of School Reform Bill, LB1024, in the Nebraska State Legislature. The bill proposed the reorganization of Sarpy and Douglas County Schools into a single learning community, which would then be subdivided into three large districts; a northeast district, and districts in the southeast, and west. Chambers' amendment provided for local black control of one of the three newly proposed school districts, the one traditionally inhabited by a large number of African American residents and located in the northeast sector of the city.[8]

In 1999, Omaha Public Schools had been one of several urban school districts to end busing to achieve integration. The schools had been, in effect, resegregated.

The African American community noted the retreat from the promise of an integrated society, but did not protest in mass. The reason for their failure to spring into action was that despite reported gains in standardized testing, higher education, and employment opportunities for many African Americans as a result of school desegregation, not all of the results of integrated education were positive. One negative outcome was African American children's overrepresentation in public school's special education classes, and subsequent relegation to a life of underemployment. Moreover, Anastasios Karagiannis' research has revealed a connection between high imprisonment rates and students who were labeled disabled in school.[9]

Chambers' amendment drew national criticism and he was accused of trying to resegregate Omaha Public Schools. *New York Times* reporter Sam Dillon interviewed several Nebraskans, including Brenda Council, then an African American attorney in Omaha, and Ben Gray, cochair of the OPS African American Achievement Council, who expressed their view that Chambers' amendment promoted segregation.[10] On the contrary, Chambers' plan was so precise that many people found it frightening. Chambers' amendment (Section 41 of LB1024) provided that the local school boards of each of the three proposed subdistricts would be elected by the people who lived in them, and thus provide an opportunity for African American leadership at the uppermost level of the school system. Black leadership and community control coupled with the provision that each of the new three districts would, as members of the learning community, have an equal share of educational funds and resources, led Chambers to believe that the proposed system would be advantageous to black children. Chambers' amendment also provided a level of autonomy to each of the three new districts since their boards would be elected by their surrounding communities. Under his plan, African Americans would enjoy dominion, in terms of decision making, over the school district in the already predominantly African American neighborhood in the tradition of the best Historically Black Colleges and Universities such as Morehouse College and Howard University. Chambers hoped to offer to north Omaha students an opportunity to be educated in schools which, while open to all ethnic groups, would hire faculty and administrators who were culturally aware and sensitive to needs and aspirations of their predominately African American student bodies.[11]

Residents of north Omaha (the historically segregated section of Omaha, Nebraska) were no doubt surprised to hear on the national news in the spring of 2006 that the state's only African American Senator, Ernest Chambers, was trying to "resegregate" the city's schools.[12] Their reaction resulted from their recollections of Senator Chambers as the longtime leading advocate of African Americans' rights in Nebraska. During his tenure in office since 1970, he had fought for and won district elections for the Omaha City Council, for the Omaha School Board, and for the office of Douglas County Commissioner. Practically alone, he opened these bodies to black participation for the first time in Nebraska's history. A list of Chambers' advocacy for African Americans in the Midwest could go on for literally hundreds of pages.[13]

Furthermore, it was the superintendent's office of Omaha Public Schools that ended busing to achieve integration in 1999. Afterward, schools in west Omaha began to revert to their former majority white status, while north Omaha schools went back to what they had been under segregation, overwhelmingly black. Apparently, the national press had picked up the story from the leading Omaha paper, the *Omaha World-Herald,* criticized regularly by Chambers for its conservative and reactionary stance on issues effecting black people.[14] Omaha's schools had been, in effect, resegregated by the school board six years before Chambers made his proposal for local control.[15]

Chambers' supporters saw their senator as striking at the white power structure again, while the local school administration and the press misrepresented his goals. A close reading of the proposed amendment revealed that Chambers was not arguing in favor of a segregated student body. Any child could attend a school in any of the proposed three new districts. Furthermore, in the proposed North East School District, where residential patterns would probably lead to an enrollment of the largest percentage of African American students, the student body ratio would still be only 50–55 percent black.[16] Rather than focusing on student bodies, Chambers' amendment was about the makeup of the school districts' administration. In a brilliant yet simple amendment, Chambers wrote a provision for the school boards of the new districts to be selected by people who lived there. African Americans would control the hiring and firing of teachers and administrators in one of the proposed new districts, the one that would lie in north Omaha. In a state where multiple teacher education programs and a relatively small population of young people have historically created competition for teaching jobs, a large African-American-run district could mean that whites would have to compete with black educators for teaching positions in a way that they had not had to do in the past.[17] African American professional leadership of the public educational process with equivalent resources for African American children had never been tried in Nebraska. It is one response to the current educational crisis for black children, and if it is successful, it may be duplicated in other cities.

Nationally, the modest gains and achievements made by African American children as a result of busing, despite the best laid plans of the white supremacists, began to erode in many school districts across the United States by mid-1980. Mary C. Doyle points out that just fourteen years after initiating busing polices in 1972, public schools in Norfolk, Virginia, abandoned busing for elementary school students. The city eliminated busing for middle school children in 2001.[18] Public support of neighborhood schools and the end of busing to achieve integration may reveal the ambivalence with which the majority community had accepted integration all along.

In Omaha, school administrators appear never to have completely accepted desegregation mandates. Using OPS as an example, Chambers argues that "public education in America passed from segregation (prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*) to more intensive segregation without ever passing through 'integration.'"[19] Omaha's history of resistance to integration is documented by Omaha Public School Districts' litigation to avoid desegregation. In 1974 the Eighth

U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals found OPS guilty of intentionally segregating its schools and mandated the creation of a desegregation action plan within two years. OPS appealed to the United States Supreme Court, whose justices refused to hear the case. Omaha then implemented a busing plan to achieve integration. After eight years of busing, in 1984, OPS went back to the district court volunteering to maintain the desegregation efforts and requesting that the court's supervision of its integration efforts be ended, and the court agreed.[20]

However, in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* the United States Supreme Court (1971) found that remedies such as busing and the maintenance of student body ratios by race were sometimes necessary to achieve integration. Joan Indiana Rigdon in her article, "The Spirit of *Brown*?" points out that "for decades school districts followed that advice," and adopted measures to insure integration of their campuses. However, once they achieved "unitary status," schools were no longer under the supervision of the court, and so they no longer complied with the court's recommended strategies.[21] The actions by Omaha School District's administration reflect the immediate end to a commitment to run integrated schools in the absence of a court mandate to do so. Virtually alone, Chambers vigorously condemned the decision by OPS to end busing to achieve integration in 1999, an act that was in Chambers' view tantamount to resegregating the Omaha Public Schools.[22]

Clearly, busing children away from neighborhood schools is an inconvenience to parents who must drive across town to school functions, or to pick up their children. However, the antibusing movement that swept the country in the 1990s was also connected to the belief that "reverse discrimination" was rampant, and that minority group members were enjoying opportunities at the expense of whites.[23] From 1960 to 1980, affluent whites in urban areas moved toward the suburbs where districts spared no expense to create state-of-the-art facilities. Constance Curry's research exposes both racism and the lengths to which whites went to ensure that their children maintained educational advantages relative to African Americans in their communities. Curry exposed the meaning behind the massive construction of private schools in rural southern communities, as rooted in the determination of whites to maintain historical privileges.[24]

Moreover, David Connor and Beth Ferri argue that an increased use of psychological and aptitude testing accompanied the transition to desegregated schools. They assert that "it was the internal re-structuring of schools that effectively maintained segregation after *Brown*."[25] Connor and Ferri describe how intelligence tests have been used to justify sorting children into groups that would designate them to receive differing levels of instruction and curriculum.[26] Labels attached to a child around the third grade would remain in the student's academic files, effecting student's class placement and teacher expectations, until he or she left high school. Special separate classes, separate buildings, magnets, choice, and academies, all became buzzwords—usually techniques for helping all children—meaning one thing to African American parents and another to school personnel and white parents. To the latter, they signaled the message, that teachers would not be held accountable for the learning outcomes of minority and low-income students. Buzzwords such as the "pathfinders" and the

"scholars" represented different categories of children within schools, reassuring many white parents that their children would maintain the same white privilege that they, their parents, and their grandparents, had enjoyed under segregation, while simultaneously eroding African American children's self-esteem.[27]

It is noteworthy that although African Americans make up roughly 12 percent of the population of the United States, they account for between 20 and 30 percent of students in special education classes in most of the fifty states. The issue of overrepresentation of African American males in special education programs has been observed and studied since the establishment of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 1975, but the studies have not resulted in policies that provide relief.[28] Furthermore, African American males have been consistently overrepresented in all academic programs for students with disabilities, and have been labeled mentally retarded with a frequency that is out of proportion to the numbers at which mental retardation appears in various populations.[29]

Ferri and Connor argue that passage of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act actually "precipitated an increase in testing, tracking, and academic labeling predicated on culturally defined notions of intelligence."[30] In support of this view, Carter G. Woodson once argued that an educational system that justified black oppression could not also serve as a mechanism for liberation. "When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions . . . He easily learns to follow the line of least resistance and champions the cause of the oppressor."[31]

By the late 1980s, aware of the negative impact that cultural isolation was having on many African American students and on their chances for success in school, proponents of integration took up the banner of "multiculturalism." They argued that for African American, Latino, and other students of color to perform well, schools needed to include facts about persons of color and diverse cultural information in their school curricula. African-centered writers such as Jawanza Kunjufu in *The Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys* began arguing that integrated schools that ignored the contributions and cultures of African people were emotionally and socially damaging to black children.[32]

After real estate companies were finally investigated by the Federal Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department for redlining, residential integration seemed almost imminent. Then hundreds of thousands of whites responded through flight, escaping from integrating neighborhoods. In their new communities, the pattern of racial isolation was revived and they maintained their status as the numerical majority in their new suburban public schools. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s whites and now upper-income minority group members have abandoned public educational institutions, leaving children from low-income families, disproportionately represented by historically oppressed groups, to occupy inner-city schools.[33]

Randall Robinson, the internationally renowned antiracism and antiapartheid activist, reminds us that "[n]ations, individuals, Whites as a racial entity—who enjoy the privileges of disproportionate power and wealth will seldom voluntarily do more than render to the disadvantaged an appearance of helpfulness.

Nor would they ever be likely to take unforced measures that would tend to level the playing field."[34] Robinson argues that America has been in denial about whites' domination of educational—and therefore—economic opportunities.[35]

Carter G. Woodson argued in his classic work the *Mis-Education of the Negro* that it seems rational at first that African Americans "so long inconvenienced and denied opportunities for development are naturally afraid of anything that sounds like discrimination. They are anxious to have everything the white man has even if it is harmful. The possibility of originality in the Negro, therefore, is discounted 100 percent to maintain a nominal equality."[36] Africana intellectuals, such as Molefi K. Asante concur with Woodson arguing that public school textbooks typically portray whites as having invented and done everything of value in human history. Asante argues that African American children need an education based on their own culture and not the study of "truths" based on Euro-American culture.[37] On the other side of the multicultural spectrum, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., declared that nonwhites needed to adjust to a national curriculum that would remain based on protestant Anglo-American values. Not surprisingly, Schlesinger's views were rejected by cultural nationalists.[38] While scholars debate the issue, the majority of African Americans navigate the space between theory and harsh realism. Some advocates of African American students have reconsidered the value of black-run schools, in a context in which the combined effects of racism and the labeling and tracking of black children have converged with a "new global order" under which few industrial jobs exist. The results of both poverty and racial isolation apparently are most poignant in the Heartland of America.

Clarence Munford argues that "the effect of Rust Bowl deindustrialization on black poverty was most dramatic in the Midwest." In fact, the 1980s mark the first time in our national history when the Midwest "became the region with the most intensive black poverty—outstripping the traditionally poverty stricken South."[39] Under the direct impact of the postindustrial economy, opportunities for low-income people across the nation, but most desperately in Nebraska, Kansas, and other midwestern states, have dwindled. Young adults who dropped out of school or graduated from "special education" course of studies in the 1990s now find themselves unemployable. Small midwestern towns competed over the past decade to be selected as the sites for the construction of new federally subsidized prisons. In the Midwest, the new prison facilities provided jobs for white working-class people, many of whom were displaced during the family farm crisis of the 1980s. Munford along with a few other social critics has referred to the rise of the prison industry in America as the "new plantation system."[40] It is interesting to note Constance Curry's finding that these prisons are populated by the same youth who the nation failed to educate owing to their unequal access to quality education provided by the "integrated" public school.[41]

In 2006, fifty years after *Brown v. Board,* the national chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) declared that "gross inequalities in school resource allocations still exist" and the results for African American children are "devastating."[42] Michael T. S. Wotorson, the NAACP's national education director, said recently that unequal access to

resources continues to hinder the progress of African Americans toward achieving an equitable education in the United States. In 2001, his organization challenged each of the fifty states to submit an action plan for equalizing resource allocation between black and white schoolchildren. Under half of the states complied with the NAACP's request, while ten states pointedly refused to comply. Given the political context, few rapid improvements seemed to be on the horizon. A realist, Senator Chambers had long noted African American children's suffering as their community schools were closing and their numbers were spreading thinly across previously white school districts. Thousands of African American youth experienced being the only student of color in predominantly white classes, and some suffered feelings of isolation and a sense of loss of cultural supports. Few white children experienced the same dislocation as a result of school integration, because disproportionately, it was black children who were bused to achieve integration. In general, white students were only bused into formerly black schools if the school offered to whites some incentive, such as restructured curriculum in math or science.[43]

In 2006, when Chambers wrote a one-and-a-half page amendment to his colleague Senator Ron Raikes' school reorganization bill designed to revamp public education in Omaha, Nebraska, the response was clamorous. Raikes' bill provided a plan to break up the enormous Omaha Public School District into three smaller districts roughly based on current student enrollment. Given the cultural and ethnic makeup of the city at the time, it was most likely that the division of the school district would result in a predominantly African American district in the northeast, a majority Latino/a district located in the southeast, and the western district populated primarily by white students. This can be inferred precisely because of "racial" or ethnic divisions in residential patterns that existed in Omaha in the city's postbusing era, and these continue to exist there even today.[44]

Despite national headlines that ran in early in 2006, warning that a state senator in Nebraska was trying to resegregate the Omaha Public Schools, the facts reveal that the district had already become racially identifiable, and that separation of schoolchildren according to ethnicity had been the state of affairs in Omaha since the city ended busing to achieve integration in 1999. To reflect, by 1975, Omaha Public Schools had integrated following a federal court mandate demanding the district devise a plan for integration, only to resegregate in 1999. Predictably, after resegregation of the schools, African American children were left with the smaller end of the resource stick, with teachers who had fewer years of preparation and experience, and large student counts per classroom. Predictably, high dropout rates and underachievement have been the result.[45]

Facing the reality that the schools had already been largely resegregated, Chambers decided to seek local control. His vision for the new school district that would serve north Omaha was to create an environment for black children akin to that of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU). HBCU's doors are open to all ethnic groups, but the most effective HBCU campuses hire faculty who are culturally aware and sensitive to the needs and aspirations of their predominately African American student bodies. In 1900, arguing for the

development of African American colleges and universities that taught not only mechanical skills and the trades but also liberal arts, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote:

> If the [African American] college can pour into the coming age of an American Negro who knows himself and his plight and how to protect himself and fight race prejudice, then the world of our dream will come and not otherwise.[46]

The public school system in Omaha, and especially in north Omaha, has not been successful at graduating most African American students in a way that allows the youth to negotiate and survive in the postindustrial economy. Chambers sought to eliminate the glaring inequalities in school resources through his amendment, since all the schools in the three new districts would make up a learning community with one central pot of resources—to be equally divided among the districts. Another goal was for the black community to have a voice in who is teaching their children.

In conclusion, the propaganda surrounding Chambers' amendment to LB1024 may have been inspired by the realization by Omaha Public Schools administration and teachers that if local control were achieved by each of the three districts, white teachers who have failed to prepare African American youth would find that their contracts are no longer being renewed. The same will probably hold true of administrators who have allowed African American students with the same potential as their Euro-American counterparts, to be tracked into educational schemes that have rendered them ineligible for entry into many four-year universities. Chambers explained his position as follows: "I think one of the greatest errors that Black people as a group committed was when we ceded to others the right to educate our children."[47]

Despite the reality of what is contained in the amendment, and despite that most Omaha schools have already experienced "resegregation," a lawsuit has been filed against Chambers by the National NAACP (whose legal division may lack the investigative skills possessed by their forerunners from the 1950s). It has been joined by a host of characters, who are, or who overwhelmingly represent the interests of upper-income blacks and their white counterparts. The fundamental purpose of Chambers' amendment was to stop the masses of African American and Latina/o students from receiving inferior educations, leading to dead-end employment, unemployment, and prison. The unfortunate reality is that the school system in Omaha, Nebraska, apparently has worked against the interests of the majority of African American children who have lived there for decades. In spite of the best efforts of a few persons of good will who are in charge of cultural and academic programs geared to boost African American achievement, far too many children of African American descent in Omaha are dropping out of school and those who remain are receiving inadequate education. Chambers believes that "Black people know that theoretical discussions about 'integration,' are pointless wastes of time that merely raise dust and distract attention from the fact that our children are being cheated out of a quality education."[48]

Contrary to critics' perceptions of Chambers' plan, the amendment does not segregate. However, it does take into account the harsh reality that the children

of Omaha had already been resegregated, and that the majority of African American children there are falling further and further behind their Euro-American counterparts. With the end of busing in Omaha in 1999, our schools experienced rapid reversions to their former status as either majority white or majority black schools. Thus, while only 31 percent of African American elementary school children in the city attended a school populated by predominately black or minority students in 1994, by 2004, 65 percent of African American children in grade schools went to predominately minority schools.[49]

Vehemently opposed to racial segregation, yet, like Chambers a pragmatist, W. E. B. Du Bois advised black people who found themselves victims of white separatist laws and customs to build their own institutions. "Therefore, let us not beat futile wings in impotent frenzy, but carefully plan and guide our segregated life."[50] Anticipating resistance to the idea of black-led institutions from members of his own community, Du Bois wrote, "What we have lost is the courage of independent self-assertion."[51] Editorialist Ed Whitfield inquired recently, "[W]hat happened here to the 'agency,' of the black community?"[52]

In an editorial to the local African American weekly, Omahan Dell Gains advised African Americans to recall that the real purpose of school integration was to afford African American children equal access to education. In the end, desegregation laws were extended to most areas of public life, but the frontline of change—and of resistance—remained the public schools. Opponents charged that the Chambers initiative was "state-sponsored segregation." Local African American television show host Ben Gray called Chambers' amendment a "disaster," and others noted that the debate over the amendment exacerbated the class divide.[53] Meanwhile regular families in Chambers' district have kept hoping that public education in Omaha would work out in the best interests of their children, but have been disappointed with resource allocation, especially since busing ended. Thus the present divide between African Americans who support LB1024 and those who oppose it marks the more generalized divide between African American middle-class and working-class families. Social analyst Cornel West predicted that the educated elite among African Americans will come to be viewed "with disdain and disgust by the black working poor and very poor, not only class envy but class hatred in black America will escalate."[54] He believes that the "Black Talented Tenth" will suffer "cultural rootlessness" and "survivor's guilt" while leaving the poor to deal with the daily struggles of meeting their basic physical needs.[55] West argues that only commitment to the democratic ideals of equal opportunity and fairness can harness the clamor for materialism by the corporate world and the tendency of those in government to placate big business, in all its neocolonial aspirations. West quotes W. E. B. Du Bois, as the dedicated civil rights intellectual set sail for his new home in Ghana, West Africa: "Chin up, and fight on, but realize the American Negroes can't win."[56]

A pragmatist, Chambers acknowledges that it is harder than ever to define civil and human rights issues because so many educated black people support issues that are not in the best interests of the majority of African American people, and attack movements that would empower the poor and working class. The statistics are staggering. In 2000, African American youths in Omaha scored in

the 43rd percentile on the California Achievement Test. By 2005, their average score had dropped to the 33rd percentile. At the same time in 2005, Latino youths scored in the 47th percentile and white children living west of 108th Street in Omaha, in the most affluent sections of town, scored in the 85th percentile. Like Du Bois, Chambers concludes that despite the odds, African American intellectuals must insist upon and encourage "self-assertion" in masses of black people in spite of the "suspicion" that this arouses in the most conservative element that one is promoting segregation.[57]

Omaha Public School district is currently made up of about 46,000 students of whom 32 percent are African American, 44 percent Euro-American, nearly 21 percent Hispanic, and the remaining three percent Native American and Asian American. Historically, and again since busing ended, African American children have been relegated to schools on the low-income south and north sides of the city, while more affluent children attended schools out west. Under the new law, the Omaha School District will be reorganized into three districts and, while neighborhood schools will be the norm, they will be run under a common tax levy and will be required to cooperate to insure integration. In conclusion, the real issue for Chambers was never a question of separation, but one of local control. He wanted control over who would sit on the northeast division of Omaha's school board. To whom would principals report? Who would enforce teacher accountability? Who would have the power to fire teachers that were racist or had low expectations for, or tracked black children into lower-end careers or street life, or prison? Chambers, a master at finding ways for numerical "minorities" to advance their interests in a democracy in which the majority rules, had made yet another attempt at restructuring a predominantly white institution. His amendment to LB1024, (now section 41 of the law) took effect on July 1, 2008, and should open the upper echelons of educational administration in Omaha to meaningful black participation and, in the northeast sector of the city, black administrative control.[58]

The political struggle over control of the public school system in Omaha makes one wonder who, in the entire nexus, is concerned about the education of black children. Nebraska State Senator Chambers' plan offers an alternative that forces us to face a reality that few people seem willing to face: Despite the promise of *Brown*, many public schools have delivered half-hearted compliance with federally mandated desegregation orders, and their retreat from the orders in recent years has resulted in schools that are, for all practical purposes, resegregated. Resegregated schools represent a retreat from the goals of the integrationists who have come to dominate the black movement for equality in the United States. Their hope for complete black inclusion in every aspect of U.S. society has suffered a severe blow.

In the meantime, what are we to do about these resegregated schools? What are we to do about African American children who were marginalized in the formerly "desegregated" schools, and now with resegregation, have a greater chance of being condemned to life in the prison-industrial complex as "clients" unable to compete in a global economy? We argue that black advancement can proceed on a number of fronts. We can continue to press for full integration into American

society, while simultaneously working to turn the tide in the newly resegregated schools by demanding local control of our educational institutions, so that we can insure the hiring of principals and teacher who set high expectations for students.

There is much to be desired in the American educational system. Comparative studies consistently indicate that the United States student underperforms relative to youth in other major developed countries. The most recent findings from the Program for International Student Assessment (2007) indicate that American students were some of the lowest performers. Finland, Canada, and South Korea were among the top performers. Furthermore, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization findings indicate that students from some of Cuba's poorest regions have some of the highest achievement levels.[59] When students are given a high quality education, school effect becomes more significant than home effect. Students can achieve despite being poor when they have access to high-quality schooling. Both black and white American students' performances are well below global averages. American students, both black and white, are some of the lowest performers on international scholastic achievement measures.[60] In fact, U.S. Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings' report on education suggested that only 17 percent of graduating seniors from public schools are considered proficient in mathematics, and just 36 percent of graduating seniors are proficient in reading.[61] American public education is inadequate, and it is most ineffective for poor black and brown students.

Despite facing structural barriers to educational access, there are many successful models including the Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) and the HBCU experience for educating black students. KIPP is a network of fifty-seven charter schools that enroll low-income African American students. One of the KIPP schools, located in North Carolina, has scored impressive gains. For example, while only 66 percent of North Carolina students are performing at or above grade level in math, 84 percent of KIPP students are achieving at this level or above.[62] One of the most important differences between the KIPP schools and others is a culture of "high expectations for all students." Another model is the HBCU. HBCUs accept students from a variety of high school learning environments, including those from low-performing schools; however, embedded in the culture at most HBCUs is the expectation that all students will achieve.

At the university level, HBCUs continue to have the best track record in the nation for successfully educating large numbers of African Americans students. Neighborhood schools and the resegregation that accompanies their formation, however bitter, offers one slim possibility for turning the tide on the destruction that awaits many minority students in the current educational system. That something, is the opportunity to gain control over the education of black children. W. E. B. Du Bois, speaking about the purpose of the HBCU said:

> The Negro university (HBCU) from its high ground of unfaltering facing of the Truth, from its unblinking stare at hard facts, does not advocate segregation by race, it simply accepts the bald fact that we are segregated . . . Our problem

> is: How far and in what way can we consciously and scientifically guide our future so as to insure our physical survival, our spiritual freedom, and our social growth?[63]

We concur with Du Bois that solutions to our current crisis that provide for the highest levels of achievement by African American youth must be implemented. New educational paradigms should be welcomed and pilot projects, such as the one underway in Omaha, Nebraska, tested. As a nation of parents, educators, and elders, we must acknowledge the failure of integration alone to deliver equality of opportunity for all of America's children. Ultimately, we will know that we have been successful when American youth graduate from high school and are able to select the college of their choice according to their work ethic alone, with an educational journey that has not been privileged or hindered by their ethnicity, gender, family income, or race.

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Part III

Gender and Policy Construction

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7

Born to Rebel and Born to Excel: Black Religious Intellectuals, Benjamin E. Mays, and the Development of Black Male Leadership

Zachery Williams

My argument herein is that there is an important relationship between the religious thought of black men religious intellectuals, on the one hand, and the progressive development of black leadership, on the other. Historically, black religious thinkers have been the most influential black leaders. Examples abound, including Martin Luther King Jr., Howard Thurman, Jesse Jackson, Otis Moss Jr., Louis Farrakhan, Malcolm X, and countless others. My goal in this chapter is to develop a black men's leadership framework by examining the life example and leadership philosophy of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays. While not providing an exhaustive survey of black men's religious thought or the entire spectrum of black leadership typologies, this chapter is designed to provide an illustrative example of how other studies could be conducted. I conclude by offering a number of cultures/policy recommendations, demonstrating useful ways of applying this research to create a sustainable black male leadership paradigm. These cultures/policy recommendations reflect the areas of (1) Academia/Research; (2) Practitioners/Civil Society; and (3) Public Policy/Advocacy, taken from the 2008 Ford Foundation report, *Why We Can't Wait: A Case for Philanthropic Action: Opportunities for Improving Life Outcomes for African American Males.*[1]

Black Leadership and the Black Religious Intellectual: A Brief Historiography

The notion of who is considered a black religious intellectual and what that represents is an often precarious and frequently debated question. Recent scholars,

most notably, Cornel West, Eddie Glaude, and Clarence Taylor have argued for a reassessment of the category and definition of what constitutes a legitimate, authentic black religious intellectual.[2]

Prominent among the specific black religious intellectuals included in this study are Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad, Howard Thurman, Benjamin E. Mays, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., Albert Cleage Jr., C. Eric Lincoln, and James Cone. Linked closely with this group of thinkers are ninteenth-century black nationalist thinkers such as Henry McNeil Turner, Edward Wilmot Blyden, and Alexander Crummell. I employ a number of typologies to aid in my description of these figures as black religious intellectuals. The primary typologies follow Peter J. Paris' black religious leadership paradigm found in his work, *Black Religious Leaders: Conflict in Unity*, Cornel West's examination of black intellectuals in *Prophecy Deliverance!: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity*, and James Cone's African American historiographical genealogy of black nationalist and integrationist leaders in *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream of Nightmare*.

As corollary models to discussing the black religious intellectual, it is also necessary to examine three other related phenomena, which impact the role and representation of these unique figures within the black male leadership tradition. These models and the ones mentioned earlier also assist me in my analysis of how black religious intellectuals have been and can continue to be effective within doctrinal, pastoral, and ritualistic structures of conventional religious denominations. Finally, these models serve to allow for a sound examination of how these particular intellectuals have embodied and represented, in diverse ways, the public intellectual who functions as the moral and social conscience of America. Other models referenced include Gayraud Wilmore's discussion of the links between black religion and black radicalism in *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Examination of the Black Religious Experience in Religion*; Dwight N. Hopkins' discussion of black religion and black faith as public talk in *Black Faith and Public Talk: Critical Essays on James H. Cone's Black Theology and Black Power*; Cheryl J. Sanders' depiction of the black religious intellectual and the exilic tradition in her important work, *Saints in Exile: The Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture*; and Willie James Jennings' incisive book review discussing the dilemmas of the black religious intellectual in "The Burden of the Black Leader."

Peter J. Paris, in *Black Religious Leaders*, establishes four leadership types that can be applied to all black religious leaders. The types Paris mentions are the priestly, prophetic, political, and nationalistic. Paris defines the priestly type as being the conventional, conservative black preacher who functions mainly to administer the rituals of the church, safeguard the temple or the church, and attend to the spiritual needs of his or her congregation. He argues that the priestly type is the most prevalent type in America and is characterized by a nonthreatening and accommodationist stance toward American society; this stance chooses to stay within the narrow confines of church doctrine and biblical interpretation.[3]

By contrast, the prophetic type is in direct conflict with the priestly type owing to its tendency to challenge American power elites to live up to the promises of equality and freedom as expressed in the nation's most sacred documents, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Although all black religious leaders and intellectuals, be they prophetic of priestly, originate from the same origins of the black folk tradition as Sanders and West assert, Paris argues that the prophetic type differs in political orientation. Prophetic black religious intellectuals and leaders still believe in the American dream but function as biblical prophets, in the spirit of Isaiah, proclaiming God's truth in the hope of pricking the consciences of whites, and thereby challenging white supremacy's legitimacy. Twentieth-century prophetic type of black religious leaders, including Benjamin Mays, Howard Thurman, Martin Luther King Jr., and Jesse Jackson, have focused strident attacks on American society's complicity toward tolerance of and support for racism, segregation, and discrimination as the main targets of their admonitions.[4]

As for the political type of black religious leader and intellectual, Paris argues that most prophetic types eventually transition to this level of characterization. Political types adopting prophetic tendencies are dulled somewhat in their criticisms, as they are forced, by their expanded role, to embrace a larger constituency beyond the confines of the black church. Here they fall in a place of confinement, one of the paradoxes of the black religious intellectual, as espoused by Willie James Jennings in "The Burden of the Black Leader." Consequently, they are pulled at one end by their commitment to black equality, and at another end by their desire to find acceptance and relevance. Ultimately, they are challenged to decide whether to support American democracy or black nationalism. Indeed, this is a precarious position to be in as it creates a peculiar double consciousness on the part of these figures, seeking to balance these seemingly opposing selves. It is challenging for many to dually function as political figures and prophetic figures at the same time, although some have achieved a great deal of success in this task. Some figures that most epitomize the political archetype, such as Adam Clayton Powel Jr. and Jesse Jackson have been, at one time or another, able to navigate through the murky waters of this identity to combine priestly, prophetic, and political characteristics into one unique amalgam. Other black religious leaders who have represented the inclusive political type are figures such as William Gray III, Floyd Flake, Andrew Young, and Walter Fauntroy, among others.[5]

The advantage of the political type is that, especially given their prophetic and religious background, they function with the most contacts and networks across sacred and secular lines as well as lines of race, gender, class, nation, religion, and so on. While they are confined in many ways to the democratic process, as predominantly priestly types are to church laws and ecclesiastical traditions, they still function in a very unique place vis-à-vis most black religious figures—certainly not a utopian position, as none of these types is. The political type is critical as it engages the black church as the center of the black public sphere, in dialogue and conversation, with the larger American society and global world.

Paris' black religious leadership typology underscores the understanding that one leadership type could not exist without the other, and depending on the particular circumstance, many black religious intellectuals found it necessary to adopt varying degrees of blended nationalistic and integrationist approaches. As with Paris' typology, most black religious leaders held a combination of the four types and only through a comprehensive examination of all four could an accurate assessment of each leader be arrived at.

Paris' characterization of the nationalist type dovetails with James Cone's depiction of the nationalist tradition inherent in African American intellectual history. Paris characterizes nationalist black religious intellectuals, such as Bishop Henry McNeil Turner, Alexander Crummell, Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad, Albert Cleage Jr., and Malcolm X as being adversely critical of American society, to the point where they advocate segregation from whites because of their belief that there is no serious attempt or possibility for the mainstream culture to grant blacks unequivocal equality and freedom of opportunity. Paris' and Cone's interpretation of the nationalist tradition in black religious intellectual life contrasts, in many ways, with the integrationist tradition that the latter correspondingly discusses.[6]

For Cone, the integrationist tradition dated back to figures such as Frederick Douglass and also included luminaries such as Mordecai Johnson, Benjamin E. Mays, Howard Thurman, and Martin Luther King Jr. The idea that connects these thinkers is their belief in the potential of America to live up to the promises of equality and their strivings to ensure that freedom and equality are realized by all Americans, especially African Americans. Another emergent theme among integrationist black religious intellectuals, as is with their nationalist counterparts, is the significance of education for strivings toward black advancement. Richard I. McKinney's critical biography *Moredcai, the Man and His Message: The Story of Mordecai Wyatt Johnson* and Henry Young's sketch of Johnson as a religious figure in *Major Black Religious Leaders since 1940*, portray Howard University's first black president, Mordecai Johnson, as a prophetic black religious intellectual who boldly holds on to his faith in American society, while stressing the value of higher education as necessary to assist in the black acquisition of equality.

Cheryl J. Sanders's essay, "Black Intellectuals and Storefront Religion in the Age of Black Consciousness," in her larger work, *Saints in Exile: The Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture*, sets up a method of characterizing black religious intellectuals by examining them through an "exilic experience." Sanders argues that most black religious intellectuals are perpetually conditioned by the fact that they are exiles living in a strange land. This exilic experience conditions their relationship to mainstream American society as well as their relationship to various black communities. Furthermore, as Cone demonstrates, black religious intellectuals have usually adopted one of two positions in their criticism of American racism and discrimination: the integrationist path that affirms that black Americans can be both an American and Negro or the nationalist approach that asserts the need to create a greater attachment to the exilic experience through separatist means.[7]

Similarly, religious philosopher Cornel West's characterizations of black intellectual leaders in *Prophecy Deliverance! An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* is completely applicable to the present discussion. West establishes four black leadership categories, each grounded in the black religious tradition. Correspondingly, Sanders uses this typology to support her explanation of the black religious intellectual exilic experience. The first type West establishes is that of the exceptionalist who lauds black culture above all other cultures. The second type, as represented by sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, is the accommodationist type who views black culture as pathological. The third type, represented by James Baldwin, illustrates the marginalist camp that views American society as oppositional and limiting. Finally, West defines the humanist, epitomized by novelist Ralph Ellison, as the type that praises the contributions of black culture but fails to raise the culture above or beneath others, adopting a somewhat neutral stance. Added to such a characterization of black religious intellectuals is the recent work of historian Clarence Taylor, *Black Religious Intellectuals: The Fight for Equality from Jim Crow to the 21st Century*. Taylor offers a reassessment of the way in which black religious intellectuals are characterized in an attempt to expand traditional notions to incorporate those black men intellectuals who held some sort of religious standpoint, even if they were not integrated into the black popular press or accepted within the traditional black church. This revisionist work, focusing on black men religious intellectuals such as Bishop Smallwood Williams and A. Phillip Randolph, appropriately leads us into a concluding discussion of how the black religious thought of black men religious intellectuals functions as the source-bed for the articulation of a relevant twenty-first-century leadership paradigm.[8]

Specifically, Riggins Earl Jr. in his chapter, "Apologists and Ideologues of Black Manhood and Brotherhood," seeks to use various typologies of black men religious intellectuals to arrive at an understanding of what black manhood represents. Just as West has done, Earl presents four typologies depicting what he believes to be varying responses of black male development, attempting to define their humanity in the context of struggle. First, he asserts the notion of the "generic man" model of black manhood, as represented by Frederick Douglass, a type that espoused generic qualities of manhood such as notions of color blindness, manly character, and the universality of humanity. Earl sees his second category, that of the utility man, best evidenced by the example of Booker T. Washington whom he credited with the ability to promote useful and industrious character traits as self-dignity, love, and compromise as indicative of a "representative man." Third, W. E. B. Du Bois represents "the dialectic self-conscious man," who is critically aware of his own "self-conscious manhood," desiring to merge his double self into a new and better man, and able to intentionally articulate black strivings by being a coworker with God in his Kingdom on earth. Finally, Marcus Garvey attains the label of "self-confident man," who sought to instill a type of manhood in black men who promoted a cultural and nationalist self-reliance and understanding of the meaning of brotherhood through the vehicle of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Garvey, espousing a strong sense of black manhood, with evident Christian overtones, served as a model for

the theological foundation of the Nation of Islam and its most prized member, Malcolm Little, whose father was a Garveyite. Furthermore, Earl seeks to develop the concept of "Salutatory Brothers of New Paradigms," focusing on the example and theological insights of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, whereby he examines the models of manhood of both figures through priestly and prophetic lenses. Overall, he develops the idea that an examination of these types will elicit a more informed standpoint from which to determine the struggles of individual black men by which to understand themselves in relation to God, creation, and redemption.[9]

Historian Manning Marable eloquently states, in Gayraud Wilmore's edited work, *African American Religious Studies: An Introductory Anthology*, the paradox of the black church in being both progressive and conservative, radical and moderate. At the same time, the black church context produces another dilemma for the black religious intellectual in the pursuit of producing insightful and liberating religious thought, while attempting to operate within the confines of traditional religious denominations.[10]

Dwight N. Hopkins, in *Black Faith and Public Talk*, accurately observes of his mentor James Cone, that the latter's theory of black liberation theology gained some adherents during the Black Power Era, but has not gained complete acceptance within traditional black communities, operating predominately within the accommodationist and conservative confines of the Negro Church, illustrated by E. Franklin Frazier in *The Negro Church in America* and, correspondingly critiqued by C. Eric Lincoln in *The Black Church since Frazier*.[11] Lincoln and Henry Young argue that the presence of aspects of the Negro Church within the emerging black church, which arose during the 1960s, suggests that a close but tenuous relationship exists between the two. The presence of remnants of the conservative and accommodationist Negro Church tradition indicates a competing ethic with the direction and function of the black church, as represented through members and some preachers who are more inclined to adhere to the priestly type model. Such a stance often caused conflict for unique black religious intellectuals such as Howard Thurman and Malcolm X. Although highly critical of the conservative nature of the black Christian church, the Nation of Islam experience of Malcolm X revealed the same conclusion as that of Thurman: social conservatism was not the sole preserve of black Christian church leadership; it contradicted the otherwise radical representation projected by that body. Discovering this contradiction as well as other questions concerning the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X set his sights on establishing an independent black religious and cultural vehicle, expanding his influence and platform as a viable and autonomous public intellectual.[12]

Hopkins argues that black faith is public talk. He surmises that there is no separation between the secular and sacred aspects of black religious experience, the activities of the black church, and black religious intellectual thought. Since the days of the invisible institution, black preachers and religious intellectuals have used the church as a public pulpit. Before President Bush's new "faith based initiative," black church leaders, historically performed every social, cultural, economic, political, and scholarly function that the black community needed.

The black church, and the Negro church before it, provided for its members education programs such as the Boy Scouts and rites of passage programs as well as voter and economic assistance; marched against the injustices of segregation and police brutality; developed the cultural needs of the black community through plays and other mediums; produced secular and sacred community leaders and; fulfilled many other social functions. It is in this environment that black men religious intellectuals, as well as women, have used the church as a platform for their roles and representations as public intellectuals.[13]

Hopkins contributes toward an understanding of black men's religious history and leadership development.[14] *Head and Heart* provides an intellectual opening for black men to enter the gender arena of scholarly discourse, but from a standpoint of pragmatism. Hopkins, calling for a more progressive black men's theology, acknowledges the criticisms of many black feminist and womanist theologians and scholars concerning black male involvement in institutionalizing patriarchy within black church praxis.

Conversely, Hopkins debunks the myth that black religious men engaging in gendered discourse reify the same traditional patriarchal practices:

> Too many people within the African American community, church, and black theology believe that gender concerns only women. When the gender issue becomes the center of discussion, most black men, for example, become like corpses. Their tongues grow silent; their bodies drop to a limp posture; and their presence fades into a ghostlike absence. Gender, from their vantage point, relates only to black women. If this logic is true, they reason, then it would be another example of black male sexism to enter the conversation and dominate what is said and not said. The flip side of this belief is that African American men do have a gender, which is obviously false. Black men have a male gender, so gender refers to both men and women.[15]

Hopkins' admonition challenges gender conventions on both sides of the divide. He does so by not discounting the evident sexism practiced and condoned by black men, seminary, or lay church, but does it in a manner that provokes a multilateral set of talks among black men and women, with the intent to provide healing, reconciliation, and liberation for black women, black men, black youth, and the entire community (church, academy, home, etc).

By tackling such a sensitive subject, Hopkins attempts to create a new theological and scholarly paradigm in his "new heterosexual black male" even as he, himself, embodies a renewed commitment to a collaboration between womanist and black male theologians, most evident in his ministry with his partner, Linda Thomas. In keeping with this renewed theory, Hopkins does challenge the notion that black men, existentially and intrinsically, do not have anything to contribute to progressive gender discussion. Hopkins, like most black religious thinkers, including Stephanie Mitchem in her important book, *Introducing Womanist Theology*, understands that the place where theology and religion is practiced is the lay church and community and not the seminary or academy. Although much critical work goes on in these latter scholarly venues, the pragmatic nature of black religion dictates that the origins of any gendered analysis of black faith

and public talk must commence in the contemporary brush arbors of the church and community.[16]

Walter Earl Fluker and Catherine Tumber in *A Strange Freedom: The Best of Howard Thurman on Religious and Public Life* show Thurman as being one of the prototypical black religious intellectuals who were truly public intellectuals. Despite popularly held notions that there exists a contemporary crisis among black intellectual leaders, Fluker and Tumber argue that Thurman never deserted his role as a public intellectual. Correspondingly, as Alton B. Pollard demonstrates, in his essay chapter, "Magnificent Manhood: The Transcendent Witness of Howard Thurman," Thurman not only served as a bridge between the integrationist goals of the civil rights movement and the nationalist goals of the black power movement, he also nurtured numerous generations of civil rights leaders and black religious intellectuals such as Martin Luther King Jr. and countless others. In many ways, black religious intellectuals such as Howard Thurman have carved out a niche within these traditional denominations, assuming a Du Boisian double consciousness. Thurman's representation as a black religious intellectual met tremendous misunderstanding and opposition from traditional church leaders of the priestly type, while he simultaneously faced a similar ostracism and marginality from major civil rights organizations and leaders, even as he influenced much of that same leadership. Thurman developed a model of critical self-engagement of the spiritual self, which he coined "the sound of the genuine within." This model of spiritual self-development provides a model from which African American men, in all varieties, can emerge as transformative leaders.[17]

Similarly, Willie James Jennings argues against the claim that there is a crisis within black public leadership. To this end, Jennings argues that most black public religious leaders are born in crisis and nurtured by it as Wilmore states with respect to the black church at large. Furthermore, C. Eric Lincoln advances in *The Black Experience in Religion*, that owing to the fact that black preachers are the main figures within the black church, there exists a symbiotic relationship between the evolution of the black church, the emergence of the black preacher, and thus, the evolution of black religious intellectuals as public leaders.[18] It is this in-between place, this Du Boisian duality, characteristic of many black religious intellectuals, as Jennings discusses, that ascribes to them the volatile role as the representatives of black America who are left vulnerable to criticism simultaneously from within and without the black community. This criticism parallels Cornel West's characterization of the black intellectual's vocation, in *The Dilemma of the Black Intellectual*, sacred or secular, as one of "self-imposed marginality." Certainly, transcendent figures such as Thurman understood this liminal position, determining to assume this particular undertaking of identity, regardless of the personal costs or professional consequences. Often misunderstood, the burden of the black religious intellectual, whether one speaks of Louis Farrakhan, Jesse Jackson, Albert Cleage Jr., Malcolm X, or Thurman, or any black theologian, signifies a situation in which these leaders and thinkers press forward clutching to their belief that God ordained their visions, leadership, and theology. Ironically, as Jennings professes, it is this chaotic trial by fire

that makes these leaders distinct in that it exists as their lives do in the public eye, be it the black public or the larger American or global public, legitimizing their role and representation as public intellectuals. Many of these figures accept their fate relying on their individual relationship to God, even if their peers question their legitimacy and approach.[19]

Henry Young denotes that black religious intellectuals such as Howard Thurman and Malcolm X discovered their inability to exist within traditional confines of traditional black religious leadership, be it Muslim or Christian. The same reality is true for many contemporary black religious intellectuals, namely Eddie Glaude, Cornel West, and James Cone. These contemporary scholars espouse a sort of religious intellectualism, using the public sphere as their intellectual pulpit, engaging audiences around critical social issues. Both Thurman and Malcolm had very diverse religious origins but soon found that their unique visions could not fit within the traditional confines of mainstream religious denominations. Thurman, grounded in the black Baptist tradition, discovered that his visions of transcending the confines of racial segregation, sexism, and religious intolerance of the traditional black church required him to found his own interracial and interdenominational church in San Francisco in 1944. Furthermore, other influences such as mysticism and Gandhian nonviolence and pacifism necessitated Thurman's adoption of an alternative space in which he could practice his unique leadership vision.[20]

Malcolm, on the other hand, after absolving his connection with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, went on to found the Muslim Mosque Inc., in addition to the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Because of the Nation of Islam's stance against involvement in politics, questions concerning the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's personal life that were brewing jealousy among his fellow ministers, and his own evolving global Pan-Africanist ideology, Malcolm determined that he could no longer be restricted by the Nation of Islam's firmly institutionalized religious theology. Malcolm's abiding interest in Pan-Africanism fueled the radical critique of Christianity, influencing both the scholarly black theology of James Cone and the public black theology of Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr. This interest in black radicalism and Pan-Africanism was not new to the black church. In terms of continuity, as Wilmore argues, black radicalism was inseparable from black religion since the nation's founding. In addition, many nineteenth-century black nationalists including Garvey, Turner, Crummell, and Blyden were adherents of some form of Christianity. This fact demonstrates that Black Christian Nationalism and the apparent emphasis on manhood rights, bespeaks of a nascent form of Black Men's Theology and opens the door to mine the literary texts of these figures that will in turn pave the way for serious intellectual and spiritual engagement with black men's religious studies. Furthermore, any variant of nationalism, such as radicalism or Pan-Africanism, could not exist without the influence of the black church. Within this context, as Louis DeCaro Jr. in *On the Side of My People: A Religious Life of Malcolm X* discusses, Malcolm established significant relationships with Christian nationalist thinkers such as Rev. Albert Cleage Jr., founder of the Shrine of the Black Madonna in Detroit. Arguably, Malcolm and his protégé, the Hon. Louis Farrakhan, were as

influenced by Christianity as they may certainly have influenced its development within black public.[21]

These renewed relationships with Christian nationalists and proposed ones with civil rights leaders further distinguished Malcolm as a unique black religious intellectual, along the lines of a Gramscian "organic intellectual." A challenge facing many black religious intellectuals today, particularly within black Christian denominations is the difficulty of navigating amidst the increasing levels of continuity and change existing between the Negro and the black church. This statement is presupposed by the idea that the contemporary black church continues to exist in a state of "double consciousness," unable to emerge with a clear identity as an institution. The closest likeness to some uniformity comes with the Mega-Church movement. Albeit paradoxically, the Mega Church circumscribes a theological identity crisis, as many of its pastors attempt to distance themselves from the very social justice tradition that nurtured them in their formative years.[22]

In addressing the role of black religious intellectuals as the natural embodiments of the public intellectual, who functions as moral and social conscience of America, Paris, Hopkins, and Wilmore argue that the black church has produced numerous types of black leaders, sacred and secular. This list includes politicians, intellectuals, educators, grassroots activists, and others. Nineteenth-century Episcopal minister Alexander Crummell, most known for being the mentor of W. E. B. Du Bois, functions as a prime example of a black public intellectual who served as an intergenerational bridge for black leaders. As William J. Moses' *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* and Alfred Moss' *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth* suggest, Crummell spearheaded the founding of one of the first African American think tanks in the nation, the American Negro Academy (ANA). The ANA, located in Washington, DC, represented an impressive collection of black public intellectuals, including W. E. B. Du Bois, Alain Locke, and William Scarborough. Crummell and the ANA maintained some level of continuity with later twentieth-century religious historian and intellectual Vincent Harding's Institute of the Black World (IBW), founded during the height of the Black Power Era in 1969.[23] Although there is more change than continuity between Crummell's ANA and Harding's IBW, the fact that these two black religious intellectuals had a huge impact on black public intellectual life, both in their participation and influence projected on subsequent generations of black public intellectuals, is one that must not go undocumented.[24]

Benjamin E. Mays: A Human Study in Black Leadership

Benjamin E. Mays, in his revealing autobiography, *Born to Rebel*, expresses the importance of black history and culture to his own intellectual formation, using education and character development as the cornerstones and signature markers of his legacies as dean of the Howard School of Religion at Howard University and as president of Morehouse College. Reflecting upon his days as a youth,

Mays, himself a race man, disclosed his own process of ascribing black leadership role models from prominent black historical figures:

> My heroes were black. Every once in a while, some Negroes came along selling pictures of, or pamphlets about, a few Negro leaders. Pictures of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and Paul Laurence Dunbar hung on our walls. In my high school days, Booker T. Washington meant more to me than George Washington; Frederick Douglass was more of a hero than William Lloyd Garrison; Dunbar inspired me more than Longfellow. I heard about Crispus Attucks and was thrilled… The Negro preachers and teachers in my county, I worshipped. I didn't know any white preachers and teachers… The Negroes in the South Carolina Legislature during the Reconstruction years were the men held up to us in high school history classes as being great men, and not the Negro-hating Benjamin Ryan Tillman and his kind, who strove so long and hard to deprive the black man of his vote. I had identity.[25]

Historically, black leadership has been viewed primarily in terms of its "great men," leaders who received considerable media attention and, correspondingly, exhibited a "messianic demeanor." Unless one were Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Mary McLeod Bethune, or a W. E. B. Du Bois, one's life received only minimal appreciation from American society. In addition, many generations of historians have chosen to overlook the accomplishments of lesser-known black leaders, opting instead to continue pursuance of new interpretations of overresearched figures. However, in the past few decades some historians have attempted to address this serious omission. For example, Dr. Raymond Gavins noted:

> Partly because they were primarily local figures, Gordon Blaine Hancock, P. B. Young, Luther P. Jackson, Charles S. Johnson, Benjamin E. Mays, Horace Mann Bond and others did not enjoy national popularity. Little is said of them in black histories and race relations studies, except that they issued the Durham Manifesto…
>
> A cadre of intellectuals and professionals, they emerged in the twenties and struggled in the thirties and forties. Collectively, they were the most important black spokesmen in the South between the death of Booker T. Washington and the rise of Martin Luther King, Jr.[26]

Despite relative obscurity during our current debates concerning the future of black leadership, Benjamin E. Mays stands as one of the foremost examples of black leadership—a type of leadership that modeled his example in such a way as to train generations of men and women leaders following in his immeasurable footsteps. Mays represented one of the most important black leaders of the twentieth century. An educator par excellence, Mays is most known as the "spiritual and intellectual" mentor of Martin Luther King Jr. In addition, Mays is also credited with cultivating generations of black leaders at Morehouse College in Atlanta, the nation's premier institution of higher education for African American men. Despite King identifying Mays as his mentor, the teacher has been neglected by historians and much of the public. A brief intellectual history of Mays and his

thoughts on black leadership will prove invaluable to our current debates on cultivating new generations of black male leaders.

Benjamin Elijah Mays was born in Epworth, South Carolina on August 1, 1894. Mays, the youngest of eight children, was born to Hezekiah and Louvenia Mays. His family made a living by sharecropping that made much of his early education secondary to working in the fields. Eventually, Mays attended high school at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, South Carolina. Afterward, he earned his undergraduate degree from Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. Mays went on to obtain a master's and doctorate degree from the University of Chicago in 1925 and 1933 respectively. In 1934, Dr. Mays became the dean of the Howard University School of Religion, serving in that position for approximately six years. In 1940, Mays became the president of Morehouse College, the position for which he is most known. As president of Morehouse College for twenty-seven years, he mentored countless numbers of young black men, many of whom would serve as the civil rights movement's future leaders. Mays' model of leadership emanated from his own life experience, filtered through the guiding examples of his parents and prominent African American historical figures. It was this model of leadership Mays transferred to each Morehouse man, while challenging them to discover their own leadership path.

Mays' molding of Morehouse men supports the claim that Young, Hopkins, and Jennings make about the importance of the black church and black education in the character development of black Americans. In an article in the *Phylon Quarterly*, Edward Jones lays out the five tenets of the Morehouse Mystique as articulated by Mays during the commencement speech at the Ninetieth Anniversary Convocation of the College. The first tenet was the "training of the mind to think logically, constructively, and discriminatingly." Further explaining this tenet, he specified that the training of the student mind should be undertaken "whether an ordinary or a brilliant one." Second, Mays stated that an emphasis at Morehouse was placed on the development of "men of sound character and integrity: men who are dependable, reliable, trustworthy, honest, true-men who can be trusted to carry responsibility both in private and in public life." For Mays it was "a dangerous thing" to train man's mind without at the same time training him to be good. A third tenet of the Morehouse Mystique examined the significance of community responsibility and depicted a man "who is concerned for the welfare of the community and who participates in the affairs of that community and lends whatever support he can to further the ideals of progress, democratic living, and interracial goodwill." Finally, the fifth element of the Morehouse Mystique dealt with the issue of stirring self-esteem, placing "confidence in themselves and confidence in their future." Such confidence teaches Morehouse men, to this very day, "not to accept the ceiling as the limit but the sky, and that a better tomorrow . . . must be molded by them." All in all, this framework and lifestyle have exuded a great degree of humanity and manhood for graduates of Morehouse. For the purposes of this chapter, it provides a critical example for reenvisioning a doctrine of humanity and black men's theology for producing future black male leaders.[27]

Mays exhibited a staunch social activism. As a youth growing up in Greenwood County, South Carolina, he acquired a keen social consciousness, rare among black Carolinians at that time. Fueling Mays' consciousness were examples of the emerging members of the New Negro class, those who came of age during the "social and intellectual ferment of the Harlem Renaissance." Identifying Mays as a New Negro, Newby opined:

> In black Carolina, the New Negro appeared in a more muted form than in the black Metropolis, but he was influenced by the same racial currents. He was more conscious of his blackness and better able to appreciate it than black Carolinians had traditionally been, more loyal to his race, more interested in black history and other manifestations of black consciousness, more sensitive to racial insults.[28]

Here one glimpses into the model of black leadership that formed Mays during perhaps his most critical period of growth. Mays soon discovered that the old South Carolina did not react positively to any "New Negroes." It was this realization that soon forced him to leave the state of his birth. Years later, he reflected: "I could never do what I hoped to do or be what I aspired to be if I remained in the state of my birth. I had to seek a new world."[29]

Although Mays was ambivalent about his home state and the South in general, he worked to improve the quality of life for all races in that region. As a well-known minister and theologian, Dr. Mays advocated a philosophy of social gospel, drawing characterization as a "Christian social critic."[30] Possessing the gift of oratory, Mays delivered powerful sermons, presented thought-provoking lectures, and engaged in illuminating discussions linking the merits of community service with the mandates of Christian witness. His commanding voice, unique gift of racial reasoning, and inspirational messages earned for Mays the reputation of a renowned motivator and public intellectual. These characteristics also helped him secure important leadership positions in major civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League. Similarly, involvement in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Southern Regional Council demonstrated his concern about improving race relations in America. Dr. Mays, a tireless worker, actively participated in countless other civic organizations such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the American Crusade to End Lynching, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and the United Negro College Fund.[31]

In addition to being an educator and civil rights activist, Mays was an intellectual. Scholar Orville Burton pointed out that "Mays's greatest contribution as a scholar lies in his combination of race relations and religion.[32] His two most recognized scholarly works *The Negro's Church* and *The Negro's God as Reflected in His Literature* yielded such a synthesis. The major focus of this particular chapter is on Mays' influential newspaper column in the *Pittsburg Courier.* In all, he wrote approximately 1,871 articles for the *Courier* from 1946 to 1982. Mays touched on a variety of themes in his columns, most of which emphasized his

perspective on the plight of the black community. Of major importance to Mays was the theme of black leadership.

The theme of black leadership commanded much of his attention for two main reasons. First, owing to his identification as a black leader, Mays sought to lend his voice to what constituted authentic black leadership. Second, his genuine concern for the plight of the black community and the role of leadership within the community moved him to provide guidance for those following in his footsteps. He saw himself as a "race man," one who grew up among the people, understood their strivings, and worked to uplift the black community. Mays believed that black leadership could be best understood through careful analysis of its nature in relation to these community urgings. In an effort to accomplish this task, Mays sought to properly define black leaders, indicate their major problems, and forecast their future.[33]

Benjamin E. Mays identified himself as a leader who understood the close relationship between equality and black advancement. He argued that given "a fair chance," blacks could prove their worth to American society. History, Mays contended, was replete with examples of black Americans who made significant contributions to a wide array of areas: sports: Jackie Robinson, Jesse Owens and Joe Louis; science: George Washington Carver and Ernest Everett Just; entertainment: Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, and James Weldon Johnson; literature: Langston Hughes and Paul Laurence Dunbar. Moreover, many universities were being staffed with black professors and black lawyers functioning as the "leading experts in civil rights." Furthermore, as opportunities in American society continued to open up, Mays boldly predicted that blacks would soon integrate into white college faculties, attend southern white graduate schools, and eventually seat a representative on the U.S. Supreme Court.[34]

Despite these achievements, Mays exhibited a most guarded optimism toward the future. Understanding the race problem, Mays knew all too well that America was not yet ready to accept blacks as first-class citizens. Painful as it was to admit, he was intimately aware of the myriad ways in which segregation dehumanized blacks and hampered race achievement. "I always weep," he said, "when I see the segregated, brow-beaten Negroes of my native South. When I see this horde of underprivileged people, I see genius stifled, ambition crushed and mankind robbed of gifts that would enrich the entire world." With this understanding in mind, Mays expected further progress to be slow. Owing to the inherent nature of racism in American society, he understood that no amount of achievement could easily alleviate the prejudices erected against blacks. Mays, although decidedly hopeful and optimistic, as also a realist, never failed to underestimate the magnitude of the obstacles confronting black leadership.[35]

Challenging the notion of a black privileged class, Mays observed that black leaders experienced discrimination in much the same manner as the black masses. Racial prejudice was so prevalent in Jim Crow America that no black American was free of its reach and impact. Although black leaders were afforded some measure of preferential treatment, society ultimately discriminated against blacks, irrespective of class status. Mays believed that leaders such as Ralph Bunche, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Charlotte Hawkins Brown could be discriminated

against as harshly as any other member of the black community. The elevated class status of the black bourgeoisie seemingly made little difference, when it came to the overt and institutionalized manifestation of racial prejudice. In many ways, the black elite faced a good deal of derision because of their achievements. For instance, in comparing a Bethune or a Brown to a black maid, Mays determined that the only difference between them was the manner of response to discrimination. Black leaders such as Bethune and Brown had more means to protest whereas a maid "might accept it without protest for fear of her job or for some other reason."[36] Despite this difference, the fact uniting both sets of blacks remained that, more often than not, blacks were viewed indiscriminately; they were seen as a monolithic group. "The life of the greatest Negro," Mays concluded, "is no more secure than that of the 'smallest' Negro even though a few of us can escape some insult and abuse by our position."[37] As a result, the best approach seemed to be for both the "privileged" and "less privileged" blacks to work together to fight the common enemy of prejudice.

Although Mays felt that the black community needed to work collectively in its efforts against segregation, he nevertheless, placed the burden of responsibility upon the leadership. "No people can rise higher than its leadership," he asserted. Mays believed that leadership could represent "progress" or "retrogression," depending upon its approach. In analyzing the approaches of leadership within the black community, he concluded that there were four main categories of leadership. First, there was the "Uncle Thomas." Despite the assumptions that the figurative symbolism was dead, Mays argued that the "Uncle Thomas" leader was like a "cat with nine lives." Such a leader was well educated and more than likely possessed a Ph.D. from Morehouse or even Harvard. Mays defined Uncle Thomas as being an "extremely selfish" and "afraid" individual. He attempted to curry favor with whites and avoided doing anything that would diminish their image of him. Mays explained that Uncle Thomas possessed a strange combination of fear, awe, and respect for all that was white. He was unable to "stand on his feet and strongly express a point of view at odds with white people." This fact alone, Mays believed, caused Uncle Thomas to receive no respect from either the black or white community.[38]

Mays characterized the second category of leadership as being comprising "opportunists." The opportunist exhibited less fear than Uncle Thomas but also resembled him to an extent. Like Uncle Thomas, the opportunist was only concerned about self-enhancement and personal security. He was a "good strategist" who would argue a position so long as it was not at odds with that of any of his white friends. However, the most important concern for the opportunist, Mays determined, was the manner in which the black community viewed him. He was someone who longed for their respect.[39]

Representing the third category of black leadership was the "straight shooter." Mays acknowledged that the straight shooter was more concerned about the black community as a whole rather than his own advancement. He was an effective leader who avoided extremism, yet stood for what he believed in. Furthermore, Mays argued that the straight shooter "believes that if the cause" for which he stands "is right and just, if the motives behind his actions are pure and if he is free

of hate, nothing but good can ultimately happen to him or the cause." To Mays, the most enduring quality held by the straight shooter was his faith in God and in himself. Mays acknowledged that "this type seldom debates what will happen to him or his position. He has the faith to believe that if the position or cause is good and right, there are always intangible, unforeseen, and unpredictable forces that will come to his aid."[40] Of all the leadership types, Mays seemed to identify with the straight shooter model, pointing out that this type could best articulate and advance the cause of the black community.

The final category of black leadership was the radical. Owing to their exploits, the radicals believed that violent means were necessary for blacks to secure freedom and equality in America. Mays contended that radical black leaders held a deep-seated hatred for white members of the dominant racial group. These leaders, he said, fostered a lingering distrust of whites and, as a result, became vulnerable to Communist influence. Mays felt this position was unthinkable, as he remained a staunch anti-Communist, favoring racial integration within the framework of democracy.

The leadership of black women also commended the attention of Benjamin Mays. In particular, the qualities of Mary McLeod Bethune, the great black educator and fellow South Carolnian, elicited commentary from Mays. Addressing the question of who should succeed Bethune as president of the National Council of Negro Women, Mays was quick to assert that her position would be "hard, almost impossible to fill" because, to him, Bethune was a "rare and extraordinary" person. Mays praised Bethune for her strong leadership, stating that "it took a mighty able person to organize this Council and hold it together." He believed that age had not hampered Bethune's leadership capabilities. He reflected that "most leaders grow conservative with age. Mary McLeod Bethune has grown more militant with the years.[41] In showing his profound respect and admiration for Mary McLeod Bethune as a leader, Mays demonstrated progressive views on the subject of gender and black leadership. In this manner, Mays provides a prime example of a progressive thinker who represents a good role model for contemporary black leadership development.

Mays' assessment of black leadership went beyond mere valorization to incorporate a strident critique concerning the lack of such able leaders. He felt that too few black men and women, especially among the college educated, assumed leadership roles within their communities. Looking for able black leaders was like "looking for a needle in a hay-stack." For instance, Mays believed that there should have been "dozens of women ready to succeed Mrs. Bethune."[42]

Mays took the liberty of stating the qualities he felt that Bethune's successor should possess. He did not believe that her successor should be someone primarily concerned with bolstering their political image. "The National Council of Negro Women is not a political party," he affirmed. Mays envisioned that

> [t]he next president of the Council should be as Mrs. Bethune, a woman who has already built herself up by a noble record of past achievements. She should bring as much position and prestige to the Council as the Council will bring to her.

> It should be a person who does not need the Council to give them . . . spotlight. She should bring the spotlight with her.[43]

Mays insisted that "the successor to Mary McLeod Bethune should have both 'mass' and 'class' appeal." He felt that possession of mere elitist or "intellectual" appeal was insufficient for a leader. An effective black leader, he insisted, "must symbolize the hopes and aspirations of his or her people." In addition, Bethune's successor had to have "organizing ability," a strong work ethic, and a relentless attitude. Mays held the opinion that the succeeding council president should represent the council on both national and international scales. Finally, Mays believed that the successor "should have the respect and confidence of . . . women." To succeed, the leader who followed, had to have the support of all the members of the council.

The problems of black leadership deeply troubled Mays. Among the most disturbing of these centered on such issues as the lingering legacy of the Washington/Du Bois controversy, inferiority among black leaders, and the prevalence of intraracial jealousy. Mays attempted to analyze the scope of these particular problems afflicting black leaders in the hope that he could offer viable solutions designed to correct them.

The Washington/Du Bois controversy was of particular concern for Mays. Addressing accusations that he was a follower of Booker T. Washington and an Uncle Tom, Mays responded that such accusations were unfounded and untrue. He further stated that all southern black leaders were not Washingtonians and all northern black leaders were not followers of Du Bois. To Mays, purely regional classifications of black leadership represented a major problem that needed to be reevaluated. In response to this dilemma within the black public, he asserted that "geography does not necessarily determine one's racial philosophy. Both Washington and Du Bois were living in the South when they emerged with somewhat opposing philosophies."[44]

Mays believed that black leadership was too complex to be placed in an oversimplified and dichotomous box. He contended that individuals should be able to distinguish between the good and bad in the thoughts of both Washington and Du Bois. "Anyone who is not a slave to the thoughts of others," Mays observed, "will reserve the right to reject that which to him is not sound." His own life experiences had taught him that there existed southern black leaders who failed to fully accept the philosophy of Washington. Moreover, Mays was aware that there were northern black leaders who did not follow Du Bois and pledged their allegiance to Washington. These experiences brought him to the conclusion that there were all philosophical shades of black leaders, north and south. Mays stated that "both in the North and in the South, Negro leaders are conservative; some are liberal, progressive, non-progressive," and some were "Uncle Toms."[45]

Mays also took issue with one-sided approaches to black equality. For instance, he argued that Washington's emphasis on economics was incomplete, as was any approach that focused entirely on a single aspect of an issue. Recognizing the variability of any particular issue, Mays understood that "the Negro problem" was complex as it had more than one dimension. Owing to this belief, he

advocated an "attack on all fronts" to achieve black equality. Mays concluded that the economic, political, social, and religious aspects of the problem were all intertwined.[46]

Another major problem of black leadership focused on its relationship to the realities of professional and institutional inferiority. The combination of slavery, segregation, and continuing discrimination had imbued many blacks with a serious inferiority complex. For instance, Mays characterized segregation as "a badge of inferiority." He believed that blacks internalized this inferiority so much that they began to assume a self-conscious and demeaning identity. "The Negro's attitude toward segregation may display the most conspicuous sign of inferiority," Mays bemoaned.[47]

Mays viewed that problem of inferiority was so ingrained in the psyches of black Americans that many believed their own institutions to be inadequate in comparison with those of mainstream society. Many black Americans believed that black institutions would probably disappear with segregation's demise. Such individuals held the view that they would withdraw their support from these institutions as well, advancing the notion that their support of these institutions perpetuated segregation. Mays appeared disturbed by this flawed rationale, particularly the fact that it failed to recognize the intransigence of white institutions toward blacks. Most blacks believed that white institutions were, by nature, superior to black institutions. Thus, white institutions, were not, seemingly, in need of the same scrutiny as those run by blacks. To Mays, manifestations of this inferiority complex were numerous. Virtually, all black institutions were shunned by blacks, as a practice. Abyssinian Baptist church was seen as inferior to Riverside; North Carolina Mutual and Atlanta Life Insurance companies were deemed inferior to Metropolitan Life; black newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburg Courier*, and the *Afro-American* were looked upon as incomparable to the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*; black colleges such as Fisk, Howard, and Morehouse were deemed not as good as Vanderbilt, Harvard, and Emory.[48]

Mays did not believe that black institutions had to be dismantled once integration appeared. Blacks, including any among the leadership ranks, who believed this, were only continuing to exhibit the same inferiority complex. He criticized whites who believed in the eventual demise of black institutions as having "an inflated notion of white superiority."[49] Mays asserted that black institutions would survive in an integrated society as long as they were of quality. He believed that if an institution was first rate, be it black or white, it most certainly had what it took to survive in a nonsegregated society. He alluded to how Lincoln and Wilberforce Universities continued to thrive in a nonsegregated north. He further pointed out that black professionals served interracial clientele without experiencing any major problems.[50]

Perhaps the most disturbing problem of all appeared to be that of intraracial jealousy among black leaders. Mays saw black leaders as being especially jealous of one another. He noted that many black leaders hated to see one another rise, often placing stumbling blocks in one another's paths. He firmly believed that aside from segregation and discrimination, black jealousy was the major problem

plaguing the black community. He observed that no black professional was free from the sickness of jealousy. Black physicians, dentists, teachers, businessmen, and even ministers exhibited this jealousy.[51]

Although black leaders exhibited jealousy toward one another, they failed to exhibit a similar jealousy toward white leaders. This reaction was due to the assumption that many blacks took white professional success for granted, believing that it was a given. "They assume," Mays contended, "that white men are to be great businessmen, able surgeons and outstanding preachers or teachers. They are never jealous when a white man or woman succeeds. But it too often happens that one Negro hates another if he thinks that Negro outstrips him in the pulpit, in surgery, in business, or in popularity and fame." Mays felt that intraracial jealousy among blacks could be "explained" partially "on the basis…that Negroes and whites move in two separate worlds" and that "Negroes think mostly of their own little world."[52]

Mays further discussed other ironies inherent in such jealousy. He revealed how blacks ceased associations with black professionals if a problem occurred whereas they seemed to forgive white professionals for the same mistakes. Mays saw this favoritism to white professionals as fueling the intraracial jealousy, prevalent among blacks. In addition, Mays discovered other contradictions in the black community that were due to this deep-seated jealousy: black physicians complaining about blacks patronizing white physicians while they, themselves, patronized white insurance companies and; black colleges, who in theory were created to further black educational advancement, but who were, in actuality, limiting the work of black professors. He attributed these ironies to the fact that "negroes have been taught to worship that which is white so long and to look with suspicion or disdain upon that which is not white, until they feel that it is not their business to compete with white men." To Mays, this ambivalence caused blacks to "make concessions to those who are white," whereas they would never make concessions to members of their own race.[53] Mays affirmed that until blacks could "recognize merit wherever it is found," the leadership of the community would continue to suffer the ill effects of intraracial jealousy.[54]

Believing that segregation would someday come to an end, Mays pondered the response blacks needed to make when such a time finally arrived. Mays argued that blacks spent too much time worrying about what whites would do to bring about integration and not enough time thinking about what they needed to do to bring about the same results. Mays was especially critical of blacks who held on to segregation nostalgically, fearing how they might fare in an integrated society. He asserted: "we cannot cry out against segregation while at the same time…hope that it will never be abolished.[55] Mays attributed much of the blame to black professionals who were wary of facing interracial competition. Mays termed these leaders "biggies" who were fearful of becoming "little negroes" in an integrated America. Mays asserted that in such a society "the Negro would be compelled to compete with all men and not just Negro men." This idea, he believed, seriously worried many black leaders who were enjoying the benefits of being affiliated with the elite leadership class in the community. They understood that interracial

competition would make them unimportant, and feared that it would leave them without a definite place in society.[56]

On the other hand, Mays was quite optimistic about other facets of black leadership. He envisioned that "exceptionally gifted Negroes" would be able to attain high positions of leadership that were previously denied to them on account of Jim Crow. In his estimation, the determining factors of leadership should include merit, character, and ability. Race, in his mind, held no essential influence over whether an individual would evolve into an effective leader or not. He admonished black leaders to prepare themselves for such a society in which all institutions would be integrated.[57]

Mays saw the hesitancy black leaders exhibited toward integration as far too pervasive in the thinking of the entire community. He stated that "often our thinking on the subject, including my own is not logical and thorough; and that those of us who fight against segregation may be in our work helping to perpetuate it in one form or the other." Mays believed that blacks should comply with integration once it came around. However, he was also aware of the difficulty this would pose. Mays termed the black response to segregation a "complex problem." There were no easy answers or solutions. However, certain things, including the fact that blacks could not have their "cake and eat it too" were apparent Mays firmly believed that blacks had to find a way to open up their institutions to white Americans. Difficult as it would be, Mays determined that there was "no other recourse."[58]

On the whole, Benjamin Mays viewed strong black leadership as essential to the overall survival and sustainability of the black community in American society. For Mays, black leadership could afford to be neither selfish nor servile. He most identified with the "straight shooter" model of black leadership mainly because of the way that this particular leadership type dealt with the subject of race, having a strong faith in God and demonstrating a unique talent of combining courage with calculated caution. Mays was not most certainly an Uncle Tom, nor a self-serving leader. Rather, Benjamin E. Mays was an uncompromising race man who relied heavily on his religious faith, as he embodied the proper conceptualization of black leadership. Undoubtedly, it was the culturally inspired "religious intellectualism," that established him as the most balanced black leader of his time, one who continues to illuminate the path of many African American men.

Cultures/Policy Recommendations

Academia/Research

1. Further develop Africana Cultures and Policy studies as an interdisciplinary area of study, emphasizing the historical and contemporary leadership development of black leadership as a focal area.
2. Conduct research studies of historical and contemporary black leadership organizations, tracing their development over time to the present day, assessing their strengths and weaknesses, positing lessons of sustainability for producing present and future black leaders.

3. Have Community/University workshops and conferences that emphasize analysis, development, and sustainability of black leadership, among all socioeconomic groups within the community.
4. Develop a Journal of African American men's history and leadership studies, as a scholarly forum to bring together the best research and practices of scholars, activists and practitioners, and policymakers to develop a new generation of black leadership, based on models of men such as Benjamin Mays.
5. Black-/Pan-African/Africana studies-related research centers and institutes must offer the latest multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research on black leadership, paralleling research with technical assistance to churches, community centers, and social and civic groups.
6. Support the development of research studies that can be reproduced as policy briefs, on the applied nature of black leadership to local, regional, and national community institutions such as churches, community centers, prison intervention programs, and policymakers.

Practitioner/Civil Society

1. Local communities should coordinate with area churches and mosques in the planning of yearly National Black Leadership Conventions, based on the models of the 1972 National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana and Kelly Miller's National Negro Sanhedrin Movement. Before and after each convention, participants should actively engage with their communities, canvass their surrounding communities, encouraging people to attend and to become involved in black leadership organizations, as well as to start relevant, new organizations
2. Black professionals should be encouraged to jointly develop community schools, summer institutes, and mentoring initiatives that highlight life lessons of influential African American leaders.
3. Black churches must develop a progressive and applied Black Men's Theology. Churches should conduct classes, as a part of mandatory chapel services, concerning the proper leadership development of black men.
4. Schools, churches, community centers, and other community groups should work with public schools, boys' homes, as well as juvenile detention centers and prisons to develop mentoring programs with community youth, emphasizing leadership development among young black men.
5. Community leaders must convene regular leadership summits, designed to coordinate networking and operational unity among existing advocacy organizations, working toward transformative black male leadership development. Existing black civil rights organizations should be in attendance to provide technical assistance to grassroots advocacy leaders.
6. Community groups, including churches and community centers, should convene reading programs to spread knowledge about black historical figures such as Benjamin E. Mays, as a constitutive element of a black leadership training program for inner-city urban youth.

Public Policy/Advocacy

1. Have local, state, and national black elected officials develop internship programs with constituents in their respective districts.
2. Develop an information clearinghouse, namely, the Benjamin E. Mays Policy Institute, with the purpose of examining the latest academic research, practitioner programs, and public policy efforts. The example, life, and legacy of Benjamin Mays should be used as a model for development of present and future black leadership, regardless of geography or social location.
3. Regularly produce policy briefs in consultation with Africana studies scholar-activists, and local and state policymakers, focusing on the challenges toward and best practices of black leadership development.
4. Encourage grassroots groups in every state to petition for the creation and maintenance of more prison university programs, focusing on black leadership development.
5. Develop an Africana studies CommUniversity within every black community, in partnership with local/regional universities and colleges, churches, and other community institutions, so as to develop new generations of educated and committed black leaders. (See appendix for an abbreviated version of the Africana studies CommUniversity model.)

Notes

1. This report, prepared by Marcus J. Littles, Ryan Bowers and Micah Gilmer was reissued in January of 2008. It established a research, praxis, and public policy agenda for confronting challenges faced by young black males. While it documented existing research, programs, and public policy geared toward combating the black male crisis, it also called for more work that went beyond an emphasis on "crisis literature" as a basis for public policy formation. In the 1990s, a number of states, including Ohio, Maryland, and Indiana, established commissions to study the black male crisis. For example, in Ohio, Governor Richard Celeste developed a commission on socially disadvantaged black males. In June of 1990, the commission issued its findings in a report. See Ohio Office of Black Affairs (1990), *Ohio's African-American Males: A Call to Action, Education, Health, Employment, and Criminal Justice* (Report of the Governor's Commission on Socially Disadvantaged Black Males, vol. 2), Columbus, OH.
2. Cornel West and Eddie Glaude, ed. *African American Religious Thought: An Anthology* (Louisville, KY: Westminister/John Know, 2003), xi–xxvi.
3. Peter J. Paris, *Black Religious Leaders: Unity in Conflict* (Louisville, KY: Westminister/John Know, 1991), 17–18.
4. Ibid., 20–21.
5. Ibid., 21–22.
6. Ibid., 22–28; James Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare*. (New York: Orbis, 1992), 1–17.
7. Cheryl J. Sanders, *Saints in Exile: The Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 106–122.

8. Clarence Taylor, *Black Religious Intellectuals: The Fight for Equality from Jim Crow to The 21st Century* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1–10.
9. Riggins R. Earl Jr., *Dark Salutatons: Ritual, God, and Greetings in the African American Community* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity International, 2001), 114–116.
10. Gayraud Wilmore, *African American Religious Studies: An Interdisciplinary Anthology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989)
11. Dwight N. Hopkins, *Black Faith and Public Talk: Critical Essays on James H. Cone's Black Theology and Black Power* (New York: Orbis, 1999), 1–7; E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York: Schocken, 1963); and C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Church since Frazier* (New York: Schocken, 1974).
12. Louis DeCaro Jr., *On the Side of My People: A Religious Life of Malcolm X* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).
13. Hopkins, *Black Faith and Public Talk*, 1–3.
14. Dwight N. Hopkins has authored a number of works that are indispensable to constructing a progressive black man's religious history and theology. Among these works are *Down, Up, and Over: Slave Religion and Black Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); *Introducing Black Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1999); *Shoes That Fit Our Feet: Sources for a Constructive Black Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993).
15. Dwight N. Hopkins, *Between Head and Heart: Black Theology, Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 91.
16. Stephanie Mitchem, *Introducing Womanist Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002); Dwight Hopkins, *Black Faith and Public Talk*.
17. Walter Earl Fluker and Catherine Tumber, eds., *A Strange Freedom: The Best of Howard Thurman on Religious Experience and Public Life* (Boston: Beacon, 1998).
18. C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Experience in Religion* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1974).
19. Cornel West, "The Dilemma of the Black Intellectual," *Cultural Critique,* no. 1, (Autumn 1985): 109–124; Willie James Jennings, "The Burden of the Black Leader," *Christianity Today* (1988).
20. Henry James Young, *Major Black Religious Leaders since* 1940 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1979), 46–53.
21. Young, *Major Black Religious Leaders*, 73–80.
22. Stephanie Mitchem, *Name It and Claim It: Prosperity Preaching in the Black Church* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim, 2007).
23. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alfred A. Moss, *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981).
24. Cone, *Malcolm & Martin & America*, 13–17.
25. Benjamin E. Mays, *Born to Rebel: An Autobiography,* revised with foreword by Orville Vernon Burton (Athens: University of Georgia, 2003), 2.
26. Raymond Gavins, "Gordon Blaine Hancock: A Black Profile from the New South," *Journal of Negro History* LIX (July 1974): 226.
27. Edward A. Jones, "Morehouse College in Business Ninety Years—Building Men," *Phylon Quarterly* 18:3 (1957): 233.
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8

America Has the Laws and Material Resources to Insure Justice for All: Historical Trajectory of Legal Critique and Experiential Voice in Black Women's Political Activism

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> I want to look at legal issues within a framework inscribed not just within the four corners of a document—be it contract or the Constitution—but by the disciplines of psychology, sociology, history, criticism, and philosophy.
>
> *Patricia J. Williams,* The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor, 7

Throughout the history of the Americas, African Americans and other persons of African descent have expressed both extreme hope and extreme doubt about legal systems and laws. Yet to make a neat divide between hope and doubt in the history of African American's relationship to the law, as opposed to considering hope and doubt dialectically, not only simplifies African American historical consciousness, but also disregards the historical literature that testifies to an enduring commitment to justice of African Americans even as they critique systems and institutions that have been entrusted with formulating and administering such justice. This is particularly evident in the writings of black women activists. Sojourner Truth and Harriet Jacobs, for example, appealed to a sense of justice even as they acknowledged the ways in which slavery denied this very justice to black female bodies. Ida B. Wells also made an appeal to the concept of justice even as she critiqued and lambasted the hypocrisy of its application during the height of lynching. In a similar fashion, Anna Julia Cooper critiqued the U.S. legal system in her now well-known text *A Voice from*

the South, even though she began the text by asking that true justice be served by admitting the voice of the black woman into the debate about race and citizenship. Finally, activist and Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm rejected the idea that legal reform was fundamental for social progress in America. Chisholm argued that America did not lack "laws and material resources to insure justice for all its people," but instead lacked "the heart, the humanity, the Christian love that it would take" to insure such justice.[1]

That black women political activists have made such strong appeals to justice is no secret. Yet the historical trajectory of how conceptions and ideals of justice amongst black women activists changed over time has not been examined in nearly enough detail. For example, certainly from the early 1600s until the abolition of slavery U.S. law defined all persons of African descent as property, and thus regardless of gender all African Americans were keenly aware of the myriad ways that laws defined and outlined their existence and their being. Yet the legal decree of abolition marks a significant change in how African Americans were understood by law and how African Americans related to law.

One must not overemphasize change at the risk of overlooking continuities, though, and it is important to recognize that even though there were laws that defined all blacks as not free, there were additional stipulations and laws that were applied specifically to black women. For example, even though during slavery the majority of African Americans were defined as not free, African American women were defined as also not being in charge of social reproduction: the womb of the woman and whatever "property" might be created therein were defined not as the charges of the mother, but as the charges of their (usually male) masters. Indeed, through sporadic acts of rape and the breeding of male and female slaves such masters were not only in charge of where female reproduction took place, but also when it occurred. Likewise, in the postabolition era, even after laws barring black men from voting were raised, black women were told in no uncertain terms that the vote was still not to be extended to them and that in effect their political voice was not important. Yet with the rise of the U.S. abolition movement in early 1800s, and particularly with the rise of white participation in the abolition movement, there grew a desire among some northern literary clubs and abolition societies to read about the life experiences of former slaves. Thus some black women were either chosen or they chose themselves to take advantage of this literary space in which they could express themselves through an experiential voice.

This chapter examines how the experiential voice has been used to formulate critical theories of justice in the writings of black women political activists in U.S. history. I focus primarily on works by Sojourner Truth and Harriet Jacobs before abolition and on the works of Ida B. Wells, Anna Julia Cooper, and Shirley Chisholm in the postabolition phase. In assessing each of these individuals' engagements with the U.S. legal system, I also attempt to highlight both continuities from preabolition to postabolition (such as the legal consequences of motherhood for black women both before and after abolition) and developments that arose only in postabolition society (such as the attention given to the legal system and lynching). However, such a task necessarily entails clearly defining

what is to be meant by terms such as "legal system" and "experiential voice" in the remainder of this chapter.

Legal System and Experiential Voices in Preabolition Black Women's Political Activism

In employing the term "legal system," I am alluding to political and critical theorist Roberto Mangabeira Unger's analysis of law in modern society. For Unger there are three types of law: bureaucratic law, customary law, and the legal system. Bureaucratic law consists of specific sets of rules, enunciated at specific moments, which are advanced and enforced by state governments. Customary law on the other hand consists of social customs that are perceived to be "normative," such as social expectations of how one should behave in relation to others, but which in most cases have not been codified (and thus made public) by governments. It is also important to note that there may be multiple and differing customary laws in operation at the same time. The white customary law of lynching black men in postabolition U.S. society, for example, did not automatically negate the possibility that some blacks and whites would continue to practice the customary law of southern hospitality toward one another even as they had to live by the bureaucratic rule of racial segregation. However, it may also be stated that the custom of southern hospitality often depended on the understanding and acting out of another southern custom: black deference to white authority. Thus, bureaucratic law and customary law are often contrasting and at odds with each other, and hence there must be some way of adjudicating these two types of laws. The legal system, as it is normally represented by lawyers, judges, courts, and certain appointed officials such as an attorney general, does just this by operating against the backdrop of both bureaucratic law and customary law, yet remaining autonomous from both. Thus the legal system may be understood as the dialectic of bureaucratic and customary law. Yet, the legal system is a fluid dialectic in which the understanding of the relations between bureaucratic law and customary law is constantly changing according to specific circumstances.[2] In other words, no one type of law can ever completely determine the course of the other type of law. Let us now examine briefly how the legal system is *ideally* envisioned as adjudicating between bureaucratic law and customary law. We will then see in the examples of black women activists how this ideal does not always hold true and what critiques are made by them to try and reestablish an ideal system of justice.

In its oppositional relation to bureaucratic law, which is specific, a legal system attempts to interpret justice in a general and universal way to serve all citizens regardless of class, race, gender, sexuality, spiritual inclination, and so on.[3] In such cases the legal system ideally functions to protect customary law against abuses of bureaucratic power. As Unger notes,

> it is the generality of law [the legal system] that establishes the formal equality of the citizens and thereby shields them from the arbitrary tutelage of government. Administration must be separated from legislation to ensure generality;

> adjudication must be distinguished from administration to safeguard uniformity. These two contrasts represent the core of the rule of law ideal. Through them, the legal system is supposed to become the balance wheel of social organization.[4]

In its relation to customary law, on the other hand, the legal system finds itself in a much tougher position, for customary law is what groups and individuals often resort to when they want to avoid interaction with bureaucratic law. In such instances, the legal system is ideally supposed to work more in tandem with bureaucratic law to protect individuals from the abuses of customary law.

Yet what happens when these sorts of ideals break down and those who are deemed to be from the underclass of society are not protected from the abuses of bureaucratic or customary law? What does one do when the legal system actually seems to be altogether absent or working together with either bureaucratic laws or certain customary laws to perpetuate such abuses? More specifically what do African American women activists do when they begin to feel that they can no longer wait for benevolent, goodwill ambassadors from the dominant social groups, whether they be black male leaders or white abolitionists, to develop a critique of a legal system that fails to serve them? As the title of philosopher Lucious Outlaw's recent work suggests, they set themselves to the task of developing critical social theory in the interests of black folks and black women.[5]

Yet an even more problematic question still remains once such a decision has been made: how can those from nondominant social groups even hope to establish any kind of social theory for themselves when their thoughts and words are not understood to be theoretical but only to be experiential?[6] How do such individuals defy attempts to reduce their voice to pure experience without actively reducing the fundamental importance of their life experiences at the same time? In the case of the women who are studied here, the answer to such questions have come about not by rejecting the "voice" of the woman as experiential but by embracing this voice and using it as a platform to speak about customary and bureaucratic law in the workings of the U.S. legal system.

Thus we come to the question of what is the experiential voice, or better yet in what literary format can the experiential voice be found. For starters it must be noted that although Sojourner Truth and Harriet Jacobs use the format of the autobiography to give voice to their experiences, the experiential voice is not simply the voice of autobiography or biography. It is a voice that may take many forms, and in fact it is the different possibilities of using the experiential voice that make it so conducive to social analysis. In the case of Ida B. Wells, for example, the experiential voice can be found in her autobiography.[7] Yet it can also be discerned in implicit ways in the journalistic pamphlets and social analysis that made her so well known. For instance, the experience of learning that three of her good friends had been lynched provided the catalyst for Wells to write the pamphlet "A Red Record." In the case of Anna Julia Cooper, on the other hand, the experiential voice is often one that uses either concrete life events or hypothetical situations as a springboard to analyze both bureaucratic law and custom. That the experiential voice continues to operate as grounds for black women's political activism and theory in our contemporary society can be seen in Patricia

Williams' *Alchemy of Race and Rights*, which, although is an academic press book written by a critical legal scholar who works within a university setting, is structured not so much as a facts and interpretation monograph as the "diary of a law professor."

What we are encountering, then, in reading social theory by way of reading the experiential voices of black women political activists is a maxim that is now often asserted in studies of feminist and womanist thought: the personal is political. Although for some of us (the present author included) this may be a relatively novel way of understanding politics, for black women thinkers and writers from Sojourner Truth down to our own present day this was long ago understood. For example, although much of the oft-cited scholarly work on the relationship between the law, slavery, and the womb of the female slave has been published only in the last thirty to forty years, it is doubtful that many female slaves failed to understand this relationship in their own times.[8]

An example from two of the most well-known autobiographical writings by former black women slaves will suffice to show this. In both the *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* and in Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* there is significant attention given to the legal consequences of slave women giving birth and beginning families. For Truth, like many female slaves, the pain of giving birth was only outdone by the pain of being separated from her first born son Peter. Even after Truth purchased Peter's freedom, the psychology of separation of son from mother continued as Peter became hysterical upon the prospect of leaving his former master. According to the narrative, Peter claims that his master has been treating him well, that he loves his master, and that he is afraid of leaving with this "new" person for fear of what she might do to him.[9] Although Truth did manage to calm Peter down and convince him that she was indeed his mother, and although Truth's successful purchase of her son's freedom demonstrates that even former slaves could take positive action through the legal system, the incident also demonstrates how bureaucratic law during this epoch of American history defined the womb as one more piece of fertile soil for the growth of products and commodities to be bought and sold on the market not only by masters but by former slaves alike. Thus, in terms of political economy, Truth not only purchased her son, but also what Marx refers to as an alienated commodity: that is, Truth purchased a product that used to belong to her person, and indeed used to be of her person, but became estranged from her person through the dictates of an impersonal market that transformed bodies into capital.[10]

Whereas Truth's narrative provides a ground for implicitly critiquing the relation between the womb, the law, and slavery, Jacobs takes the example of slave children being sold or sent away from their mothers and explicitly critiques the seemingly all-pervasive power of bureaucratic law and the seemingly limited capabilities of the legal system to redress this power during slavery by posing one of the most difficult philosophical and psychological questions yet posed in the literature of ex-slave narratives. "Why does the slave ever love?" Jacobs asks, "Why allow the tendrils of the heart to twine around objects which may at any moment be wrenched away by the hand of violence?"[11] Here Jacobs is not only

writing about emotions between two individuals, but how emotions between two individuals from nondominant social groups can be mitigated, fractured, or even destroyed by state law. While state intervention in social relations between a husband and wife is problematic, state intervention in relations between mother and child is problematic for entirely different reasons. For in the case of a slave couple, the relationship is often (though perhaps not always) established through a mutual degree of choice. In the case of a slave mother and her slave child, though, the child does not usually choose to come into the world. Thus the child does not choose to enter into a relationship with the mother. Someone else has chosen to impregnate his or her mother's womb (either by force or by consent) and the mother then chooses or is forced to allow the birth to take place instead of terminating the pregnancy. Thus Jacobs' question is not only a way of explicitly critiquing bureaucratic law and the legal system, but it is also a question that explicitly critiques the morality of slavery and the morality of the slave by prompting one to think about why a slave mother would ever allow another human being to come into this world who she knows will no longer be free and whom she will no longer be able to protect until she or a trusted associate has saved up enough money to take legal recourse to secure the child's freedom. For Jacobs, securing her children's freedom meant not only escaping north where she could be free but also asking the white father of her children to do what he could "to make their freedom secure" after he was elected to Congress.[12]

The example of the womb and the legal consequences of giving birth thus provides us with one of the first instances of the inherent problems in the idealism of the legal system during slavery: that the bureaucratic law of a racist and sexist government is able to completely disregard the customary law of a child belonging to his or her mother because the legal system as represented by lawyers and courts was often racist and sexist as well. Yet just because the ideal was flawed it did not mean that the ideal needed to be abandoned. On the contrary, both Truth and Jacobs fought to secure their children's freedom, and thus both asserted the right of customary law to not be abused by bureaucratic law even if proponents of the legal system refused or neglected to protect this right. Even though Jacobs argued that slavery morally corrupted both black and whites (albeit in unequal degrees) and although she argued that resistance to such moral corruption was hopeless, Truth and her actions show something different: the perseverance of hope in the legal ideal.

Truth's narrative first appeared in 1850 and Jacobs' *Incidents* was first published in 1861. They were thus writing at a time in which slavery in America was coming under heavy attack both nationally and internationally, but was still not dead. With the onset of the abolition of slavery after the Civil War, however, questions about the relationship between the womb and law that were so central to both Jacobs and Truth began to give way to different questions about the relationship between citizenship and law as it related to African American women. Indeed, as Martha Jones contends, the race question and the gender question were "All bound up together" as the United States made a transition from a slave society to a postabolition society.[13] In the next section, I thus turn to this postabolition question of race, citizenship, and the law as it is exemplified in the work

of Wells and Cooper. For what we see in the work of these women is not that the customary law of mother-son relationships is being denied to black women and their children by bureaucratic law. Indeed, in an atmosphere in which all are theoretically citizens, bureaucratic law can no longer legally deny such rights to anyone and is now obligated to not impinge upon such customs. Instead what we see is that in an atmosphere in which former slaves are now theoretically citizens, certain customs and practices of white Americans come into sharp conflict with the newly sanctioned bureaucratic rights of black citizens, and that bureaucratic law does nothing to protect these rights. Thus black women activists begin to shift their critiques of the legal system away from the focus of protecting customary law toward demanding the enforcement of bureaucratic law.

Legal System and Experiential Voices in Postabolition Black Woman's Political Activism

The most obvious example of white customary law neglecting and abusing the bureaucratic rights of black citizens was without a doubt the culture of lynching in post-Reconstruction America. That lynching was indeed a type of ritual (and hence a sort of custom) which not only denied legal rights to black Americans but also worked to preserve the political, economic, and bureaucratic power of white supremacy has been duly noted elsewhere.[14] It has also been duly noted that the rationale that was given for the pervasiveness of lynching in postabolition society, namely that white men needed to protect their white women from "black brutes" and that black men were prone to become rapists because black women were loose, lascivious, hypersexualized beings, was a myth and that accusations of rape were never as numerous as white men would have liked to believe.[15] Yet it is no understatement to say that of all the antilynching activists in U.S. history Ida B. Wells is foremost.

The story of Wells' activism is by now well known to students of lynching and Reconstruction history. Between 1892 and 1900 Wells wrote three pamphlets and went on two speaking tours of England designed to denounce lynching and "to encourage the application of justice."[16] The campaign began for Wells when three of her close friends were lynched in Memphis, Tennessee in 1892. Jacqueline Jones Royster contends that before this incident, Wells had thought lynching inhuman but had accepted the general opinion that it was a gruesome, yet perhaps understandable reaction to the crime of rape.[17] Yet Wells' three friends were successful grocers and considered to be among the leading black citizens of Memphis whose only crime appeared to have been that they were outselling a rival white grocer. It was only then that Wells began to research and collect data on lynching in the United States, discovering for herself how unfounded the myth of rape was in white lynching culture.[18] Thus Wells' writings, particularly the pamphlet "A Red Record," are attempts not just to stop lynching, but also to prevent bureaucratic law from being replaced by white customary law in the U.S. South. For indeed, by the post-Reconstruction era of the late 1880s and early 1890s, the vast majority of white southern judges, lawyers, and politicians were either ignoring or refusing to punish the crime of lynching, and in effect making it not a crime at all.

Thus the logic of Jim Crow allowed for the meshing of customary law, bureaucratic law, and the legal system.

The crux of Wells' argument against lynching in "A Red Record" revolves around the notion that white men who previously had practiced some self-restraint against murdering slaves, owing to the fact that they were conscious that such an act would have been a destruction of property, could not handle the legal changes in black-white relations that were forced upon them by the federal government. Thus the primary enemy of the former slaveholders was not the ex-slave, but the bureaucratic law that had violated not only their rights as property holders but also their customs of being able to do whatever they pleased without much national interference. Since "Southern white people had been educated so long in that school of practice, in which might makes right," they chose to revenge themselves on the federal government not only by fighting a Civil War but also by ritualistic murder of newly freed men.[19] Wells' opening argument then is one that highlights the fact that although the legal system, the bureaucratic law of the federal government, and the white customary law of the south seemed to be no longer in sync after emancipation, they actually remained in sync owing to the negligence of the federal government and the legal system's acquiescence of white supremacy.

Thus to Wells the greater tragedy of this era of lawlessness was not that lynchings occurred with frequency in the south, but that the majority of lawyers, judges, and federal officials seemed both unprepared and unwilling to do anything to stop them. Even worse, perhaps, was the fact that Wells knew there were whites who did want to uphold bureaucratic law and stop the customary law of lynching, but that such individuals were in the minority and could thus do very little to ensure the protection of black men without adequate legal and political support. For example, Wells relates the case of one Smith who was lynched for quarreling with a white woman over an exchange of money at a market in Roanoke, Virginia around the 20th of September in 1893.[20] What is most remarkable about this case to Wells was the fact that before the actual lynching occurred the then mayor of Roanoke "exerted every available power to protect the victim of the lynching from the mob," and that this mayor was indeed "a man who believed in maintaining the majesty of the law, and who at once gave notice that no lynching would be permitted in Roanoke."[21] Although the mayor had Smith escorted to the jail and dispensed troops to guard the jailhouse, eventually a mob of angry white citizens who demanded a public execution opened fire on the soldiers. The soldiers fired back and disconcerted the mob temporarily, however, it did not stop them completely. Furthermore in the melee the mayor himself was wounded and was escorted out of the city. On the following day the mob overtook the soldiers and dragged Smith out, shot him with bullets, and hung him up on a hickory tree. They then placed a placard on his hanging corpse that read "This is Mayor Trout's Friend."[22] Thus the mayor was unable to save Smith, but not for lack of trying. Indeed, in retrospect the only way that the mayor might have been able to ensure Smith's safety would have been to give the soldiers surrounding the jailhouse permission to kill the members of the mob instead of merely giving them permission to fire a round back at them to make them draw

back. Yet giving such permission would have almost surely been portrayed by the local media as being outside the boundaries of what the mayor was permitted to do by law. Furthermore it does not take much imagination to see that such a scenario could have easily escalated into more racially motivated violence, as many southern whites, even without the interpretation of the media, would have perceived such a decision as a direct violation of the customary law of lynching. Indeed, for many southern whites during the height of Jim Crow, the mayor was legally bound by customary law to not protect the black body. How then was the mayor expected to defend the rights of black citizens when the only recourse to doing so would have required extralegal means? Furthermore, what good could come from the mayor's commitment to upholding the law when he received no assistance or support of a strong and determined state or from the proponents of the legal system?

The failure to pass any federal antilynching legislation is indicative of the very issues I am here trying to unbraid. Several southern states in fact did pass antilynching bills—Georgia and North Carolina in 1893, South Carolina in 1895, and Kentucky and Texas in 1897. However, none of these bills were ever enforced or implemented effectively by southern Democrats, and there was little, if any, local or federal reaction to such blatant negligence.[23] In fact it was a Republican dominated Supreme Court that chose in 1883 to declare the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional in an effort to appease southern politicians who opposed it on the grounds of "state's rights."[24] Furthermore, in 1884 Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland emerged from that year's presidential election victorious. Thus, the post-1884 climate was more favorable to limited federal interference in state politics and legal processes. Without such interaction by the federal government, state officials were left powerless against white mob rule.

Wells was certainly cognizant of this legal dilemma. For as she observes, the murder of Smith became inevitable not only after the mayor left the city, but also after it became evident that the governor of the state of Virginia was not going to intervene to stop the mob.[25] Wells was not the only black woman activist to make such a connection either. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, a contemporary of Wells, also criticized the U.S. government for taxing men and sending them to war without ensuring that their lives would be protected by the law.[26] In fact many women associated with club movements and antilynching committees laid the blame for the perseverance of lynching at the feet of the federal government. Yet few seemed to have grasped the fact that the lawlessness of the lynch mobs was not so much lawlessness as it was an uncodified custom, and that the only way to end lynching was to not only highlight the negligence of bureaucratic law and the legal system in regard to lynching but also to show that as long as this negligence continued that there was a real danger in the customary law of lynching becoming *the* law of the south. Mary Church Terrell, for example, another contemporary of Wells, also lambasted the negligence of the federal government in regard to lynching. Yet she also suggested that the only way that lynching would end was when southern white people became "educated and lifted to a higher moral plane." For through such education, as Terrell envisioned it, they would "learn a holy reverence for the law."[27] Such an

understanding of law entirely neglects custom and thus does not fit the conditions of the post-Reconstruction South.

Like Truth and Jacobs, Wells did not give up on the ideal of justice just because it remained flawed in the postabolition era. In fact, a close reading of "A Red Record" reveals that much of Wells' appeal to justice is made by reference to "the truth." For example, in answering the charges that she had slandered the good name of "internationally recognized abolitionist" Francis Willard by stating that Willard and the National Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) had done nothing to stop the tide of lynching, Wells refused to retract her statements.[28] "I desire no quarrel with the W.C.T.U.," wrote Wells, "but my love for the truth is greater than my regard for an alleged friend who, through ignorance or design misrepresents in the most harmful way the cause of a long suffering race." Similarly, Wells launches a heavy critique against the supposed chivalry of white women by bringing to light the case of a white woman who engaged in mutually consenting sexual relations with a black man and then falsely claimed to have been raped once she discovered that neighbors had seen her with her lover and after she began to fear that she might be pregnant.[29] Thus in Wells' analysis one of the primary reasons that justice had become elusive in postabolition southern society was because that truth itself had become elusive, and as long as justice and truth were elusive, the ideal of the legal system remained flawed. Thus, as part of her effort to make the legal system adhere to its ideal, Wells was determined, like the namesake of one of her forbearers, to bring truth into the light even though the truth was hard to uncover owing to the fact that the three legal realms were synced together in favor of white supremacy.

Although Wells' pamphleteering and speaking tours of England did not result in the promulgation of any antilynch laws in the United States (even though antilynch bills were presented to Congress), it has been argued that Wells did have limited success in her endeavors, for the disgust that the English press showed toward lynching after Wells' tours certainly embarrassed U.S. officials and the U.S. media in an international context. Thus neither the media nor the federal government could afford to treat lynching as a strange, though necessary feature of post–Reconstruction society after this.[30]

Although Wells was the most radical voice to speak out within the antilynching movement of the 1890s and early 1900s, perhaps the most radical voice to speak on behalf of the worth of black women in general was none other than that of Anna Julia Cooper. Like Wells' "A Red Record," Cooper's *A Voice from the South* does not use the voice to theorize from an autobiographical standpoint.[31] In fact, those familiar with Cooper's writings have rightly contended that certain episodes in Cooper's life, namely unfounded accusations that she engaged in an illicit love affair with one of her adopted students, may have influenced Cooper to reject the use of the autobiographical voice in her writings.[32] Yet as has already been observed, autobiography is merely one form of employing the voice in an experiential way. One may also use specific events, or even highly possible hypothetical events, to highlight and underscore a theoretical or analytical point. Cooper chooses the latter route at several junctures in *A Voice from the South*.

The most penetrating example in this regard is when Cooper narrates a hypothetical incident of riding in a railroad car that was reserved for white persons. In such an instance Cooper notes that she may end up being subjected to demeaning gender terminology (such as being called a "girl") by a "burly" and "unkempt" southern white man who is intent on forcing her to move to the car for blacks. On the other hand, she notes that she also may end up encountering a conductor who, although he is determined to follow the law of segregation, also wants to show he is a "gentleman" and endeavors to "show me the proper car for black ladies."[33] Although such a moment is more about an isolated event than something connected to a larger autobiographical whole, it is still an instance of experience functioning as a platform for social critique. For in this instance, Cooper is in fact questioning and critiquing how whites from different social classes, or who are in different social positions, display obedience to bureaucratic law through such a hypothetical life event.

Yet this is not all that is happening in Cooper's subtle analysis. For Cooper is also analyzing how whites of different social positions may show different understandings of customary law. Indeed, with regard to the conductor, Cooper admits that one might "wonder at the expansive arrangements of the company and of the state in providing special and separate accommodations for the transportation of the different hues of humanity," yet what one cannot do in good faith is argue that the conductor lacks an understanding of how to interact with other human beings in a courteous way. In other words, this individual understands that the bureaucratic law of racial separation does not render hospitable interaction with human beings of a different color as null and void. In short, he demonstrates an understanding of customary law that may be formulated as "although white is right, that does not mean white has the right to treat black as inhumane." As Cooper observes, "public sentiment precedes and begets all laws, good and bad; and on the grounds I have taken, our women are to be credited largely as moulders of public sentiment." Thus Cooper argues not only that the courteous conductor refuses to do away with public sentiment because of segregation, but also that such a way of interacting with others is very gendered. As for the "burly" and "unkempt" southern man, however, no such silver lining can be found. For Cooper, he is an individual "who has been badly trained. He is sadly lacking in both "sweetness" and "light."[34]

Interestingly, Wells experienced something in her own life similar to what Cooper described in her analysis. In 1884 while aboard a train belonging to the Ohio Railroad Company, Wells was asked to leave the "ladies" car, which prohibited swearing, cursing, and drinking, and was used by both white ladies and white men, and to move to the first-class colored car. Although the latter car carried the same prohibitions as the former, the rules were never strictly enforced, thus making the first-class colored car indistinguishable from the smokers' car in which both white and black second class passengers rode. Upon Wells' refusal, the conductor of the train declared that he wanted to treat her like a lady and did not want any trouble, but that she had to move. Wells refused again and was left alone until the train came to the first stop. At that point the

conductor again asked her leave, Wells again refused, and the conductor then began to pull her up from her seat forcefully, "tearing the sleeve off her dress in the process." A scuffle ensued, with Wells scratching and biting at her assailant while he called on surrounding passengers to help him subdue Wells. In the end she disembarked from the train altogether rather than riding in the first-class colored car.[35]

This incident clearly complicates Cooper's construction of southern white men as being either hospitable or unruly when racist practices are being enforced. To be sure the conductor who Wells encountered in 1884 expressed a desire to treat her like a lady, just as the courteous white conductor in Cooper's scenario did. However, he became violent when Wells consistently refused; this was a possibility not accounted for in Cooper's analysis. Thus in Wells' case the enforcement of "white is right," as Cooper calls it, depended not only on the education of the white conductor but also on the reaction of the black woman passenger. This is not to say that Cooper was ultimately more passive in the face of white supremacy whereas Wells was more defiant. Yet it must not be forgotten that deference, resistance, and the various other responses that lie in between these two extremes must not be forgotten when assessing how the enforcement of customs of hospitality and customs of violence operated on a day-to-day basis in the post-Reconstruction South.

In her essay on the "Ethics of the Negro Question," Cooper and Wells' concerns come closest to converging. In this work, Cooper recounts an incident in which a black man was lynched while President McKinley was on a tour of the south. According to Cooper the lynching happened quite close to where the president was located at the time and the fanfare and celebration that accompanied the president's arrival was only matched by the fanfare and celebration of hanging and burning a black body. To make matters worse, the attorney general, who was also present on the tour of the south and who was asked his opinion of the matter, is reported to have replied quite coolly and in a disengaged way that he did not think that this particular lynching had any chance of garnering federal attention, thus in all likelihood there would be no question of a federal case against the perpetrators of the murder.[36] Vivian May, in her insightful analysis of Cooper's feminist praxis and philosophy, rightfully argues that what Cooper was doing with this analysis was drawing attention to how the "objectivity" of the U.S. legal system was in fact "willfully biased" and how such willful bias was a result of "entrenched epistemologies of ignorance" and self-deception about white privilege.[37] As Unger reminds us, the very generality in interpreting justice that is characteristic of legal systems may allow certain groups and individuals (such as the attorney general in this episode) to use customary law in order "to secure, effectively and invisibly, established inequalities of wealth and power."[38] Thus, in drawing our attention to how men who represent some of the highest political and legal offices in the United States either refuse or choose to make themselves believe that they can do nothing to stem the abuses of certain southern customs, Cooper, like Wells, is not suggesting that the ideal of justice should be thrown out. She is instead suggesting that the flawed relationship between the legal system and customary law be fixed.

Conclusion: Shirley Chisholm and the Continuity of Experiential Voice in Legal Critique

In 1967 Shirley Chisholm became the first African American woman to be elected to Congress. Chisholm's victory and her subsequent activities while in Congress signaled both a major change and a major continuity within the historical trajectory of black women political activism. The most obvious major change was that black women had gone from being seen as having no political voice during the time of Truth and Jacobs to not only having a political voice but being the political choice of an entire district. One of the biggest continuities however was that Chisholm was still waging the battle for women's right to control their womb over and against the dictates of bureaucratic law. Chisholm admits in her autobiography, though, that she only began to do "some heavy thinking on the subject" of abortion after several women she knew personally had chosen to have illegal abortions and had "suffered permanent injuries" as a result. Chisholm then began to see that whether or not abortion was legal was not a real question, for the experiences of these women whom she knew personally showed her that "pregnant women who feel they have compelling reasons for not having a baby, or another baby, will break the law and, even worse, risk injury and death if they must to get one." Thus Chisholm began to see that the real question regarding abortion was one that was much more radical and that Congress was not yet ready to deal with. In short, if women will have abortions regardless of the law, "the question becomes simply what kind of abortions society wants women to have—clean, competent ones performed by licensed physicians or septic, dangerous ones done by incompetent practitioners."[39] Chisholm also began to see that the question of "what kind of abortion" was in fact not simply a woman's question, but in most cases a minority woman's question, since most of the botched abortions that led to death during her time affected Puerto Rican and black women. Thus she concluded that "a black woman legislator, far from avoiding the abortion question, was compelled to face it and deal with it."[40]

Yet the most intriguing part of Chisholm's analysis of the abortion question revolves around the sociological impact on poor women who cannot afford to bring another child into the world and who want to have an abortion but legally cannot. For Chisholm, the male dominance of society and the phallocentrically promulgated laws that have developed as a result force women to have children to punish them. "Our laws were based on the Puritan reaction of 'You've had your pleasure—now pay for it,'" Chisholm observes. She adds:

> But who pays? First, it is the helpless woman, who may be a girl in her early teens forced to assume the responsibility of an adult; young, confused, partially educated, she is likely to be condemned to society's trash heap as a result. But the child is often a worse loser. If his mother keeps him, she may marry or not . . . If she does not, she will have to neglect him and work at undesirable jobs to feed him, more often than not. His homelife will almost certainly be abnormal; he may survive it and even thrive, depending on his mother's personal qualities, but the odds have to be against him.[41]

Although some may take issue with several of the statements that Chisholm makes in this passage, namely that the mother will have to neglect a child if she is young, poor, and partially educated, the overarching theme of what Chisholm gets at is the social contract, or the customary way, that we as a society consign such individuals to inevitably inhabiting the underside of society when all it would take to prevent such an inevitable outcome would be to pass laws that made having abortions easier for poor women who wanted to have them. It is as if we members of society who do not have to deal with pregnancy and poverty simultaneously have a social contract with one another in which we say, "This is awful, but what can we do about it. After all, we didn't choose to become pregnant did we? Are we responsible for this?" It is similar to the social contract that Patricia Williams argues that we as a society have with homeless individuals who face the threat of starvation, undernourishment, and death on a daily basis. We see the homeless, and we may make eye contact with others who see it. But the eye contact is only a way of reassuring ourselves that there is nothing we can do but pity the individual, and so we walk on, sometimes feeling saddened but still thinking to ourselves that such a problem is not our problem.[42]

Social contracts, uncodified and depending on interaction between members of a society, are of course nothing more than customary laws. Yet until we begin to see the legal system as being connected to and connected by both customary law and bureaucratic law, as the women studied here do, we will continue to live in an America that has all the "laws and material resources to insure justice for all," but which lacks the courage, heart, and love, to insure this justice. Our customary ways of dealing with the poor can be changed not through bureaucratic reform but simply by recognizing that the law exists just as much in everyday uncodified ways of living as it does on pieces of parchment. Although we as a society are still a far cry away from reaching the plateau of such recognition, let us continue to hold on to hope.

But hope is only a first step, for hope and the law are not akin. Historically, and here in recent years as evidenced by the high numbers of conservative appointments to federal courts, there is little reason to have hope in the capacity of the legal system to address political concerns of black communities. Professing that we should remain hopeful without offering any concrete plan of action helps very little. The three policy initiatives that follow are designed to help us begin transforming hope into something much more profound, positive results.

1. *We must move beyond black and white politics through policy, not just through speech*. Taking politics beyond the traditional color line is not a new idea. Indeed, "Beyond Black and White" recently served as the title for a collection of some of historian Manning Marable's essays. Marable cites the need for political solidarity between African Americans and other racial minorities.[43] But the question still remains: how to create the grounds for such solidarity beyond recognizing the similarities in economic and political disparagement?

Here we may take a cue from Chisholm once again. We will recall that Chisholm noted the high prevalence of botched abortions leading to death among black and

Puerto Rican women: in the years 1960–1962 this was the cause of 49 percent of the deaths among black women who were pregnant and 65 percent of the deaths among Puerto Rican women who were pregnant. What do the statistics look like today? Perhaps the numbers are constantly in flux so it may be too hard to get any definitive data. Still it may be worth looking into such issues as grounds for political solidarity. If abortion is too difficult an issue to galvanize around, there are still other issues on which the rights of the female body and the law converge in disparaging ways for women of color, such as working wages and domestic abuse.

The dissenting voice to such policy initiatives might conclude that Chisholm's district in New York was heavily Puerto Rican and thus that the demographic possibility of solidarity was easier to envision there than in most parts of the United States. Even if this is true, such a demographic possibility is just that, a possibility. Thus there is no reason to believe that the demographics had more to do with Chisholm's congressional victory in New York than Chisholm's efforts to build solidarity and make the possibility a reality. As evidenced by the recent Democratic primaries in New York and Puerto Rico, a white woman enjoyed a decisive edge over a black man when it came to voting in the polls among Puerto Ricans and other Latinos. Thus efforts made to find a common political ground between blacks and other minority groups must go beyond expecting solidarity because we experience similar living situations and discriminatory experiences in the United States.

2. *Recognize that electoral battles are not where battles are ultimately won and lost.* This compliments the preceding policy initiative, for, common political ground must be found before election time arrives. Once again, Chisholm and the civil rights activist/teacher/scholar Ella Baker have provided blueprints for carrying out battles well in advance of elections by means of communal organization. For Baker, organizing at the grassroots level meant more than an occasional protest or rally; it was a constant, continuous battle to put pressure on politicians to make them address certain issues well in advance of the ballot.[44] As Chisholm notes, it is only when congressmen fear that they will lose their job, or gain a new constituency, that they will act on something; thus the approach to changing anything through elected leaders has to be through "organization of public opinion" first and foremost.[45]

Through the use of interviews, many scholars are already in a perfect position to help organize at the communal level, and indeed many do. Yet still there is a tendency at times to think of the interview as necessary for an academic work first and for communal work second, if at all. Here I must use caution, though, for I recognize that some scholars see no divide between the two and indeed attempt to do both simultaneously. Furthermore, I recognize that not every interview is conducive to communal political work. Yet as Rhonda Williams shows, to write a book on the politics of public housing is just as much about helping interviewees mobilize (or mobilize again after a period of dormancy) as it is about the interviewees helping to make a scholarly idea become a book.[46]

3. *Expand the conception of education as praxis.* Like the idea of going beyond black and white, or organizing at the communal level, the idea of education as praxis is hardly new. However, more often than not we think too narrowly of education as an institutional "thing," or as something akin to Paulo Friere's pedagogy of the oppressed. Yet again following the lead of Baker, education encompasses the world; it does not take place principally within the confines of walls. In addition, education as praxis need not even be conceived as a hierarchy between instructors and students that needs to be broken down by the instructor: it can be broken down effectively and peacefully without the question of teacher dominance being a predominant issue.

Let us look at one example from Annalise Orleck's, *Storming Ceasar's Palace*, a magnificent book that not only addresses how black mothers in Nevada fought back against the welfare system but also how fighting back had its origins in communal organization through education as praxis. Orleck narrates how one community of welfare mothers who were forced to take "sewing classes" transform the basic class into a place where they began to talk about their similar experiences and their similar grievances. This leads to further organizing, as the mothers began seeking out similar communities in Nevada and elsewhere in the Midwest. Thus, the class serves as a catalyst to move the activity outside the confines of a building into other communities and states.

A final word: taking all three of these initiatives together should help us reconceptualize the meaning of "black leadership." We keep looking for leaders with "lofty" credentials who can make an impact on mainstream politics in a visible way. This is in many ways justifiable for a people who have for so long been invisible in mainstream politics. But we need different kinds of leadership: not just elected officials at federal, state, and local levels.

Notes

The title of this work comes from the autobiography of Shirley Chisholm, *Unbought and Unsold* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), 90. I would like to take this opportunity to thank colleagues whose comments aided tremendously in the development of this work. I must first thank Evelyne Laurent-Perrault, Ebony Golden, Jeffrey Snyder, Kathe Sandler, Ariana Alexander, and Nathalie Pierre. All these individuals have been stimulating interlocutors who patiently listened to, critiqued, and helped me further develop many of the ideas and arguments contained in this chapter. I would also like to thank Dr. Barbara Krauthamer, who directed the "Black Women's Political Activism" seminar at NYU in Spring 2008 where portions of this work were first presented, and who suggested several of the readings and texts that have proved to be vital to this chapter. Finally I would like to thank Laura Brown of Vanderbilt University who provided insightful comments regarding the first draft of this chapter.

1. Shirley Chisholm, *Unbought and Unsold* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), 90.
2. For more on these three concepts of law, see Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Law in Modern Society: Toward a Criticism of Social Theory* (New York: Free Press, 1976), 48–58.
3. In using the term "general" I am referring to the notion that the legal system addresses all citizens, not specific individuals, classes, or institutions. Of course this is not

always the case in actuality, but here we are only talking about how the legal system is ideally supposed to work, not how it actually does work.

4. Unger, *Law in Modern Society*, 54.
5. Lucious Outlaw, *Critical Social Theory in the Interests of Black Folks* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).
6. This problematic of conceptualizing black intellectuals purely through the autobiographical or biographical voice without giving serious consideration to any theories or social analysis that may emanate from such a voice has been most carefully considered in the work of philosopher and praxis intellectual Lewis R. Gordon. See especially "A Problem of Biography in Africana Thought" in Gordon's *Existentia Africana: Understanding Africana Existential Thought* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 22–47. Gordon specifically argues that "the biographical is almost mandatory fare in the order of blackness. The implication—insidious, patronizing, and yet so familiar and presumed—has achieved the force of an axiom: *White intellectuals provide theory, black intellectuals provide experience*," 29.
7. Alfreda M. Duster, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).
8. Within the realm of historical and anthropological studies that deal with the relationship between law, the womb, and slavery, I am most familiar with Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*, trans. Alide Dasnois (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
9. Sojourner Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, ed. and with introduction by Margaret Washington (New York: Vintage, 1993). Nell Irvin Painter in her biography *Sojourner Truth* explains this incident and Truth's confession that at one point and time "she looked upon her master as a God" (21) as exemplifying the psychology of a slave mentality.
10. For more on alienated commodities and alienated labor, see Karl Marx, *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, trans. Martin Milligan (New York: Prometheus, 1988).
11. Harriet A. Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Norton Critical Edition, eds., Nellie Y. McKay and Francis Foster Smith (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), 33.
12. Ibid., 99.
13. Martha S. Jones, *All Bound Up Together* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
14. The literature on lynching in the United States is enormous. I limit myself here to a few well-known examples. Fitzhugh W. Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Hazel V. Carby, "'On the Threshhold of Woman's Era': Lynching, Empire, and Sexuality in Black Feminist Theory" in *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985): 262–277; Paula Giddings, "The Last Taboo" in Toni Morrison, ed., *Race-ing Justice, En-Gendering Power* (New York: Pantheon, 1992), 441–65; Jacqueline Dowd Hall, *Revolt against Chivalry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); Trudier Harris, *Exorcising Blackness: Historical and Literary Lynching and Burning Rituals* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).
15. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), chapter 2; See also Gerder Lerner, "Black Women Attack the Lynching System" in Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 193–194.
16. Jacqueline Jones Royster, "Introduction: Equity and Justice for All" in Jacqueline Jones Royster, ed., *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900* (New York: Bedford St. Martins, 1997), 18.

17. Ibid., 3.
18. For the most recent and most comprehensive biography of Wells' life and antilynching campaign, see Paula J. Giddings, *Ida: A Lion among Swords: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign against Lynching* (New York: Amistad, 2008).
19. Ida B. Wells, "A Red Record," 73–157 in Royster, ed., *Southern Horrors*; 75.
20. Of course the charge was that Smith had to be lynched to prevent the possibility that he might rape the white lady with whom he was seen quarreling with.
21. Ibid., 108–109.
22. Ibid., 109–110.
23. Giddings, *Ida*, 348.
24. Ibid., 63.
25. Ibid., 110.
26. Frances Ellen Watkins Haper, "Let There Be Justice" in Lerner, *Black Women in White America,* 194.
27. Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching from a Negro's Point of View" in Lerner, *Black Women in White America*, 211.
28. Royster, "Introduction," 38. Willard was president of the National W.C.T.U from 1879 to 1898.
29. On Wells' statement regarding Willard, see Wells, "A Red Record," 147; on the falsehood of white woman chivalry, see ibid., 121.
30. Royster, "Introduction," 35–41; see also chapter 2 of Bederman, *Manliness and Civlization*.
31. Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice from the South* in Charles Lemert and Esme Bahn, eds., *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 49–196.
32. See Vivian M. May, *Anna Julia Cooper, Visionary Black Feminist: A Critical Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 26–28; see also Charles Lemert, "Anna Julia Cooper: The Colored Woman's Office" in *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper*, 10–13. Lemert's analysis of the accusations against Cooper suggests that the episode not only facilitated against Cooper's use of the autobiographical voice, but also that Cooper became a solitary, though not lonely, praxis intellectual afterward. May, on the other hand, contends that Cooper was far from solitary and in fact enjoyed many intimate friendships and working relationships in the period following the accusations.
33. Cooper, *A Voice from the South*, 94–95.
34. Ibid.
35. Giddings, *Ida*, 62.
36. Anna Julia Cooper, "Ethics of the Negro Question" in *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper*, 210.
37. May, *Anna Julia Cooper*, 89–90; for more on epistemologies of ignorance, see the work of philosopher Charles Mills, specifically *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997) and *Blackness Visible: Essays on Philosophy and Race* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). May, however does a remarkable job of introducing such a dense philosophical concept in the space of only four to five pages.
38. Unger, *Law in Modern Society*, 55.
39. Chisholm, *Unbought and Unsold*, 113–114.
40. Ibid., 116.
41. Ibid., 121.
42. Patricia Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 27. See also page 42 regarding the commodification of the homeless "slum" look at a particular boutique in New York while a homeless man stands in the middle of the street just outside of the store with

his arms stretched out wide begging and crying for money or food as "offended" and "terrified" motorists drive wide arcs around him to avoid having any contact with his pleadings.

43. Manning Marable, *Beyond Black and White: Rethinking Race in American Politics and Society* (New York: Verso, 1995), 185–202.
44. For the most comprehensive account of Baker's politics and life, see Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
45. Chisholm, *Unbought and Unsold*, 119.
46. Rhonda Y. Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

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9

The Policy of Dating: The Effect of Romantic Relationships on African American Adolescents

Kenyatta Phelps, Jennifer Goode, Kaarin Danielle Perkins, and Renata Harden

Evidence from national and regional surveys indicates that African American adolescents experience romantic relationships at similar rates as their Anglo-American counterparts.[1] Most research on African American dating teens has typically focused on the risks associated with dating (e.g., dating violence, teen pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, and sexual debut).[2] Yet, there are several problems with the current research. Knowledge regarding African American teens' subjective experiences within romantic relationships is not well documented. Nor does the literature explain the link between these relationships and positive developmental outcomes for African American adolescents. Plus, the social processes that occur within African American teen romantic relationships are overlooked, especially in terms of understanding the potential that the relationship has in influencing pro-social outcomes.

In addition, much of the literature on African American romantic relationships has been devoted to linking the family and the peer group to academic outcomes, while neglecting the potential for romantic partners to positively influence academic achievement. Since adolescent romantic relationships typically evolve in the context of school, it would be critical to understand how adolescent intimate relationships influence developmental outcomes such as academic achievement for African American teens. We believe that understanding the link between romantic relationships and academic outcomes for African American adolescents will highlight important cultural patterns and provide social awareness for counselors, school administrators, and researchers alike. Most studies find that romantic partners have no influence or they negatively impact achievement for adolescents. While this may be true, we also suggest that romantic partners' characteristics and characteristics of the relationship influence academic

outcomes, especially pro-social behaviors. Hence, in this study, we perform a closer examination of African American adolescent romantic relationships. Our study highlights the nature and context of romantic relationships and links it to academic outcomes. The current study uses data from the first wave of the Toledo Adolescent Research Study (TARS) (n=224) to examine the effect of romantic partners' characteristics and features of the romantic relationship on African American students' self-reported school grades, net of traditional variables including the influences of family and peers. Then we reviewed research linking teens' social networks (e.g., parents, peers, and romantic partners) and academic achievement.

Background

Family

The African American family has endured heavy criticism from the research community in the way African American children are reared. For example, Moynihan[3] attacked the African American family for hindering African American children's development and success in areas of school achievement, high school graduation, and college enrollment. Among other factors, Moynihan[4] cited the declining number of father-led African American households as a precursor to African American low achievement, high school dropout rates, and the greater proportion of African American females to males enrolled in higher education. However, numerous studies since the Moynihan report have demonstrated the strength and resiliency of the African American family and their role in assisting African American youth in achieving academic success.[5] African American families emphasize educational opportunities as a means of success. Therefore, they expect and encourage their children to succeed academically.[6]

The literature on the cultural differences in families has suggested that African American parents rear their children differently from the way Anglo-American parents do. Many African American families are faced with unique challenges associated with high rates of poverty, underemployment, and experiences with racism and discrimination. Not only have these structural factors played a large role in limiting African American families' access to valued resources, but they also shape social experiences within the African American family.[7] African American parents are keenly aware of the societal barriers that their children potentially face. Consequently, parents employ strategies that assist their children in adapting to a potentially hostile environment outside the domain of the African American community. For instance, researchers have suggested that African American rearing practices emphasizing discipline and supervision tend to be stricter than are rearing practices used in Anglo-American families.[8] African American parents are more likely to emphasize obedience and conformity in correcting their children's behavior. Anglo-American parents, on the other hand, address their children's inappropriate behavior by discussing the consequences of the behavior with their children. African American parents'

greater level of strictness is related to the harsh realities that African American parents believe their children will encounter.[9] Therefore, African American parents attempt to protect their children by exerting a high level of control over their children's activities and social lives.[10] Parental monitoring directed toward limiting teens social activities is associated with protection against adolescent risk behaviors, as well as with enhancing academic development (Clark, 1993; DiClemente, Lodico, Grinstead, Harper, Rickman, and Evans, 2001).[11] Compared to Anglo-American youth, African American relationships with peers and others outside of the family are limited, especially on dimensions of social interaction and social intimacy.[12]

African American parents' greater control over their children's social lives also extends to African American youths' dating relationships. Dating relationships are risky in the sense that they increase the likelihood of the entrance into sexual relations, and increase the probability of pregnancy.[13] Through greater social control, African American parents seek to minimize and prevent adolescent risks (e.g., sexual intercourse, sexually transmitted diseases, and pregnancy), and find that greater control proves to be an effective deterrent.[14] However, the association between parental monitoring and pro-social outcomes may be mediated by socioeconomic status. Teens from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to be monitored by parents owing to the high rate of African American teens residing in single parent homes. In our study, we analyze traditional parenting variables to determine their influence on self-reported school grades.

Friends

Since African American parents exert control over their children's social lives, most African American teens experience contact with peers within the context of school. In this environment, relationships with adolescent friends strongly influence academic outcomes. Teenagers with close friends also earn better grades, and enjoy school more than those without friends.[15] While friendship groups vary in their basic characteristics such as attitudes and behaviors, early studies on the influence of peers have only focused on (1) whether adolescents have friends; (2) the size of the peer network; and (3) how these factors influence achievement. These studies do not examine the characteristics of the friends such as attitudes toward school. Hartup[16] suggests that simply belonging to peer networks does not necessarily predict achievement outcomes. Instead, the fact of friends knowing each other's characteristics reveals the ways friends can have an influence on teens' academic development. Friends' academic behaviors and their attitudes are more useful when trying to understand their potential to influence academic outcomes. By the amount of time spent with friends, teenagers learn each other's values, attitudes, and behaviors. Information concerning the characteristics of the friends increases the likelihood for understanding the concrete ways friends influence adolescent outcomes.[17]

Eventually, over time and through frequent interaction with peers, the values, attitudes, and behaviors of the friends become part of the teens' values, attitudes,

and behaviors.[18] For instance, Urdan[19] finds that adolescent high achievers are more likely to have close friends who encourage and value academic achievement. In addition to attitudes, friends' academic behaviors influence teens' level of achievement.[20] Altermatt and Pomerantz[21] find that friends' academic performance has a significant effect on students' level of achievement. Students who have high-achieving friends also report higher achievement than do students who have low-achieving friends. Positive interaction with peers is clarified in Wentzel, Barry, and Caldwell's longitudinal study[22] that examines the ways in which friends influence pro-social outcomes for adolescents between the 6th and 8th grades. The study's results indicate that friendless students had higher levels of emotional distress than did students with friends, and students initially without friends improved their academic performance between the 6th and 8th grades. The researchers also find an association between friends' pro-social behaviors in the 6th grade and student's pro-social behavior in the 8th grade. An individual's pro-social behavior, then, results from exposure to friends' pro-social behavior. In the current study, instead of simply determining the association between friendship status (e.g., whether respondents have friends or not) and school grades, we go a step further and analyze whether their friends' school attitudes are associated with school grades.

Romantic Partners

The burgeoning influence of heterosexual friendships, including new feelings of attraction and desire for the opposite sex, typically flourish during individuals' transition from childhood to young adulthood. The majority of heterosexual teenagers experience a romantic relationship by the end of their high school career.[23] Adolescent romantic relationships are not only important for establishing teens' social status among peers, enhancing their self-esteem and their sense of attractiveness, as Erickson[24] points out, these relationships are also relevant for establishing aspects of their identity by preparing them for future intimate relationships. These new relationships provide space for teens to understand themselves vis-à-vis others of approximately the same age. Identity during childhood is typically developed within the context of the family; however, peers and romantic partners allow teens to develop a multidimensional identity framework, including gender and sexual identities outside the purview of the family. Interacting with significant others such as romantic partners assists teens in individuating from their families and developing a sense of autonomy and independence,[25] which is critical for the development of competence as an adult.

Beyond the basic patterns of adolescent romantic relationship features, some scholars have found a link between romantic relationships and academic outcomes. For instance, Quatman, Sampson, Robinson, and Watson's research[26] finds that dating status (e.g., whether dating or not) and dating frequency (e.g., dating more than once or twice a month) among 8th, 10th, and 12th graders decrease dater's achievement and academic motivation. However, there are limitations to this study. The authors failed to control for racial status, for it

is possible that teens' racial status could affect the association between dating status/frequent dating and achievement. Further, the researchers failed to control for partners' characteristics and the quality of the relationships. The inverse relationship between dating status/frequency and achievement in Quatman et al.'s study[27] may reflect negative aspects of the dating relationship (e.g., relationship violence) as well as less than desirable romantic partner characteristics (e.g., alcohol and drug abuse and delinquency)[28] rather than basic dating involvement.

In another study, Zimmer-Gembeck, Siebenbruner, and Collins[29] find that students who report overinvolvement (e.g., the number of dating partners in twelve months) in romantic relationships experience declines both in their academic performance (teacher's ratings) and in terms of psychosocial functioning. Zimmer-Gembeck et al.[30] did include in their analyses the quality of the relationship and its effect on academic performance. However, the researchers fail to find significance in the quality of the relationship as a predictor of achievement. The authors suggest that although the quality of the relationship is important for teens, parents and peers remain significant persons in the support of teens during adolescence. The authors' inclusion of an at-risk sample (e.g., children born in poverty) may limit the generalizability of these findings. Children born into poverty may have different dating and academic experiences compared to children not raised in poverty. Another limitation of the study is the small sample size (n=167), which makes it impossible to derive reliable conclusions about racial differences.

Contrary to some earlier assumptions, these studies show that adolescent romantic relationships are not trivial and meaningless relationships that do not have the power to shape adolescent development and outcomes, namely achievement. To some extent, these studies clarify how romantic relations bear on academic outcomes. For example, from these studies we have a sense of how age influences the association between romantic relations and achievement. These studies demonstrate that early dating involvement is detrimental to academic success. Age is an important factor to consider because scholars have suggested that teens' involvement in romantic relationships at an early age could be hazardous to personal development. For instance, Neeman, Hubbard, and Masten[31] demonstrate that teens' early romantic involvement prevents successful psychosocial development because these early relationships are often linked with rule breaking and poor academic competence.

Positive Influences of Romantic Relations

The research on romantic relations and achievement is overwhelmingly negative; however, speculation and evidence do exist to show that romantic relations can influence achievement positively. Furman and Shaffer[32] propose that romantic partners may play a significant role in adolescents' academic pursuits. For instance, the amount of time spent with a romantic partner working together on school-related tasks could positively influence teens' academic achievement

by the romantic partner modeling appropriate and positive behaviors related to student achievement.

To our knowledge, the only empirical analysis of the positive association of romantic partner influences on achievement is conducted by Giordano, Phelps, Manning, and Longmore.[33] Giordano et al.'s study[34] is useful because they include information about the romantic partner in their analysis. Giordano et al.[35] find that a romantic partner's achievement is positively associated with the respondent's achievement, with the effect registering stronger for boys. In addition, they tested for race interactions, but failed to find significance. However, their research does not provide any information about differences in the quality of the relationship and other characteristics of the partner (e.g., their attitudes toward education), and their effects on achievement. The positive result of this study may be due to the inclusion of behavioral characteristics of the romantic partner (e.g., their achievement) and conceptualizing romantic involvement beyond either the number of partners that teens report or defining romance by overinvolvement.

African American Adolescent Romantic Relationships

African American adolescent romantic relationships have a tendency to be described as a less intense relational style compared to those of Anglo-Americans. Studies examining the pattern of emotional intimacy among dating teens reveal that of all dating adolescents, African Americans typically report lower intimacy within their relationships, lower commitment, lower self-disclosure to their partners, and less frequent interaction.[36] Also, they perceive their romantic relationships to be less important than relationships with their family.[37] This pattern of low emotional intimacy style remains consistent with empirical studies on African American peer relations.[38] Generally, African American teens are less intimate in their social relationships with romantic partners and friends. We speculate that this less intense relational style may be a result of the socialization processes that occur within African American families.[39]

These patterns of less intimate relationship styles within African American romantic relationships are consistent with Giordano and colleagues' findings.[40] Giordano et al.'s study,[41] with nationally representative data (ADD Health), compares the basic features of adolescent romantic relationships between African American and Anglo-American teens. In this study, African American and Anglo-American youth equally report involvement in a current romantic relationship; however, African American teens tend to rate the importance of having a romantic relationship lower compared to Anglo-American teens. In addition, African American youth are less likely to spend time with their romantic partners and self-disclose to their partners about a problem compared to Anglo-American youth. Their regional data (e.g., Toledo Adolescent Relationships Study) corroborates this pattern of a less intense relationship style among African American youth, and even complements that of the ADD Health study, which includes

subjective measures of the relationship that the national dataset lacks (e.g., feelings of love and perceptions of the relationship).[42]

These studies are important because they explore the nature and general patterns of adolescent romantic relationships with respect to romantic involvement, levels of intimacy and commitment, social connectedness, and the specific ways these themes operate in African American romantic relationships. Basic information about African American romantic relationships is especially relevant for the current study because it shapes the likely influence of romantic relationships for African Americans. However, researchers share a general uncertainty regarding the extent of influence on social and academic development because earlier studies have focused extensively on parents' and peers' influence, while neglecting the impact of romantic partners.[43] Similar to our argument regarding friendship status, we also believe that dating status and dating frequency are inadequate in explaining teen romantic relationships. In our analyses, we also examine variables that address the context of the relationship and characteristics of the partner.

Gender Differences

The following studies we cite depict African American teens as having traditional views of romance, but the ways in which they experience romance differ by gender. The collection of Anderson's ethnographic studies[44] of inner-city teens in Philadelphia demonstrate that African American boys and girls enter into romantic relationships with differing motives to obtain something that they could not get through the traditional social structure. Blocked opportunities prevent African American boys from increasing their social status in society through traditional and legitimized ways (e.g., education and employment), which is also intimately tied to notions of manhood.[45] African American boys are argued to accede to mainstream ideals of masculinity that includes the ability to protect and provide for their families.[46] However, high rates of underemployment and unemployment in the African American community deny African American boys the opportunity of achieving a sense of "manhood" by this mainstream standard.[47] Consequently, boys enter into romantic relationships to obtain sexual favors, and thereby enhance their position within their peer group by using sexual conquests to compensate for the lack of opportunities to enact traditional masculine roles.[48] Therefore, boys will do anything necessary to receive sexual gratification from a girl, except for entering into a "real" romantic relationship. Thus it is argued that if boys do enter into a relationship, it is only to achieve their goal of acquiring sex while neglecting their partners' needs for intimacy and emotional affect.[49] Showing affection is considered a sign of weakness for a " real" man in the urban community.[50] Therefore, showing real affinity and affection for a girl would risk the boy's status within the peer group because black masculinity is supposed to be expressed by aggression, lack of emotion (e.g., except anger), and toughness.[51]

Similarly, African American girls acquiesce to mainstream notions of femininity, which is based on ideals of submission and dependence on the male

provider for the economic support of her family.[52] African American girls enter into romantic relationships with unrealistic goals of having a mate to secure their financial future and to obtain material goods to which they would otherwise not have access.[53] African American girls expect that having a romantic partner is the key to their dream of family life; as such it is argued that they will use sexual intercourse and pregnancy as insurance to retain relationships with boyfriends.[54] Yet, the likelihood of this fairytale depiction of a romantic relationship is contrary to the reality of African American males.

These qualitative studies as reflections of romantic relationships among African American youth, and by default, as reflecting the state of our scholarly knowledge of such relationships, are beset with several problematic issues. First, these studies present a static or deterministic view of African American dating relationships by suggesting their function is related primarily to a discriminating environment. In other words, these scholars reduce African American youth to passive agents who date to obtain "things," which dichotomizes African American boys and girls into categories of "players" and "gold-diggers," respectively.[55] Some disadvantaged youth may engage in these types of reactionary dating behaviors, but this may not be representative of the general Population.[56] Second, this depiction of African American romantic relationships is rather nonnormative in that youths deviate from normative desires to fulfill intimacy, support, and companionship needs, which are developmentally appropriate for Anglo youth.[57] Third, these ethnographic studies should be considered with caution since there is a lack of corresponding quantitative studies to corroborate their findings. Findings that are supported with data collected in multiple ways typically are more valid and reliable.

Although some features beyond those that are basic to romantic relationships and achievement are illuminated, all these studies have failed to provide any descriptive information about the romantic partner, such as attitudes and behaviors, not to mention characteristics of the actual relationships that could also influence academic outcomes. Characteristics such as perceptions of the partner and emotional affect could powerfully motivate students to engage in pro-social behaviors and achievements. Perhaps these negative findings of romantic relations and achievement related to factors about the partner and relationship are not controlled. For instance, the inverse relationship of early dating to achievement may be mediated by sexual behaviors. Early dating involvement is also associated with earlier sexual debut.[58] In addition, information about race is nonexistent or limited, making it difficult to draw conclusions about the role of race in the romantic relationships-achievement link.

The existing quantitative studies find that African American dating adolescents exhibit a relationship style characterized by less frequent interaction with partners, lower levels of intimacy, and less commitment[59] Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that African American youth may not be as heavily dependent on relationships outside of the family as many researchers once believed,[60] which, if true, lessens adolescents' potential to influence social outcomes. This hypothesis of less dependence on romantic relationships for African American teens relative to Anglo teens on school outcomes is tested in our study.

Theoretical Framework

Our theoretical framework draws from differential association theory in delinquency and the symbolic interactionism perspective to explain how romantic partners influence academic performance. These complementary theories are appealing because they both underscore the importance of social interaction.

According to differential association theory,[61] whether individuals learn to conform or violate social norms depends on who is the socializing agent. Moreover, deviant definitions are primarily learned within close personal relationships.[62] Hence, the probability for academic success increases as students' acquire definitions from romantic partners that are more supportive of academic success than of academic failure. However, across gender, it seems likely that males' academic performance is more likely to be affected by romantic partners than that of females, given the vast amount of research finding males differentially affected by exposure to delinquent peers.[63]

Symbolic interaction theory draws attention to the significance of group-shared meanings and the influence of significant others. The interactionist perspective posits a socialization process in which the interaction that takes place within the family allows for the emergence of shared meanings and the adolescents' acquisition and reproduction of culture. Reflected in the extant literature is the idea that the meaning surrounding the "romantic relationship" is influenced by family socialization processes that vary by race. Conceptually appealing is the importance symbolic interactionism gives to the opinions and standards of significant others. According to Mead,[64] significant others are those individuals whose reflected views have the most impact on the adolescents' self-concept. According to developmental theories, during adolescence, the reflected views of the peer group should be more important than views from family as the adolescent become more influenced by peers and less influenced by parents. Consequently, adolescents should care less about how their parents view their academic failure as a consequence of dating the "bad boy" or the "naughty girl." However, as earlier noted, comparatively, African American adolescents tend to report their family as being more important than other social relationships than Anglo-Americans.[65] As a result, it seems likely that the romantic partners of African American adolescents may have less of an influence on academic performance than the romantic partners of Anglo-American adolescents.

Present Study and Hypotheses

Present Study

Our study uses the first wave of the Toledo Adolescent Relationships Study to examine the roles that romantic partners, family, and peers have on academic outcomes, namely self-reported school grades. The central research question that we pose is the following: Do romantic partners' characteristics and features of the romantic relationship influence self-reported school grades for African

American dating teens? Is the effect of romantic partners' characteristics and features of the romantic relationship greater for girls than for boys? Below, we review the key hypotheses that correspond with these research questions.

Hypotheses

Romantic Partner and Romantic Relations:
Hypothesis 1: Romantic partners' attitudes and behaviors (e.g., partners' grades, academic orientation, and relationship duration) will increase self-reported school performance while relationship variables (e.g., heightened emotionality, sexual intercourse, and the number of dating partners) decrease self-reported school performance.

Hypothesis 2: Romantic partner and relationship effects will have a greater influence for African American boys, compared to girls.[66]

Data and Methods

Data

We use the first wave of the Toledo Adolescent Relationship Study to test our hypothesis regarding dating partners' characteristics and aspects of the dating relationship on self-reported grades. In 2001, personal interviews were conducted with 1,316 adolescents. The sample was drawn from the year 2000 enrollment records for all youths in the 7th, 9th, and 11th grades in Lucas County, Ohio. This included sixty-two schools across seven school districts, although school attendance was not a criterion for inclusion in the sample, as in-home interviews were completed. The TARS data include an oversample of African American youth, which is based on the sampling strategy devised by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). Interviewers initially asked a series of questions, and then respondents completed more sensitive sections using laptops preloaded using Ci3 software.

Sample

The original sample consists of respondents between the ages of twelve and nineteen (1,316) at the time of the first interview. To focus on dating teens, dating status in this sample is clarified by the statement, "When we ask about 'dating' we mean when you like a guy [girl], and he/she likes you back. This does not have to mean going on a formal date." To determine dating status, respondents are asked two questions, "Is there someone you are currently dating, that is a girl [guy] you like and who likes you back?" and "Have you ever dated a girl [guy]?" As a result, these questions generated three dating categories: (1) never dated; (2) not currently dating; and (3) currently dating.[67] From the total sample, 1,085 respondents indicate that they are currently dating or had a recent dating partner

and 231 respondents indicated they had never dated. In addition, the analytic sample only includes respondents who indicated that they had at least one dating partner in the past year (n=242). To focus on the African American teens' dating relationship, the sample is limited to only African American adolescent daters. African American teens comprise 20 percent of the sample of respondents who indicated that they are currently dating or experienced a dating relationship in the past twelve months with valid responses on the dependent and the independent variables (n=224).

Measures[68]

Dependent Variable

School Performance. We measured school performance with the question, "What grades did you get in school this year?" This item is scored on a scale ranging from 1 (mostly As) to 9 (mostly Fs).

Independent Variables

Dating Partner's Grades. We measured partner's grades with a similar question, "What grades does ____ usually get in school?" As laptops were used for the bulk of the interview, all questions use the partner's first name or nickname, as provided initially by the respondent.

Partner's Academic Orientation. We measured partner's academic orientation with the statement: "My boyfriend/girlfriend thinks good grades are important." This item is scored on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Sexual Intercourse with Partner. We measured sexual intercourse with partner with a singular question, "Have you ever had sexual intercourse (sometimes this is called 'making love,' 'having sex,' or 'going all the way') with ____?" and the responses are yes (1) and no (0).

Heightened Emotionality. We measured heightened emotionality with four items including: (1) "I am very attracted to ____"; (2) "the sight of ____ turns me on"; (3) "I would rather be with ____ than anyone else"; and (4) "____ always seem to be on my mind." Responses for each question range from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. The scale score is calculated as the mean of the items, multiplied by 4. Cronbach's alpha for this scale is 0.84. The range is 4 to 20.

Partner's Care and Trust. We assessed partner's care and trust with four items: (1) "I can tell ____ private things and know ____ won't tell other people"; (2) "____ cares about me"; (3) "there are times when ____ cannot be trusted"; and (4) "I feel comfortable talking with ____ when I have a problem." Responses for each question range from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. The items are coded so that high scores reflect greater caring and trust. The scale is calculated as

the mean of the items, multiplied by 4. Cronbach's alpha for this scale is 0.65. The range is 4 to 20.

Relationship Duration. We measured relationship duration with a single item, "How long have you been together?" or "How long were you together?" The responses include (1) "less than a week"; (2) "a week"; (3) "2 to 3 weeks"; (4) "about a month"; (5) "2 to 5 months"; (6) "6 to 8 months"; (7) "about nine months to a year"; and (8) "a year or more."

The Number of Dating Partners. We measured the number of romantic partners with a single item, "In the past year, how many guys/girls did you date?"

Parents' School Involvement. The parents' level of involvement in the child's academic life is measured with five items drawn from the parents' own questionnaire responses, and including the following behaviors: During the past school year, in a typical school week how many days did you (1) "check on whether your child did homework or other school assignments?" (2) "help your child with homework or other school assignments?" (3) "talk with your child about school activities or events?" (4) "talk with your child about things she/he has learned in school?" and (5) "how often were you unable to attend a meeting for parents at the school (for example, to get information about school programs, policies or to hear about teachers' concerns) (reverse coded)?" Each item is measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (very often). Items are scored so that higher scores reflect greater parental involvement. The scale score is calculated as the mean of the items, multiplied by 5. The range is 6 to 40. Cronbach's alpha is 0.71.

Parental Monitoring. We measured parental monitoring with three items: (1) "When my child is away from home, she/he is supposed to let me know where she/he is"; (2) "I call to check if my child is where he/she is supposed to be"; and (3) "I ask who my child is going out with." The responses for each item ranged from 1 (never) to 5 (very often). The scale score is calculated as the mean of the items, multiplied by 3. The scores range from 3 to 15 and a higher score indicates greater parental monitoring.

Parents' Dating Cynicism. We measured parents' dating cynicism with seven items: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?" (1) "boys are only after one thing"; (2) "girls are too aggressive nowadays"; (3) "I think some children have too much freedom to be around the opposite sex"; (4) "boys and girls play emotional games with each other"; (5) "I think some parents allow their children too much freedom to date"; (6) "it's better not to get too serious about one boy/girl in high school"; and (7) "nowadays girls are too boy crazy." Responses for the items range from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree with high scores indicating greater parental conservatism about dating. The scale is calculated as the mean of the items, multiplied by 7. Cronbach's alpha for this scale is 0.71. The range is 8 to 30 and a higher score indicates parents' greater cynicism toward dating.

Friends' Academic Orientation. We measured friends' academic orientation with a single item, "My friends think good grades are important." The scores range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Age. Age is calculated from the respondent's date of birth and the date of the interview. Respondents' ages range from thirteen years nineteen.

Gender. Gender is dichotomized as female and male with males as the reference group.

Respondents' Academic Orientation. We measured respondent's academic orientation with a single item: "I think good grades are important." The scores range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Family Structure. Family structure is measured from the respondent's response to the question: "During the past 12 months, who were you living with most of the time?" Respondents who indicate that they live with only one biological parent are coded: (1) "one biological parent." Respondents who indicate that they live with both biological parents are coded: (2) "two biological parents." Respondents who indicate that they live with one biological parent and their parent's spouse or partner are coded: (3) "one biological plus step/cohab." Finally, respondents who do not fall into one of the previous categories are coded: (1) "other." For the purposes of multivariate analyses, dummy variables were created with "biological parents" as the contrast category.

Mother's Education. Mother's Education is measured by asking the mother: "how far did you go in school?" The responses include (1) "1st–8th grade"; (2) "less than 12 years"; (3) "12 years (or obtained GED)"; (4) "went to business, trade, or vocation school after high school"; (5) "1–3 years of college"; (6) "graduated from college or university"; and (7) "obtained professional training beyond a 4-year college or university." We then use the appropriate answer to create the following categories: (1) if the mother had less than a high school education; (2) if the mother had a high school education; and (3) if the mother had more than high school education. Dummy variables were created for the purposes of multivariate analyses with at least high school education as the contrast category.

Analytic Strategy

For our analyses, we focus on African American adolescents who indicate a current dating relationship or a most recent dating partner. We first show the descriptive information for the total analytic sample. For ease of presentation, we separate multivariate analyses into two sections.[69] The first section begins with regression analyses for romantic partner and romantic relationship characteristics by analyzing blocks of variables for the romantic relationship for the total sample. In the first block, we analyze the effect of romantic variables (partner's grades, partner's academic orientation, sex with partner,

heightened emotionality, partner's care and trust, relationship duration, and the number of romantic partners) on self-reported school grades. Next, we add control variables (age, gender, respondent's academic orientation, family structure, and mothers' education) to assess the effect of the romantic variables net of sociodemographic background. In the final block, we assess the effect of the romantic partner variables net of the parenting and peer variables as well as sociodemographic background. This final model, containing romantic partner, parent, peer, and control variables, is the full model that is used for subsequent interaction analyses.[70]

The second section of the multivariate analyses, based upon the results of the interaction analyses and the Chow test,[71] examines the influence of romantic variables, parenting, and peers on separate gender models. The African American boys and girls models follow the same format as the total analytic sample as discussed above.

Findings

The goal of our research is to examine whether academically related partner variables (e.g., partner's grades and partner's academic orientation) and dating-related variables (e.g., sexual intercourse, heighten emotionality, partner's care and trust, relationship duration, and the number of dating partners) predict African American teens' self-reported school grades, after controlling for parental influences including school involvement, parental monitoring and dating cynicism, peer influences (e.g., academic orientation), and sociodemographic variables (e.g., age, gender, academic orientation, family structure, and mothers' education).

We present univariate analyses including means and standard deviations to provide a descriptive profile of respondents for the total analytic sample and the boys and girls subsamples.[72] We then present multivariate regression analyses based on the total sample of African American youth and for the boy and girls subsamples, respectively. Multivariate regression anal yses are used to demonstrate how key romantic partner variables are related to the respondents' self-reported grades.

Descriptive Profile for Total Analytic Sample

Table 9.1 shows the descriptive statistics for all the variables for the total analytic sample. It is also stratified by gender.

Dependent Variable

Self-Reported School Grades. On average, for the total sample, when respondents are asked what grades they get in the current school year, the respondents report having an average grade of 5.37 on a scale of 1 (mostly F's) to 9 (Mostly A's), which is a combination of B and C grades.

Table 9.1 Descriptive Statistics for the Total Analytic Sample

	Total Sample		*Boys*		*Girls*	
	Mean or %	*Range*	*Mean or %*	*Range*	*Mean or %*	*Range*
Dependent Variables						
Grades	5.37	(1–9)	5.29	(1–9)	5.51	(1–9)
Romantic Relations						
Partner's Grades	6.64	(1–9)	7.29	(1–9)	5.97	(1–9)
Academic Orientation	4.08	(1–5)	4.14	(1–5)	4.03	(1–5)
Sex with Partner	37.00%	(0–1)	42.48%	(0–1)	31.53%	(0–1)
Heightened Emotionality	13.96	(4–20)	13.55	(4–20)	14.44	(4–20)
Partner's Care and Trust	14.82	(4–20)	14.63	(4–20)	15.03	(4–20)
Relationship Duration	5.21	(4–20)	4.93	(4–20)	5.50	(4–20)
Number of Dating Partners	8.53	(1–8)	13.53	(1–8)	3.43	(1–8)
Parenting Variables						
School Involvement	19.16	(5–25)	19.05	(5–25)	19.30	(5–25)
Monitoring	10.27	(3–12)	9.85	(3–12)	10.69	(3–12)
Dating Cynicism	25.78	(7–35)	25.24	(7–35)	26.31	(7–35)
Peer Variables						
Academic Orientation	4.12	(1–5)	4.60	(1–5)	4.24	(1–5)
Sociodemographic Variables						
Age	15.62	(12–19)	15.58	(12–19)	15.65	(12–19)
Females	49.55%	(0–1)				
Males	50.45%	(0–1)				
Academic Orientation	4.41	(1–5)	8.31	(1–5)	8.54	(1–5)
Family Structure						
Single Parent	43.30%	(0–1)	39.82%	(0–1)	46.85%	(0–1)
Stepparent	20.54%	(0–1)	23.89%	(0–1)	17.12%	(0–1)
Other Parent	19.64%	(0–1)	17.70%	(0–1)	21.62%	(0–1)
Two Parent	16.52%	(0–1)	18.58%	(0–1)	14.41%	(0–1)
Mothers' Education						
Less than 12 years	10.14%	(0–1)	23.01%	(0–1)	13.51%	(0–1)
12 years	30.07%	(0–1)	24.78%	(0–1)	30.63%	(0–1)
More than 12 years	59.79%	(0–1)	24.78%	(0–1)	55.86%	(0–1)
Sample Size		224		113		111

Source: Toledo Adolescent Research Study.

Academically Related Romantic Variables

Partner's Grades. Respondents are asked what grades their current or most recent partner usually got in school, and the average score is 6.77, which indicates a combination of B and C grades (range = 1 (mostly Fs) to 9 (mostly As)).

Partner's Academic Orientation. Partner's academic orientation is a scale assessing positive attitudes toward school. On average, respondents report that their current or most recent partners' level of academic orientation is 4.08 (range = 1 (low) to 5 (high)).

Relationship Related Variables

Sex with Partner. Regarding sexual intercourse with the dating partners, when respondents are asked if they had sex with their dating partner, 37 percent of the adolescents say "yes."

Partner's Care and Trust. Adolescents report an average score of 14.82 regarding the degree to which they believe their partners care and trust them. There responses range from 4 to 20, with the higher number indicating the respondents' perception of the partner as caring and trusting.

Heightened Emotionality. With regard to the level of emotions attached to the relationship, adolescents report an average score of 13.96. A high number on this scale reflects greater emotional affect (range = 4 and 20). This suggests relatively strong feelings for partners.

Relationship Duration. When respondents are asked how long they have been together with the current dating partner or how long they were together with the most recent dating partner, adolescents average response is 5.21 (approximately 1 month) (range = 1 (less than a week) to 8 (a year or more)).[73]

Number of Dating Partners. The number of dating partners variable is determined by the question, "In the past year, how many girls/boys did you date?" Respondents reported, on average, 8.5 dating partners in twelve months.

Parenting Variables[74]

Parental School Involvement. Parental school involvement is an index indicating parent's high involvement in their child's academic life. Mothers report, on average, a score of 19.16. A higher score reflects parents' greater level of school involvement (range = 6 to 40).

Monitoring. Parental monitoring is an index reflecting parent's greater monitoring of their child's activities. Mothers report an average score of 10.27 regarding the degree to which they monitor their child's social activities (range = 3 to 15).
Dating Cynicism. The dating cynicism scale reflects parents' greater cynicism attitudes toward adolescents and dating behaviors. On average, parents report a high level of cynicism concerning teens and dating behaviors (mean = 25.78; range = 8 to 30).

Friend Variables

Friends' Academic Orientation. The friends' academic orientation scale is a similar scale to that of partner's academic orientation, indicating friends' positive attitudes toward school. Respondents, on average, agree that their friends have a high level of academic orientation (good grades are important), with a score of 4.12.

Sociodemographic Vari ables

Age. Because the sample was restricted to persons between 13 and 19 years old, the average age of the respondent is 15.62 years.

Gender. When respondents are asked whether they are male or female, 49.55 percent of the respondents reported they are female and 50.45 percent of the sample indicated they are male.

Respondent's Academic Orientation. The respondent's academic orientation is a single item reflecting the respondent's positive attitude toward school. Respondent's agree with the statement, "I think good g rades are important" (mean = 4.41).

Family Structure. Respondents are asked, "During the past 12 months who were you living with most of the time?" Approximately 43 percent of the respondents indicate they live in single parent homes; 16.52 percent of the sample indicate they live with both biological parent; 26.54 percent of adolescents indicate they live with one biological parent and their parent's spouse or partner; and 19.64 percent of the adolescents who do not fall into one of the previous categories report living in "other" homes.

Mothers' Education. Regarding mother's education, 18.3 percent of the mothers indicate that they had less than a high school education; 27.67 percent of the mothers report having at least a high school education; and 54.02 percent of the mothers report having more than high school education.

Multiple Regression Analyses

Total Sample

Table 9.2 presents the first set of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) analyses, which examine the various factors that may explain differences in respondents' self-reported grades. Model 1 indicates that none of the romantic relation variables explain differences in self-reported grades, which is contrary to our first hypothesis. With the inclusion of sociodemographic variables in Model 2, the number of dating partners is associated with significantly lower self-reported grades while the respondents' academic orientation is associated significantly with higher self-reported grades. Model 2 partially supports our first hypothesis. In Model 3, neither parenting variables nor peer variables were significantly associated with respondents self-reported grades; however, number of dating partners and respondents academic orientation remain significant.

Separate Multivariate Models by Gender

Table 9.2a presents the second set of OLS analyses that examines factors associated with self-reported school grades for boys and girls. Model 1 contains only the romantic variables (e.g., partner's grades, partner's academic orientation, sex with romantic partner, heightened emotionality, partner's care and trust, relationship duration, and the number of sex partners) and the models for the boys and girls are not statistically significant. It means that this block of variables is not associated with self-reported school grades for African American teenagers.

Model 2a and Model 2b become significant with the addition of sociodemographic variables (e.g., age, gender, academic orientation, single parent home, stepparent home, other parent home, parents with less than twelve years of education, and parents with more than twelve years of education) for the boys and

Table 9.2 OLS Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Self-Reported Grades

	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 3*
	b	*b*	*b*
Intercept	0.20	0.29	0.23
Romantic Relations			
Partner's Grades	0.07	0.10	0.11
Academic Orientation	0.01	−0.05	−0.08
Sex with Romantic Partner	−0.55	−0.12	−0.01
Heightened Emotionality	−0.02	−0.01	−0.01
Partner's Care and Trust	0.02	−0.02	−0.02
Relationship Duration	0.09	0.09	0.06
Number of Dating Partners	−0.003	−0.0041*	−0.004*
Parenting Variables			
School Involvement			−0.0037
Monitoring			0.05
Dating Cynicsm			−0.02
Peer Variables			
Academic Orientation			−0.30
Sociodemographic Variables			
Age		−0.79	0.11
Female (Male)		0.14	0.08
Academic Orientation		1.10***	1.01***
Family Structure (Two Parents)			
Single		−0.37	−0.37
Step		−0.16	−0.12
Other		−0.63	−0.71
Education (12 Years)			
Less than 12 years		−0.09	0.01
More Than 12 years		0.03	0.07
F	1.28	3.26***	2.82***
R^2	4%	19%	20%

Note: Omitted category in parentheses.

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Source: Toledo Adolescent Research Study (N=224).

girls, respectively. Model 2a (boys) indicates that some variables in this model are significantly associated with self-reported school grades for boys. Model 2a (boys) shows that the length of the romantic relationship and academic orientation positively influences self-reported school grades for boys, net of other variables. Alternatively, the number of dating partners in twelve months is negatively associated with self-reported school grades for boys. Model 2b shows that the only factors associated with girls' self-reported school grades is academic orientation, net of other variables.

The final models for the boys and girls add parent and peer variables (e.g., parental school involvement, monitoring, parents' dating cynicism, and peers' academic orientation) to the romantic relationship and sociodemographic variables. Model 3a is not significant and does not statistically explain self-reported

Table 9.2a OLS Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Self-Reported Grades on Romantic Relationship Variables by Gender

	Model 1a	*Model 1b*	*Model 2a*	*Model 2b*	*Model 3a*	*Model 3b*
	Boys	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*
	b	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*
Intercept	0.18	0.56	0.05	1.14	0.07	0.99
Romantic Relations						
Partner's Grades	0.15	0.03	0.14	0.01	0.10	0.02
Academic Orientation	−0.04	0.11	−0.15	−0.01	−0.17	−0.54
Sexual with Partner	−0.43	−0.75	0.13	−0 .58	0.21	−0.46
Heightened Emotionality	−0.01	−0.02	−0.01	0.01	−0.01	0.00
Partner's Care and Trust	−0.02	0.05	−0.05	0.02	−0.05	0.00
Relationship Duration	0.21	−0.08	0.19*	0.03	0.21	−0.03
Number of Dating Partners	−0.00314	−0.04	0.00*	0.01	−0.0049	−0.00312
Parenting Variables						
School Involvement					−0.0036	0.04
Monitoring					0.08	0.03
Dating Cynicsm					−0.54	−0.01
Peer Variables						
Academic Orientation					0.04	0.06*
Sociodemographic Variables						
Age			−0.13	−0.16	−0.12	−0.10
Academic Orientation			0.8398**	1.53***	0.84	1.35***
Family Structure (Two Parents)						
Single			−0.36	−0.62	−0.38	−0.52
Step			0.23	−0.74	0.22	−0.60
Other			−0.65	−0.93	−0.78	−1.03
Education (12 Years)						
Less than 12 years			0.13	0.47	0.32	−0.29
More than 12 years			0.12	0.06	0.12	−0.09
F	1.35	0.67	2.5	2.08*	1.63	2.09*
R^2	8%	4%	22%	23%	24%	29%

Note: Omitted category in parentheses.

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Source: Toledo Adolescent Research Study (NBoys=113; NGirls=111).

school grades for boys. Model 3b (girls) is significant and this model demonstrates that academic orientation is strongly associated with self-reported school grades for girls. In addition, peers' positive academic orientation is statistically associated with self-reported grades for girls. Specifically, peers' positive academic orientation toward school and the girls' own positive attitude toward school have a significant and positive influence on girls self-reported school grades.

Discussion and Policy Implications

Findings from this study will inform parents, faith communities, educators, and policymakers about how the romantic relationships of African American

adolescents influence social and academic development. The evidence presented in our study indicates that there are some gender differences with regard to the association between romantic relationship variables and self-reported school grades. Specifically, the romantic relationship variables appeared to influence self-reported grades only for boys but not for girls. For example, the number of romantic partners diminishes self-reported school grades while the length of the romantic relationship enhances self-reported school grades for boys. These findings partially corroborate the Giordano et al.'s study[75] where partner's grades are associated with self-reported school grades, but the effect is stronger for boys. The duration of romantic relationships was determined to have a positive effect on school achievement of African American adolescent boys, while having friends with a positive academic orientation was found to increase the academic achievement of African American girls. Research on the African American family reveals that strict parenting strategies and greater parental social monitoring are associated with pro-social outcomes but we did not find evidence of this in our study. However, we did find that peers are associated with self-reported school grades, but only for girls. This finding is contrary to the notion that African American boys are heavily dependent on their peers for their social development. This also indicates that while African Americans have romantic partners, their peer groups continue to play an important role in their personal and academic development.

There seemingly exists a sense of denial in the African American community that their children date. The black faith community can be essential in assisting families in negotiating dating with their adolescents. Though the black church has long been acknowledged as a cornerstone of the black community, most do not provide programs for youth that address the most pressing contemporary issues they face,[76] including the avoidance of dating pitfalls and negotiating healthy relationships. By forming coalitions that promote an awareness of youthful relationships through family and youth trainings and workshops, the shroud of mystery can begin to be lifted.

The African American community has witnessed a rebirth of rites of passage programs targeted at youth who may be at risk of violent or criminal activities, drug abuse, and school dropout; these programs also aim to dissuade youth from early sexual activity and teen pregnancy.[77] While the incidence of such programs is increasing in educational settings, faith-based communities, and civic organizations, there is little evidence in the literature of rites of passage programs that include a component that addresses the creation and maintenance of healthy relationships. The addition of this component focusing on relationships will counter the prevalence of physical, sexual, and psychological abuse in adolescent dating relationships. In addition to rites of passage programs, current sex education curricula must become more holistic in scope. Programs typically focus on reproduction and safe sex without acknowledging that sex occurs in the context of romantic relationships. Guidance in how to negotiate relationships including maintaining independence and identity, and recognizing the warning signs of domestic abuse must be incorporated into existing sex education programs.

Moreover, given that adolescent romantic relationships are a pipeline to African American marriage, there must be a greater concerted governmental effort to promote marriage. The Administration for Children and Families has developed the Healthy Marriage Initiative in response to the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996. Among the priorities identified by the initiative is the education of high school students on the values of marriage relationships. Of the currently funded African American targeted programs, six indicate curricula designed to educate teens on healthy relationship and marriage skills, but only one program includes children in the preadolescent period of twelve to fourteen years. It is imperative to create culturally relevant programs that consider the historical context of African American intergender relationships, and foster an understanding and appreciation of these gender role patterns that may be in opposition to those of mainstream America.[78]

As changes in policy are initiated by research, it will be critical for the federal government to devote money for research and development to understand relationship issues among African American youth. There is dearth of literature in this field and what does exist typically focuses on the perpetuation of at-risk behaviors. Anglo samples can no longer be used to explain African American dating patterns. It is well documented that African Americans marry at a lower rate than their Anglo counterparts; it remains unclear, however, why this phenomenon is present. When examining the dating patterns of African American youth, the research methodology must be culturally relevant and time sensitive.

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70. Not shown. These models analyzed whether gender moderates the relationship between the romantic relationship block of variables and self-reported school grades. Then, we assess whether gender moderates the relationship between the block of parents and peer variables on school grades. Beginning with the romantic relationship, we analyze the effect of each interaction term (e.g., gender by partner's grades, gender

by partner's academic orientation, gender by sex with partner, gender by heightened emotionality, gender by partner's care and trust, gender by relationship duration, gender by the number of sex partners) on self-reported school grades.

71. Not shown.
72. Refer to table 9.1.
73. The respondents reported the following length of their dating relationships: Approximately 7 percent for "less than a week"; nearly 6 percent for "a week"; approximately 15 percent for "2 to 3 weeks"; a little over 16 percent for "about a month"; over 22 percent for "2 to 5 months"; over 10 percent for "6 to 8 months"; 7 percent for "about 9 months to a year"; and close to 16 percent for "a year or more."
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10

Gender and Culture: The Shaping of British Colonial Educational Policy in West Africa

Tara Jabbaar-Gyambrah

Introduction

Colonialism became a reality when European powers met at the Berlin conference of 1884–1885 to divide the African continent.[1] This division lasted approximately seventy to eighty years in many African countries and while it was met with resistance (i.e., Yaa Asantewaa War of 1900 in Ghana and the war of 1929 in Nigeria) it still affected the identity of the people in the community through culture and politics. In his book *The Atlantic Sound,* Caryl Phillips takes the reader step by step and shows a vivid picture of how the Panafest "celebration" in Ghana has become an event where culture has been commodified. In his interview with Dr. Mohammed Ben Abdullah (i.e., former ministry of tourism) he discusses how Panafest is representative of resistance and how it symbolizes Ghana's freedom from the British but it is reflective of their continued relationship as well. According to Dr. Abdullah, Panafest is a simple concept that involves the solidarity and collusion of all Africans and people of African descent and "the intrusion of Europe produced Eurocentric Africans who don't know who they are."[2] In essence he is saying that even though there is resistance embedded within the yearly Panafest celebration linked to Pan-Africanism that is built through the struggles of African peoples, there is some part of it that complies with European cultural worldviews.

Furthermore, it is through economics that colonialism produced ideals of racism, developed social classes, enforced mental colonization, reformed educational policies, and imposed Europeanized ideals of gender inequity upon the communities. In his book, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature,* Wa'Thiong'o discusses "how the economic control of the African people was effected through politics and culture" in the era of colonialism.[3]

A central thesis of his book is that language is an integral and inseparable part of one's cultural identity and community as it serves as a way of communicating with others. There are three significant aspects of language: (1) it is a vessel of communication between individuals; (2) it serves as a catalyst in the formation of images in one's mind; and (3) it is a way of transmitting ideals of culture.[4] In the words of Wa Thiong'o,

> Culture embodies those moral, ethical and aesthetic values, the set of spiritual eyeglasses, through which they come to view themselves and their place in the universe. Values are the basis of people's identity, their sense of particularity as members of the human race. All this is carried by language. Language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history. Culture is almost indistinguishable from the language that makes possible its genesis, growth, banking, articulation and indeed its transmission from one generation to the next.[5]

In Wa Thiong'o's view, "language as culture" is the source of the African identity that outlines the experiences and history of the people. Once it is dismantled, it ultimately erases cultural values, history, and the cultural experiences of the people. Colonial rulers such as the British, French, Portuguese, and German sought to obtain wealth from African countries through various forms of rule including but not limited to domination, mental colonization, and military control. A central component of attempting to completely monopolize West African people and their resources was the use of language and culture. Colonizers infiltrated their cultural beliefs into the people they ruled by elevating themselves to a superior status and belittling Africans as inferior through the deliberate devaluing or elimination of important areas of African life such as arts, history, education, geography, language, dance, religions, orature, and literature. This attempt was met by opposition because many people refused to learn the English language. The colonizers implemented two plans of action: (1) they implemented English writing exercises such as reading books in English; and (2) in the 1950s colleges were started in Nigeria (Ibadan University College) and Ghana (Ghana University College) that were headed by the University of London, which further alienated Africans from their native culture,[6] forcing African peoples to learn the English language. These educational systems were developed to thrust the idea of European cultural superiority upon Africans. Another compelling factor is that these institutions were established mainly for males rather than females, thus creating a division between gender roles that were not prevalent before in Africa. Ultimately, the cultural influences of the British and other European powers' worldviews assisted in the division of gender roles in West Africa with regard to education. This chapter examines how British educational policies (i.e., Phelps-Stokes Commission) affected the development of colleges and universities in West Africa by doing two things: (1) examining how British cultural worldviews affected the West African family structure and women's roles within the Ghanaian community; and (2) by analyzing the ways in which women's roles were decentralized in the educational system because of cultural worldviews.

British Cultural Views and Their Effects on Family and Gender Roles

There are several ways in which British cultural worldviews have affected the development of gender roles in West African societies, leading to the limited number of women in higher educational institution during the nineteenth century. In this section, I examine three ways in which British cultural perspectives influenced gender—through their views of ethnicity, the family structure, and through the shifting of gender roles within West African communities.

The turning point for African history occurred in the period between November 1884 and February 1885 when the race to colonize Africa was officiated at the Berlin West Africa Conference. The race to colonize Africa was officiated. However, the scramble for Africa lasted for approximately thirty years (1870s–1900s).[7] The British staked their claim to Gold Coast (Ghana), Gambia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Egypt, Uganda, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Union of South Africa, Bechuanaland, and Somaliland by occupying the land.[8] During their takeover spree, the British officials began deconstructing African culture by imposing their own cultural ideologies to secure territories in northwestern Ghana. In her article "Colonial Constructions and African Initiatives: The History of Ethnicity in Northwestern Ghana" Carola Lenz outlines four themes of oppressive colonial ideologies forced upon the people of the Gold Coast (Ghana). First, she posits that the British used the word "tribe" or "tribes" to describe African families.[9] Second, the British developed a patriarchal model that stated that everyone belonged to one "tribe" and that the women were assigned to the "tribe" of their husbands. Third, the British formulated a family tree that represented each "tribe" in the form of a map system that included the husband, wife, and children (e.g., brothers and sisters) under one family tree thus eliminating the role of the extended family, a key source of support for African families. Fourth, from 1892 to 1894 the British used George Ekem Ferguson, a Fante from the Gold Coast to draw reformulated borderlines established from their perspective. One important aspect about territories that the British neglected was that all the "borders were not permanently fixed territorially but defined through temporary alliances between local chiefs and strong men."[10] By reconstructing boundaries established by the people of the land and labeling families as "one tribe," the British devalued the cultural heritages and worldviews of African families in the Gold Coast. The British not only invaded the Gold Coast with their European ideologies but oftentimes misunderstood the significance of African culture, especially women's roles.

African women's roles were affected as a result of British colonialist's view on the structure of the familial roles. British rulers or governors saw women's primary roles as domesticated homemakers. However, although caring for the children, cooking, and cleaning took precedence over everything else, West African societies did not use gender to determine the roles of women and men in the community. In Niara Sudarska's article, "The 'Status of Women' in Indigenous Societies" she compares the ways in which African and European societies view constructions of gender before and during colonialism. African women during the precolonial era were visible to the community and were known as queen

mothers, queen sisters, princesses, chiefs, and holders of other offices in towns and villages and occasional warriors.[11] For example, the queen mother[12] is usually the grandmother, mother, sister, niece, or grandniece of the chief or king; she holds the second highest position in the state that gives her the exclusive rights to rebuke a chief when he acts contrary to the norms of the state.[13] Her role is essential because she is the one who nominates the candidate for the Golden Stool when it becomes vacant. The British realized the power the queen mother held in her role within the community and sought to devalue and suppress it. Their strategy encompassed reducing the power of the queen mother, which thereby would lead to the marginalization of women's roles in the community. Around 1929 Kumasi was established as the center of the British colonial economy where political and administrative decisions were made. The British government recognized the Kumasi Council of Chiefs as the administrative apparatus for the division. The purpose of this council was to assist women and men in the community to voice their concerns about political matters in the community.[14] It was reestablished by the British to restore the power of the chiefs who had lost it in 1896. All the council members were male, and there was no queen mother incorporated into the equation. As a result, power shifted more toward the male counterparts (e.g., chiefs) while limiting the queen mother's voice and presence.

However, this did not mean that there was no resistance on the part of the women within the community. On April 2, 1900, Yaa Asantewaa,[15] a sixty-year-old queen mother of the Asante challenged the British by leading an insurrection against them that led to the beginning of the Asante-British War of 1900—known by the people as the "Yaa Asantewaa War of 1900" as a reassertion of their independence.[16] The Yaa Asantewaa War of 1900,[17] began on April 2, 1900 and ended in March 1901 when the British conquered the kingdom of Ashanti. Traditionally in Asante culture women's roles did not include fighting on the battlefront. During times of war strategies of women included praying to God that men would win, singing songs of encouragement, and cooking food to send with the men leaving for battle.[18] Yaa Asantewaa changed the ways in which women's roles were viewed when she gave a compelling and encouraging speech on March 28, 1900 after Hodgson demanded the Golden Stool. The meeting was held at the house of Opoku Mensa (Obuabasa), who at the time was called Gyaasewahene of Kumasi and the chairman of the committee of native chiefs.[19] Agnes Akosua Aidoo gives an account of Yaa Asantewaa's speech as she heard from Opanin Kwabena Boadu of Edweso:

> How can a proud and brave people like the Asante sit back and look while white men take away their king and chiefs, and humiliate them with demand for the Golden Stool. The Golden Stool only means money to the white man; they searched and dug everywhere for it. I shall not pay one *predwan* to the Governor. If you, the chiefs of Asante, are going to behave like cowards and not fight, you should exchange your loincloths for my undergarments: *Montu mo danta mma me na money me tam.*[20]

To show her commitment to fight for the independence of the Asante people, Yaa Asantewaa fired a gun into the air at the end of the speech. A few days after her

speech, on April 2, 1900, the Asante and the British were at war. The Asante used in the war a combination of traditional strategies. This included using scouts and sentries, the use of women, stockades/barricades, frontal attacks and invasions, ambushes or ambuscades, and sieges interspersed with diplomatic negotiations and peace talks.[21]

It has been debated whether the Yaa Asantewaa War of 1900 really was led by her. In his book, *Yaa Asantewaa and the Asante-British War of 1900–1,* Boahen highlights three accounts of Yaa's role in the war that were compiled from oral histories and British documents. The first account stated that she did not fire a gun. The second one said she visited many battlefields, encouraging the men to fight, firing guns, and participated in battle. While the third story said that Yaa visited many battlefields and stockades, encouraging men to fight, but never fired a gun.[22] Boahen found that in fact Yaa Asantewaa was the leader, the commander-in-chief, who orchestrated the War of 1900:

> Yaa Asantewaa's role in the War was to decide on policies and strategies; appoint and dismiss commanders and field captains; issue instructions; appear on battlefields and battlefronts to inspire and encourage the soldiers; supply ammunition; consult the gods and obtain protective spiritual protection for the solders; and organize the women to sing *momomme* or war chants. In short, she played the role of a veritable overall leader and Commander-in-Chief of the Asante forces.[23]

Yaa Asantewaa did not work alone; she was assisted by her sister Nana Ama Afranewaa, who was the queen of Ofinso. Both women were members of the Asona matrilineal clan, related to the royal families of the states of Edweso and Ofinso. After their last defeat, Yaa Asantewaa retreated to Afranewaa in Ofinso before they were captured by the British.[24] Afranewaa was not exiled; however, Yaa Asantewaa was sent to Seychelles Island and died there in October 18, 1921.[25]

Yaa Asantewaa was just one African woman warrior who resisted colonialism through revolt. In her article, "Yaa Asantewaa: A Role Model for Womanhood in the New Millennium," Wilhelmina Donkoh discusses the various positions that Yaa Asantewaa held, such as a family woman, farmer, politician, stateswoman, and military leader. She posits that Yaa Asantewaa has become an empowering role model for women on a national level because of her resistance and determination to assert her power against British colonialists. Donkoh highlights a few positive lessons learned from the story of Yaa Asantewaa: women should be prepared to fight for what they believe in at any cost; "dare to be different in a positive way" and be prepared to fight against oppressions (e.g., age discrimination, racism, and sexism).[26]

Even though, African women's roles before, after, and during colonialism varied,[27] it was Yaa Asantewaa's resistance that became a leading example for other African countries. There were several revolts and insurrections in the period following World War II, especially in the British, French, and German colonies. For example, in 1929 Nigerian women protested against the colonial taxation system by waging war on the British. Out of this emerged the Women's War of 1929. "This was a direct form of resistance against the colonial system of

taxation and an indirect protest against the differential integration of women into the world economic system."[28] These wars were just a few of the many instances of resistance used strategically to combat colonialism; however, despite their resistance, African women's status continued to change throughout because they were forced to subscribe to European cultural values (e.g., British).

In their book, *I Will Not Eat Stone: A Women's History of Colonial Asante,* Jean Allman and Victoria Tashijian discuss the ways in which women's roles were significantly transformed throughout Ghana during British colonial rule. The authors found that women's roles shifted during colonialism thus decreasing their power and status within the Ghanaian communities. Through the redistribution of reproductive and productive labor and the modification of marriage and childrearing responsibilities, the British forced their worldviews upon Ghanaian communities. For example, when cocoa became a popular commodity for export trade, it created a shift in the working dynamics of men and women. Traditionally, husband and wives worked together on each other's land. Instead of working together on their own farmlands, women were forced to migrate with their husbands to new lands to produce more cocoa to fulfill the demand.[29] Thus women were forced to relinquish their family farms, and were diverted from pursuing their own activities to bring in more money. Although women continued to work alongside their partners, the men controlled the profits resulting from their labor.

Gloria Ofori-Baodu takes it a little further in her article, "Ghanaian Women, the Law and Economic Power," which discusses the ways in which gender divisions were created in the work sector between men and women in Ghana. A central argument of her work is that British colonialism forced women into working in sectors that were lower-paying without taking into account the Akan values of the people in Ghana. From the perspective of Eurocentric worldview, the British did not understand that women in Akan culture were treated as equals to their male counterparts in Ghana, for example, because "the matrilineal succession of most Akan cultures, lineages in families are traced from women ancestors."[30] As a result, the British ignored the significance of women's economic role in supplying the majority of Ghana's food supply and playing a vital role as contributors to the country's economy. Consequently, British colonial masters forwarded the work that was originally the woman's role in the community to male counterparts by creating policies that favored the education of males in higher-paying job areas such as science and management while women were confined to secretarial, cookery, elementary school teaching, and nursing jobs. In the end, this meant that if businesses needed funds for development or expansion, it would be offered only to male-owned businesses.[31]

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries westernized perceptions and attitudes about African women and their roles in society facilitated the growth of stereotypical views. In her article "Western Perceptions of African Women in the 19th & 20th centuries" Josephine Beouku-Betts posits that negative images of African women presented by westerners had a stronger impact because of their worldwide influence; several of the theories formulated by Europeans were about Africa being less powerful and primitive, and many of the colonizers imposed

their own cultural perspectives upon African communities.[32] Moreover, from a westernized perspective, African women's roles were insignificant and limited to a domesticated lifestyle.

Overall, there were three ways in which women's roles were transformed within West African societies. First, the British decided to create a map that was representative of their cultural worldview of West Africa. In doing so, they drew permanent lines based on their own prejudices; this was particularly true in northern Ghana. Second, by transforming the structure of the African family from extended to a conjugal family structure they limited women's roles to primary caretakers of the children. Third, the British colonial administrators pushed women into taking on work such as cooking, sewing, teaching, and nursing rather than in the fields of science and business. This also created a division of the shared labor once combined between husband and wives, which led to women being the primary workers of farmland while the men managed the money. These ideals carried on into the development of educational institutions in West Africa where there were very few women enrolled in higher education.

The Development of Higher Education in West Africa

"Colonial education, at all levels, was always a political enterprise."[33] It served as a means to situate the colonized as targets of colonial educational strategies developed to attempt to shape the worldviews of African people. An important component of developing a higher educational system was to mold the perceptions of African peoples to those of European colonizers so that they may submissively carry out colonial interests. This meant that they needed to be prepared to learn the necessary skills to perform work that would generate revenue for the colonial economy. Furthermore, the implementation of colonial education in West Africa "stipulate[d] that the place of the woman [was] in the private sphere while the man's domain [was] in the public sphere[34] thus creating an educational system designed for men that led to the production of division of gender roles within the communities. Although women in many West African societies had equal power due to their matrilineal heritage such as the Akan in Ghana and the Baule in Cote d'Ivoire—women who controlled the production of cotton—their roles in the community shifted as colonial powers began redistributing the power structure. Through the use of missionaries and colonial policy the British constructed an educational system in which women were educated about the domestic sphere while men focused on developing their skills in the areas of science, medicine, and economics. During colonial rule, formal education became a cultural capital that afforded men access to a higher economic status considered valuable in the eyes of the British colonizers. Inevitably, women were excluded from medical studies and were forced to participate in a less valued educational system that focused on home economics, often provided by missionaries.

The British used the colonial policy of indirect rule to evaluate the landscape of higher education in British colonial Africa, which is made up of three periods: 1800s to 1920s, 1920s to 1945, and 1945 to the early 1960s. In each of these

periods, there was no discussion on the development of education for women in higher education and when college/institutions emerged, there was a limited enrollment of female students. It is my contention that the exclusion of women from the higher education system was not an oversight but a way to force British cultural worldviews upon West African culture. While each of these periods is equally significant, I intend to focus on the later two periods with specific emphasis on two institutions: Achimota College and the University College of Ghana.

First, from the 1800s to 1920s, the British were not opposed to higher education for Africans in principle but did not want to do much about it in practice. Higher education during this period provided secondary level and some primary level education and then moved to university level classes. Then, the British decided to separate the secondary level education and bring it into their own schools. There were five colleges that emerged during this time: Fourah Bay College in Freetown (1826), Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum (1898), Lovedale Institution in South Africa (1841), the University of the Cape of Good Hope (1873), and Victoria College at Stellenbosch (1829).[35] In this period there was some resistance from the people to the development of British educational institutes.

In 1888 the Fantsi Amanbuhu Fekuw (The Fante National Political and Cultural Society) was founded in Cape Coast of the Gold Coast (Ghana). This association started among the educated elite in the Cape Coast as a result of the demoralizing nature and impact of European culture on Ghanaian culture. "Its main aim, therefore, was 'to stop further encroachments into their nationality."[36] In 1897 this cultural society was converted into the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS). The group fought against Britain's proposed Land Bill, which wanted to convert all empty lands to government lands. The ARPS became a voice of the Aborigines to reckon with in Ghana. Not only did they protest the Land Bill, but they also fought for education. The Aborigines' Rights Protection Society became the voice of the people in Ghana:

> As the society's mouthpiece, the Gold Coast Aborigines, put it in 1902, we want educated Fantis not Europeanized natives. We simply want our education to enable us to develop and improve our native ideas, customs, manners and institutions.[37]

The educated elite and urban dwellers also used literary media such as pamphlets, press, plays, novels, poetry, petitions, and delegations to the legislative councils and metropolitan governments to obtain their main objective of reforming the colonist system. They wanted to correct some of the problems that British colonial rule brought to the country such as obtaining adequate representation on legislative and executive councils, the implementation of better educational systems that represented the culture and ideals of the people, and more economic viability. The press played a big part in expressing their ideologies to the colonial powers. "Between 1890 and 1919 about ten newspapers were founded in Ghana alone, either in Accra or in Cape Coast, among which were the *Gold Coast Aborigines* (1898), the *Gold Coast Free Press* (1899), and the *Gold Coast Leader* (1902)."[38]

As a result of the development of reformation strategies such as the development of newspapers and associations, Pan-Africanism became another resistance strategy used to fight colonialism. Pan-Africanist activities began to brew across the country when Sylvester Williams, W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and many others met at the capitals, Paris in 1919, London in 1920, Lisbon in 1922, and New York in 1927, which further prompted action for Africans under colonial rule. As a result, in Ghana alone from 1925 to 1930, there emerged over fifty clubs and literary associations. Pan-Africanism's development sparked off a national movement among African countries to develop their own political parties in accordance with African cultural values and rights in the political system for the people. In the quote below, A. Adu Boahen gives a description of these activities:

> Among the parties and movements that were formed in British West Africa were the Mambii party of Accra; the Nigerian National Democratic party of Nigeria, formed by Herbert Macaulay in 1923; and the most important and the most interesting of them all, the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), formed in 1920. The NCBWA was the only territorial political movement that emerged in that area and it had branches in all the British West African colonies—Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia[39]

Although most of these organizations demanded the overthrowing of the British government, there were only a few branches who wanted to overthrow the British system: Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Ghana and Nigeria, and the West African Youth League that was founded by Wallace Johnson.[40]

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) did, however, develop a set of proposals for the British to implement change for the betterment of African people. There were seven areas that the NCBWA addressed: administrative and legislative reform, educational reform, economic development, the implementation of African lawyers in judiciary, the ending of racial discrimination, and self-determination. The first request for change involved administrative and legislative reform in the constitutions of the British West African colonies that asked for voice for the people. Second, they wanted educational reform and demanded that a "British West African University" be established for African students to preserve African culture and nationality. The building of more educational systems on the secondary and primary levels was part of this request. Third, they wanted economic development for each African country by promoting their goods for exportation. Fourth, they asked that African lawyers be appointed to the judiciary. Fifth, they wanted racial discrimination to be eliminated from the medical service areas in African countries. In other words, they wanted all facilities to be open to blacks and whites. Sixth, they wanted rights to the land and wanted to abolish the British system of renting property at high prices to African people. Finally, for self-determination, they were against the British and French dividing Togo and giving Cameroon to the French without consulting with the African people.[41]

Second, from the 1920s to 1945, a few institutions were established at the sub-university level on spontaneous basis. Around 1925 the first formally adopted policy on education by the British was determined by the educational philosophy of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to "adapt Western education to the political and economic colonial circumstance of the African by emphasizing industrial and vocational training at the expense of literary and academic education—the key word here is adapt, a code word for the nonacademic, vocational education, much beloved by the commissioner's chair, Thomas Jesse Jones."[42] This policy was adopted from America's southern region because it focused on agricultural and manual training of blacks to British formal policy. A year before this policy was implemented, in 1924, Achimota College was opened as an institution that would progress toward the status of a college. In addition, it offered a kindergarten and primary and secondary education programs. Then in 1944 the kindergarten and primary school was abolished. After this, it was left with three divisions: (1) Secondary; (2) Teacher training; and (3) University department. Achimota College was located six miles inland from Accra and had the largest library in all of West Africa. Although there were females being educated in kindergarten and primary levels, the numbers dropped significantly at the university level. Whereas in 1939 the institution had no female students enrolled, between 1940 and 1942 there was one female enrolled per year. In 1943 there were two females out of sixty-three students enrolled in Achimota College.[43] Similarly, the Higher College at Yaba in Nigeria, which opened in 1934, had only two female students in its six-year history.

Third, the period from 1945 to the early 1960s signified the era of Asquith colleges when the British developed more forceful and coherent British policy on developing higher education in colonies.[44] The Asquith Commission issued a report in June of 1945 that university colleges should be established and affiliated with universities in Britain, namely the University of London which meant that these institutions would be governed by the British. The University College of Ghana (at Legon) opened in 1948; the University College of Sierra Leone was established by upgrading Fourah Bay College in 1960; and the University College at Ibadan opened in 1947 under the Asquith Commission.[45]

In general, the enrollment of females in West African institutions during 1920s to 1945 and 1945 to the early 1960s was quite low and it is a reflection of the lack of support from administrators who controlled these higher educational institutions as well as the legacy of Eurocentric cultural ideals imposed upon the people. There is little data on female enrollment in West African higher educational institutions. However, in her article "Restore, Reform but do not Transform: The Gender Politics of Higher Education in Africa," Amina Mama explores the gender inequities of higher education in Africa. She suggests that gender inequities are embedded within the legacies of colonialism, patriarchy, and are representative of the intellectual culture of the institutions itself. She posits that there are three institutions by which education was facilitated by and all of them were patriarchal. This included (1) the precolonial era all-male Islamic establishments that excluded women; (2) traditional institutions of social and cultural production such as religious or initiation schools interested

in the preserving traditional gender roles of a masculine or feminine nature; and (3) colonial educational systems developed to preserve male leadership. Mama posits that "a major legacy of the colonial period was that it left very few women either qualified or socially equipped to enter either the formal economy or universities, which were as masculine in their composition as they were masculinising in their educational philosophy."[46] As a result, the number of women enrolled in higher education institutions is not adequately representative of gender equity; for example, in 2002 the University of Ghana's female enrollment was approximately 35 percent.[47]

In her article "Critical Perspectives on the Crises, Planned Change, and the Prospects for Transformation in African Higher Education," Assie-Lumumba provides a comprehensive summary of the history of African higher educational systems and the critical need for developing the university as a public good. She strongly argues for the implementation of an improved economic and structural adjustment programmes (SAPS) as African higher educational systems have suffered owing to the lack of strength in these areas. Furthermore, Assie-Lumumba promotes the idea of a developing a policy that would include marginalized groups, especially women. There is a need for the development of an African paradigm/policy to rebuild the educational systems in West Africa to be inclusive of women. In the words of Assie-Lumumba:[48]

> In the case of gender, especially its interface with other key factors such as ethnicity, region, class, area of birth and residence, it can be said that even during the first two post-independence decades (the 1960s and 1970s) of rapid educational expansion, universal primary enrollment was not achieved, nor was gender parity. On the whole, many national and international factors have contributed to hamper women's participation in higher education.[49]

Assie-Lumba believes that the lack of women participants in African higher educational institutions is as a result of international and national factors such as the absence of democratic culture, lack of communication channels between administration within the university, and limitation of academic freedom.

Conclusion

African women's roles in higher educational institutions have been marginalized for the following reasons: (1) The misinterpretation of familial roles within the West African communities that has led to the restructuring of the African family from a British patriarchal worldview; (2) the attempts to dismantle the power structure of women's roles in the West African community through the queen mother's power; (3) the establishments of all male higher educational institutions; and (4) the lack of development of British colonial policies that advocate for women's roles in higher education. Whereas, the issues that I have raised in this chapter are difficult to address in the traditional fields of policy history, I believe that the incorporation of an interdisciplinary approach of Africana studies focusing on gender will bring many of them to the forefront. While the works

of authors N'Dri Assie-Lumumba, Amina Mama, and Josephine Beouku-Betts examine the roles of women in higher education in Africa, I believe that more research should be conducted on developing a comprehensive agenda that outlines and implements Africana policies. These policies should assist in developing and promoting women's enrollment into West African higher education institutions. One of the first steps to attaining this goal is to conduct new research with current statistical data that represent the enrollment rate of women in higher education in West Africa. This research should not only account for the number of women enrolled but analyze retention rates as well as taking a deeper look at the types of degree programs that they pursue.

In addition to conducting more research, I think it is important that scholars, policymakers, administrators in higher education institutions and organizations (i.e., Africana Cultures Policy Studies Institute [ACPSI], Forum for African Women Educationalists [FAWE], Association of African Women for Research and Development [AAWORD, etc.]) unite to create an agenda that represents a gender-equal educational plan for the participation of women in West African higher educational institutions. The unification of these groups will provide an Africana gender studies holistic approach to creating policies to improve the recruitment and retention of women in higher educational institutions in West Africa.

Notes

1. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 33.
2. Caryl Phillips, *The Atlantic Sound* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 144.
3. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1986), 93.
4. Ibid., 15.
5. Ibid., 14–15.
6. Ibid., 70.
7. Y. G. M. Lulat, *A History of African Higher Education from Antiquity to the Present: A Critical Synthesis* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005), 207.
8. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 61.
9. Carola Lenz, "Colonial Constructions and African Initiatives: The History of Ethnicity in Northwestern Ghana," *Ethnos* 65:1 (2000): 107–136, 110.
10. Ibid., 113.
11. Niara Sudarska, "The Status of Women in Indigenous African Societies" in *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1996).
12. Osei Kwadwo, *An Outline of Asante History,* part 2, vol. 1 (Agona Ashanti: O. Kwadwo Enterprise, 2000), 14. Tariku Farrar, "The Queenmother, Matriarchy, and the Question of Female Political Authority in Precolonial West African Monarchy," *Journal of Black Studies* 27:5 (1997): 579–598.
13. Ibid., 14.
14. Jean Allman and Victoria Tashijian, *I Will Not Eat Stone: A Woman's History of Colonial Asante* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000), 18.

15. Nana Yaa Asantewaa was born at Besease near Edweso approximately twelve miles from Kumasi on the present Kumasis-Accra trunk road [Adu Boahen, *Yaa Asantewaa and the Asante-British War of 1900–1* (Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2003)], 114. Her mother's name was Nana Ataa Po or Nana Teepo who came from the Asona matrilineal royal clan of Edweso State (115). Her father's name was Nana Kwaku Ampoma from Ampabame near Besease (115). Yaa had a brother by the name of Kwasi Afrane Panin (115) who died in 1894. She was queen from 1880 to 1890s (117); however, when her grandson Afrane Kumaa was arrested in 1896 and deported to Freetown, Sierra Leone, she became king and queen of the state (117).
16. Boahen, *Yaa Asantewaa*.
17. For detailed information on the Yaa Asantewaa, War of 1900, see Boahen, *Yaa Asantewaa*.
18. Ibid., 61.
19. Ibid., 118.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 60.
22. Ibid., 134.
23. Ibid., 135.
24. Ibid., 146.
25. Ibid., 110.
26. Willhemina J. Donkah. "Yaa Asantewaa: A Role Model for Womanhood in the New Millennium," *Jenda A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* 1:1 (2001): 1–9, 8.
27. Niara Sudarska. "'The Status of Women' in Indigenous African Societies" In Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Sharon Harley, and Andrea Benton Rushing, eds., *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1996), 73–88, 73. Before the emergence of the slave trade and colonialism, African women's roles in the community and society as a whole varied. Particularly, in West Africa women were seen as key figures not just in the family but in the communities as well. Sudarska in her chapter "The 'Status of Women' in Indigenous African Societies," addresses the status of African women in precolonial era. In essence, Sudarska indicates that African women were "visible" forces within the community who held highly esteemed positions of status and power. Oftentimes, they were known as queen-mothers, queen-sisters, princesses, chiefs, and holders of other offices in towns and villages, occasional warriors, and so on (73). By using data from stateless societies such as the Asante (Ashanti of Ghana), Nupe, and Yoruba, she analyzes the term "status" as it relates to African women. She uses the roles of African women in families and descent groups as a focal point to discuss their roles in relationship to the economy and political process in West Africa.
28. Filomina Chioma Steady, "African Feminism: A Worldwide Perspective," *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1996), 3–22, 11.
29. For the Asante, marriage carried reciprocal rights and obligations for both men and women. Both husband and wife had their own farmland on which they worked together. When cocoa became a leading export commodity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it transformed their relationship. To produce more cocoa, couples were forced to move away from their family land to a new location that was quite far from their homes. Once they reached this new locality, it was only the husbands who held the rights to the land. Thus women were forced to relinquish their family farms and this prevented them from pursuing their own activities to bring in more money. Ultimately, although women continued to work alongside their partners, the men controlled the profits resulting from their labor.

30. Gloria Ofori-Baodu, "Ghanaian Women, the Law and Economic Power," *Voices of African Women: Women's Rights in Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania,* 349–365, 351.
31. Ibid., 351.
32. Josephine Beoku-Betts, "Western Perceptions of African Women in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries" in Andrea Cornwall, ed., *Readings in Gender in Africa* (Indiana, Indiana University Press, 2005), 20–24.
33. Lulat, *A History of African Higher Education*, 3.
34. N'Dri Assie-Lumumba, "Women in West Africa," in N. P. Stromquist, ed., *Women in the Third World: An Encyclopedia of Contemporary Issues* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1998), 533–541, 534.
35. Lulat, *A History of African Higher Education*, 208.
36. Boahen, *African Perspectives*, 69.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., 68.
39. Ibid., 82.
40. Ibid., 83.
41. Ibid., 82–83.
42. Lulat, *A History of African Higher Education*, 215.
43. Ibid., 220.
44. Ibid., 208.
45. Ibid., 228.
46. Amina Mama, "Restore, Reform but Do Not Transform: The Gender Politics of Higher Education in Africa," *JHEA/RESA* 1 (2003): 101–125, 106.
47. Ibid., 110.
48. N'Dri Assie-Lumumba, "Critical Perspectives on Crises, Planned Change, and the Prospects for Transformation in African Higher Education," *JHEA/RESA* 3 (2005): 1–29, 22–23.
49. Ibid., 16.

Part IV

African/African Diasporan Culture, Immigration, and Policy

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II

A History of Black Immigration into the United States and Canada with Culture and Policy Implications

Babacar M'Baye, Amoaba Gooden, and Wendy Wilson-Fall

Introduction

Beginning with the migrations of Africans from the island of Madagascar into the United States during the nineteenth century, this chapter attempts to provide an alternative history of African negotiation of space and freedom in Western societies in which restrictive institutions such as slavery, racism, and other forms of inequalities have continued to affect the lives of black populations. By writing about the experiences of immigrants of Malagasy, Senegalese, and Caribbean origins into the United States or Canada, this collaborative chapter attempts to disrupt a narrow conception of Black Atlantic studies, which tends to focus on the experiences of only African Americans, failing to connect these experiences with those of other African-descended populations of the old and new Diasporas. Whether in Wilson-Fall's work on Madagascar, Gooden's on Canada, M'Baye's on Senegal, the experiences of black immigrants into the Western world reveal ingenuous ways of circumventing stringent policies of racial and economic domination and control through subversive use of spirituality and communalism as tools of building economic power and cultural space.

This section focuses on the role of African American oral traditions in families with an immigrant ancestor, where self-identification as a descendant of immigrants is a key part of the families' responses to local hostilities based on race and culture and their creation of social and cultural space that reinforces such identification. Our intent is to stimulate reflection over the nature of immigration experiences of Africans and people from the continent's islands (Cape Verde, Madagascar, etc.) when they settle in America, by using early examples from

Madagascar. We look at this question through an exploration of the construction of identity and the importance of new and old ethnic, national, and cultural affinities to the experiences of integration. We also examine the impact of such immigrant-descended individuals and families on government diplomatic policies; in this case, the possible impact of nineteenth-century immigrants and their families on U.S. foreign policy toward Madagascar. In the following text we present examples from her work and archival research, and discuss how Madagascar emerged as an important icon of African American linkages in the nineteenth century, which recall the connections among Africans from Liberia, Yorubaland, and Ethiopia in various North and South American settings.[1] Madagascar was a geographic goal for black repatriation and symbol of "black" royal governance under duress of European domination in the Pan-African discourse of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. Wilson-Fall raises questions about how many diasporic encounters may have affected the greater society's view of Madagascar and decisions to consistently send African Americans to Madagascar as members of U.S. diplomatic missions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

African Americans and Madagascar: An Ambiguous Adventure

The stories of early immigrants from Madagascar, which describe their encounter with new communities and a new ethnic identity, provides important insights into early moments of experiences of globalization for an American subaltern group, as well as insight into early "old Diaspora/new Diaspora" encounters. As the Akan symbol Sankofa represents the concept of looking to the past to understand the future, examining instances of African or Malagasy immigration and settlement in nineteenth-century America can help us learn something about the sociocultural dynamics affecting African migrants today. The racialist social environment of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America constrained the performance and expression of Malagasy culture. Nevertheless, African American intellectuals demonstrated awareness of political lobbying positions toward Madagascar, which resulted in unexpected alliances between activist African Americans and Malagasy striving for independence.

The topics of transnational identity and the construction of Diaspora cultures have been at the center of many debates in the humanities and social sciences over the past decade. These discussions have developed simultaneously with the spread of the concept of globalization. Indeed, globalization has gained primary focus as the signature phenomenon of the twenty-first century. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has contributed interesting ideas to this theme, and his work is not alone in addressing the phenomenon of emigration to the United States and the ramifications of these movements for home societies.[2] Appadurai suggests that the analysis of current movements of people, images, and culture between the West and other cultural regions of the world may best be understood using a "chaos" model that draws its inspiration from the science of physics.[3] Such a perspective, he argues, can liberate scholarly reflection from the linear and static

conceptions of culture, modernity, and development that have concerned social science discussions over the past generation. The mobility and tenaciousness of nineteenth-century "black" immigrants do indeed introduce a chaotic factor into the widely accepted paradigm of a homogeneous, insulated, African American community during the nineteenth century. Thus, such cross-cultural meetings between American and African, or Malagasy and American, are not new or limited to the twentieth century. Rather, the frequency of these encounters has increased with worldwide changes in technology and the political status of various black populations in Africa and elsewhere.[4]

The ethnic diversity and the dynamic movement between and within "underdeveloped" and "overdeveloped" societies has not occurred in a finite moment but in a long process that began with sugar production in the New World and spice production in the Old World, and the advent of the Atlantic slave trade and the colonization of the Americas. Indian Ocean and Atlantic economies overlapped in such important sites as the South African Cape, Indonesia (Sumatra and Benkulen), Saint Helena's Island in the southwest Atlantic, and the Atlantic Coast of North America. It is within the context of these global movements, emerging racial policies, and the New World's dynamic "ethnoscapes" that we can place the movement of people from Madagascar, an island off the east coast of Africa, to the United States.[5]

The emigration of people from Madagascar to the United States began with the arrival of slaves during the heyday of privateers and pirates in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Caribbean, the West African Coast, and Madagascar were important havens for pirates during this period when merchants of the New World alternatively fought against them and worked with them. New York was a major destination for slaves from Madagascar in the mid-1600s, often via privateer ships that worked clandestinely with pirates in Madagascar and the Philipse family of New York that led that trade. Malagasy slaves were also present in the New England colonies, in Barbados, and in Canada during this period.[6] When they arrived in later times, early Malagasy immigrants found descendants of Malagasy slaves in New England, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Mississippi, thus constituting a "new Diaspora" that encountered the "old Diaspora."

It is important to note that slaves who were imported from Madagascar into the United States were treated just like those from Western and Central Africa since they were all confined in the restrictive context of racial and social control that prevailed in America. In *Colonial America: A History, 1565–1776* (2002), Richard Middleton describes the European institution of slavery in which these Africans were thrown as follows: "First, it was based on race. Second, it was adopted for one purpose only: unremitting labor for profit." As Middleton suggests, once these African slaves were brought into the Americas, "they were stripped and shaved to prevent disease, thus completing their degradation and depersonalization."[7] This early dehumanization of enslaved Africans in the Americas is the historical background of the oppression that African immigrants of succeeding generations have faced in both the United States and Canada.

Roughly 1,400 slaves were imported into Virginia between 1719 and 1721,[8] and there are contemporary African American families that self-identify as

descendants of these slaves. This identification is expressed, among other ways, through family narratives. What conditions favored the continued significance of this self-identification? Why did some families select one story out of hundreds of potential stories inherited from diverse progenitors? The factors that led to the retention of the idea of Madagascar in these families included the homogeneity in slave ships from there, which favored development of strong cohort relationships between people of Malagasy origins. During the short period this mass of people arrived in the United States, their Indian Ocean origins in the midst of slaves from Senegambia, Calabar, and the Akan lands no doubt added to the intense cultural negotiations that took place in those early slave communities. In addition, the tight-knit character of the slave-owning Virginia planter society, and the spate of early manumissions in Virginia from 1783 to 1806, all served to create conditions of community and continuity among these populations.

The arrival of free voluntary immigrants from Madagascar during the nineteenth century was important to the persistence of slave descendant identification with Madagascar. Most of these immigrants arrived in the eastern and southern United States sometime between 1790 and 1880, roughly a century during which individuals and small family units entered the United States. It is probable that earlier narratives deriving from people who had arrived as captives benefited from the later arrival of free immigrants in their midst. This signifies the additional critical condition that affected the practice of sustaining family narratives of Malagasy origin, and, through them, preserving an idea of difference and historical specificity. As improbable as it seems today, many of the immigrants came through Virginia.

Most of the Malagasy oral traditions contain important referents linked to documented historical events and conditions that help to place their chronology and the nature of the immigrants' travel conditions, thus helping to untangle slave descendant narratives from immigrant descendants' narratives. It is striking that descriptions of how and why people traveled are largely absent in the slave descendant stories, reflecting the traumatic and terrifying nature of their crossing into the United States. Immigrant stories, on the other hand, refer to ship's points of destination, ship's captains, religious and missionary activity, and trade. While the slave descendant narratives emphasize adjustment in America and the triumph of survival and success in establishing family and community, the immigrant descendant narratives are characterized by secrecy as an important factor of early integration. Though we know how these immigrants got to the United States and the people who helped them settle here, we do not have information about the ways in which they met the individuals who helped them travel and the terms of their free status once they arrived in the New World. The family oral narratives suggest the Malagasy immigrants' pride in their progenitors who brought their ideas and memories of Madagascar to their American experience in their efforts to adjust to the difficulties of life in segregated black communities. In addition, very little information can be found in archival sources about the arrival of these immigrants. This situation raises interesting questions about the circumstances of their travel, their insertion into American communities, and the lack of documentation by white authorities of "colored" arrivals at ports of entry.

Oral traditions collected range from stories of religious refugees (Christian children arriving through missionary help, as in the case of the Clarke family in Hanover, Virginia)[9] to tales of escape with the help of American ship captains (the Davis family of Richmond, VA. and Elyria, OH),[10] and resettlement stories involving partnerships with American commercial agents (the stories of the Brown, Gregory and Townshend families of Mississippi, Maryland, and South Carolina, respectively).[11] In many of these narratives, there is confusion regarding generations, which, as Vansina tells us, is a typical feature of oral traditions.[12] People will sometimes refer to great- or even great-great grandfathers as their grandfathers, or even refer to second- and third-generation descendants as Malagasy. In 2001 one woman spoke of her family's past and stated on a genealogy Web site: "It's so hard being a royal." Her comments centered on the pressure she experienced in the 1960s from her mother who was the great-grandchild of an immigrant named Raketaka.[13] The family had assumed the legacy of lost royalty and social isolation left behind in their ancestor's wake, somehow passed on as a part of their Madagascar narrative.

Collected via e-mail exchanges over a three-year period, and more recently through phone conversations, the story of Raketaka and her descendants is one that holds similarities with later tales of emigration from Madagascar to the United States. According to several family members, Raketaka and some of her relatives left Madagascar in the mid-nineteenth century under the sponsorship of a Captain John Davis of Richmond. On arriving in Virginia, Captain Davis arranged for Raketaka and her family, and their goods (of which, apparently, there were many) to be sent on to Elyria, Ohio. Once in Elyria, the family and other fellow travelers settled in, and founded St. Mathew's Church in Loraine. The descendants describe growing up in a house full of heavy (French) wooden furniture brought from Madagascar, and admonitions from their mother not to confuse themselves with the "ordinary black folk" from their school or in their neighborhood. In spite of such restrictions, the family settled in and became active members of the Elyria and Loraine African American communities. In accordance with Malagasy beliefs about ancestors and the hereafter, some of her descendants continue to believe in the strength of ancestors and the spirit world, and the influence of this matriarch remains strong within the family. It is said that she kept her Madagascan name in secret.[14] The narrative of the Townshend Family was first recorded in 1988 when a gentleman in Washington, DC, told the story of his great-great-grandfather; a mariner from Madagascar who befriended an American shipper by the name of York Townshend, on whose ship he worked. According to him, the Malagasy man took the name of Townshend and the first name Charlie, because the shipper had been kind to him and his brother. York Townshend helped them to settle in Union County, South Carolina. They lived there for several years before getting involved in a controversy with someone in the white community, which required them to escape by night to Alabama. He apparently said that he admired and liked York, who had helped him so much, including facilitating his escape from Union County.

According to his family, York Townshend had earlier set Charlie and his brother up as merchants based in South Carolina for his business to the Indian

Ocean. After they moved to Alabama, they continued to work on runs to Cape Town for some years. This sailor from Madagascar was Dr. Townshend's great-great-grandfather. His niece, the late Peggy Peterman and a well-known journalist from the *St. Petersburg Times* in Florida, and his sister, also contributed information on this story. When the Malagasy "Townshend" family arrived, they no doubt encountered African American families in South Carolina who descended from slaves brought from Barbados. In the early 1700s, it is estimated that as much as 40 percent of the slaves in Barbados were from Madagascar.[15] Encountering people who identified with their home may have been a factor in the successful integration of the Malagasy immigrants into the African American community of Union Springs.

The current members of the Townshend family are the descendants of Charlie Townshend, and possibly some of his siblings, who are said to have arrived with him. The narratives state that the granddaughter of Charlie Townshend still referred to herself as Malagasy. According to oral tradition, she grew up in the same neighborhood as George Washington Carter. Together they played games of collecting and identifying various plants that grew in the woods near their homes,[16] which, according to Malagasy ethnologist Emmanuel Tehindrazanarivelo, is a traditional Malagasy children's game.[17] In the same vein, Peggy Peterman said that her grandmother (who was the granddaughter of Charlie Townshend) admonished her children to remember "that they were descended from a Malagasy," and that this descent meant "they had to carry themselves in a certain way, a respectful way."[18] Her son is now a prominent African American politician in Florida, another example of how such immigrants integrated in the African American community and became active in political and social life. The above oral narratives are characterized by an interesting quality, which is that people of second, third and even fourth generations are continually referred to as Malagasy, in spite of the obvious marriages that they made here in the United States with people of diverse African, Native American, and Euro-American origins. This suggests the complex meaning that Malagasy may signify for the carriers of these traditions. Moreover, many of the immigrants assumed European, specifically Anglo-European, names. The adoption of names may seem problematic as the names are not Malagasy, but the inclination to change one's name is typically Malagasy. One may rename oneself, or add names following an important life event.[19] Indeed, even Queen Ranavalona changed her name when she assumed the throne in the 1820s. Histories of Madagascar indicate that in communities that interacted with Indian Ocean pirates and other European adventurers and merchants, people often assumed European names, changed their Malagasy names, or adjusted desired European names to Malagasy pronunciations when they decided to adopt such names.

Madagascar was once under consideration as a destination for emancipated slaves by the American Colonization Society. As a consequence of Waller's advocacy, the island was then considered as a possible site for African American emigration and cultural collaborations. Waller was in the middle of a deal to secure hundreds of acres of land as a possible resettlement site for African Americans

when he was called back to the United States.[20] It is possible and likely that the strongest force behind this latter trend was the fact that Madagascar has a long history of Christian culture and important networks with the Lutheran, Baptist, and Anglican churches. Madagascar appears in church leaflets of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the 1890s.

Family narratives created and continue to create social and cultural space where notions of ethnic and national specificity remain dynamic through the language of memory. Three major factors reinforced the pull of the past, continuously underlining the need to "sequester" an alternative cultural self for immigrants of African heritage in the United States. First, immigrants did not, in the nineteenth century, want to give up the memory of their past, which was not based on providing captive slave labor to American whites, although what they encountered upon arrival was not much different. Remembering their homeland surely served as ballast against the innumerable insults, petty and large, which they suffered in the United States. Second, the racist character of nineteenth-century American society, the insecurity and danger of the Reconstruction years in the South, and the desperate sense of dislocation that many blacks in the generation following the Civil War suffered, called for solid family ties and confident family leadership. The Malagasy immigrants' psychology of having "brought something with you" from the old country, of having a firm cultural and historical base, was important to the immigrants who married into African American families. Such immigrants also lacked the deep and extensive family networks that African Americans had already built up. Their stories thus gained them a "prestige of the past" where prestige of multigenerational family and community influence were not initially available.

Moreover, the narratives of the descendants of the Malagasy people in the United States remind us that the immigrants of today are not the only immigrants that the African American community has absorbed. From the 1880s to the 1950s, African Americans included people of diverse origins, particularly of Caribbean descent. In spite of received public opinion that African Americans are homogeneous by definition, African Caribbean immigrants have always intermarried with African Americans. In the northeast, Cape Verdeans often married into African American families as well. The idea of a homogeneous African American community is more ideology than reality.

What the narratives all have in common is the prevalence of a struggle to attain social status and a strong economic foothold as "new" African Americans. The emphasis on individual agency and the apparent lack of surprise at the occasional detail reveal a subtext of respect and sanctity assigned to the ancestor who is the protagonist of each story. In this sense, these narratives can be seen as epic stories, since they span across generations and continents. They include accounts of triumph over adversity, loss of rank and title, and a nostalgic sense of having surrendered a sense of "exotic otherness" in the process of becoming part of African American society. Accompanying this sense of nostalgia is a sense of secrecy that can be explained only partially by the unpopular connotation that declarations of ethnic and cultural particularity had within the African American community.

Senegalese Immigrant Experiences in the United States

In *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), Paul Gilroy represents the Black Atlantic as a rhizomorphic, fractal, transcultural, and international formation of black nationalist intellectual thoughts. Intellectual discourse was centered on the works of thinkers such as Martin R. Delany and W. E. B. Du Bois, and yet their works tend to run counter to modernity and to the ethnic absolutism of black political culture.[21] Alternatively, Gilroy proposes a theory of the Black Atlantic world that centers on "the internality of Blacks to the West" and the transcultural and complex nature of the experiences of these blacks.[22] He suggests the necessity to decenter the monopoly of the African American in black studies although he falls rather short in addressing the impact of recent African arrivals into the Atlantic world. Yet, in one aspect, we agree with Gilroy. Writing and reasoning counter to "North American monumentalism" is a necessary step for the inclusion of the experiences and voices of other blacks who are integral members of the larger black community in the United States. Discussing Gilroy's theory, J. Lorand Matory argues that it "usefully gives new salience to the role of free black Atlantic travelers and of cultural exchanges among freed or free black populations in creating a shared black Atlantic culture and shared black identities that transcend territorial boundaries."[23] In this sense, defining blackness within African American foci only prevents a broad vision of black cultural and transnational history in which various ethnic groups in the United States play a part, and it limits creative abilities to imagine and thus question the diverse and rich beginnings of old Diaspora cultures.

Yet, Gilroy's Black Atlantic theory is problematic since its critique of African American particularity fails to recognize the continuous and tragic effects of slavery, segregation, and racism on blacks. To acknowledge the ongoing legacy of this brutal history, one must broaden the meaning of "modernity" to identify not just the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade, but also the exportations and "exclusive" exploitation of millions of Africans and their descendants to parts of Iberia, the Mediterranean, and the New World as well as the accumulation of wealth "that proved critical to the economic and political development of various European states."[24] This history of exploitation of Africans has continued in the forced migrations of hundreds of thousands of Africans to the West where they are confronted by the stringent legacies of slavery, racism, and colonialism that other blacks in the West have faced in the past centuries as well.

Furthermore, Gilroy's Black Atlantic theory is controversial because it is grounded on a narrow conception of the Black Atlantic (black diasporan) world. His vision of such a world centers on the history and experiences of blacks of the United States, the Caribbean, and Britain, as if those of blacks of Africa, France, Canada, the Mediterranean world, the Francophone and Hispanic Caribbean, and other parts of the universe are insignificant. It is also time-bound by its lack of discussion of contemporary mobilities in the African world. Africans should be part of Gilroy's Black Atlantic world, since they participate in the continuous reconstruction and commodification of black cultures in the West.

The history of the Senegalese Murid community in the United States provides a counterpoint to Gilroy's dismissal of modern African experiences in the Western world. The Senegalese immigrants in the United States have multifaceted, layered, and hybrid identities, since their sense of homeland and self are continually shaped by the shifting trajectories and meaning of their journeys into the Diaspora. For example, as Bruno Riccio suggests, Murid migrants come to Italy in multiple ways and "involve in processes of cultural negotiation" that force us to recognize the antiessentialist nature of their experiences.[25] The Senegalese immigrants in the United States exhibit similar antiessentialism, since their different travels from their places of origins to their new destinations in the Diaspora allow them to experience, exchange, or negotiate hybrid cultures and values that weaken their authentic concepts of identity.

The 2000 U.S. Census estimated the number of American citizens and noncitizens who were born in Senegal to be 10535.[26] A large part of this Senegalese-born population in America is composed of immigrants who are followers of Cheikh Ahamadou Bamba.[27] These Senegalese immigrants use their hybrid religious traditions, folklore, music, and worldviews as means of empowering their spirituality and gaining a degree of social, economic, and political visibility in the Black Diaspora and of resisting restrictive immigration policies in this context. Using the examples of Senegalese Murid immigrants in the United States, this section explores how recent demographic movements from West Africa into the United States have transformed the meaning of the term "Black Diaspora." By studying the experiences of African immigrants who have been so far represented as part of the periphery of the black experience in the Western world, this section hopes to suggest how African immigrants enhance the already diverse and Pan-African contours of black identity in the United States.

In 1886, Bamba founded Murīdiyya, which is the most powerful Islamic brotherhood of Senegal.[28] The disciples of Bamba are called Mourides (murīd), a word which, according to Donald B. Cruise O'Brien, identifies "a brotherhood of a type well known in the world of Islam, a Sūfī tarīqa organized by the descendants of a holy man, where the followers hope to attain paradise through the special holiness and redeeming power of their religious guides."[29] Yet, as Cheikh Anta Babou suggests, the term "brotherhood" is not an accurate translation of the idea of tariqa (path) that Murid disciples and leaders use to describe this organization.[30] According to Babou, "the bond that ties the Murid goes beyond mere fraternity in pursuit of worldly accomplishment that the word brotherhood implies. Murids share common beliefs and trust in Amadu Bamba and rely on his guidance for the fulfillment in this world and their salvation in the hereafter."[31]

Following Nigerian, Liberian, and Ghanaian migrants, hundreds of Senegalese came to the United States in the 1980s and 90s to do business. This migration creatively uses the Atlantic Ocean as a passage to an interconnected transatlantic economy. As they do in Senegal, the Senegalese Murid immigrants in the United States dedicate their lives to hard work, and like many Senegalese Diaspora in other parts of the world, they often return home to invest their earnings in the development of their country. As Marie Angelique Diatta and Ndiaga Mbow suggest, the migration of this Diaspora generates money and knowledge for the

economic and social development of the country while enabling the Senegalese who stay home not to feel the constraints of exodus.[32] The image of Africans who cross the Atlantic Ocean to help other Africans opposes the prejudice that Scott L. Malcomson rightly describes as the popular belief of native-born Americans that people who come to their country are "settlers" who "come here for good."[33]

Contradicting the above bias, the Senegalese Murid immigrants arrive in the United States with entrepreneurial skills that are traceable to the commercial activities in which many Senegalese, especially those who grew up in rural areas, are involved in their homeland before they migrate abroad. Most of the Murid devotees who migrate to the United States have worked in the informal sector in Senegal. These Senegalese often come from rural areas and, occasionally, from urban centers where they have been reared in religious families and Koranic schools. There, they are given eclectic spiritual education that taught them virtues such as perseverance, humility, tolerance, and networking. When they reach adolescence, they migrate to other areas of the country to do rigorous work as Koranic schoolteachers, agricultural laborers, street vendors, security guards, clerks, chauffeurs, and coxeurs.[34] Sometimes, these jobs are made possible through the support of people who share the same Tariqa.

Since the 1980s, the Murid immigrant Diaspora has had strong presence in a global market allowing them to establish networks with immigrants from other parts of the world. These networks extend from the holy city of Touba to major African cities, the United States, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Japan, Canada, and Australia: New York, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Turin, Livorno, Milan, Rome, Paris, Toulon, Lyon, Hong Kong, Berlin, London, Yaounde, and Madrid.[35] Victoria Ebin and Mamadou Diouf use the example of the five Fall brothers who began as peddlers and salesmen in the Sandaga market of Dakar, Senegal, and now hold a monopoly in commerce of cosmetics from the United Kingdom, the United States, and shoes from Taiwan, with partners in Korea and Dakar.[36]

After years of steady work and rigorous discipline, the Senegalese Murid migrants start their own businesses and collectively acquire substantial bargaining power that the economic and political elite in Senegal cannot ignore. Since 1990, the Murid migrants are the driving force behind UNACOIS, which is a militant business association founded in Dakar in 1990 to represent the Senegalese informal sector.[37] In the 1990s, this organization convinced the Senegalese government of the then President Abdou Diouf to support it by appealing to the economic vitality of the Murid street vendors, who were in partnership with "large-scale wealthy businessmen importing merchandise directly from Asia, Europe, or the United States."[38] The success of these Murid suggests the Africans' capacity to develop skills of negotiation, adaptation, and flexibility that allow them to survive abroad.

The dynamism of the Senegalese Murid Diaspora in the United States is visible in the ways in which this community reinvents itself in secular, modern, and Western geographic and cultural contexts while maintaining its sacred religious and traditional values. For this community, the secularism and modernity of the West are not obstacles, but means for achieving power for Murid traditions and society. One example is the powerful ways in which the Murid community in

the United States maintains its relationships with its leaders from the holy city of Touba, Senegal. This connection is obvious in the great welcome that thousands of Murid worshippers in New York City gave to their devoted Sheik Mourtada Mbaké in the last week of July 2003. Susan Sachs describes: "From early morning until late at night, the parade of supplicants in Harlem—cabdrivers and computer technicians, street vendors and accountants—never stops. Someone has just opened a restaurant or a shop? The sheik muttered a prayer over a bottle of water so the owner could sprinkle it over the premises, assuring success."[39] This passage reflects the heterogeneity of the Senegalese Diaspora in New York City and the different professional activities in which these Senegalese are involved. Moreover, the quotation shows the survival of African worldviews, such as the power of holy water, which is a lore that Senegalese immigrants use as a spiritual tool of resistance against the daily strictures that rigid American immigration policies create in their lives.

On February 2, 1999, the *Economist* interviewed a thirty-three-year-old Senegalese Murid man from New York City who discussed how he achieved considerable success in America despite the ongoing challenges he and other Senegalese faced during their early years in the city from police harassment. The interviewee said: "They would confiscated [*sic*] my goods and arrested me but I managed to save my pennies and keep my faith. I knew that Amadou Bamba prevailed, so could I."[40] This statement suggests that African immigrants are not immune to the age-old policies of restrictions against foreign and domestic minority groups in the United States, which are traceable to slavery and the Jim Crow era. In "Haitian Boat People: A Study of the Conflicting Forces Shaping U.S. Immigration Policy" (1982), Alex Stepick argues that various Democratic and Republican administrations have, since 1972, fought to drastically reduce the immigration of Haitians into southern Florida and other parts of the United States.[41] Such policy reflects American intolerance of and discomfort toward black immigration into the United States. African immigrants are affected by this same policy since, in addition to running the constant risk of deportation, they also run the risk of being arrested, locked up, and disenfranchised like the millions of black men and women who are facing such inhuman and racist policy of racial control and domination in the United States. The impact of this policy is apparent in the following assessment of John A. Arthur in his *Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States*:

> Immigrants of the African diaspora in the United States find themselves caught in the complex web of race relations in America. The relationship between African immigrants and the dominant society is characterized by racial exclusion, de facto segregation, prejudice, racism, and discrimination. The control of minority groups and immigrants has usually involved the creation of exclusive group relations by the dominant group. The immigrants perceive that they are held in low esteem by the dominant society. Many of them believe that even if they achieve the highest social mobility in the United States, they will continue to experience problems with integration simply because of their skin color. In fact, according to some of the immigrants, one cannot hide one's blackness in an American society that is filled with race consciousness. Being black in a dominant white society, the immigrant

> noted, will continue to be a major impediment to full integration. The predicament of blacks living in a predominantly white culture is that no matter what people of color accomplish, their lives will continue to be characterized by the inequalities of power, prestige, and class.[42]

In such a drastic social environment riddled with racism and prejudice, spirituality and a sense of community become the immigrant's major tools for surviving and achieving some degree of power and sanity. From this perspective, the Murid immigrants' invocation of their spiritual leader "Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba" to dispel the regular trauma of police brutality and harassment is a resistive stance that challenges the Marxist conception of religion as a vain projection into divine spheres of man's inability to fulfill his/her dreams on earth. Shifting this Marxist paradigm, the Murid immigrants use spirituality as a means for gaining material accomplishment while being devoted to sacred faith. This attitude demonstrates a practical approach to life in which daily tribulations are theorized as "trials" that the Murid immigrant can surpass as the venerable Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba did during his lifetime.

According to Mamadou Diouf, the Murids' success in the Diaspora comes partly from three major factors: "the affirmation of loyalties, the conscription of a local space at the heart of the megalopolis, the daily celebration of religiously inspired ritual ceremonies such as the reading of the xasaïds (the founders' poems), and the collective participations in meals and leisure activities."[43] Beside the xasaïds, which are exclusively Murid spiritual texts, the other elements Diouf mentions are patterns that also distinguish the larger Senegalese immigrant Diaspora and justify its success. The values and spiritual writings of the Murid expatriates are part of a vibrant Black Atlantic religion that is calling for the same kind of recognition and voice that early and contemporary African-derived spiritual traditions have been seeking in the Western Hemisphere. The ethics of these Murids belong in an Islamic faith that is similar to the spiritual beliefs of the Yorùbá and Jeje Diasporas that J. Lorand Matory describes as lively twentieth-century Pan-African religious communities whose narratives have been either "silenced" or "marginalized" by current "transnationalism narratives of the major metropolitan host countries."[44]

This fluidity of the identities of Senegalese immigrants can also be seen in the United States in how they use space as a terrain where they reinvent the physical, social, and cultural characteristics of their home country. This recreation of Senegal is visible in the three-block community located between 116th Street and Malcolm X Boulevard in New York City and known as "Little Senegal." This is a neighborhood where one feels as though one is in Senegal linguistically, culturally, and socially. Here one can hear Senegalese music, eat Senegalese food (such as Thiebou Djenne), get beautiful Senegalese plaits, and meet and socialize with a community from home that reciprocates hospitality (*teranga*), mutual aid, and rotating financial support.[45]

Moreover, "Little Senegal" is a neighborhood where the Senegalese enhance black identity by interacting with African Americans and helping them connect with Africa. This collaboration is done through the Senegalese stores, restaurants,

music concerts, religious gatherings, and other activities that provide African Americans in New York the opportunity to remember their African roots in an environment that recreates both traditional and modern Africa for them. Here, African Americans appreciate the cloth, jewels, condiments, incense, painting, sculpture, and many other items from the continent. In return, the Africans revel in the fashion, accoutrement, soul food, art, music, and, especially history of African Americans. By interacting with continental Africans and consuming African materials, African Americans show the importance of what Marième Daff calls a reappropriation of African roots and a quick journey to Africa.[46]

Other examples of syncretization can be found in social expressions of recently established Senegalese communities in the United States. Many individuals or families own hair salons, stores, restaurants, travel agencies, and various other businesses where food, art, clothes, music tapes, instruments, and other items from home are sold to a racially and culturally diverse audience. Through such businesses, the Senegalese promote not just products from their home country, but also from other parts of the continent and the world, and, therefore, transform nationally categorized objects into internationally identified products. As Paul Stoller suggests, one of the ways in which the Senegalese immigrants in New York City contribute to this globalization of African culture in the metropolis is by allowing Asian traders in the city to make kente caps reproduced from original African handwoven kente to sell to both West African cloth merchants and African American boutiques.[47] This collaboration between Africans, Asians, and African American businesses in New York City reveals the Senegalese migrants' capacity to internationalize and hybridize African cultural forms and thereby remove them from both locality and authenticity.

In this context, both a Senegalese Djembe drum purchased in New York City and a Malian Bugarabu drum bought in Detroit gain comparable African spiritual and artistic value, while strengthening and spreading African identity into hybrid American cultures. In this sense, African immigrants enhance Afrocentric identity, the links between continental Africans and African Americans, and the connections between African and American cultures. Discussing the relations between African immigrants and Africans in Philadelphia, Leigh Swigart writes: "In the last decade successful collaborations also have emerged between members of these two groups in Philadelphia. At *Odunde*, an annual Yoruba celebration recreated by African Americans, many African vendors offer cultural goods for sale. 'Philly Dance Africa,' organized by the Philadelphia Folklore Project, features collaborative performances by African immigrant and African American dancers."[48]

Blackness has always been a contested notion that critics interpret according to the precepts of their school of thought. In his preface to a special issue of *American Literature*, Houston Baker, whose perspective on race mixes modernism and African-centered literary and cultural theory, qualifies blackness as an "unsettled" signifier that began to acquire meaning in the 1960s "when the sign Blackness was proposed by African American revolutionaries, literary critics, women activists, and even doctors and lawyers as the rubric under which a new and stable equality of endeavor and opportunity for people of color could

be realized in the United States."[49] This meaning of blackness has been superseded by a theory that combines the elements of Black Integrationist, Aesthetic, Reconstructionist (and High Vernacular) to create a composite. Baker points out: "It [the new Blackness] begins to compel African American cultural texts to voice their knowledge of the geographies of the 'Father,' the ambiguities of the defamiliarized 'Mother,' the rhapsodies of the musically hybridized 'Other,' and the real and unbinding names hiding egotistically behind such racial maxims as 'Uplift.' "[50] Baker's sentiments suggest that blackness is not an outmoded idea but a concept that African Americans' theorizing of their relationships with the West and Africa renders vital and contemporary. In this sense, African immigrants, who are central to the ways earlier and contemporary blacks of the Diaspora imagine and reimagine America and Africa, should be perceived as contributing to a Pan-Africanist conception of black identity in the world. This widening of the Black Diaspora concept helps us see how African immigrants in the United States enter into solidarity with other blacks while contributing to the development of a diverse and entrepreneurial black diasporan culture that remains connected to Africa. An example of this Pan-African solidarity occurred in New York City when, following the tragic shooting of the Guinean immigrant Amadou Diallo on February 5, 1999, Reverend Al Sharpton led a demonstration alongside hundreds of African immigrants and other blacks to protest against police brutality and racism against blacks in the United States.[51] The Senegalese immigrants in New York expand this Pan-African unity into their local community by bonding together against frequent tribulations that confront them in the city. For instance, As Paul Stoller argues, these immigrants "work in teams to protect themselves from the police and from petty thieves" by placing on street corners lookouts that "keep a protective eye" on their vendors.[52]

In the United States, the Murid are a visible and dynamic community that has played a major part in the vast migration of Senegalese into the United States in the past decades.[53] The examples of the Murid and other Senegalese immigrants in the United States show that the ideas of an African Diaspora and blackness are not the sole preserves of African Americans but of all African-descended communities who claim the United States as a temporary or permanent settlement site where they recreate their national identities and promote Pan-African sensibilities. By doing business in the United States and preserving their religious traditions and folklore, Senegalese communities are both ambassadors of Senegalese culture abroad and major agents of Senegalese development. In so doing, they show that ontological conception of identity is not antithetical to progress.

Canadian Immigration Policy and the African Caribbean Experience

Global migration continues to be a defining phenomenon of the twenty-first century with millions of people participating in border crossings annually. The utilization of the skills held by these immigrants has emerged as a significant issue for Canada's immigration program. Historically, Canada's gendered and racist immigration policy has directed demographic growth to meet the

economic needs of the labor market. We see this clearly by looking at the pattern of Canadian immigration history: the encouragement of Northern and Eastern Europeans to populate and open up Canadian west in the late 1800s to the earlier 1960s; the recruitment of African American men by the railway to serve as porters (even when their families were not allowed into Canada); the encouragement of British and other whites males to fill the professional areas of the labor market; the continual recruitment of Caribbean women and other women of color by the Canadian government to serve as domestics, starting in 1911; the creation of a Migrant worker program through which black men and other men of color are brought in as farm laborers on temporary work visas; and then finally the opening up of the Canadian borders to people of color generally and people of African descent specifically beginning in 1967 with the creation of the universal point system.

The impact of these border crossings is striking in cities such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Canada, preceded by Australia, has the second highest percentage of foreign-born residents. Yet, for these new migrants to Canada the wage outcomes are dismal as it may take twenty to thirty years for the principal applicant to achieve parity (if they every do) with a comparable qualified Canadian-born individual.[54] Numerous Canadian studies indicate that migration is now associated with the entrenched disadvantage of being underemployed, unemployed, and poor.[55] For people of African descent the reality is severe; they earn $4000 less than the average population, and 33 percent of their children live in families who are poor, compared with less than 19 percent of all children in Canada; the majority (69 percent) of their seniors who live alone, live below the poverty line; and there is a strong association between race and living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty.[56]

These figures are alarming given the fact that the majority of people of African descent who migrated to Canada after 1967 did so to seek better economic and life chances. Race, a determinant of entry had regulated the number of African Caribbean people Canada allowed in, but after Canada modified entry policies to reflect humanitarian and family reunification principles, hundreds of thousands of African Caribbean people migrated in search of economic prosperity. Amended in 1967, the universal point system to immigration opened previously closed Canadian immigration doors. On paper, the new guidelines meant that all prospective immigrants to Canada, regardless of ethnicity or place of birth would be assessed and given equal considerations—that is, Canada's immigration policy was no longer supposed to be racialized.[57] The policy became, and still is highly skill oriented; various characteristics such as education, employment prospects, age, health, and languages are assigned a specific value.[58] This assigning of specific values to the various characteristics led young, educated West Indians to believe that they would benefit from these changes; this was particularly evident after immigration offices were opened in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Haiti, and Guyana, beginning in 1967.[59]

With the new changes, African people from the Caribbean came in droves and became one of the largest nontraditional groups to enter Canada. Along with the Asian (South Asian and Chinese) population, highly skilled African Caribbean

replaced poor whites as the primary source for unskilled and menial labor jobs, using migration as just one strategy toward economic development (others including landownership and education). This large influx of African Caribbean people altered the Canadian political and cultural landscapes and ultimately changed the face of southwestern Ontario forever. Over 500,000 Caribbean immigrants entered Canada between 1967 and 2001 as "landed immigrants," bringing the black population to upward of 783,800 by 2006. Blacks now make up close to 2 percent of the Canadian population and are the third largest "visible minority" group in Canada behind the Chinese and South Asians.[60] The largest group of African Caribbean people comes from Jamaica (41 percent), followed by Guyana (25 percent), Trinidad-Tobago (21 percent), and Haiti and Barbados (4 percent). Table 11.1 highlights the geographical areas from which large numbers of African Caribbean migrated.

This opening up of the Canadian borders should not be seen as altruistic or even as an example of liberal humanism. Canada dropped its racially biased and restrictive immigration policies and opened its doors to nontraditional immigrants to increase the numbers in its immigrant labor force. There was a desperate need for new labor sources, given the post–World War II economic boom and the lack of new immigrants from Europe.

With Canada's postwar industrialization and rapid technological expansion, adjustments were also made to the immigration policy as it related to black farmworkers owing to pressure from the Ontario Farmers Association and the Jamaican government lobbying for recruitment of workers from the Caribbean. So in addition to allowing more people of Caribbean descent to enter, Canada was also able to tap into an international black migrant labor market vis-à-vis the temporary work visa. Jamaica became the earliest West Indian country to participate in the farm program starting in 1966.[61] Through this process, African Caribbean workers were used to keep the Canadian economy running. A few years later the Caribbean Islands of Anguilla, Barbuda, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent joined the farm labor program along with Barbados, Trinidad, and Tobago.[62] The majority of these workers like black female domestic workers and black nurses were in their prime working years, between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-nine.

Another important aspect of Canadian immigration policy is the Domestic Service Scheme and the Farm Worker Program. Both are examples of the Canadian tradition of allowing small number of blacks into the country to suit its cheap labor demands. Beginning in 1911 with its first domestic service scheme, this systematic, racialized, and sexist policy was formally deployed again in 1955 when a deal was stuck between several Caribbean counties and Canada to reestablish a domestic service program. In 1955, thousands of black women arrived in Canada to do the work that middle-class white women refused to do.[63] The women chosen were handpicked by Caribbean governments and guided by criteria set by Canada's department of immigration. These women had to be single, childless, between eighteen and thirty-five years of age, and have at least a grade-8 education. They had to work one full year in Canada with the same employer before they could apply for their residency.[64]

Table 11.1 Sources of Caribbean Immigration, 1966–1996

Date	*Jamaica*	*Trinidad*	*Guyana*	*Haiti*	*Barbados*
1966	214	780	609	98	560
1967	1,407	1,127	628	126	699
1968	3,459	2,340	736	368	1,181
1969	3,889	5,631	1,865	550	1,242
1970	4,659	4,790	2,090	840	853
1971	3,903	4,149	2,384	989	677
1972	3,092	2,739	1,976	936	534
1973	9,363	5,138	4,808	2,178	800
1974	11,286	4,802	4,030	4,857	790
1975	8,211	3,817	3,394	3,431	782
1976	7,282	2,359	3,430	3,061	544
1977	6,291	1,552	2,472	2,026	634
1978	3,858	1,190	2,253	1,702	455
1979	3,213	786	2,473	1,268	293
1980	3,161	953	2,278	1,633	354
1981	2,553	953	2,836	3,667	353
1982	2,593	926	2,735	3,468	307
1983	2,423	787	2,695	2,827	241
1984	2,479	595	1,896	1,397	258
1985	3,537	667	2,585	1,297	276
1986	4,652	940	3,705	1,727	259
1987	5,422	1,721	6,073	2,121	325
1988	3,923	2,231	2,875	1,815	314
1989	3,888	3,064	3,159	2,359	309
1990	2,387	2,851	2,714	2,387	335
1991	4,997	2,969	3,180	2,793	396
1992	5,921	4,304	2,888	2,365	350
1993	5,990	4,171	3,304	3,629	410
1994	3,882	2,347	4,122	2,085	177
1995	3,599	2,607	3,864	2,007	216
1996	3,305	2,196	2,390	1,974	164
Total	126,881	73,253	86,447	61,991	15,088

Note: *Statistics and Immigration Canada,* 1966–1996. A significant number of African Caribbean migrants are also visa students and workers on temporary visa from the Caribbean region. Their numbers are not included in the table. The students however, have a decisively cultural and political significant impact on the black population in Toronto. See Makeda Silvera, introduction to the 2nd ed., *Silenced: Talks with Working Class Caribbean Women about Their Lives and Struggles as Domestic Workers in Canada* (Toronto: Sister Vision, the Black Women and Women of Colour Press), 1983. Silvera argues that much of the activism in Toronto's black community was spearheaded by the student movement.

Given this particular avenue by which black women were allowed to enter Canada, they were assigned the most wretched status in the country. This commodification of black people is a modern equivalent to the historical enslavement of African people and to the historical use of African workers as reserve labor. It stands as intricate illustration of how Canada, as a white supremacist nation-state functions by politically organizing white labor and extracting wealth from African people by crowding black workers in low-paying ghettoized job classification. To survive, African men and women, even across national borders must sell their labor at low costs. The wealth that is extracted

from African people is then shared between the white working class and the white privileged class.

Not only did Canadian racialized- and gendered-immigration policy reinforce divisions of labor and ideologies surrounding gender and race, but these ideologies also reinforced notions of class at both the individual and structural level. Black Canadian women, more politicized after the war, were fighting not to go back to domestic work and to keep their factory jobs; they were dismayed and angered that black women from the Caribbean would work in positions from which they were trying to get out. Eleanor Hayes recalls how she felt:

> [W]hen we were slowly breaking out of that domestic environment there were an influx of Blacks from the east coast, and the West Indies who came in specially to do the housework that we were trying to get away from. There was a bit of resentment that we thought we were getting somewhere and then to have them come in and do the same thing!…and forgive me if I sound prejudiced, but when the East Indian girls started coming up and working as domestics—highly educated girls coming in—that really did it. Because number one, if you're a Canadian-born child of a West Indian family, you could never reach the heights of the West Indians left back home. To see that we were trying to get ahead and them have these girls—some of them wouldn't touch it with a ten-foot pole—do house work![65]

Although the concentration of black women as domestics was an extension of the division of labor that exists in Caribbean home countries, in Canada, this division was in a different socioeconomic, racial, and cultural context. Many African Caribbean women for instance, were highly educated with professional degrees and as such had extensive experience as teachers or nurses in their home country. Yet, they could enter Canada only as domestics. This reminded them daily that they were desired only for their labor skill. This discrimination privileged white folks and reinforced notions of social separation and white superiority.[66] The entrance of black males as farm workers under the same gendered and racialized immigration policy indicated that race and class were and would be longstanding principles that would continue to shape economic opportunities and social relations for African people in Canada.

Canada imports black male farm workers from the Caribbean to plant and harvest crops in southern Ontario because there is a demand in the Canadian market for their labor while Canadians refuse to do such jobs. The Caribbean immigrant labor is an indispensable part of the social and economic geography of crop harvesting in southwestern Ontario; the social and labor conditions of this migrant worker program are similar to neoslavery. One farmworker voiced his concerns after months in the country:

> Ah here since March, Ah feel like ah going crazy is only from de field to home to bathe, cook and sleep. If somebody could get us a bus we could make our food de night before and pay we own way, say to see de Niagara Falls or something like dat. It not human mon, to treat people like dis; it real hard. We rally need something like ah excursion. De other ting is de bathrooms; we have only three for over 30 men. One don't even wok, and we have to get water from dere to drink. Dis is bad; we are no animals.[67]

Under the guise of economic aid to the Caribbean, black men become like sharecroppers.[68] Return airfare, room, and board costs are taken out of each paycheck, and by the end of the month, little money is left to send home to their families. With only temporary work visas and the denial of the right to organize into a trade union, the farm workers are unable to collectively bargain for better wages, nor for working or living conditions—all this despite the fact that unemployment insurance premiums, Canada Pension Plan, and Workman Compensation deductions are taken regularly from their earnings.

Despite such hardships, with the economic deprivation of the Caribbean, farm workers continue to arrive by the thousands in Canada. However, when this black labor is no longer needed, under the guise of citizenship rights, Canada will limit, prohibit, and deport black visa workers. According to Silvera, this attack has to be "understood against a background of changing economic conditions in Canada and the consequent changing need for imported cheap labor."[69] Most recently, there has been talk of terminating the Jamaican farmworkers program because black workers are deserting the farms and escaping into the general black population.[70] Canada had supported migration by granting only temporary status and not landed status, which limits citizenship rights. Granting only temporary status prevents the creation of a large and permanent black working class while simultaneously filling labor shortage in Canada for particular kinds of jobs. Canadian immigration policy operates in such a way that industry and immigration perform together as a sort of supervisory body to regulate the labor force. This regulatory body is turned on or off depending on the prevailing state of the economy, which absorbs qualified Caribbean professionals whose training Canada did not invest in, to take jobs that Canadians do not want.

The impacts of these immigration policies are evident today. Compared to other immigrant groups, the African Caribbean migrant population is skewed in terms of age and gender significantly. A large number of the African Caribbean population are women: 54 percent compared to 51 percent of the general immigrant population. Women make up an even larger majority of seniors of Caribbean descent; in 2001, 62 percent of people aged 65 and over were women compared to 56 percent for the general population. This gender imbalance reflects the legacy of the domestic workers program of the 1950s and 60s, as well as the continuing pattern in subsequent decades of more women than men migrating to Canada.[71] A large number were women traveling alone. This is in sharp contrast to the experience of most other immigrant groups to Canada, where men outnumbered women and set up what have come to be known as "bachelor societies." By 2001, there were ten Jamaican women for every seven Jamaican men in Canada and ten women for every eight men for other Caribbean countries.[72] "These women were responsible for establishing a female led chain migration through which male partners, children and kin subsequently were sponsored into Canada."[73]

As a consequence of the largest numbers of African Caribbean migrants being women, there are a disproportionately high number, 22 percent in 2001, of Caribbean households headed by single females compared to 8 percent for other immigrant groups. If the pattern from the 1996 census holds true, over 60 percent of these families live below the poverty line.[74]

There are long-term consequences of living in poverty for everyone, but particularly for children, new migrants, and seniors. Living in poverty is associated with such adverse outcomes as poorer health, low birth weight, shorter life expectancy, lower educational achievement, and lower reading and writing abilities of children, as well as an increase in crime and a variety of health, social, and developmental problems.

To improve the life changes of African Caribbean people, a comprehensive and integrated public policy approach is needed. Action not only at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels of government, but also at the level of community must be taken. African Caribbean people must participate in the process of developing a strategic action plan for the alleviation of poverty and for access to employment that is in line with their professional skill set. However, the reality is that alleviating poverty cannot happen without support from the Canadian market economy, an economy that must promote employment at the skill level of every individual. Reitz points out that the earning gap between black men and the general population is attributed to differences in access to skilled occupations.[75] The government has to encourage employers to hire African Caribbean people in a way that effectively use their skill set. Canada's failure to use the skill of immigrants has social and political repercussions. The failure of the Canadian nation-state to provide adequate economic support has created an environment that is divisive and that affects intergroup and intragroup relations. Moreover, this profoundly affects individuals and families.

The Canadian Immigration Branch and labor market need to establish programs aimed at the special needs of immigrants: job mentorship programs for immigrants trying to gain "Canadian experience" in their area of expertise; expansion of bridge-training programs by internationally trained individuals to employ their skills more quickly; reducing barriers to accreditation; promoting investment and economic development strategies at the community level; and of course providing support to reduce discrimination barriers to employment at the institutional level.

In addition, there must be a commitment to providing affordable housing; over 43 percent of poor people spend over 30 percent of their income on rent. There must be a commitment to building community capacity in areas of high poverty concentration by promoting partnerships among local organizations and residents so that both have the skills and knowledge necessary to advance the interests of the entire community and maintain ownership of their communities; and there must be an adjustment in the financial assistance that individuals living in poverty receive; this must be in line with the real cost of living.

African Caribbean people also need to begin to ask serious questions of themselves. How have they invested in their community? Have they developed ownership of their communities and become active participants in the development of solution to local problems. As they begin to answer these questions and determine the next steps, they must ensure that they are at the table with all the stakeholders.

Conclusion

Scholars of the African Diaspora can begin to have conversations about the fluidity of the Diaspora by exploring how people of the diasporan world are connected and relate to each other culturally as we have done with descents of slaves and immigrants from Madagascar and with the Senegalese and African Caribbean immigrants. As we have shown, refashioning oneself is a human characteristic and African culture has a particular history of fluidity that has allowed the establishment of strong diasporan cultures that have maintained preferred aspects of their previous cultural experiences.

In addition to nineteenth-century immigrant interviews that give voice to cultural particularity, the voices of people interviewed over the past decade are clear in their rendition of the family narrative as an inheritance. People identify particular forebears ("the story came from my mother, who got it from my paternal grandfather, who got it from his mother") and usually include a description of the contemporary message keeper. In almost every case, this person is regarded in dialectic of reverence for their loyalty to the historical task and for their insistence on keeping the message going in contemporary daily life.

Culture and Policy Recommendations

Based on our research, we would like to make the following recommendations regarding the historical experiences of black immigrants in the United States and Canada:

Civic Area

- African American and African Canadian/Caribbean civic groups should nurture international issues committees that monitor U.S. policy toward immigrants of African descent where feasible.
- African American and other American museums should find ways to educate the public about the historical diversity of the African American community and the integrative challenges it faces.
- African American Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) and other civic bodies should increasingly network with continent- and Caribbean-based PVOs rather than limit focus to government links to improve understanding between people of African descent.
- The relationships between the police forces and black immigrants in New York City and other urban areas in America and in Canada must be examined and documented to help offset the racial prejudice and ignorance about black cultures that lead to the reinforcement of restrictive immigration policies against black immigrants and other minority populations.

Education

- To develop adequate and humane policy that counters the dehumanization, depersonalization, and disenfranchisement to which black immigrants are subjected in the United States and Canada, it is imperative to develop awareness about the history of these immigrants and their contributions to the diversity in the Western world.
- Institutions of higher education should continue to support programs and courses that reflect new knowledge of the African Diaspora that is based on foundational works in the field.
- The concept of Diaspora must be reconceptualized since, for the African, Diaspora necessarily means diversity because "home" suggests a reference connoting homogeneity, a more profoundly accessible site of elaborated meanings expressed in a nexus of particular language, lineage, and place relationships. Examples from the Senegalese immigrants in the United States allow us to see how the meaning of the term "Black Diaspora" must be transformed and expanded. Through their occupations, ambitions, and worldviews, these immigrants creatively use social space to establish a substantial degree of social, economic, and cultural visibility in an expansive African Diaspora that clearly has shaped and redefined conceptions of self within the American nation-state.

Lobbying and Representation

- Organizations such as TransAfrica must be sustained and they should build on existing networks of various Diaspora communities.
- The congressional Black Caucus should expand its field of targeted constituents to reflect the current complexities of the African American community, which would include African Caribbean and African immigrants in a larger definition.
- African embassies must be more assertive in their relationships with Diaspora communities, for this will increase their lobbying and representational potential.
- To improve the life chances of blacks, action must be taken at all levels of government in collaboration with Africans of the Diaspora in developing a strategic action plan for the alleviation of poverty and for access to employment that is in line with the professional skill set of immigrants.
- Immigration agencies and the labor market need to establish effective employment and social programs aimed at meeting specific needs of immigrants, for example, providing more job mentorship programs for immigrants trying to gain "experience" in their area of expertise, or providing support and resources in reducing the impact of discrimination barriers to employment at the institutional level (e.g., by providing affordable houses).

Diplomatic Area

- American Embassy personnel should practice more discretion and have more respect for visa applicants from Africa and the Caribbean.
- Private, independent individuals working on contract for African governments, such as those in Madagascar, should receive more scrutiny within the African American community as the larger community may be judged by such individuals.

Notes

1. The importance of Ethiopia to the development of Rastafarian culture and Pan-African ideals is well known. Liberia surfaced as a known entity within African American communities during this period as a result of earlier migrations through the American Colonization Society. Yorubaland, as explained by J. Lorand Matory (1999) was an important icon in Afro-Brazilian ideas about African homelands and sustained connections. See J. Lorand Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots of the Yoruba Nation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41.1 (January 1999): 72–103.
2. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; India: Oxford University Press, 1996). See also R. Radhakrishnan, *Diasporic Mediations: Between Home and Location* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
3. In *Modernity at Large*, Appadurai writes: "In order for the theory of global cultural interactions predicated on disjunctive flows to have any force greater than that of a mechanical metaphor, it will have to move into something like a human version of the theory that some scientists are calling chaos theory" (46).
4. See Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).
5. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 33–34
6. The article by Virginia Beaver Platt, "The East India Company and the Madagascar Slave Trade," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 26 (1969): 548–577 and the *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database,* book and CD-ROM by David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) provide the basis for my discussion of sites of Malagasy importation and numbers of exportation, although such authors as Michael Gomez (*Exchanging Our Country Marks* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998) and Peter Wood (*Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1974) have also mentioned the presence of Malagasy in various places along the Eastern Seaboard during this period.
7. Richard Middleton, *Colonial America: A History, 1565–1776* (Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 286.
8. Eltis et al., *Transatlantic Slave Trade.*
9. Wendy Wilson Fall, *Malagasy Free Black Settlement in Hanover County, Virginia during Slavery: The Intriguing Story of Lucy Andriana Renibe Winston* (Hanover County Black Heritage Society and Hanover County Historical Society, August, 2007).

10. Wendy Wilson Fall, "Life Stories and Ancestor Debts: Creole Malagasy in Eighteenth Century Virginia," in *Crossing Memories: Slavery and the African Diaspora*, ed. Paul Lovejoy and Ana Lucia Araujo (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, forthcoming).
11. Wendy Wilson Fall, unpublished research notes, 1986–1992.
12. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).
13. From interviews by telephone and by e-mail, as well as from text posted on this person's Web site, 2001.
14. Lewis Davis is listed in the 1880 census of Elyria, Ohio as a drayman, black, born around 1832. His birthplace is listed as North Carolina. Martha is listed as forty-one years of age in the same census, and her birthplace is listed as Ohio (interview notes with Candace Davis, 2001–2004). Candace's older sister, however, states that some archival records mention "Birth place unknown" for Martha Davis, and a different surname, Fowler, Fouler, or Foulos, in some records. (Telephone conversation, 14, May, 2008).
15. See Platt, "The East India Company"; Midlo Hall, 1998.
16. Peggy Peterman, at the Malagasy Descendent Workshop, Library of Congress, September 3, 2001.
17. Emmanuel Tehindrazanarivelo, Library of Congress Fellow, September 3, 2001.
18. This informant was Peggy Peterman, a former journalist for the *Louisville Times* and the *St. Petersburg Times*. Sadly, Ms. Peterman died in 2004. I had interviewed her uncle, Dr. Townshend, chief of Internal Medicine at Howard University, on several occasions and knew him for ten years before being introduced to Ms. Peterman. At the time of our first encounter, I was unaware that her story was the story of Dr. Townshend's family and that Townshend was her uncle.
19. See Mervyn Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered: A History from Early Times to Independence* (London: Damien Tunnacliffe, 1978), 69, 95, 97 for examples of name adoptions.
20. Randall B. Woods, "Black America's Challenge to European Colonialism: The Waller Affair, 1891–1895," *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (September 1976): 57–77; Sage Publications, and Singer, 1992, 16–20.
21. See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 4–5.
22. See Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* 5, 7.
23. See J. Lorand Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil: On the diasporic Roots of the Yoruba Nation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41.1 (January 1999): 73.
24. See Michael A. Gomez, "Introduction: Diasporic Africa: A View from History" in *Diasporic Africa: A Reader,* ed. Michael A. Gomez (New York and London: New York University Press, 2003), 1.
25. See Bruno Riccio, "Transnational Mouridism and the Afro-Muslim Critique of Italy," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30.5 (September 2004): 941.
26. See "Table FBP-1. Profile of Selected Demographic and Social Characteristics: 2000." http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/stp-159/STP-159-senegal.pdf (accessed on May 29, 2008).
27. See Babacar M'Baye and Simon J. Bronner, "Senegalese Communities," *Encyclopedia of American Folklife,* ed. Simon J. Bronner (New York and London: M. E. Sharpe, 2006), 1102–1104; see also David Crary, "Africans in U.S. Caught between Worlds," http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2007–06-16-africanimmigrants_N.htm (accessed January 28, 2009). The exact number of Senegalese immigrants in the United States is hard to determine because sources provide different statistics on this issue. However, they are part of an increasingly large community of African

immigrants in America. The 2000 Census estimates the number of U.S. residents born in Africa to be 881,300. According to Jill Wilson of the Brookings Institution, this number reached 1.25 million in 2005.

28. Lucy E. Creevey, "Ahmad Bamba 1850–1927" in *Studies in West African Islamic History*, ed. John Ralph Willis (London: Frank Cass, 1979), 278–280.
29. Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal: The Political and Economic Organization of an Islamic Brotherhood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 1.
30. Cheikh Anta Babou, "Brotherhood Solidarity, Education, and Migration: The Role of the Dahiras among the Murid Muslim Community of New York," *African Affairs* 101 (2002): 151.
31. Ibid.
32. Marie Angélique Diatta and Ndiaga Mbow. "Releasing the Development Potential of Return Migration: The Case of Senegal," *International Migration* 37:1 (1999): 246.
33. Scott L. Malcomson, "West of Eden," *Transition* 71 (1996): 26.
34. Using the example of Niger, Paul Stoller defines the *coxeur* is the person "who collects money from the passengers and who directs the actual loading of the taxi. The *coxeur* typically has one or two assistants who place the small cargo in the taxi and tie the more bulky cargo onto the taxi's roof." In Senegal, *coxeurs* and their assistants are defined in similar ways. See Paul Stoller, "Signs in the Social Order: Riding a Songhay Bush Taxi," *American Ethnologist*, 9:4 (November 1982): 750–762.
35. D. M. Carter, *States of Grace: Senegalese in Italy and the Europe Immigration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 73.
36. Victoria Ebin, "A la recherché de nouveaux poissons: stratégies commerciales mourides en temps de crise," *Politique Africaine* 45 (1992): 87–88; Mamadou Diouf, "The Senegalese Murid Trade Diaspora and the Making of a Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," trans. Steven Rendall, *Public Culture* 12:3 (2000): 679–702.
37. UNACOIS stands for the *Union Nationale des Commercants et Industriels du Senegal* (The National Union of Merchants and Industrialists of Senegal). For a dialectic and empirical study of UNACOIS, see Ibrahima Thioub, Momar-Coumba Diop, Catherine Boone, "Economic Liberalization in Senegal: Shifting Politics of Indigenous Business Interests," *African Studies Review* 41.2 (1998): 63, 63–89.
38. See Thioub et al., 76.
39. Susan Sachs. "In Harlem, Finding a Spiritual Link to Senegal," *New York Times*, Monday, July 28, 2003, A1.
40. "On the Streets of New York," *Economist* 351; 8124 (June 19, 1999): 27.
41. Alex Stepick, "Haitian Boat People: A Study in the Conflicting Forces Shaping U.S. Immigration Policy," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 45:2 (Spring 1982): 163.
42. See John A. Arthur, *Invisible Sojourners African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), 74.
43. Mamadou Diouf "The Senegalese Murid Trade."
44. J. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 110–111.
45. See Marième O. Daff, "Little Senegal: Africa in Harlem." http://www.africultures.com/anglais/articles_anglais/44senegal.htm(accessed July 16, 2007).
46. Ibid.
47. See Paul Stoller, "African/Asian/Uptown/Downtown: An Exploration of African Trading Networks in New York City" in Gayle T. Tate and Lewis A. Randolph, eds., *The Black Urban Community: From Dusk till Dawn* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 130, 141.

48. Leigh Swigart also said: "Although a shared heritage and experience of discrimination do not create an automatic empathy between African Americans and African immigrants, the two groups are gradually beginning to explore their common interests. Many African retailers market import merchandise to African Americans eager to connect to Africa." See Leigh Swigart, *Extended Lives: The African Immigrant Experience in Philadelphia (A Balch Institute Community Profile)* (Philadelphia: Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, 2001), 14–15.
49. Houston Baker, "Preface: Unsettling Blackness," *American Literature* 72:2 (2000): 246.
50. Ibid.
51. See Dick Gregory, *Callus on My Soul: A Memoir* (Atlanta, GA: Longstreet, 2000), 154, 241, 271.
52. See Paul Stoller, *Money Has No Smell: The Africanization of New York City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 89–90.
53. Ibid., 88.
54. Lesleyanne Hawthorne, "The Impact of Economic Selection Policy on Labour Market Outcomes for Degree-Qualified Migrants in Canada and Australia," *IRPP Choices* 14:5 (May 2008), www.irpp.org (accessed January 26, 2009).
55. Ibid. See also Michael Ornstein, "Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census," Access and Equity Unit Strategic and Corporate Policy Division Chief Administrator's Office, Public Health Services, Social Development of the Community and Neighborhood Services Department and the Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement, Toronto, 2000; United Way's report, *Poverty by Postal Code: the Geography of Neighborhood Poverty*, 1981–2001.
56. *Statistic Canada,* "Profile of Ethnic Communities in Canada: The Caribbean Community in Canada," 2001.
57. Racialization is used here to refer to the practice in which certain groups of people are "raced" and awarded or denied power, status, and prestige on the basis of that race. Discrimination was not eradicated from the immigration policy. Immigration officials (largely white) were given wide latitude and discretion when assessing prospective immigrants and their adaptability and fit to Canada. With no objective measure by which to assess potential citizens, the evaluation was left to individual officials. Bromley reports in his memoirs *Tireless Champion of Just Causes: Memoirs of Bromley L Armstrong* (Toronto: Vitabu, 2000) that African Caribbean women were continually asked about their intimate relationships with their husbands and boyfriends during this assessment phase, in addition to being asked a host of other sexist and racist questions.
58. The point system uses nine criteria to assess an applicant's chance of successful integration into Canadian society: age, occupational demand, vocational preparation, arranged employment, location, education, relatives in Canada, official-language competence, and personal suitability. Potential immigrants were placed in three broad categories: economic, social, and humanitarian. From these categories, they were classified as independent immigrants, family-class immigrants, or conventional refugees.
59. The majority of African Caribbean people who are motivated to seek better opportunities outside of their place of birth do so for social and economic mobility not only for themselves but also for their families. There are also certain factors that simultaneously pull a prospective migrant seducing him/her with the potential for a better economic labor market and also with the promise of a high moral and ethical outlook of that country. See Wolsely Anderson, *Caribbean Immigrants: A Socio-Demographic*

Profile (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1993), 34–35; Cecil Foster points out that through the "myth of the immigrant experience first generation immigrants must willingly put up with self-denial for the benefit of their children. This myth does not hold for West Indians like me. While we hope that our kids reap the benefits of our labor, we also want the harvest to start during our lives." See Cecil Foster, "The Mood Had Soured," *MacLean's* (February 7, 1994): 33.

60. *Statistics Canada*, 2006 Census Nation tables; the term "landed immigrant" is commonly used to imply persons who are "legally" recognized by the state. A person is documented as opposed to having undocumented status, meaning one without legal immigration papers. The Employment and Equity Act defines the term "visible minority" as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour." "Black" is one of the groups that make up the visible minority population, as identified by Employment Equity regulations. The 2001 Census placed blacks at 15.5 percent of the visible minority population and 2.5 percent of the general population.
61. Indira Ganase Lall, "Technology Transfer among Caribbean Seasonal Farm Workers from Ontario Farms into the Caribbean," unpublished MA Thesis, University of Guelph, 1992, 19; see also R. Cecil and G. Ebanks, "The Caribbean Migrant Farm Worker Programme in Ontario: Seasonal Expansion of West Indian Economic Spaces," *International Migration* 30:1 (March 1992): 19.
62. See also R. Cecil and G. Ebanks, "The Caribbean Migrant Farm Worker Programme in Ontario: Seasonal Expansion of West Indian Economic Spaces," *International Migration* 30:1 (March 1992): 19.
63. Linda Carty, "African Canadian Women and the State: Labour Only Please" in *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up,* ed. Peggy Bristow (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1994), 218–220. In the first year seventy-five domestic workers came from Jamaica and twenty-five from Barbados, and later Trinidad and Guyana were admitted.
64. These women were also subjected to a Wassermann test when they arrived in Toronto. Canadian officials argued that "due to the large percentage of syphilis in the West Indies," these women could be carriers and could expose the Canadian population to syphilis. See Armstrong, *Tireless Champion of Just Causes*, 165.
65. See Esther Hayes and Eleanor Hayes in Dionne Brand, *No Burden to Carry: Narratives of Black Working Women in Ontario, 1920's–1950's* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1991), 209–210.
66. Silvera, *Silenced*.
67. "Jamaican Farm worker," quoted in Ganase Lall, "Technology Transfer," 172.
68. The farm labor program was argued to be economically beneficial to the Caribbean countries since the Caribbean nationals would either send money back home or take money back with them when they return.
69. Silvera, *Silenced*, vii.
70. The Globeandmail.com, "Jamaican Jobs Scheme Jeopardized," December 2, 2003, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20031202.wjama1202/BNStory/National, (accessed January 24, 2009).
71. Walker, *The West Indians in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1984), 18; see also Frances Henry, *The Color of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1995), 125.
72. Dwayne Plaza, "Migration and Adjustment to Canada: Pursing the Mobility Dream 1900–1998," *The Society of Caribbean Studies Annual Conference Papers*, vol. 3, ed. Sandra Courtman, 11.

73. Dwaine Plaza, "Unpacking the Migration and Settlement Story for Indo and African-Caribbean Migrants in Canada," unpublished paper, International Conference on Migration in the Americas: Emerging Issues, York University, Canada, September 19–20, 2003, 13.
74. Michael Ornstein, "Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census," Access and Equity Unit Strategic and Corporate Policy Division Chief Administrator's Office, Public Health Services, Social Development of the Community and Neighborhood Services Department and the Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement, Toronto, 2000.
75. Jeffrey G. Reitz, "Tapping Immigrants Skills: New Directions for Canadian Immigration Policy in the Knowledge Economy," *IRPP Choices* 11(1) (Feburary, 2005), www.irpp.org (accessed January 26, 2009).

12

Speaking of Africa and Singing of Home: The Trope of Africa in African American Historiography

Tim Lake

> There is an internal landscape, geography of the soul; we search for its outlines all our lives.
>
> Those who are lucky enough to find it ease like water over a stone, onto its fluid contours, and are home.
>
> Some find it in the place of their birth; others may leave a seaside town, parched, and find themselves refreshed in a desert. There are those born in rolling countryside who are really only at ease in the intense and busy loneliness of the city.
>
> For some, the search is for the imprint of another; a child or a mother, a grandfather or a brother, a lover, a husband, a wife, or a foe.
>
> We may go through our lives happy or unhappy, successful or unfulfilled, loved, without ever standing cold with the shock of recognition, without ever feeling the agony as the twisted iron in our soul unlocks itself and we slip at last into place.
>
> *Josephine Hart,* Damage *(1991)*

The need to find our place—the spot where we belong—in the world is pervasive and, as Josephine Hart suggests, we are ill at ease until we, "with the shock of recognition," identify a place where our souls can call "home." Here home is not just a matter of birthplace but, rather, it is where our souls are at ease and, like water, are confident in their ability to adjust to innumerable possibilities as to what shape they might take. Home is where we slip into place.

For Eddie S. Glaude, Jr., the journey toward finding home, where home is conceived of in terms of an African beginning for self-understanding and cultural expression, is an uninteresting trek for present-day African American historians. In a recent address at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, Glaude argued that the study of African American faith traditions, indeed, the history

of black people, is messy business.[1] The "mess" of studying the doings and strivings of African Americans is, in part, owing to the modifier "African." What are we to make of Africa—its role, function, and import—in telling the stories of African American religion in particular and African American popular history in general?

For Glaude, Africa functions as a trope that signals a "conception of black agency apart from the reality of slavery and its consequences." As a trope, "Africa works in narratives of recovery, redemption and resistance in order to foreground a conception of agency central to resist white supremacy." Glaude does not consider this to be a "bad thing." What is problematic for Glaude is the way in which Africa is evoked as *the* beginning in stories of African American faith and culture.

Glaude rightly points out that, at the level of narrative, African American historiography/historiographies that begin with Africa "constitute an important intervention in a grand-narrative tradition that excludes the contributions of black people." However, for Glaude, there are limitations to such accounts. "I believe that there are other ways of beginning the story," argues Glaude. He questions the contemporary utility of grounding narratives of popular African American history in an African origin and seeks to explore the "implications of beginning *the* story in *this* way and holding the view that *this* beginning, as opposed to others, constitutes *the* beginning of the story of African American" life and cultural production.

The aim here is to examine the implications of Glaude's call for decentering Africa as both *the* place of "origin" and "home"—against which early generations of African Americans have remeasured, reinterpreted, and reformulated New World religious practices and beliefs—for the field of Africana studies. Careful attention is devoted to the notion that the "trope of Africa" functions in African American narrative constructions in ways that Glaude suggests. On Glaude's reading, a homogeneous interpretation of African peoples and practices is discernible in African American historiographies that posit an African origin for the sociocultural expressions of black people.[2] However, for Glaude, this is a problematic interpretation of Africans both before and after colonialism. By invoking a heterogeneous interpretation of African peoples that places emphasis on Africa's ethnic fluidity and cultural hybridity, Glaude is able to claim a socially specific creative tension and historically organic imaginative possibility for black agency and cultural ingenuity.

The position taken here is that the trope of Africa does not necessarily function in African American histories in the ways that Glaude suggests. African American histories that begin with Africa are, in part, about locating a sense of "home" and not about eliminating the complexity of the people living there. What we see in Glaude's critique is an implicit preoccupation with diversity as the ground of intellectual fertility and creative initiative. The goal is to make explicit this issue and to interrogate its usefulness to conversations about the role of Africa in stories about African Americans.

Home is not about landscape or geography but it is about our response to a particular landscape or geography. In short, what really matters about the place

we call home is what we find there. At home we find the substance of our selves; it is always already alive with language, culture, religion, sociopolitical and economic structures, and histories. These are the things that we find already in place when we arrive on the scene. If we leave home for the bustling city or a hermitage in the desert, these things would meet us there because we will have brought them with us.

We can lose our way home, get lost or become displaced in the world. Cultural practices can be disrupted; older languages give way to new languages and; sociopolitical systems are replaceable. There is a debate in the scholarship of the Atlantic slave trade as to what happened to the millions of Africans and their descendants displaced from their home and forced to endure the humiliation of being captured by a rival group (raiding and warring Africans), the cruelties of the middle passage (voyage from Africa to the New world), and the tortures of seasoning (preparation for life on the plantation). Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* published in 1789 provides a griping account of this experience.

However, the debate is about what to make of those who survived the experience (in Frederick Douglass' words) of "being made a slave." That is, was their sense of home so disrupted that they completely lost their way? Were they utterly bereft of language, culture, and custom and, therefore, had no sense of home? Or were there, despite the horrible experience of enslavement, some remains of an African past in their imaginations? These sorts of questions about the people of the African Diaspora reveals the "shiftiness" of the paradigms used to study the history and culture of the Black Atlantic World.[3]

While it is impossible to know exactly how first-generation enslaved African Americans transmuted and transmitted their relationship to their African forebears, the academic discourse about the origins of African American culture started with the work of anthropologist Melville Herskovits in the 1920s. Herskovits identified "African traditions, attitudes, and institutional forms of behavior" within the "secular and religious life of African Americans."[4] He called these forms African "survivals" or "retentions," that is, aspects of the African worldview or African imagination that resisted psychic and social annihilation during enslavement.

Researchers in the 1970s began to adopt a different model for understanding such African retentions exhibited throughout African American culture. Led by Sidney Mintz, anthropologists began to develop a model of the African Diaspora that emphasized innovation and adaptation of black cultures to New World realities. They argued for the development of a hybrid or Creole culture.[5] This new model saw blacks as not slavishly fighting to preserve African cultural artifacts but, rather, as drawing upon their African past in a pragmatic fashion, as well as New World resources, with the aim of producing structures necessary for making sense out of a world turned upside down. The emphasis here is "on cultural mixture and blending, rather than particular retained African cultural traits and traditions."[6]

Kristin Mann points us to "a creative new way of conceiving the relationship between Africa and the Americas" by those working in the "Diaspora from the

Nigerian Hinterland Project, a major international collaborative research effort." Mann describes the project as assuming "that persons born in Africa carried with them into slavery not only their culture but also their history, and that if we understand the experiences of slaves and the histories of the societies from which they came, then we will be able to trace these influences into the diaspora."[7] She continues,

> The focus in this research moves beyond Herskovits's earlier quest for African "survivals," disconnected from time, by situating African influences in specific historical context and viewing them as part of continuous historical experience… At their boldest… [scholars argue] for extending the boundaries of "African history" to include the history of Africans in the diaspora.[8]

Examples of this approach can be seen in Eugene Genovese's *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1972), John Blassingame's *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (1972), and Lawrence Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (1977).

However, Mann wants to move beyond the Africanist-Creolist debate and concerns over which was more important, the Old or the New World influences upon the black imagination? "What we need to understand," argues Mann, "is how, when, and why slaves were able to draw on material, social, ideological, and other resources from one or other traditions, or from both, to fashion communities for themselves and cope with the demands of bondage."[9]

Regardless of which position is taken, it is clear that Africa held some significance in the imaginations of blacks who endured the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in America. Evidence to this effect can be found in the range of African American cultural production such as, sermons, art, song, dance, and folktales. For example, the folktale "All God's Chillen Had Wings"[10] is about first-generation African Americans who retained their native language that contained a special power. The narrator in the story is a third-(possibly later) generation African American; however, the story is told secondhand. The narrator tells us that he heard the story from "an old wood sawyer."

As the story goes, "once all Africans could fly like birds." But they lost the gift of flight because of "their many transgressions." Once grounded, Africans were captured and made to work in the place of "worn-out Negroes" in the "cotton-field." We are told that the slave driver drove the "native Africans" with "unsparing harshness all day long, men, women, and children." Eventually they reached a point where they could not take the heat nor the relentless pace of labor and the Africans started collapsing. At this point, "the oldest man of them all, tall and strong, with a forked beard," spoke to them in an "unknown tongue" and one by one they regained the power to fly. They all flew away from the cotton field.

Upon seeing the Africans escaping, the overseers and master took off to stop the older man from speaking his magic but the old man leaped into the air as he "laughed in their faces." As he was flying over the field he said something loudly to all the "Negroes… new Negroes and old Negroes" and they also "remembered

what they had forgotten, and recalled the power which once had been theirs." They all flew away and were never seen again. The narrator tells us that he was never told where the people went and, lamentably, he cannot recall the mysterious language spoken by the old African. He explains, "My grandfather told me the words that he said; but it was a long time ago, and I have forgotten them."

This folktale can be read as a commentary about what it might feel like to have the geography of your life disoriented, to experience cultural nudity, to be disassociated from kith and kin, and to be without a linguistic compass to guide you through the world. Yet the story ends on a note of hope. The narrator tells us that should he be able to locate "the old wood sawyer," he could learn more details about his forgotten self and regain the power to escape the torment of his present condition. The sawyer, we are told, was an eyewitness to the event and therefore knew the special words to unleash the Negroes' hidden capacity to fly. But the sawyer is "an old, old man" and, though he remembers "a great many strange things," we are left to wonder how much longer he will be around to teach this special knowledge that, once remembered, will enable black people to save themselves and, like birds, fly free.

To be fair to Glaude, his reflections on the role of Africa in African American stories should be understood in relation to the "meta-concerns" that make the study of black or African religions "enormously complicated." Glaude asks a series of provocative questions about the descriptors African or black in the study of African American religious history. "What do we mean when we describe certain African American practices as religious practices?" "How are we defining black religion?" "What work is the adjective black doing?" "And how do our answers to these questions inform our histories of African American religion?" These are the sorts of questions that Glaude is immediately concerned with and it is "within the context of answering these rather broad questions that [he] take[s] up the vexed issue of the place of Africa in the study of African American religion."

For Glaude, that Africa has functioned within the stories of African American religion as a way of demonstrating black agency "apart from the reality of slavery and its consequences" is laudable. He explains that for many scholars Africa functions as a trope for "narratives of recovery, redemption and resistance in order to foreground a conception of agency central to efforts to resist white supremacy." However, such constructions "attempt to do a certain kind of work." Glaude argues that we must think of such narrative accounts as not "*the* account of the 'origins' of African American religion," rather we must come to see that "there are other ways of 'beginning' the story."

It is here that Glaude begins to extend the scope of his inquiry beyond a concern about the function of Africa in accounts of African American religious history. Glaude seems particularly concerned with the general philosophical structure imbedded within popular narratives of African American history. He tells us:

> We should be mindful that as historians, philosophers, or as cultural critics we are not engag[ing] in, when we write or invoke history, a simply dispassionate detailing of events. We actively work in shaping the narrative, in singling out certain events

> and particular characters.... So history then is always written, even when it is not explicitly acknowledged to do so, from a self-consciously critical point of view and in full awareness of the temporal distance between the historian and the subjects about which she writes.

When the trope of Africa is deplored as *the* beginning of the story of African American religion and history, it orients the narrative in ways that affirm "black subjectivity" at the expense of "the vast continent and the complexity of its relationships to the new world." Glaude contends that "'Africa,' in the service of a particular story of recovery, redemption, and resistance, often obscures more than illumines."

According to Glaude, it is time for new generations of scholars and historians of the African American past to approach Africa "without the justificatory burden of black agency, or authentication... appeals to purity, and subjectivity apart from white supremacist practices." Glaude points to recent work on the Atlantic slave trade and the Black Atlantic as providing good models of scholarship not "caught up with national history." He concludes that "we are beginning to see much more of a complexity of the relationship of African ethnic enclaves to their new world destinations." Moreover, this sort of work does not "slight the cultural innovation that characterizes the hybrid cultures by charter generations of diverse Africans on both sides of the Atlantic."

Glaude seems to be motivated by a desire to disencumber the creative genius of continental Africans and diasporic Africans who respectively responded to the terrors of colonialism and slavery by surviving and producing new cultural forms, linguistical innovations, and religious imaginings. Drawing on the work of Sidney Mintz, Glaude argues that to speak of African American history is to talk about a "mangled past." "As such, it's not so much about the precise historical origins of a word, or phrase, a musical instrument, or rhythm that matters. [What matters is] the creative genius of the users; molding older cultural substances into new ones and unfamiliar patterns without regard to purity or pedigree."

The unnamed interlocutors that Glaude seems to have in mind are Afrocentric nationalists[11] and black liberation theologians. Glaude wants to move Afrocentric nationalists beyond elaborate constructions of totem systems and etymologies that never prove a cohesive identity formation among the various and varied—superhybrid—people who populated both ancient and recent histories of the African continent. The cross-patterns of migration and emigration, internal and external imperialism, domestic and foreign slave trading, and cultural synchronism and intraethnic assimilation make such efforts fruitless. Moreover, such Afrocentric nationalist scholarship tends to shun any treatment of Africa that places stress upon individuality. Instead, the stress is placed upon the communal character of the African personality. Wilson J. Moses has called this type of African personality a "composite African," to whom Afrocentric nationalists ascribe a set of sentimental notions of Africanness. These sentimental notions are: (1) a predisposition to communalism; (2) a harmony with nature; and (3) a propensity for artistic expression and emotional experience. "Contemporary Afrocentrists," writes Moses, "impatiently dismiss evidence of diversity among African peoples."[12]

Like Wilson, Glaude objects to a sort of failure to see the diversity among and between individual African peoples and the accompanying cultural and ethnic hybridization evident in language patterns, ritual practices, and religious traditions. He also objects to black liberation theologians who adopt what Victor Anderson calls a "hermeneutic of return"[13] to "reassure the ecclesiastical and public relevancy of black liberation theology."[14] Contemporary formulations of the black liberation theology project, inaugurated into the academy with the publication of James H. Cones' *Black liberation theology and Black Power* (1969), seek to "reassure the exceptional and essential sources legitimizing the project" in a postrevolutionary context. In addition, second-generation womanist theologians endeavor to expand the experiential matrices for doing black liberation theology beyond the black man reference in light of black women's experiences.[15] In evoking a hermeneutic of return, black liberation theologians point to African traditional religious practices that remain in "slave narratives, autobiography, and folklore to assure the vitality of the black church (church theology) and the cultural solidarities that transcend the individualism that drives our market culture and morality, and rob the black community of moral vitality."[16]

For Glaude, both Afrocentric nationalist and black liberation theology projects are narratives of recovery, redemption, and resistance that hide the complexity of black life both on and off the African continent. They are attempts to recast the question of black agency, however, without releasing it from the justificatory burden of black authentication. Current African American scholars have little to gain from such essentialist narratives of an African or African American past, argues Glaude.

While Anderson also objects to essentialist narratives of the black past, he does so for different reasons. Anderson detects a performative contradiction in essentialist narratives or what he calls a "hermeneutic of return" invoked by black liberation theologians in their attempt to account for an African origin in the sources of African American religious history and black liberation theology. According to Anderson, black liberation theologians have failed to show how Africanisms (African cultural, linguistic, and ritual remains present within African American practices and traditions) are unidentifiable from the biblical utterances of Christian slaves. He contends that "instead of slave religion manifesting a hybridity,… African slaves baptize[d] the African gods into Hebrew faith." According to Anderson, this represents a violation of the principle of correlation necessary to prevent a performative contradiction between the African god who survives the experience of enslavement and the god of the African slave conceived in the language of the Hebrew/Christian faith. Anderson argues that black liberation theologians must demonstrate that the "belief systems of African traditional religions are translatable (notwithstanding whatever family resemblances may exist between them and slave religion) into the language of Hebrew/Christian faith without also committing violence against traditional religions."[17]

In addition, black liberation theologians must demonstrate the appropriateness of classifying African retentions under the single umbrella of Africanisms (much like the composite African of the Afrocentrics). The fact that African

retentions themselves constitute a diverse and often disparate set of customs and beliefs makes it problematic to haphazardly lump them together. There is a burden upon the black theologian to "show how the difference already signaled in the notion of African traditional *religions* (plural) are reducible to the sort of categorical simplicities which [they call] *Africanisms*."[18]

For Anderson, the performative contradiction—(1) the failure to demonstrate a correlation between the High God of traditional African religion and the Yahweh of Hebrew biblical faith and (2) the failure to legitimate the categorization of African retentions under the generic label Africanisms—"renders the return to African traditional religions a moot point if, in the end, there are no recognizable differences that would count as independent sources for black liberation theology."[19]

For Glaude, appealing to an African origin in African American religious histories is not only a moot point but it is restrictive and limiting of the creative genius of black people. Glaude aims to "recast this concern about origins" and "call attention to how our beginning of the story of African American religion affects the rest of the narrative." Glaude concludes, "There is so much more to the story of African American life than issues of resistance."

Glaude is right. African American history is not reducible to a narrative of resistance. The African American story is complicated and interesting because it is, in part, the tale of how persons, bound initially by geography, but from culturally distinct ethnic groups, came to be identified and to so identify themselves as a race while losing none of the complexity inherent at its formation. In fact, the story becomes even more complex owning to the nature of the African encounters with new environments and landscapes, and the particularities of their interactions with European and indigenous New World peoples. Glaude is wrong, however, in his assumption that Africa is no longer a useful reference or point of origin in narratives of the African American past.

It is instructive here to look at the experiences of third-culture children, children born to parents from different ethnic/national backgrounds who, themselves, are raised by those parents within an ethnic community or nationality that is not either parent's, for an alternative reading of African American historiography. Here, the recent memoir of Saira Shah is particularly rich. Born in Britain to an Afghan father and Indian mother, Shah, an award-winning journalist and author, always knew that she was culturally and geographically rooted to the Afghan community. It is a connection forged as much by blood as by the power of story and myth. In her book, *The Storyteller's Daughter*, we read how her father's stories of a home that she did not know kept her connected to a place, practice, and people that are centuries old. In her story we learn that one's identity formation is not limited to bloodlines but, moreover, is constitutive of the animating power of myth and story. Paraphrasing the classical Persian poet, Sheikh Sa'adi of Shiraz, Shah writes, "The myths we choose to tell reflect the message we wish to preserve."[20]

The historian's role is, like that of a parent of a third-culture child, to not allow facts to truths and discredit the existential and metaphysical aliveness of history.

This is the lesson that Shah's father teaches her when she questions the aptness of his stories to make her an Afghan. She asked,

> How could my father expect us to be truly Afghan when we had grown up outside an Afghan community? When we went back home, wouldn't we children be strangers, foreigners in our own land? . . . My father looked tired and sad. His answer startled me: "I've given you stories to replace a community. They are your community."
>
> "But surely stories can't replace experience."
>
> He picked up a packet of dehydrated onion. "Stories are like these onions—like dried experience. They aren't the original experience but they are more than nothing at all. You think about a story, you turn it over in your mind, and it becomes something else." He added hot water to the onion. "It's not fresh onion—fresh experience—but it is something that can help you to recognize experience when you come across it. Experiences follow patterns, which repeat themselves again and again. In our tradition, stories can help you deal with it. So, you see, what you may take for mere snippets of myth and legend encapsulate what you need to know to guide you on your way anywhere among Afghans."
>
> "Well, as soon as I'm eighteen I'm going to go see for myself," I said, adding craftily, "Then perhaps I'll have fresh experiences that will help me grow up."
>
> "If you would only grow up a little in the first place," he snapped, "then you would realize that you don't need to go at all."[21]

African American historiography is rooted in an African origin because, in some way, we find in Africa messages we wish to preserve about ourselves, not for the sake of returning to the past but for teaching us who we can become.

Glaude's inability to see how the trope of Africa functions in African American histories in ways other than that of recovery, redemption, and resistance is, in part, due to an obsession with articulating a usable philosophy of history for contemporary African American intellectuals.[22] That is, Glaude's genealogy of the African American intellectual tradition allows him see our current moment as one of internal critique, assessment, and revision. Previous generations of African American scholars (and others)—for example, W. E. B. Du Bois is the towering figure here—made tremendous sacrifices to uncover obscure sources of black achievement, established an intellectual framework for interpreting black life, and produced the canon of black literature splattered across disciplines in today's academy.

For Glaude, the inheritors of this reputable African American intellectual tradition are now well positioned, freed from certain justificatory obligations, to interrogate the work of earlier scholars in an effort to produce narratives that are useful for our current sociopolitical situation. Moreover, these new narratives would reflect an engagement with recent research on the Atlantic world. Today's African American intellectual must create a philosophy of history that allows him/her to present the black past in ways that accord with present-day democratic values that place a great deal of weight on diversity, complexity, and hybridity of the African Americans' individual identity formation and their national character. Glaude's call for a decentering of Africa as the primary site

of origin for stories of African American religious history is an attempt to move in this direction.

The problem with Glaude's approach lies in his preoccupation with popular histories as produced by historians. His close readings of historical texts are informed by his training as a philosopher (e.g., he references Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and John-Baptist Vico) and cultural critic (e.g., he references Samuel Beckett and Edward Said); however, he does not consider the role of the audience, apart from academic specialists, in the crafting of historical narratives. While he explores the subject position of the historian, philosopher, or cultural critic who invokes or writes history, he does not deal with the broader question of audience.

Like Glaude, Anderson also displays a fixation with his own philosophical project. Anderson is so concerned with the internal coherence of black liberation theologians' appeal to African beliefs and African slave religion as sources for black liberation theology that he fails to take seriously the audience for whom black liberation theology is meant to serve. Anderson never asks whether or not the African American pew-sitter would find the black liberation theologian's appeal to these sources creditable and, therefore, in some way license the use of these sources toward its particular end, that is, the expression of a black liberation theology. A question for both Glaude and Anderson is: What role, if any, does the audience play in determining which stories of black faith and life get told, repeated, and sanctioned, and which do not?

If African American histories and theologies are meant in some manner to serve an African American audience, it might be useful to see such narratives as functioning within the African American call-and-response tradition. That is to say, the black community is not a passive consumer of the histories and theologies produced by scholars but, rather, it is in effect a coauthor of these stories. While it is certainly the case that the actual work of producing a text can be credited to the efforts of a single individual or group of individuals, there is something to be said about the community's response to the text as a sort of gauge of the veracity of its representation(s) and interpretation(s) of the people and the meaning ascribed to their lives. In this sense the community speaks back to the author by way of its resonance or dissonance with truth claims embedded within his/her narrative history/histories.[23] Historical accounts of African American doings and strivings that "don't ring true" to those whose historical memory and experiences provide the material upon which the account is based create a dissonance between that historical account and the people. Such historical accounts are either ignored or they serve as indices of hostile outsiders or misguided insiders who are (as Toni Morrison put it) "playing in the dark."

However, stories of the black past that "ring true" find themselves reiterated throughout various modes of African American cultural production and this helps to orient a sense of collective identity. That Africa is a proper place of origin for African American histories seems to exhibit a resonance within the black imagination. This is evinced in the work of African American artists. For

example, legendary blues singer B. B. King (born Riley B. King) tells us, in his 1969 live recording of "Why I Sing the Blues," that he first got the blues when

> They brought me over on a ship
> Men were standing over me
> And a lot more with a whip
> And everybody wanna know
> Why I sing the blues.[24]

For King, the origin of his blues is not America per se but, rather, it lies in his having been taken from his home—Africa—and his subsequent unease in the New World. As the song continues, we learn that for King (and, by extension, African Americans) America has never been a place of comfort and peace.

African American blues singers are storytellers and as such they play a role in transmitting the history and culture of the people. In his liner notes to Geffen Records' release "B. B. King Anthology 1962–1998," Mark Humphrey writes that King's storytelling abilities were at their peak when he cowrote this song. "In a well-crafted lyric built over a funk bass line, King makes of blues a bitter metaphor for the entire African-American experience," continues Humphrey. The audience response to the song was fantastic. In 1969, the song hit the thirteenth spot on Billboard's R&B chart.

A more recent example of how the trope of an Africa origin continues to resonate with African American audiences in the form of black music is Erykah Badu's (born Erica Wright) live recording of the song "Certainly." The ninth track on her 1997 sophomore release, "Live,"[25] the song represents neosoul at its best.[26] Badu introduced the song by explaining how it is to be interpreted. She told the audience, "When coming over to, uh, America, we, uh, had to change a lot of things. So, uh, but we didn't give nobody permission to rearrange us. You know? So, check it out."

The lyrics recount the story of a woman who is caught off guard by an unintended love affair: "I was not looking for no love affair," sings Badu. But, as we soon learn, the love affair turns out to be the result of a trick. She was not looking for the relationship but when she turned her back she was "slipped" a "mickey" (a euphemism for being taken advantage of by having one's drink secretly doped). In a relationship that she did not intend, the lover tries to "rearrange," "fix," "mode," "kiss," and "control" her. But when the woman is revived from her drugged-out state ("but now it goes, when I wake up") she charges the tricky lover with the crime of violating her right to self-determination (an allusion to rape).

Badu introduced the song by invoking a historical past, the forced immigration of Africans to North America. And, like B. B. King, she uses Africa as a site of psychographic orientation as well as a marker of where to begin the sociohistorical narrative of the African American experience. Badu's introductory statement makes it clear that the song is a signification on the African European encounter, characterized here as an illicit love affair that has given birth to African Americans.

This is yet another example of how Africa is imbedded within African American cultural productions without the attended "messiness" that Eddie Glaude expects or the "performative contradiction" that Victor Anderson reasons.

Finally, the power of history does not reside solely within its narrative truth, in the sense of a correspondence theory of truth, but is equal to the reception that it receives. After all, as Vietnam War novelist Tim O'Brien reminds us, "Truth can be contradictory." O'Brien argues,

> I can tell you, for example, that America is a great and good country and I would be telling you the truth. I could talk about our Declaration [of Independence], and our [U.S.] Constitution and our Bill of Rights. Or I could tell you that America is a country that once permitted slavery and I'd also be telling the truth. They're contradictory but you have to live with it.[27]

For African Americans, linking stories of our past, religious imagination, and creative genius with Africa serve to (here, again, borrowing the words of O'Brien) "connect us both to our own lives and to the lives of other people." As O'Brien puts it, "Stories remind us that we are part of something mysterious and universal."

The African American historian or theologian whose quest is for an Africa origin to the lives of black people should not be seen as an essentialist but, rather, as an emissary of a people for whom Africa is the psychic and historical place of home. In all its complexity and diversity, Africa, both imagined and literal, is where black people have been able to find a sort of spiritual companionship in a confusing and unpredictable world. As Kristin Mann argues,

> The diaspora linking Africa and Americas has not been static—it was not constituted in the era of slavery and then passed on unchanged to subsequent generations. Rather it has been forged and reforged until the present as successive generations of Africans and persons of African decent all around the Atlantic basin have reconstituted their sense of themselves and their relationship with one another.[28]

When the historiography of African American life, faith, and culture is expanded to include stories told by our artists, we see the trope of Africa operating as both a site of origin and a locus of hope for the possibility of finding a way home. That is to say, the place where the geographic contours of our lives are visible and our cultural tracks gain meaning, there we are able to follow along until we come to rest with ourselves, with the limitations of our past, and the possibilities of our future.

Culture/Policy Recommendations

1. Acquire a U.S. Passport. To learn how to apply for a passport visit your local U.S. Post Office or go to the U.S. Department of State Web site at http://www.travel.state.gov/passport/get/first/first_832.html.

2. Plan a journey to an African country. If you are interested in a trip to Africa but do not know how to start planning your trip, find a university or college in your area and contact their African studies, Africana studies, black studies, ethnic studies, and/or Multicultural Affairs Office for suggestions. Many such departments have regular trips to Africa and it may be possible for you travel with them.
3. Let more African countries follow the lead of Ghana, West Africa in extending something like "The Right of Abode" to African Americans and other noncontinental diasporians. In 2001, the parliament of Ghana made it possible for qualified persons to own property, live, and work indefinitely.
4. Become a host family to an Africa student. There are two options here: (1) to host an elementary or secondary student; and/or (2) to host a university or college student from Africa. For information on how to become a host family to an African exchange student, visit the AYUSA Web site: http://www.ayusa.org/high_schools/hs_main. In addition, the International Affairs Office of your local university or college as well as the Community School Corporation can be of help in locating a host student.
5. Make news about the goings-on in African nations part of your routine informational diet. There are various print and electronic news outlets for African peoples; choose those that best fit your taste. Educational institutions without an African studies department or program can join the African Network which is a consortium of liberal arts colleges committed to literacy about and concern for Africa in American higher education. Additional information about the Africa Network can be found on its website at http://www.africanetwork.org/.

Notes

1. Quotations cited in this chapter are from a recording of Eddie S. Glaude's talk, "'Africa' in the Study of African American Religion," delivered on April 8, 2005 at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
2. Wilson Jeremiah Moses calls this an "Afrocentric perspective" toward African American historiography. Here there is attempt to marshal the "remarkable diversity of languages, customs, and physical characteristics among "black" Africans" into a representative or "composite African." See Wilson J. Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 19.
3. Kristin Mann, "Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture," in Kristin Mann and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benn and Brazil* (Oregon: Frank Cass, 2001), 3–21.
4. Ibid., 5.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 8.

10. Cited in Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Nellie Y. McKay et al., *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), 132–133.
11. Moses has identified an "Afrocentric Perspective" in popular "varieties of black histories." He writes, "Its purpose is to affirm the 'African personality' and to illustrate the contributions to human progress and civilization by all persons who might have been classified as Negroes under America's traditional system of racial distinctions." See. Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American,* 19.
12. Ibid.
13. The notion of "the hermeneutics of return" is borrowed from Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993).
14. Victor Anderson, *Beyond Ontological Blackness* (New York: Continuum, 1995) and reprinted in James A Montmarquet and William H. Hardy, *Reflections: An Anthology of African American Philosophy* (California: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2000), 414–423.
15. Ibid., 418.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., 420.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Saira Shah, *The Storyteller's Daughter* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 25.
21. Shah, *The Storyteller's Daughter,* 5–7.
22. Frederick Copleston writes, "If one admits, as one must, that historiography is more than mere chronicling and that it involves selection and interpretation, it becomes very difficult to draw a hard-and-fast line between historiography and philosophy of history. However, when we find historians interpreting history as the working-out of some kind of general plan or reducing historical development to the operation of certain universal laws, it is reasonable to begin speaking of philosophy of history." See Copleston, *A History of Philosophy: Volume 4, Modern Philosophy: Descartes to Leibniz* (New York: Image Books, 1963), 62.
23. I am indebted to Kenneth Ngwa, professor of Hebrew Bible at Drew University, for this insight into the polyphonic nature of historical narratives. The notion of narratives containing both resonance and dissonance helps to explain how multiple voices—often contradictory—can reside within a single story without lessening its meaning-making power even for generations far removed from events the story details.
24. These lyrics are from B. B. King's 1969 recording of "Why I Sing the Blues." The song was cowritten by B. B. King and Dave Clark.
25. Erykah Badu's "Live" was nominated for a 1999 Grammy for Best R&B Album.
26. According to "Wilson and Alroy's Record Reviews," "neo-soul is a form that seeks to revive the emotional delicacy and tunefulness of 70s artists like Roberta Flack and Marvin Gaye, fused with the sparseness, immediacy and hyperrealism of hip hop." See Web site address: http://www.warr.org/badu.html.
27. Tim O'Brien is a professor of creative writing at Southwest Texas State University. He is the author of the acclaimed 1998 novel, *The Things They Carried*. The quotations here are taken from an address O'Brien delivered during the Book Festival held in 2005 on the campus of George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. See Web site address: http://www.booktv.org/feature/index.asp?segid=6203&schedID=ID=381 10/17/2005.
28. Mann and Bay, "*Rethinking the African Diaspora,*" 12.

Appendix

ACPSI Proposal for Pan-African Studies CommUniversity

Zachery Williams

Components

1. Rationale: Designed as a more ambitious adult education program, the curriculum, overall setup and functioning of the CommUniversity should model the setup of the best colleges and universities in our region and nation. The difference in the two would be that the CommUniversity would specifically partner with institutions working to improve the African American community, such as churches, civic organizations, nonprofits, businesses, healthcare facilities, and social service agencies. Its graduates and students would work to promote community change, development, and empowerment with the education they acquire.

CommUniversity curriculum would use Pan-African studies/Africana studies, history, and other disciplines to engage the community and attempt to develop an educational institution that could serve as a vital nucleus of community change and development, supporting the work of local churches and other religious institutions; one that is squarely situated in the community but partnering with nearby colleges and universities, as well as churches and local civic groups. Such an institution, I firmly believe, will connect the needs of the people to the resources and expertise of those trained in the study of Africana life and culture. Taking it a step further, we must then proceed to train community residents to become the professors, professionals, and leaders of their own communities and promote a much-needed enhancement of collective self-esteem and community development.

The CommUniversity initiative would involve a partnership among various university and community constituencies, including but not limited to the following:

1. Pan-African Center for Community Studies
2. Chief Diversity Officer and Associate Vice President for Inclusion and Equity
3. Office of Multicultural Development
4. College of Education
5. Continuing Education
6. Pan-African Studies

7. History Department
8. Dean for the College of Arts and Sciences
9. Institute for Teaching and Learning
10. Summit College
11. Akron Urban League
12. Akron Public Schools (i.e. East High School)
13. Alpha Phi Alpha-Eta Tau Lambda Chapter
14. Akron NAACP

Potential funding outlets could include the College of Arts and Sciences, the History Department, the College of Education, the Vernon Odom Fund, and numerous other foundation outlets.

Space locations could involve classrooms at the University, East High School, and rooms at the Akron Urban League. Overall, the CommUniversity would reflect a win-win situation for everyone involved.

2. Mission: The mission of the UA(University of Akron) Pan-African Studies CommUniversity is to function as a community university and educational program. This community, youth, and adult education program provides free and/or low-cost interactive seminars and courses. These seminars and courses serve as public fora and creative incubators, designed to address significant issues and challenges facing the black community of Akron. The courses are taught by volunteers from both the University of Akron and the greater Akron community. The hope is that training can be provided with which to prepare many of the participants to become instructors of courses, thus promoting the transference of leadership development among underdeveloped communities.

Part of the mission of the UA Pan-African Studies CommUniversity is to take historical, intellectual, and cultural resources and use those resources to create viable solutions that address the various problems facing our communities. Furthermore, the UA Pan-African Studies CommUniversity is designed to function as a training ground for leaders of Akron—across generations—in the tradition of the Highlander Folk School. We work to develop a real practical intellectual and cultural community—connecting both head and heart—in the black community of Akron. By empowering the people with the skills and requisite training, they become the primary agents of their liberation and reconciliation, in partnership with area churches and partnering institutions.

3. Educational Philosophy: Using insights taken from Myles Horton, Paulo Freire, bell hooks, Haki Madhubuti, Barbara Ann Sizemore, Marva Collins, Alain Locke, Malcolm X, Benjamin Mays, Mary McLeod Bethune, Ella Baker, and many other important educators, the UA Pan-African Studies CommUniversity seeks to provide a transformative educational environment that supplements public and private education for members of the black community. It also serves as a bridge between those already formally educated and those desiring such an experience.

Integrative learning undergirds the CommUniversity's model of class composition. Community education functions best when it is inclusive and conducted across the age spectrum. Any individual interested in a particular course can sign up. Classes should reflect the gendered, age, socioeconomic, and experiential diversity of our community, because only by working together can we solve our problems. Success models of such a community education program are offered in Kansas City (Communiversity of UMKC: http://www.umkc.edu/commu/), Liberation University in Oakland California (sponsored by First A.M.E. Church-Rev. Cheryl Ward: article

in May 25, 2007 edition of the *Oakland Tribune*), Philadelphia (Temple University-Pan-African Studies Community Education Program: http://www.temple.edu/pascep/).

4. Curriculum: Each course should focus on one major issue of importance to the African American community of Akron and greater northeast Ohio. One book is selected and purchased by each class member at a low cost. In addition, audiovisual aids, including documentaries and other materials are used to complement course reading materials, as needed. To promote the best learning-focused environment, we parallel general informational resources with specific data and information addressing specific Akron community issues.

Each course has a two-tier emphasis. The first tier is informative and seeks to provide useful information and resources for participants. The second-tier is pragmatic and ensures that each class discusses practical solutions that can be implemented with the insights offered by participants based on their own experiences. Participants are trained as leaders, equipped and empowered to match their gifts and talents to prevalent problems facing our community. Examples of potential courses are the following:

a. Hip-Hop Culture, Gang Violence and the Crisis of Black Youth
b. Black Women's Health
c. Politics and Black Akron
d. Segregation and Black Education
e. Mental Health and the Black Community
f. Practical Black/Womanist Theology and the Black Church in Akron
g. Black Men's History and Studies in Akron
h. The Black Family and Technology

5. Courses of Study: There are various courses of study each member can select from as an area of concentration. To obtain a certificate in a specified area, participants must complete a designated number of courses. Courses of study as well as total number of courses required to receive a concentration certificate will be determined by the CommUniversity administration. Examples of possible concentrations could include the following:

a. Religion
b. Education
c. Family and Community Health
d. Legal Studies
e. Hip-Hop Culture
f. Public Intellectual/Theologian Program
g. Global Women's and Gender Studies

6. Graduation: Each summer, a community graduation is held to commemorate those who qualify for graduation. A community celebration is held with the awarding of certificates and a Commencement speaker to address the graduates. Our goal is to ensure that everyone who enters and desires an education can obtain one. When people are empowered with a greater concentration of life skills, our community becomes empowered.

7. Faculty: Faculty is selected from volunteers interviewed by CommUniversity administration. The CommUniversity administration is selected from a team of advisors apart of the Pan-African Studies Program and Pan-African Center for Community Studies.

8. Additional activities of CommUniversity:

a. Lecture series. Invite local and national speakers to address community on relevant topics of interest to Black Akron and greater Northeast Ohio
b. Public Forums, Town Hall meetings, and Community Conversations
c. Public Seminars and Workshops

9. CommUniversity Internship Program and Creativity Incubator: After completion of a specific area of focus or concentration in the CommUniversity, participants are connected with a list of community, nonprofit, and city agencies that will enlist their talents and skills in the service of the community. Moreover, participants are encouraged and equipped to begin development of their own projects, advocacy organizations, institutions, and so on as a result of graduation of courses of study within the CommUniversity. Such an entity could help keep track of graduates and interested applicants. The incubator also serves as an educational bridge, assisting graduates and participants with lifelong learning opportunities, particularly enrollment in formal college and university degree programs.

10. Frequency: Courses are conducted on a semester system. Each class can be held throughout the week, on Saturdays, and throughout the summer months with the latter functioning as intensive courses, conducted as summer institutes and seminars. Demand and need for courses can also dictate frequency of offerings.

11. Partnerships: Relevant partnerships are established to cosponsor events and collaborate on providing resources and materials. Potential partners could include volunteers from the University of Akron faculty and staff; area churches, K-12 schools, businesses, social service agencies, city government entities, and so on.

12. Headquarters. Pan-African Studies Program office or the Pan African Center for Community Studies: The program office or the center space could also serve as the administration headquarters for the CommUniversity itself.

13. UA Pan-African Studies CommUniversity Library: In addition to allowing students and participants to have access to the UA Library system, including Bierce and the Law library, the CommUniversity should develop its own community library. As a part of the CommUniversity, a library should be established to house relevant resources. Library materials can include books, journals, newspapers, magazines, and other materials. The library resources can also supplement reading material used in courses. Members of the community should be able to access the materials in the library with a library card. These materials can be acquired through personal donations and potential grants. Library hours and materials can be determined by the CommUniversity administration and staff.

Notes on Contributors

The Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute (ACPSI), formed in 2003 and created by a unique community of scholar activists, holds as its central mission the task of defining the field of Africana cultures and policy studies, thereby strengthening the discipline of Africana studies. This innovative think tank seeks to fill a much-needed gap in the public transfer of knowledge creation and public policy development. ACPSI intentionally promotes the paradigm of connecting the study of Africana history and culture with public policy development, evaluation, implementation, and advocacy. As an institute, ACPSI fellows advance the idea that the next phase of the evolution of Africana studies is the clear definition, canonization, and pragmatism of the link between historical culture and public policy. ACPSI seeks to bring college and university academics, government and public policy experts, journalists, black religious leaders and scholars, artists, grassroots leaders, and organic public intellectuals into a critical dialogue around the development of transformative models of using public scholarship for the purposes of promoting effective social change.

Greg Childs is a Ph.D. candidate in history at New York University.

Wendy-Wilson Fall, Ph.D. is an associate professor in Pan-African studies and adjunct in anthropology at Kent State University. From 1999 to 2004, Dr. Wilson-Fall served as director of the West African Research Center and also worked in Senegal and Niger. As an applied anthropologist, she has provided technical support to various development initiatives, including a 2003 study on hunting concessions and conservation in Senegal. Wilson-Fall has published research on Fulani pastoralists and herding (*African Philosophy* 1999), *Nomadic Peoples* (1995), rural development (Drylands Research Institute, 2000), and applied research in Senegal.

Pearl Ford, Ph.D. is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Arkansas. She is also affiliated with the African American Studies Program. Dr. Ford's research interests include African American political behavior as well as the intersection of race and class and electoral behavior. She is currently working on an edited volume entitled *African Americans in Georgia: A Reflection of Politics and Policy in the New South* (forthcoming). The book is under contract with Mercer University Press. A native of Savannah, Georgia, she earned a B.A. in political science from Savannah State College and the Ph.D. in political science from Howard University.

Jennifer Goode is an assistant professor at the College of Notre Dame. She was a visiting assistant professor at Howard University during the time of this study. She conducts research in the areas of social psychology (e.g., issues of self, socialization, and the impact of social structure on mental health) and social deviance and criminology (e.g., deviant

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Amoaba Gooden, Ph.D. is an assistant professor of Diaspora studies in the Department of Pan-African Studies at Kent State University. Dr. Gooden has numerous research interests that include the life experiences of African Caribbean people living in Canada and the United States. Her current research focuses on migration, gender, and identity among African Caribbean immigrants living in Canada and social networking as a determinant of health among African Caribbean people and immigrants in general. Dr. Gooden's research can be seen in numerous publications including the *Journal of Black Studies, Wagadu: Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies* and *the Canadian Woman Studies Journal.*

Tara Jabbaar-Gyambrah, Ph.D. is an academic advisor in the Academic Challenge and Enrichment Program at the University at Buffalo and a senior lecturer at Niagara University. She received her Ph.D. from the University at Buffalo's American Studies Program specializing in women's studies and her M.A. in African American studies and sociology. Dr. Jabbaar-Gyambrah has done extensive research in Ghana in 1998, 2001, and 2002 exploring the cross-cultural representations of black women in popular culture. She has published a journal article entitled, "Triple M, Representin,' Reconstructin' and Resistin': Ideologies of Gender and Sexuality in Hip-Life Music in Ghana," in the *Journal of Race and Policy.* Her primary research and teaching interests center on understanding black women's roles and representations in popular culture globally, race and ethnicity, and exploring the identities of black youth culture in the Americas, West Africa, and the Caribbean. Dr. Jabbaar-Gyambrah is Senior Fellow with the Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute.

Renata Harden (Bowling Green State University) is an assistant professor in the English and Foreign Languages Department and has a joint appointment in the Africana Studies Department at Fort Valley State University. She received her bachelor's degree in English from Fort Valley State University and she continued her academic pursuits at Bowling Green State University where she earned her master's degree in English and a doctorate degree in communication studies. Dr. Harden has a passion for exploring the geopolitical, historical, and transitory nature of African American identity. Through her travels to West Africa (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Togo, and Benin), Dr. Harden has conceptualized a model for understanding the context of the dynamic African American identity. Some of her research interests include African and African American cultural linguistics, linguistic code-switching, African American identity, postcolonial African culture, African Diaspora studies, race and ethnicity, communication and culture, and performance studies.

Tekla Ali Johnson, Ph.D. earned a Ph.D. in history with an emphasis in African American studies at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln in 2005. Dr. Johnson served as assistant professor of history at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University from 2004 to 2006. She is presently an assistant professor of history at Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina, where she serves as the coordinator of the African & African American Studies Program and coordinator of the History Program; and is the cofounder of a Concentration in Public History. Dr. Johnson has published articles on race in the *Journal of Contemporary American Studies,* and in the *Black Scholar,* and has authored a chapter on Frederick Douglass in *Commemorating the Sesquicentennial of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854,* edited by John R. Wunder

(the University of Nebraska Press, 2008). She coauthored a chapter in *Africana Cultures and Policy Studies: How African American History, Culture, and Studies Can Transform Africana Public Policy,* in the Contemporary Black History Series, edited by Manning Marable and Peniel Joseph (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008–2009). Ali Johnson coedited a textbook, *Africana Legacy: Diasporic Studies in the Americas* (Tapestry Press, 2006) with Dr. Cecily B. McDaniel which is in its third year as required curriculum for freshmen at NC A & T State University. Ali Johnson is a UNCF/Mellon Faculty Residency Program recipient, ($25,000) and will be in residence at Emory University's James Weldon Johnson Center for Advanced Interdisciplinary Study during the Spring semester of 2009. She is currently writing a history of the African American community of Lincoln, Nebraska. Her book *Defender of the Downtrodden: A Political Biography of Ernest Chambers* is forthcoming under Texas Tech University Press. Ali Johnson was named an Exemplary Diversity Scholar for 2008–2009, by the University of Michigan's National Center for Institutional Diversity.

Tim Lake, Ph.D. (Bowling Green State University) is an assistant professor of English and director of the Malcolm X Institute of Black Studies at Wabash College in Crawfordsville, Indiana. He is the author of "The Arm(ing) of the Vanguard, Signify(ing) and Performing the Revolution" in *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement*, Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams, eds., Duke University Press, September 2006. Dr. Lake is a founder of the Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute and a senior fellow.

Babacar M'Baye, Ph.D. (Bowling Green State University) is an assistant professor of African American and Pan-African literature at Kent State University. Dr. M'Baye received his Ph.D. in American culture studies from Bowling Green State University, his M.A. in American studies from Pennsylvania State University in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and his B.A. in English from the Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis, Sénégal. Babacar is currently teaching. He has published essays on the relations between Phyllis Wheatley, Olaudah Equiano, Mary Prince, W. E. B. Du Bois, Richard Wright, Toni Morrison, James Baldwin and Africa). His teaching and research areas are late eighteenth-and-early-twentieth-century Pan-African literature, twentieth-century African American literature, twentieth-century African literature, and Black Atlantic studies. He is a founder of the Africana Cultures and Policy Studies Institute, senior fellow, and codirector of Research and Publications. Dr. M'Baye has a forthcoming book entitled *From Phillis Wheatley to Mary Prince: The Pan-African Influence in Early Black Diasporan Narratives of Slavery* from the University of Mississippi Press.

Nathaniel Norment Jr. is chair and associate professor of African American studies at Temple University where he teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in African American studies and African American literature and culture. He is the codirector of the Center for African American Research and Public Policy (at Temple) whose research focuses on four areas affecting African Americans: criminal justice, economic development, education, and health. He is the editor of *The African American Studies Reader* (Carolina Academic Press, 2001, 2nd edition, 2007), *Readings in African American Language: Aspects, Features and Perspectives-Volume 1(2003) and Volume 2 (2005)* (Peter Lang Publishing), *An Introduction to African American Studies: The Discipline and its Dimensions* (Carolina Academic Press, forthcoming 2008), and *The Addison Gayle, Jr. Reader (*University of Illinois Press, forthcoming 2008). He has published in the *College Language Association Journal*, the *Journal of Basic Writing*, the *Journal of Chinese Language Teachers Association*, the *Journal of Black Studies*, and the *Language*

Quarterly. Norment earned his B.S. degree at Ball State University, M.S. degree at Saint Francis University, and Ph.D. degree at Fordham University.

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Deborah Brown Quick, Ph.D. is an associate professor of sociology and presently serves as the chair of the Social Sciences Department at Johnson C. Smith University. She teaches both sociology and criminology courses. Her research interests include policing, stratification and the use of community research as pedagogy.

Kenyatta Phelps, Ph.D. (Bowling Green State University) is an assistant professor in the Division of Social Work, Behavioral and Political Sciences at Prairie View A&M University where she coordinates the undergraduate and graduate sociology programs. Dr. Phelps considers the "classroom experience" as a pivotal and sacred space to inspire budding sociologists to critically analyze their social world. In addition to her teaching responsibilities, Dr. Phelps is the assessment coordinator for the University. In this capacity, she analyzes, summarizes, and reports institutional data gauging institutional effectiveness. Her primary responsibility is to assess the quality of student learning and to make recommendations based on data and to support the University's reaffirmation of accreditation. Dr. Phelps earned her Ph.D. in sociology from Bowling Green State University. She has coauthored two publications, "The Influence of Dating Partners on Adolescents' Academic Achievement" and "What Can I do? Applying Classroom Knowledge to Service Work, or Doing Practice Sociology." Dr. Phelps traveled to several West African countries (Benin, Ghana, and Togo) and began a research project examining the affects of European colonialism on African religious identity. Her other research interests are mental health, education, academic preparedness, service-learning, college satisfaction, African American adolescence, student engagement, African American dating patterns, social inequality, urban communities, and African American health. She is currently working on a research project that examines factors associated with student engagement among college students.

Loretta Prater, Ph.D. is professor and dean of the College of Health and Human Services at Southeast Missouri State University. Previously, she was chair of the School of Family and Consumer Sciences at Eastern Illinois University, and associate professor in the College of Education at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga (UTC). While at UTC, she was cofounder of Each One Reach One, a grant-funded initiative to recruit and educate African American males as elementary school teachers. Her doctorate from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville is in child and family studies. As a social scientist interested in family dynamics over the life span, her research, presentations, and publications focused on teenage pregnancy, older adults and intimacy, and the interaction between African American families and urban schools, especially as related to students with special needs. Dr. Prater has chapters in several books and is published in *Marriage and Family Review and Exceptional Children*. Since 2004, the topic of police brutality has been a major focus of her professional development and scholarly activities. She has provided workshops for police academy cadets, community advocates, and university faculty and students. As a mother of a son killed by police, Dr. Prater has facilitated support

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Wornie Reed, Ph.D. is professor of Africana studies and sociology and director of the Africana Studies Program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Previously he was professor of sociology and urban studies at Cleveland State University (1991–2004), and adjunct professor at the CWRU School of Medicine (2003–2004). From 1991 to 2001 he was also director of the Urban Child Research Center in the Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs at Cleveland State University. He received his B.S. degree in secondary education (science and mathematics) at Alabama State University and the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in sociology from Boston University. Before going to Cleveland State University in August 1991, he was chairperson of the Department of Black Studies and director of the William Monroe Trotter Institute for the Study of Black Culture at the University of Massachusetts at Boston (1985–1991). Prior to those positions he was director of the Institute for Urban Research at Morgan State University (1983–1985); and assistant professor in the Department of Sociology and associate in the Division of Health Care Research in the School of Medicine at Washington University (1975–1983). Professor Reed served a three-year term (1990–1992) as president of the National Congress of Black Faculty, and he is past president of the national Association of Black Sociologists (2000–2001). Among his scholarly accomplishments is the project he directed, "Assessment of the Status of African Americans," involving approximately sixty-one scholars. This project resulted in the production of a four-volume work published by Auburn House Publishers. Among the books written and edited by Dr. Reed are *The Education of African-Americans* (C. Willie, A. Garibaldi and W. Reed, eds., 1991), *Research on the African-American Family* (R. Hill et al., 1993), *Health and Medical Care of African-Americans* (W. Reed, 1993), and *African-Americans: Essential Perspectives* (W. Reed, ed., 1993).

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