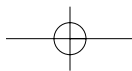
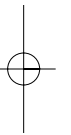
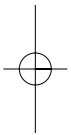
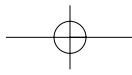


The African American Studies Reader



The African American Studies Reader

Second Edition

Edited by
Nathaniel Norment, Jr.

CAROLINA ACADEMIC PRESS

Durham, North Carolina

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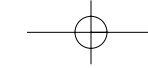
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Dedicated to

*Our Gods,
Our Ancestors,
and
to my mother,
Noble Bell Alexander
(1924–1999)
and
to my granddaughter,
Assata Rose Norment
and
to my grandson,
Moziah Nathaniel Norment
and
Carter G. Woodson
(1875–1950)
W.E.B. Dubois
(1868–1963)
and
Nathan Hare*

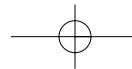
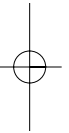
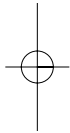
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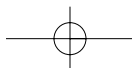
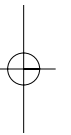
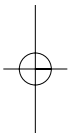
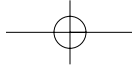
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of*

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Cheikh Anta Diop
(1923–1986)
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(1917–1977)
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(1898–1976)
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(1915–1959)
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(1800–1831)
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(1803–1979)
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(1862–1931)
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
(1929–1968)
Malcolm X
(1925–1965)
Toni Cade Bambara
(1939–1997)*





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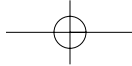
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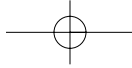
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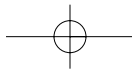
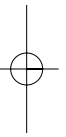
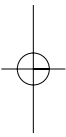
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Preface

The African American Studies Reader, 2nd Edition

This is an expanded and revised edition of *The African American Studies Reader* that was the first of its kind when it originally appeared in 2001. It is the most comprehensive and authoritative anthology of African American Studies. In our opinion, it remains unique in at least three ways: First, it is a collection in which many varied voices in the discipline are presented; all the documents are significant. Second, the focus is on the discipline that has been the most important vehicle of change in academic discourse in the last fifty years. And third, the selections present critical issues, definitions, programs, theories, philosophies, and analyses of political conditions relevant to the development of African American Studies. The emphasis thus is on the history, purpose, content, and function of the discipline.

The main purpose of this new edition is to add new selections with a full array of the exponents and critics of African American Studies that dominated the debates of 1968 to 2006. At the same time, a dozen new documents have been added to sections of the book which otherwise remain more or less intact.

Here, then, as before, one will find representative selections spanning the entire range of the Black Studies Movement. Here is the thinking of the founders: Nathan Hare, John Henrik Clarke, Vivian Gordan, Ewart Guinier, St. Clair Drake, Ronald Bailey, Abdul Alkalimat, Ronald Walters; of the recent past: Talmadge Anderson, James Turner, Philip Daniel, Delores Aldridge, Russell Adams, Perry Hall, Maulana Karenga, William Little, James Stewart, Molefi Asante, Carlene Young; and of present-day voices: Dwight McBride, Lucius Outlaw, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Terry Kershaw, Greg Carr, Darlene Clark Hine, Winston Van Horne, and Valethia Watkins.

Whatever the purpose the reader brings to the book, the anthology conveys a remarkable sense of historical, curriculum, theoretical, philosophical and disciplinary perspectives. For any one of the areas, one can compare points of view on the entire spectrum of African American Studies. Then, as one moves from essay to essay, one can trace the response to conflicts and challenges. The result is a sense both of the continuity of purpose, relevance, intellectual debates—as well as of the way in which the debate has shifted to Africana women (African Women Studies), Black Gay and Lesbian (Straight Black Studies), Public Policy and Africana Diaspora Studies.

Within African American Studies, this volume takes its place alongside a number of volumes in print or in preparation, which together will give a comprehensive documentation of the discipline. These include: Mario Azevedo's ed. (2005) *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora*, Beverly Guy-Sheftall's ed. (1995) *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Feminist Thought*; Manning Marable's ed. (2000) *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*;

Talmadge Anderson's, (1990) *Black Studies, Theory, Method and Cultural Perspectives*; Floyd W. Hayes's III, (2001) *A Turbulent Voyage: Readings in African American Studies*; Maulana Karenga's (2003) *Introduction to Black Studies*; James Turner's, ed. (1984) *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues in Africana Studies*; Sidney F. Walton's, (1969) *The Black Curriculum: Developing a Program in Afro-American Studies*, Molefi Asante's (1990) *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*; Delores Aldridge and Carlene Young's, eds. (2001) *Out of the Revolution*; James Conyers, Jr., ed. (1997) *Africana Studies: A Disciplinary Quest for Both Theory and Method*, Harold Cruse's (1967) *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*; Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell Scott and Barbara Smith's, eds. (1982) *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, but Some of Us are Brave*; Armstead L., Robinson, Craig C. Foster, Donald H. Ogilvie's (1969) *Black Studies in the University: A Symposium*; Lewis Gordon, and Jane Gordon's (2006) *A Companion to African American Studies*; Marimba Ani's (2000), *Yurugu: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior, 10th Edition*; Molefi Asante and Maulana Karenga's. (2005) *Handbook of Black Studies*; and Nathaniel Norment, Jr.'s (2007) *An Introduction to African American Studies: The Discipline and Its Dimensions*.

Other volumes—whether on African American anthropology, art, dance, history, sports, literature, sociology, music, political science, philosophy, psychology, the enslavement (slavery), Black Reconstruction, Black social and political thought, Black Marxism, Black Power, and Black Nationalism—reflect the impact of African American Studies on all areas of scholarship in the academy.

In the years since the first edition of this collection appeared in 2001, the discipline continues to evolve with new approaches and challenges that create new debates as to the intellectual, political, and social aspects of African American Studies and how the discipline will advance knowledge about African Americans for the 21st Century and beyond. The basic content and organization of the Reader has been retained. Twelve new articles have been added; the introduction and bibliography updated; the year of publication of each article is posted; the list of contributors (glossary of biographies) expanded; and review questions and critical analyses are provided for each section.

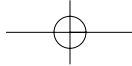
Nathaniel Norment, Jr.
Philadelphia, PA
2007

Preface to the First Edition

Thirty years ago, when I began working at the City College of New York at the beginning of the modern Black Studies Movement, many prominent black scholars, historians, literary artists and critics, political scientists, student and community activist organizations were located in and around New York City. At different times, my colleagues at CCNY included Addison Gayle, Jr., Barbara Christian, Charles V. Hamilton, Allen B. Ballard, Dennis Brutus, Toni Cade (Bambara), Wilfred Cartey, Jr., Leonard Jeffries, Audre Lorde, James Emanuel, Michele Wallace, Eugene Redmond, David Henderson, June Jordan, Larry Neal, Raymond Patterson, Gwendolyn Brooks, Ishmael Reed, Ntozake Shange, Chinua Achebe, and a host of others who contributed to the development, direction, and destiny of African American/Black Studies on the East Coast. From exposure and interaction with them, along with the countless undergraduate and graduate students I have taught in African American Studies, literature and history courses, I began to see the need for this text.

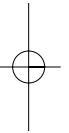
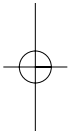
This book has been organized around a sequence of interrelated perspectives and concepts of African American Studies. It seeks to provide a comprehensive account of the most important perspectives of African American Studies and to keep alive the intellectual, cultural, political, and above all, historical constructs of the discipline. If it advocates a “philosophy,” it is the pursuit of academic excellence in the teaching of concepts and content areas of African American Studies, the reaffirmation of commitment to culture, responsibility to community, and to present knowledge about people of African descent in an accurate, critical, and challenging form if it is to play a significant and shaping role in academia and society.

The African American Studies Reader introduces students to a unique discipline. It presents selections of the many scholars who have made substantial contributions in the development of African American Studies over the past thirty years. It encompasses a wide range of topics and includes every important issue discussed in African American Studies. An invaluable complement to basic books already in the discipline (i.e., *Introduction to Black Studies*, *All the Women are White*, *All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women’s Studies*, *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora*; *Dispatches from the Ivory Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, *Black Studies: Theory, Method, and Cultural Perspectives*), the reader can be used as an introductory text for both undergraduate and graduate courses. This outstanding collection of different perspectives in African American Studies will be of interest to those coming new to the field and to those who are already involved in research, teaching and other aspects of African American Studies. Each essay (appearing in its original form), represents—in its own way—theoretical, political, historical, etc. perspectives for African American Studies and promotes critical dialogue and debate about the discipline, which after thirty years is still emerging.



From the publication of Equiano's narrative in 1789 to the present moment, African American scholars have struggled mightily in an attempt to make sense of an unwanted black "question," "problem," or "presence" in America and how that very "presence" might thrive seemingly against the wishes of the masses of other "Americans." I remain steadfastly concerned now more than ever as we have ventured into the 21st century that not only is there a dire, critical need for African American Studies in American education and life, but that without the juxtaposition of the voices in this text to enable readers to hear old and new arguments simultaneously in an effort, finally, to solve the dilemma of exactly what constitutes "African American Studies" and what are the ways by which it can assist the liberation of the people, then we, all of us, will merely continue to "run the dangercourse."

Nathaniel Norment, Jr.
Philadelphia, PA
2001



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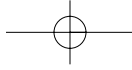
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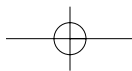
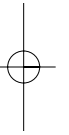
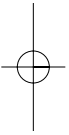
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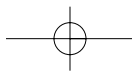
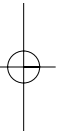
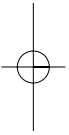
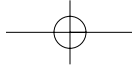


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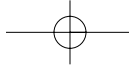
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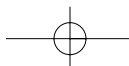
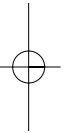
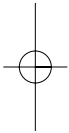
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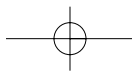
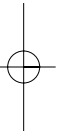
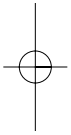
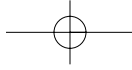
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Introduction

“The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men” [and women].

—W.E.B. DuBois

“If we had something we could show you, if we had something we could show ourselves, you would respect us and we might respect ourselves. If we had even the names of our great men [and women]! If we could lay our hands on things we have made, monuments and towers and palaces, we might find our strength...”

—Henri Jean Christophe

“We have a wonderful history behind us.... It reads like the history of a people in a heroic age.... We are going back to that beautiful history and it is going to inspire us to greater achievements.”

—Carter G. Woodson

“The story of the historical Negro will never be completely known until every book, pamphlet, and manuscript on the subject has been found and recorded in bibliographic form.”

—Dorothy Porter

“Only the Black woman can say, When and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me.”

—Anna Julia Cooper

“The first thing to do is to get into every school, private, public, or otherwise, Negro literature and history. We aren’t trying to displace other literature but trying to acquaint all children with Negro literature and history.”

—Booker T. Washington

The African American Studies Reader represents the largest and most comprehensive collection of essays available in the field. In that the discipline of African American Studies is relatively new as an “institutional” feature of higher education,¹ I have designed it in part to meet curricular needs created by the increased interests of students and researchers in African American Studies who are seeking, in the words of my colleague Russell Adams“(a) conceptual theory for thinking about how best to approach the black experience; (b) analytical theory or sets of ideas and concepts to study the black experience; and (c) strategical or social change² theories.”³ Until now, there has been no single, inclusive anthology of articles describing the discipline that students and teachers might use as a resource reference or as a textbook. This book should meet the needs of anyone involved in the serious study of the discipline; it is primarily useful for courses in African American Studies, but it will also serve the broader areas of Eth-

nic, Women, and Cultural Studies.⁴ The volume has evolved from over 30 years of developing and teaching African American Studies and African American Literature courses—both graduate and undergraduate—at the City College of New York⁵ and Temple University; and because of the need for a single volume to cover the history, development, and present status of the field. The contents reflect the diverse thinking of many scholars who have helped shape the discipline, and the articles provide readers with historical, theoretical, political, and philosophical perspectives of African American Studies scholars, perspectives that have evolved throughout the struggle of African people since the 1960s.⁶

To date, no textual guide existed which would instruct an emerging scholar of African American Studies as to how the discipline functions and what is supposed to be its scholarly and practical uses. In other words, the philosophical framework and theoretical underpinnings of the discipline have never been clearly delineated. This text offers one attempt to do so. In order for any discipline to thrive, students must be clear as to the academic validity of the enterprise and must know how the discipline was born and what are the empty spaces; it is then their job to fill. Further, arguments and debates which scholars such as Blassingame, Clarke, Drake, Ford, Hare and Kilson initiated some thirty years ago can now be resolved with the help of the text which juxtaposes voices and positions which now can be heard simultaneously. The subsequent discourse assures that contemporary scholars will accurately represent the ideologies of their forbearers as they utilize their academic legacy to transform both the people and intellectual institutions of America.

The design for this text was inspired by the intellectual architects who laid the foundation for and supervised the construction of African American Studies. Their voices were chosen in order for readers to know the original “blueprint” of Black Studies and to hear arguments made for its existence and place in the academy. I also chose these foundational essays in order for contemporary scholars to be able to trace the evolution of African American Studies and to evaluate the extent to which it has deviated from or held true to its original mission.

The perspectives of the book enhance the content areas, methodologies, philosophies, and concepts of African American Studies. African American Studies consists of research: knowledge production; interdisciplinary courses taught at high school, undergraduate, and graduate levels; and departments, programs, and institutes. African American Studies is the systematic study of descendants of Africans enslaved in America. The reader also provides useful scholarly information regarding definitions, scope, and relevance of the discipline. Its purpose is to show that African American Studies is a unique and significant field of study—one that intersects almost every academic discipline and cultural construct—and to show that the discipline has a noteworthy history,⁷ a controversial present, and a challenging future. Thus, the reader is intended to represent a discipline committed to producing, coordinating, and disseminating knowledge about African Americans.

1. A Brief History of African American Studies

The development of African American Studies⁸ has increased awareness of the contributions of African Americans to the civilizations of the world. The contents of

this reader are an indication of the importance, scope, and relevance of the discipline; but the intellectual heritage of African American Studies precedes its emergence and institutionalization as an academic field on predominately white campuses in the late 1960s.⁹ Scholars, within the academy and community, such as George Washington Williams, Carter G. Woodson, W. E. B. DuBois, Anna Julia Cooper, Arthur A. Schomburg, E. Franklin Frazier, Harold Cruse, John Henrik Clarke, John Hope Franklin, to name but a few, provided the foundational perspectives that helped shape African American Studies.¹⁰ In the late 1960s, then, the efforts of Nathan Hare, Ewart Guinier, Addison Gayle, Jr., Wilferd Cartey, Jr., Charles V. Hamilton, Sonia Sanchez, Maulana Karenga, Jimmy Garrett, St. Clair Drake, Nick Aaron Ford, Sidney Walton, and John Blassingame, among others, forced predominately white universities to recognize African American Studies as a distinctive area of study.¹¹

Egyptian Mystery System in Kmt

Scholars within the discipline of Black Studies do not all agree on when and where the intellectual foundation of Black Studies first began. Scholars such as Linda James Myers, Asa Hilliard, and Daudi Ajani ya Azibo argue that the foundations of Black Studies date further back than African people's arrival in America and the foundation for the discipline can actually be found in Ancient Egypt or Kmt. More specifically, these scholars argue that the first true Black Studies curriculum can be found in the all Black educational system of the Egyptian Mystery System (EMS). These scholars believe that the Egyptian Mystery should not only be our blueprint for curriculum, but can also help aid in the overall organization of the discipline itself.

Pre-1900 Foundations

One of the major pre-1900 foundations for Black Studies can be seen with the organization the American Negro Academy established in 1897 by such members as Alexander Crummell, W.E.B. Du Bois, Alaine Locke, and Carter G. Woodson. All of these scholars went on to make large and substantial contributions to the foundations of the discipline. Originally, the members wanted to call the American Negro Academy the African Academy demonstrating their innate Pan-African ties and their emphasis on the Diaspora.

1900–1930 — The Intellectual Foundations

African American Studies originally appeared as an academic field of study in the early 1900s,¹² as a result of the pioneering efforts of W. E. B. DuBois, Arthur A. Schomburg, and Carter G. Woodson. Shortly after his arrival at Atlanta University, DuBois initiated an eleven volume monograph series (as an extension of his 1899 landmark study *The Philadelphia Negro*) which sought to present an accurate portrayal of post-Reconstruction life in communities of African descent in the South. Shortly after entering the United States in 1885, Schomburg, a Puerto Rican of African descent, began what would be a lifelong mission to “fill in the missing pages of world history.”¹³ As an

extension of Schomburg's early efforts, Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, with the expressed purpose and intent of ensuring that the history of African people would no longer be omitted from the world's historical record. Moreover, Woodson also established the first academic organ of African American Studies in 1916 with the inauguration of *The Journal of Negro History*.¹⁴

1930–1955 — Early Development on Black and White Campuses

As a direct result of the efforts of Woodson and the Association, in the mid-1930s a number of historically black colleges and universities (i.e., Howard, Wilberforce, Atlanta, Morgan State and Fisk Universities, Tuskegee Institute, etc.) began to offer courses which dealt with the history and culture of black people in America. At the same time, some predominantly white universities (i.e., Harvard, Stanford, The University of Chicago, and The University of Minnesota, etc.) offered courses in the study of “Negro life and culture.”

It was reported that in the mid-thirties, black studies curricula were in place in many Southern Negro schools through courses in black history and culture. In addition, public high schools in New York, Philadelphia, Georgia, Texas, and Oklahoma taught course in Black history. It is worth noting that in the late 1930s and early 1940s a Pan-African perspective was taught at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Fisk University began an African Studies program in early 1940s and Lincoln University instituted its program in 1950.

1955–1970 — Social and Political Influences

Prior to the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*, black students were routinely denied admission to most white colleges and universities in the North and all in the South. As a direct result of the sense of social responsibility that permeated the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, predominantly white institutions of higher education began to actively recruit and admit “qualified” African American students and faculty. Urban universities in predominately black communities were confronted with the additional responsibility of admitting students from the immediate vicinity who did not always meet admissions criteria. The presence of significant numbers of black students on newly integrated campuses led to their demands for courses that were relevant to their historical and contemporary experiences.

In its contemporary “institutionalized” form, the call for Black Studies arose out of the particular sense of discontent and dismay that the majority of first generation Black students¹⁵ on predominately white college/university campuses felt both in and outside of the classroom. Their frustration, combined with the increased socio-political awareness taking place within the Black community in the form of Black Power and Black Consciousness movements,¹⁶ galvanized Black Students, who began demanding more inclusive,¹⁷ and sometimes separate courses, curricula, and programs representing the totality of African American history and culture, along with the hiring of Black faculty and mentors, and that universities open their facilities and provide institutional re-

sources to/for the Black community. The first Black Studies program was established at San Francisco State in 1968.

1970–1985 — Questions, Crisis and Criticism

Beginning in the 1970s, Black Studies courses, programs, and departments faced intense, heightened criticism from a variety of fronts. Individuals such as Dr. Kenneth Clark, Dr. Martin Kilson,¹⁸ Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph, Professor Eugene Genovese, and Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., were among those who questioned the validity of such an endeavor, arguing against the creation of an intellectually separate, autonomous field of study. Black Studies also suffered a decline in commitment and withdrawal of support from most predominantly white colleges and universities, as well as a backlash from historically black institutions on virtually every level.

Two divergent political-ideological perspectives helped shape the goals and direction of African American Studies. A politically moderate or liberal group was comprised of African American faculty members of “traditional” academic departments such as history, English, psychology, and sociology. These African American professionals, secure in their positions, taught courses treating the African American experience within the framework of their own academic discipline. A radical Black Nationalist group was comprised of African American student organizations, like the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC and faculty members, many of whom, upon arrival at predominantly white colleges and universities, were dissatisfied with the traditional disciplines’ approaches to investigating and discussing the African American experiences. It was this dissatisfaction that fueled their struggle to create a new and invigorating approach to learning about the African American experience. The initial differences between these two schools in background and relationship to the university led to the debates concerning the goals and objectives of African American Studies. While the traditionalists, in many ways, accepted the status quo at the university, the radicals pushed for progressive changes in the arena of higher education.

The moderate or liberal perspective asserted that African American Studies should be relevant to both African Americans and the university by providing a distinctive and rigorous education that would effectively prepare students to become productive members of society. These scholars were opposed to the establishment of a completely autonomous department and advocated a departmental structure controlled by existing “traditional” disciplines. Martin Kilson, one scholar, who supported this approach, argued that “no interdisciplinary subject like black studies can evolve into a scholarly and intellectually viable field without the curricular control of an established discipline.”¹⁹ He further contended that students who majored in Black Studies should be tracked through an established discipline to ensure that the student would be prepared for graduate studies.

Radical scholars advocated that African American Studies should be relevant to both African American college students and African American communities. Radical students and faculty challenged the status quo and argued for a pedagogical approach that linked theory and practice in order to alleviate the social problems that existed within the black community. Similar to the approach instituted during the 1965–66 protests and demonstrators, many of these scholars advocated a race-specific ideology toward education.

During this formative period, the efforts of Toni Cade Bambara, Angela Davis, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Gloria Joseph, Michelle Wallace, Vivian Gordon, Delores P. Aldridge,

Gloria Hull, Barbara Smith, Patricia Bell Scott, June Jordan, Audre Lorde, Patricia Hill Collins, and bell hooks brought issues of race, sex, gender, and class which concerned the black women's movement²⁰ to the forefront of discussion in Black Studies. Later, the emergence of Black Women's Studies²¹ as an academic discipline generated a dialogue within African American Studies that resulted in challenges to the existing epistemologies²² that did not incorporate the significant presence and contributions of African American women to the field.

1985–2000 — Institutionalization

The 1980s marked a period of formal standardization and institutionalization of African American Studies, highlighted by the 1981 release of the National Council of Black Studies' Core Curriculum,²³ and the late Nathan I. Huggins' *Afro-American Studies: A Report to the Ford Foundation* in 1985.²⁴ In 1984, Harvard professor Nathan I. Huggins was commissioned by the Ford Foundation to conduct a research survey of the current status of African American Studies on American campuses in light of its early experience in the academy and future needs. He described the efforts to gain a place for Black Studies in the post-secondary curriculum as part of a broader movement to integrate Black students and faculty into a traditionally white educational system. He recommended that more sophisticated methodologies be brought to bear on the study of black issues and the expansion of Black Studies in conventional disciplines. Furthermore, he concluded that three basic concerns lay behind the demand for African American Studies: (1) the political need for turf and place; (2) the psychological need for identity; (3) the academic need for recognition. In 1988, Temple University developed and implemented the first doctoral program²⁵ in African American Studies. African American Women's Studies also began to assert itself simultaneously along with as well as outside of African American Studies. Research and writing which had been previously subjugated or neglected began to appear more frequently and prominently by black women.

Nathan Hare, chairman of the first African American Studies Department at San Francisco State College, asserted that the Black Studies curriculum could be divided into two basic phases; the expressive and the pragmatic-positivistic. The expressive phase would be therapeutic and focus on courses in the history and culture of African Americans. The pragmatic-positivistic phase would provide students with skills they needed to bring about change in their lives, and communities.

Although some radical scholars disagreed with Hare concerning the two distinct phases he outlined, others asserted that these two phases should be separated from the university's academic context. John Blassingame, for example, elaborating on the prospect of expressive and pragmatic-positivistic phases, suggested that "community action programs must be separated from academic programs and adequately funded, staffed, and truly related to community needs."²⁶ This disagreement has produced a dichotomy between the content, theory and pedagogy in African American Studies. Some scholars argued that many departments and programs 'missed the mark' in their emphasis on coverage of the history and culture of African Americans, and de-emphasis of the skills and techniques needed to combat oppression within African American communities.

In the nineties, along with the creation of four new doctoral programs at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the University of California at Berkeley, Harvard, and Yale Universities, there has been a resurgence in the debate about the content, scope, and most importantly, the direction African American Studies will take going into the

twenty-first century.²⁷ Central to the contemporary questions facing African American Studies are issues surrounding academic excellence and community responsibility: that is, whether or not Black Studies will continue to take part in the “careerist culture” of the academy or reflect on its vision, retool its mission, and reshape its direction.

African American Studies has been, as we might expect, primarily involved in developing itself as an academic discipline, providing an historically accurate portrayal and interpretation of African American culture as well as enriching the “traditional” fields of study in American colleges and universities. But during its tenure as an academic discipline, African American Studies has had an important impact on the intellectual, political and cultural environment of higher education over the past thirty years.²⁸

2. African American Studies Now: Some Challenges and Directions

Over the course of the past thirty five years, the institutionalization of African American Studies has resulted in the disenfranchisement of African American people from the intellectual pursuits of those faculty and students in the African American Studies departments. This situation can be changed if we utilize the talents of African American intellectuals to fulfill the mission, scope and purpose of African American Studies. We must be concerned that several generations of young people have missed out on accessing the knowledge available through African American Studies. African American Studies must become an active agent and participant in educating, organizing and empowering children, families, and communities to improve their lives; African American Studies must (re)focus and (re)direct its efforts. Those of us in the discipline must ask ourselves some hard and true questions: What is the purpose of African American Studies? Why do we exist? What does it mean to be African-Centered or Afrocentric? What does it mean to be committed to the struggle?

What is African American Studies?

African American Studies is an academic discipline which seeks to investigate phenomena and interrogate issues of the world from an Afrocentric perspective. The resulting finds are then transposed into communally-digestible data which will ultimately liberate the African community and cause it to see its own worth once again.

Attempts to define a field of intellectual inquiry, such as African American Studies, allow for a wide variety of points of view. Nevertheless, there is need to define the limits of the discipline and to communicate the history, structure, function, content, philosophy, and method of the field of study. There is no definition on which the different schools of thought agree. In the widely used text, *Introduction to Black Studies*, Karenga defined Black Studies as “the systematic and critical study of the multidimensional aspects of Black thought and practice in their current and historical unfolding. It is systemic in that it is structured and coherent, critical in the sense of its focus on the search for meaning and concern with detail . . . ; and multidimensional in its thrust to examine the many-sidedness of each issue, process or phenomenon.”²⁹ Vivian Gordon viewed Black Studies as “an analysis of the factors and conditions which have affected the eco-

conomic, psychological, legal, and moral status of the African in America as well as the African in diaspora. Not only is Black Studies concerned with the culture of the Afro-American ethnic as historically and sociologically defined by the traditional literature, it is concerned with the development of new approaches to the study of the Black experience and with the development of social policies which will impact positively upon the lives of Black people.”³⁰

As evident in the previous examples, the primary objective and focus of Black Studies are African people. Philip T. K. Daniels argued his concept of Black Studies as being a “multidiscipline” that systematically focuses upon the experiences of Black people throughout the world. It is the study of Africa and the African diaspora ... it simultaneously assesses the outer struggle of Blacks against oppression, discrimination, imperialism, racism and other pejorative forces, while also looking at their inner struggle to establish community, identity heritage, and a functional as well as practical and protective institutional infrastructure.³¹

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, Pan-African Studies and more recently Africology,³² as suggested by Molefi Asante, William Nelson, Winston Van Horne and Maulana Karenga. William Nelson suggested that the building of a discipline of Africology is uniquely challenging because of the absence of a widely accepted paradigm. “An appropriate paradigm of Africology must also be an alternative and corrective to traditional scholarship. Such a paradigm must, [by] necessity, be Afrocentric in its basic orientation ... it must be interdisciplinary in nature ... must combine self-knowledge and self-realization with social action ... it must prove beyond the borders of academia—to the broader community.... Finally, Africology must come to grips with the new methodologies and new technologies of the social sciences and the humanities.”³³

What is the Purpose of African American Studies?

The purpose of African American studies is to provide the academic world with a new lens through which to discover the beauty of all human beings and to acknowledge and celebrate—not simply tolerate—the gifts that all have to offer, regardless of cultural worldviews and resulting differences. Indeed, when black scholars and students first called for the Western academy to recognize and then to accept the place of Black Studies as a discipline, they were not simply reacting to white racist intellectual traditions; they were suggesting that the inclusion of all voices in the shaping of American education would assure that we ultimately create a society where everyone gets the chance to speak and to listen. The Afrocentric paradigm, a revisionist ideology, insists that we dismantle “the mask that grins and lies” as we search for a way of living and knowing which lifts all of humanity.

Since its institutional beginning, many perspectives as to the purpose and function of African American Studies have been presented. According to Nathan Hare, “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.”³⁴ Vivian Gordon wrote 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.”³⁵ Inez Reid suggested four pur-

poses that assumed prominent roles in the debate over African American Studies: (1) Black Studies Programs can fulfill a need for scholarly correction of historical and cultural myths; (2) Black Studies can provide potential elementary and secondary school teachers, destined to serve in black communities, with much more knowledge about [African American children]; (3) Black Studies can fulfill a psychological need on the part of black students; and (4) Black Studies can fulfill the need to begin the process of resocialization and socialization of Americans destined to play roles in the United States [in the twenty-first century].³⁶ Harold Cruse viewed Black Studies to be an instrument of cultural nationalism specifically concerned with critiquing the integrationist ethic “and providing a counter-balance to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture.”³⁷ Some others argued further that Black Studies should be able to develop and to facilitate racial awareness and pride among black people. Many argued, in the late 1960s and 1970s that Black Studies must be communally based, community controlled, and committed to be a vehicle for social change. These arguments are still relevant to the purposes of African American Studies after more than three decades; there is an indisputable need for African American Studies.

As in any academic, social, political or intellectual endeavor, there is no single purpose that drives the field of African American Studies. However, its main purposes should be: (1) to analyze, produce, investigate, and disseminate knowledge about African people; (2) to involve and incorporate the content, ideologies and methodologies of African American Studies in all aspects of the community; (3) to prepare undergraduate and graduate students with knowledge, skills, and paradigms to analyze critically factors which affect African people in America; and (4) to identify issues and problems African Americans face and to provide leadership and solutions to resolve them. Furthermore, James Stewart has presented what five significant results and contributions of the discipline have been: (1) destruction of the myth of the passive acceptance of subjugation by blacks; peoples of African descent have always attempted to shape their own destinies; (2) documentation of the critical role of collective self-help in laying the foundations for black progress; (3) restoration of the record of ancient and modern civilizations of blacks in developing high technology and establishing early civilizations in North and South America; (4) exploration of the contemporary implications of psychic duality, building on DuBois’ classic formulation of the concept of Afrocentricity as a guiding principle; and (5) explication of the critical role played by black women in shaping the black experience.³⁸

After examining over 50 Black Studies proposals and programs, Charles V. Hamilton summarized Black Studies as having six functions: (1) the gaps function—correcting the inadequacies of existing courses; (2) the functional theory—to educate black students for useful service in the black community; (3) the humanizing function—to help white students overcome racist attitudes by imparting new knowledge and new human values; (4) the reconciliation theory—to bring about a new spirit of cooperation between blacks and whites; (5) the psychological function—to instill a sense of pride in black students to develop a sense of identity; and (6) the ideological function—to serve as a means to develop new ideological, Third World orientations, to develop theories of revolution and nation-building.³⁹

African American and African Diaspora Studies

Another item that must take priority in the African American Studies agenda is our connection and involvement with all people of the African Diaspora. The black power

and black consciousness movements of the 1960s influenced social and political change in many countries, such as, England, France, Haiti, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zimbabwe and we must now become leaders in the global community. We need not abandon our commitment to African Americans, but what happens in these places is as critical to our uplift as what happens in Atlanta, Chicago, New York or Philadelphia.

Actually, to speak of African American Studies without first speaking of the 19th century Pan African movement is an historical misnomer. Scholars such as Henry Highland Garnett, Edward Blyden, and Henry McNeal Turner spoke of the viability of an “African Diaspora” long before the term was officially coined. They praised and wrote about their African heritage and urged for the study of its culture and history. So then, in truth, African American Studies is simply one component of the larger vision that is the reunification of African thought globally. Yet this global vision is not limited only to people of African descent; the belief simply is that the culmination of African voices will position African people sufficiently to then invite other voices of the world (Latinos, Native Americans, Asians, and even Europeans) to Martin Luther King, Jr.’s “table of brotherly love” as we figure out how to repair human relationships and to restore individual dignity which years of discrimination and abuse have destroyed.

The introduction of African and African American Studies into academia provides new possibilities and challenges for higher education and diaspora studies. The emergence of Asian American, Puerto Rican, Latin American, Chicano American, Women, and Gay and Lesbian studies can be attributed in part to the pioneering struggle black faculty and students fought in the late 1960s and 1970s. Martin and Young argued that “The gestation and birth of African and Afro-American Studies in the United States are as diametrically opposed as the experiences that shaped the colonizers and descendants of enslaved Africans. African Studies efforts were designed to provide knowledge to assist colonial interests, but Black Studies was the direct result of a liberation struggle by persons of African ancestry.⁴⁰ Nevertheless there is a need for African American Studies to incorporate African Diaspora Studies into its curricula, courses, research and ideological emphasis beyond that which is now being done in a few programs. African American Studies should enhance the wisdom of Clarke, Drake, DuBois and their precursors.

St. Clair Drake noted that between 1915 and World War II, diaspora studies were an important component in the research, publication, and educational work of an influential complex of institutions founded and nurtured by ... the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History under the direction of Dr. Carter G. Woodson. He further stated that ... Black Studies programs constitute the single most important academic structure [in academics] ... for initiating and consolidating cooperative relations with African, Latin American and [Asian] institutions interested in developing diaspora studies.⁴¹ African Diaspora Studies can enhance African American Studies by providing more inclusive cultural, political, economical and educational perspectives. It can provide a framework for correcting the misinterpretation and subordination of the African diaspora.

African American Women’s Studies

The fact that a scholar such as Alice Walker felt the need to coin the term “womanism” is sign enough that the voices and needs of African American women have not been fully represented by our scholarship at large. Indeed, the absence of female voices seemed not to disturb most established black male activists and, in fact, when black

women began to cry out for inclusion, some of their most fierce resistance came from within. Hence, my decision to create space and place for my sisters' voices is both an historical corrective as well as a pedagogical measure offered to make sure that gender does not cloud our vision of the future of the discipline.

African American women " ... despite racist and sexist treatment in a variety of institutional contexts have ... struggle[d] for equal access, fair treatment, and images of themselves within the academy. [African American women's studies] has transformed higher education by making it more responsive to the needs of black women, establishing black women's studies, and revamping both black studies and women's studies."⁴²

The first Women's Studies class was taught in the 1960s and was based on the model set by African American Studies. Black women's studies emerged as a discipline in the late 1970s. Since it is a fundamental part of African American Studies, the lack of adequate scholarly treatment of black women in both African American Studies and the academy as a whole led to increased efforts by black women to create and sustain space for teaching and research with an alternative vision.

In "The Politics of Black Women's Studies," Barbara Smith and Gloria Hull posited four issues pertaining to African American Women's Studies: (1) the general political situation of Afro-American women and the bearing this has had upon the implementation of black women's studies; (2) the relationship of black women's studies to black feminist politics and the black feminist movement; (3) the necessity for black women's studies to be feminist, radical, and analytical; and (4) the need for teachers of black women's studies to be aware of our problematic political positions in the academy and of the potentially antagonistic conditions under which we must work. They further suggested that black women's studies will not be dependent on women's studies, Black Studies or "straight disciplinary departments for its existence, but will be an autonomous academic entity making coalitions with all three."⁴³

Academic Excellence and Validity in African American Studies

For years, many scholars (black and white) have questioned the worthiness of the contributions of Africans and African Americans to civilization and to knowledge. Because African American Studies challenged the "traditional" disciplines, faculty in those fields took (and some continue to maintain) the position that it had no intellectual value in the academy and that it constituted an attack on established scholarly discipline and was geared more to politics than rigorous scholarship. These faculty members viewed Black Studies as being more concerned with separate social activities, community action programs, and courses that stressed black self-concept and black nationalism than with academic learning.

These critics questioned the academic abilities and training of the faculty involved in teaching and administering Black Studies. Kilson noted that Black Studies would be more desirable intellectually and academically if scholars who taught in Black Studies were represented in the established departments like classics, philosophy, history and economics and if university facilities adopted the policy of joint academic appointments.⁴⁴ Even today, there is debate about the quality of curricula, faculty, students, and administrators of some African American Studies programs and departments at various colleges and universities because academic reputation ranges from excellent and average

to mediocre. Nevertheless, there is continued support of African American Studies as exhibited through the increase in majors—undergraduate and graduate programs—and the creation of Ph.D. granting programs at Harvard and Yale. Essays in sections one, seven and eight discuss topics related to the nature, content and structure of the discipline.

Theories and Paradigms of Traditional Disciplines

The major intellectual and scholarly contributions to the body of knowledge in African American Studies have come from academicians who received their training in “traditional disciplines.” This is also true for the African American women scholars who have contributed to the development of African American Women’s Studies and Feminist thought. From the early 1900s to the present, these scholars include W. E. B. DuBois, trained in history and sociology; Carter G. Woodson, John Hope Franklin, Vincent Harding, Nathan Huggins, Rayford Logan, Darlene Clark Hine, Paula Giddings, Gerda Lerner, Sterling Stuckey, Benjamin Quarles and Lerone Bennett, Jr. trained in history; St. Clair Drake and Allison W. Davis trained in anthropology; E. Franklin Frazier, Oliver C. Cox, Patricia Hill-Collins, Vivian Gordon and Nathan Hare trained in sociology; Kenneth Clark, Wade Nobles and Charles Sumner trained in psychology; Henry L. Gates, Jr., Huston Baker, Jr., Barbara Christian, June Jordan, Audre Lorde, Toni Cade Bambara, Alice Walker, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, bell hooks, Michelle Wallace, Addison Gayle, Jr., Saunders J. Redding in literature; Ronald Walters, Ralph Bunche, and Charles V. Hamilton trained in political science; and Leonard Harris and Alaine Locke trained in philosophy; Katie Cannon and Jacquelyn Grant trained in religion; Angela Davis and Flo Kennedy trained in law.

It is important to note that the above listing of scholars demonstrates the role of “traditional” disciplines in the intellectual training of the pioneers in African American Studies. It would also suggest that these scholars also brought the major theories, paradigms, and philosophies of those disciplines to the field of African American Studies. The various approaches to literary criticism, black feminist thought, Marxism, social change theories, and analytical perspectives have come from the traditional disciplines, but are all approaches with broad interdisciplinary application. Adams suggested that the philosophies of African American scholars in [traditional disciplines] appear to have been the result of their own socialization, their individual attitudes towards the canons of their disciplines, the major political and intellectual currents of their eras, and the particular topics, problems, or questions addressed by them.⁴⁵

Imperative, however, is the need for African American Studies to avoid the pitfalls of becoming complacent and stagnant in its scope, relevance, and responsibilities. We need to clarify the differing roles of the discipline for our own sake and for the sake of our next generation of scholars, students, and colleagues who will need to work in the academy’s multidisciplinary world. We need to avoid rejecting work coming from disciplinary or methodological bases other than those that deemed ideologically “correct.”⁴⁶ African American Studies has primarily used ideology (not methodology or pedagogy) as a basis for staffing African American Studies departments and programs. The continuing debate over the relative merits or various approaches serves as a distraction from our efforts to function effectively within academia. Will we align ourselves with our research and direct it in ways beneficial to the community? In choosing to pursue careers in African American Studies, we are selecting a frame of reference, a window from

which to view the world, if you will, that will have a fundamental effect on the questions we ask and the recommendations we make to improve/enhance the life opportunities of African American people.

Afrocentricity and the African World-View

Many scholars use the terms “afrocentric” and “African-centered” interchangeably. I argue that this is an error. “Afrocentric” is a term that usually seeks to describe an individual or a scholarly effort in terms of its inclusion of African cultural phenomena. “African-centered”, on the other hand, is a paradigmatic term that seeks to position the philosophical place of the scholar under question and the resulting body of knowledge, creative production, and authorial intent. Put simply, an African-centered scholar is one who examines all phenomena—unapologetically—from the worldview or cosmological place of the African. But to some “afrocentricity” has come to represent the shallow question of things such as what one wears and the style of one’s hair. However, I posit that “African-centered” is a term which will usher scholars into a place where both the African world and all other realities get to speak for themselves and have value—on their own terms.

Even though Afrocentricity has its critics inside and outside of the disciplines (D’Souza, Howe, Moses, Lefkowitz, Ravitch and Schlesinger), it could be argued that during the last two decades in African American Studies, no other conceptual framework or theoretical construct has contributed more to the discussion and debate inside and out of the academy than the theory of Afrocentricity as presented by Molefi K. Asante in his works—*Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (1980); *The Afrocentric Idea* (1987); and *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (1990). To varying degrees, Afrocentricity has influenced the scholarship of the discipline. The Afrocentric perspective has provided the basis for reexamining all aspects of the African experience. Many articles, books, and dissertations use the concept as rationale for their methodologies and research designs.

While there are several schools of thought of Afrocentricity—Nile Valley Afrocentrists, Continental Afrocentrists, Afrocentric Infusionists, and Social Afrocentrists—it can be defined as “a quality of thought and practice rooted in the cultural image and human interest of African people.”⁴⁷ Asante, its leading exponent, described it as an enterprise framed by cosmological, epistemological, axiological, and aesthetic issues. He further explained that the Afrocentric method pursues a world [view] distinctly African-centered in relationship to external phenomena.... The Afrocentrist seeks to uncover and use codes, paradigms, symbols, motifs, and circles of discussion that reinforce the centrality of African ideals and values as a valid frame of reference for acquiring and examining data.”⁴⁸ Out of this position evolves the concept of African centeredness and worldview, a perspective which has influenced many African American scholars and students’ research, teaching, and instruction.

The African worldview provides for an African-centered model of culture and knowledge and articulates a systematic structure for dealing with all aspects of the African and African American experiences. The construction of Black Feminist Thought developed by Patricia Hill-Collins incorporates some of the perspectives of Afrocentricity. Afrocentricity, African-centeredness, Black Feminist Thought, and the African worldview see “African American Studies as a human science that is committed to discovering in human experience, historical and contemporary, all the ways African people have tried to make their physical, social, and cultural environments serve [humanity].”⁴⁹

African American Studies and Its Social-Community Responsibility

The intellectual development is only part of the discipline's mission. The other component concerns how we transform our scholarship into a social ideology that redirects the lives of African American people. Said simply, Black Studies is never Black Studies if there is no communal component. It was never intended to be an endeavor that lent itself exclusively to the academic world. Hence, Black Studies issues will never get completely resolved in the classroom, for the very being of Black Studies insists that the voices of the rejected get heard and included in the construction of "where we go from here."

There is need for African American Studies to fulfill its mission to liberate African American people and to commit itself to the communities' needs. In this connection, African American Studies must once again become committed to addressing the consciousness, realities, and urgencies of African Americans' life situations. It must seek to make significant contributions to the education and liberation of all African men, women, and children not just students and professors.

Though some of the goals set by the early leaders and architects of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements have been reached, there remains an urgent need for African American Studies to provide directions to non-academic communities in order that they can confront existing socio-political and economic challenges African Americans are still faced with on a daily basis. Perhaps the central goal in the years ahead should be for African American Studies to have an impact on the quality of life for all African American people. This requires research refocused and recommitted to our communities. It demands involvement in all institutions that affect our daily lives (e.g. the court system, family, schools, churches, labor, and entertainment). Programs and activities must be planned and implemented to deal with the systemic problems and challenges black people face in America (and the world over).

Needed Research and Related Projects in African American Studies

Research is needed in all areas of the African American community. Scholars and students in the discipline must identify projects in areas of need and design concrete research proposals. Researchers should investigate the system of public education, the criminal justice system, health issues, male and female relations, solutions to drug addiction, and violence within our communities.

We need to establish consortia of African, African American, Chicano, Asian, Latino and Native American Studies departments that incorporates a mission and framework similar to that of the Institute of Black World. The discipline needs to welcome scholars from related disciplines to work to improve the life experiences of African Americans in all situations.

Liaisons and partnerships must be established with the Congressional Black Caucus, churches, the Urban League, NAACP, along with other organizations and institutions to work together to complete projects similar to the aforementioned of those initiated by DuBois at Atlanta University and later the Carnegie Corporation under the auspices of

Gunnar Myrdal. We need complete comprehensive investigations of all areas that affect our people.

Undergraduate and graduate students' research projects, theses and dissertations should research discrete problems and issues that affect the African community. Those departments that offer Ph.D.s in African American Studies should form a consortium that would sponsor conferences, conduct research, create new knowledge, research the diaspora, create a publishing company, and continue to produce inter-and intra-disciplinary research. The discipline needs to support the scholarly journals and professional academic organizations and to create new ones.

African American Studies: Its Challenges and Future

After thirty years of presence in predominantly white universities, major questions still surround the intellectual integrity and level of scholarship of much of the work produced within Black Studies. In addition, there remains continued controversy with regards to the political nature and mission of African American Studies. As we look toward the future, the agenda for African American Studies is a challenging and complex one. African American Studies departments and programs are rather stable in white institutions, and they will continue to exist as long as the presence of African American students increases on college campuses. What should be of concern, however, is the relationships African American Studies departments and programs established with communities outside universities.

In the last decade, African American Studies has produced the first generation of scholars receiving M.A.s and Ph.D.s in the discipline. Those scholars who have graduated from Temple's Ph.D. program—Daniel P. Black, Greg Carr, Jose Pimiento-Bey, James Conyers, Jr., Ella Forbes, Victor Okarfor, Mario Beatty, Rodney Patterson Shabazz, and Valthia Watkins-Beatty (in addition to those who have a connection to Temple's program, Eddie Glaude, Karen Lacy, Ingrid Banks, Suzette Spencer)—are already making significant contributions to the discipline. Their scholarship and epistemological perspectives will be influenced by the theories, topics, methods, and ideologies of Afrocentricity and African centerness.

For African American Studies to advance, its focal point must be the production and utilization of knowledge, to develop solutions to the various social, political, economic, and cultural issues African Americans face at the end of the twentieth century. At the turn of the century, DuBois initiated and carried out his research both in Philadelphia and Atlanta with the expressed purpose and intent of documenting the life and culture, thereby improving the life and culture of African Americans. By following his lead and bringing rigorous academic analyses and description to the discipline, scholars will continue to create new models of inquiry, examination, and evaluation useful to all disciplines.

3. Contents of the Book

Readers are going to notice the seeming absence of women scholars' writing during the formative years of the Black Studies movement. This is not an authorial/editorial

omission. Indeed, the proliferation of male inclusion here is simply a reflection of the presence and prominence of patriarchy—even in Black “liberal” or “revolutionary” spaces. Black women were writing then—just as they are now—about not only women’s issues, but also about the direction and future of the discipline in general, yet their voices were not always solicited and heard to the extent of their male counterparts; those whose voices were anthologized were even fewer. Hence, the disproportionately few number of women represented in this text is more a reflection of historical communal sexism in the 1960s rather than an oversight on the part of the editor.

One might also ask why such a seminal scholar as James Baldwin did not get invited into the discussion of the birth of Black Studies as a viable academic discipline. Certainly no other black writer rivaled his public presence during the 1960s movement. Yet, I offer that homophobic tendencies, reflected even among our best scholars, caused many not to heed certain voices. Actually, even now, the inclusion of discourse about black life in America, written by black gay and lesbian scholars, still gets little to no recognition and almost never becomes part of the general scholarship we reference as we shape the future of African American Studies.

If this book advocates a theory of knowledge, it is of academic excellence in teaching the purposes, concepts and contents of African American Studies. Over the years, my colleagues and students have suggested that a book of wide-ranging readings would be valuable. First, it would complement basic texts⁵⁰ used in introductory and advanced courses. Second, it would facilitate wider discussion of the different perspectives⁵¹ of scholars who have contributed to the study of our African American culture. This volume is thus organized around eight subject areas representing important historical, political, theoretical and social perspectives. Several criteria governed selection of the articles: (1) whether the article is provocative and/or scholarly; (2) whether it presents a new idea, method, or strategy for the discipline; (3) and whether it makes a contribution to the literature relevant to the discipline and to related areas of studies. In most cases, I have chosen essays treating contemporary critical issues; yet, in many cases, I have also included many works of longstanding concerns in which interest is currently dormant. Occasionally, an article has been included because it originally sparked discussion about a particular subject within the discipline or served as a prototype for later research and/or discussion on the subject. Such an article might have been especially provocative, and its ideas are still essentially relevant.

Most of the selections, included herein, somehow advanced, challenged or guided the evolution of African American Studies as a discipline. Some selections concerning the development of African American Studies are not included in this anthology. Yet the ones included give the reader a comprehensive overview of the critical issues and perspectives of most black scholars and students who established Black Studies. This volume’s 61 entries are organized into eight sections: I. The Discipline: Definition and Perspectives; II. African American Women’s Studies; III. Historical Perspectives; IV. Philosophical Perspectives; V. Theoretical Foundations; VI. Political Perspectives; VII. Critical Issues and Perspectives; VIII. Curriculum Development and Program Models. Within each section, essays are arranged to provide a representation of the trends, theories and patterns that have impacted the development of African American Studies since 1968.

Each section details the development of a specific area relevant to the discipline. The sections shape and reflect the questions, purposes, arguments, and debates that occurred during the past three decades of African American Studies in higher education. Equally important, the sections speak of the communal issues that plagued African

American scholars as they sought to utilize their scholarship in practical ways. In other words, each section presents how African American intellectuals and activists sought to integrate the needs of the community and the academic tradition into a unique project of social-political change that was beneficial to African people.

The first section, “The Discipline: Definition and Perspectives,” is arranged to present an overview of the discipline from various perspectives, examining whether African American Studies is a discipline or different fields of study. Many scholars still have not yet agreed that African American Studies is a viable discipline in a Western academic institution. This section of the text is offered both as a counter argument to that position and as an intellectual roadmap whereby the birth of the discipline and the justification for its place in the academy can be traced. Indeed, the need for such justification stands as proof of the ongoing struggle for recognition and validation which blacks have had to endure since our arrival in America. Significant dimensions of African American Studies, including questions regarding the structure, content, classification and evaluation, are discussed in order to define the discipline. In this section articles are included that address this important issue.

While the first section provides a group of essays attempting to define and determine the nature of the discipline, in Section II, “African American Women’s Studies,” the articles focus on the development of this subject as a discipline or area of study within the academy. Far too often the voices of our mothers, sisters, and daughters have gone unheard. The inclusion of women’s writings along with those of men assures a balanced historical presentation as we attempt to tell our stories with dignity and honesty. This part of the text celebrates the contention which Black women held concerning their place both in the discipline and in the new black community. During the editorial process, at times it seemed logical to integrate the entries in this section into Section I, but it quickly became evident that a separate section was needed for this reader that dealt with questions raised about the significance and contributions of African American women who have previously been underrepresented in African American Studies in general.

The third section, “Historical Perspectives,” presents viewpoints that address the impact of the relationship between socio-political movements and academic activity on the development of the discipline throughout different historical periods. In addition, several articles represent efforts to reconceptualize the struggle and conflicts related to the advancement of African American Studies. African American Studies as a discipline in higher education had its origin at San Francisco State in 1968. Since then, African American Studies departments and programs have developed in academic institutions throughout American colleges and universities attempting to serve the needs of all students interested in the plight and achievements of Africans in the New World. Many institutions sought to attach African American Studies as an appendage to “traditional disciplines” worthy only as a complement to the traditional disciplines. Only in recent years have certain schools allowed African American Studies to have an intellectual space of its own. Schools such as Temple, Harvard, Yale, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and University of California, Berkeley trusted the integrity and validity of the discipline such that they have created Ph.D. programs.

Section IV, “Philosophical Perspectives,” offers contributions of influential figures in African American Studies. The problem of African American Studies as a discipline results from the position by many scholars that Africans have no philosophical history. Yet, not only is this untrue, but it is also reflective of Eurocentric scholarship’s inability to recognize philosophical inquiry in cultural form other than its own. The philosophi-

cal, epistemological, and ideological dimensions are presented as imperatives in the development of the discipline. Shifting from problems of paradigm, optimal theory, and intellectual questions, the articles in this section explore various philosophical constructs of the discipline.

The fifth section, "Theoretical Foundations," includes articles concerning and analyzing theory building, Afrocentric metatheory, culture and African-centeredness. Before the appearance of such seminal texts as Molefi Asante's *Afrocentricity*, theorizing about African American Studies was absent. Now, however, Miramba Ani's *Yurugu* and Jerome Schiele's *Human Services in the Afrocentric Paradigm* evidence the fact that theoretical frameworks are being offered to undergird the existence of a strong African American Studies discourse. The essays in this section chronicle the emergence and integration of theoretical perspectives currently central to the discipline.

Section VI, "Political Perspectives," focuses on political perspectives that have affected African American Studies. Articles in this section examine the reactions of various university factions as well as various organizations and individuals critical of the purposes, functions, quality, content, and direction of African American Studies. The political climate in America during the 1960s was turbulent and in fact dangerous for African Americans. Individuals such as Stokely Carmichael, Amiri Baraka, Sonia Sanchez, and others put their lives on the line not simply for Civil Rights, but also for the right to read, write, and research black life in the institutions of higher learning. People died not only that they might be able to vote, but also that we might be able to study ourselves and thus guarantee ourselves a place in the American historical narrative. Attention in this section is given to the political nature of the discipline as well as to the politics of the attacks on the discipline. At the end of this section, the article by St. Clair Drake explores various conflicts facing African American Studies from a global perspective.

Section VII, "Critical Issues and Perspectives," identifies a number of issues and conflicts that have been present for many years and still continue to be points of contention inside and outside of the discipline. Many cultural issues cloud the clarity of just how African American Studies will serve the larger American community. Indeed, whether or not African American Studies belongs only to African American people is an issue which is as yet unresolved. I contend that the aim of the discipline is to transform, primarily, the lives of African Americans, and in general, all of humanity. The recurring issue of what should be the scope and purpose of African American Studies and its responsibility to the larger African American community is debated here. Thus the question of "applied or functional"⁵² African American Studies emerges (e.g., the responsibilities of African American intellectuals and the promise of African American Studies to improve the "life chances" of African American people in areas of education,⁵³ employment, and political and social institutions).

Since its nascent period, before any standard or core curriculum plan of African American Studies, nearly all historically black and a few predominantly white universities and colleges offered a course in "Negro culture" or "Negro life." During the 1940s, Lincoln and Fisk Universities instituted programs in "Pan-American Studies." It was not until the appearance of black students on white campuses (and more importantly their demands for a curriculum and courses relevant to and taught from a perspective which highlighted their historical and contemporary life experiences) in the 1960s that any organized, systematic effort to develop the discipline as we now know it began to take place. The final section in this volume, "Curriculum Development and Program Models," details the various curriculum models, programs, institutes and topic areas of com-

puters, science and technology contributing to the advancement of the discipline. An overview of curriculum development in African American Studies during the 1980s begins this section, and an article dealing with ways in which the discipline can and should affect social change closes the book.

It should be noted that two articles that have contributed to the intellectual development of African American Studies were not included in the 1st Edition are in the 2nd Edition. Each of these influential and seminal essays appeared in *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues in Africana Studies*, edited by Dr. James Turner of Cornell University's Africana Studies and Research Center. And each spurred subsequent articles that are included in this reader. The articles are significant for their impact in the formation of the discipline and warrant special mention here. The venerable Dr. John Henrik Clarke's "Africana Studies: A Decade of Change, Challenge, and Conflict," states that [within African American Studies]: "Beyond the search for definition and direction is the search for an ideology. Africana Studies without an ideology is a recitation of days, places, personalities, and events. A people search their past in order to understand the present and reshape the future."⁵⁴ In "Africana Studies and Epistemology: A Discourse in the Sociology of Knowledge," Turner himself notes: "As a methodology, history in Black Studies, constitutes the foundation for theoretical construction as an analysis of the fundamental relationship between the political economy of societal developments and the racial divisions of labor and privilege, and the common patterns of life chances peculiar to the social conditions of black people.... Therefore, Black Studies is a 'reconstruction discipline,' as a synthesis of what its criticisms imply, convergence with theories reviewed, and the philosophical methods of its pedagogical emphasis."⁵⁵

Unfortunately, the editor was not able to include key selections for publication from several of the more prominent figures involved in the formation and evolution of African American Women's Studies. A host of factors prevented excerpts from seminal works published by bell hooks (*Ain't I a Woman*), Audre Lorde (*Sister Outsider*), Angela Davis (*Women, Race, and Class*), and Michelle Wallace (*Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*) from being part of this reader.

Conclusion

The discipline of African American Studies is currently at a crossroads. Black scholars today, unlike their predecessors, are not concerned so much about justifying the place of Black Studies in the academy—that work has already been done. Rather their aim is to determine how Afrocentric and African-centered scholarship can transform the lives of everyone—not only those in the academy. Indeed, current grassroots movements are commanding the attention of the young black dispossessed brothers on the streets with those who write about them.

Nineteen ninety-eight represented three decades of accomplishments, challenges, conflicts, and unachieved objectives in Black Studies. Yet during this period of thirty years, the discipline of African American Studies has literally changed the face of the American higher educational system, along with the ways in which research is conducted to deal with issues concerning African Americans. Moreover, it has offered countless numbers of black and white students and faculty the option to pursue answers to intellectual and social questions which they otherwise would have ignored. The sim-

ple fact that Black Studies is still in existence after the first thirty years⁵⁶ with problems, issues and conflicts is a sign that the discipline has exhibited tremendous tenacity and unlimited possibilities for the future.

Nevertheless, as an academic discipline, African American Studies must continue to examine and expand its theories, methodologies, and epistemologies and to impact on the academic terrain at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Ideally, it must appeal to all facets of the intellectual community. At this juncture, we need to seriously consider and evaluate the role(s) African American Studies has traditionally occupied: (1) politically, it has sought to strengthen and influence the activities and policies of African American leadership; (2) intellectually, it has created an arena and elevated the level of discourse so that the historical and contemporary life experiences of people of African descent are viewed as significant, instructive, and unique; (3) socially, it has provided a space in which students can be mentored, recognized and supported in their efforts to realize their full academic and individual potential; (4) and culturally, it has presented people of African descent with alternative ways of viewing the world and living out traditional African ideas, beliefs, values, and mores.

“Black Studies is an open-textured and open-ended project, interdisciplinary and receptive to diversity as expressed in its ability to include various subject areas and various intellectual perspectives. But more important, it reflects also the history and character of the discipline itself which came into being as an emancipatory project which seeks to be both an ongoing and profound critique and corrective, intellectually and socially. Thus, if it holds true to its academic and social mission, it is compelled to practice internally what it demands externally, i.e., self-criticism and self-correction ... and an intellectual rigor and relevance which both disarms its severest critics and honors its original academic and social mission.”⁵⁷

Endnotes

1. See B. Cleveland, “Black Studies in Higher Education,” *Phi Delta Kappan* LI (September 1969), 44–46.

2. See Harold Cruse, “Black Studies: Interpretation, Methodology, and the Relationship to Social Movements,” *Afro-American Studies* 2:1 (June 1971): 15–51.

3. Adams, Russell L., “African American Studies and the State of the Art,” in Mario Azavedo (ed.), *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1993), 25–49.

4. The area of Ethnic/Cultural Studies also emerged in part as a result of the African American Studies movement. Many of the early programs and departments of Asian, Latin American, Chicano Studies, etc. were in fact connected with those of Black Studies (i.e., Hunter College, City College of New York). Women’s Studies, Cultural Studies and Gay and Lesbian Studies owe their very existence in the academy to the space opened by the creation of Black Studies.

5. Prior to 1969, Black and Puerto Rican faculty, students, and staff from various departments and the SEEK (Search Enrich and Enhance Knowledge) Program at the college proposed the development of a fully functioning Black Studies Institute and Department. Addison Gayle, Jr., Wilfred Cartey, Barbara Christian, James Emanuel, Jerome Brooks, Allen Ballard, Olga Taylor, Raymond Patterson, Malcolm Robinson, Nathaniel Norment, Jr., Osborne Scott, Melvin Norment, James Smalls, Robert Young, Charles Powell, Leonard Jeffries, James DeJongh, Moyibi Amoda, Barbara Wheeler, Frank Laraque, Edward Scobie, George McDonald, Eugenia Bains, Margarita Matias, Il-lona Henderson, and Sederico Aquino-Berumudez (the first chair) organized curricula, course listings, and the basic structure for a Black and Puerto Rican Studies Department.

6. Though African American Studies, in its contemporary form, has a rich and invaluable heritage dating back to the nineteenth century, it was the 1960s which proved to be the galvanizing force behind the widespread emergence of programs and departments across the country. See Donald B. Easum, "The Call for Black Studies," *Africa Report* 14 (May/June 1969): 16–22, and Charles V. Hamilton, "The Question of Black Studies," *Phi Delta Kappan* 57:7 (March 1970): 362–364.

7. Shortly after African American Studies began to occupy space within the academy, a number of conferences and symposiums were held to debate the viability and necessity for the field. See, especially, Armistead L. Robinson, Craig H. Foster, and Donald I. Ogilvie, *Black Studies in the University: A Symposium* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), and John Blassingame, *New Perspectives on Black Studies* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973).

8. For the purposes of this reader, the editor has chosen to utilize the terms African American Studies and Black Studies interchangeably.

9. Although African American Studies is considered to be a relatively new field of study in the university, Black Studies has in fact a long and rich tradition in academia. The African American scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who began to conduct research about and study of "Negro life and culture" represent the foundation of the discipline. See, especially, W. E. B. DuBois, who organized the eleven volume Atlanta University Studies of the "Negro Problem," editing papers on all aspects of "Negro life."

10. Several white intellectuals have contributed to the field of Africana and African American Studies. Prominent among them is Melville Herskovits, who is considered by some to be the "Dean of Africana Studies." See his groundbreaking study *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941; repr. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958). For additional early scholarship by Herskovits, see "Education and Cultural Dynamics," *American Journal of Sociology* 48 (1942), 737–749; "Problem, Method and Theory in Afro-American Studies," *Afro-American* 1 (1945): 5–24, also published in *Phylon* 7 (1946): 337–354; "The Contribution of Afro-American Studies to Africanist Research," *American Anthropology* 50 (1948): 1–10; and "The Present Status and Needs of Afro-American Research," *Journal of Negro History* 36 (1951): 123–147. Other well-known white scholars include Herbert J. Aptheker, a pioneer Marxist historian who contributed significantly to the documentation of African American history in general and to the preservation of the papers of DuBois. Robert E. Park, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, taught in 1913 one of the first black studies courses "The Negro in America" and who also trained three African American sociologists Frazier, Johnson, Cayton. Franz Boas was a German-American immigrant anthropologist whom some consider to be the architect of anti-racist thought in the American academy. See Herbert Shapiro and Herbert Aptheker (eds.), *African American History and Radical Historiography: Essays in Honor of Herbert Aptheker* (Los Angeles: MEP Publications, 1998) and Vernon C. Williams, *Rethinking Race: Franz Boas and His Contemporaries* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

11. See, especially, Ernest Dunbar, "Cornell: The Black Studies Thing," *New York Times Magazine*, April 1969; Harry Edwards, *Black Students* (New York: Free Press, 1970); and H. Rosovsky, "Black Studies at Harvard: Personal Reflections Concerning Recent Events," *American Scholar* 38 (Autumn 1969): 562–572.

12. This reader includes articles and essays that are relevant to the development of African American Studies in higher education since 1968. However, the history of the field itself dates back to the mid-1800s. See Lawrence Crockett, "Early Black Studies Movements," *Journal of Black Studies* 2:2 (1971): 189–200.

13. See Des Virney Sennette and Arthur A. Schomburg, "The Negro Digs Up His Past," Elaine Locke, (ed.), *The New Negro: Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (1926; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997).

14. Though a number of weekly and monthly journals were in existence prior to the founding of ASNLH, most were either organs of religious, fraternal, and/or literary organizations, and many were designed and written with the intent of popular appeal. *The Journal of Negro History* continues to this day as one of the richest sources of available data for African American Studies and historical research.

15. See Harry Edwards, *Black Students* (New York: Free Press, 1970). Vincent Harding, "Black Students and the Impossible Revolution," *Ebony Magazine* (August 1969): 144–149; James McEvoy and Abraham Miller, *Black Power and Student Rebellion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1969); J. Saunders Redding, "The Black Youth Movement," *American Scholar* 28 (Autumn 1969): 584–587; and "Student Strikes: 1968–1969," *Black Scholar* 1:2 (January/February 1970): 65–75.

16. See William L. VanDeBerg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965–75* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

17. See Gerald McWorter and Ronald Bailey, "Black Studies Curriculum Development in the 1980s: Its Pattern and History," *Black Scholar* 16:5 (March 1984); and Howard J. Miller, "MCD Process Model: A Systematic Approach to Curriculum Development in Black Studies," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 10:1 (Fall 1987): 19–27.

18. See Martin Kilson and Bayard Rustin (eds.), *Black Studies: Myths and Realities* (New York: A. Phillip Randolph Educational Fund, 1969).

19. Martin Kilson, "Reflections on the Structure and Content in Black Studies," *Journal of Black Studies* 3:3 (March 1973): 303–312.

20. The black women's movement was both an extension and an interdependent part of the Civil Rights, Black Power, and Women's movements; however, it must be stressed that it has evolved as a distinct area of inquiry and study. See, especially, John Henrik Clarke, "The Black Woman: A Figure in World History," *Essence Magazine* (June 1971); Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William and Morrow, 1996); Linda J. M. LaRue, "Black Liberation and Women's Lib," *Transaction* 2:8 (November/December 1970): 59–64; Margaret C. Sims and Julianne Malveaux (eds.), *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1987).

21. See Johnella Butler and John C. Walters (eds.), *Transforming the Curriculum: Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), Liza Fiol-Maata and Mariam K. Chamberlain (eds.), *Women of Color and the Multicultural Curriculum: Transforming the College Classroom* (New York: Feminist Press, 1994).

22. "Challenging male-centered interpretations of African and human reality and the relationships which such interpretations cultivated and sustained, black women scholars produced and insisted on alternative visions." Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1993): 38.

23. In 1980, NCBS proposed adoption of the report of the Curriculum Standards Committee chaired by Dr. Perry Hall of Wayne State University. The document provided a general framework for the development of Black Studies courses in three basic areas: (1) Social Behavioral Studies; (2) Historical Studies; (3) Cultural Studies.

24. See Nathan I. Huggins, *A Report to the Ford Foundation on African American Studies* (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1985).

25. The recommendation to create the first operational doctoral program in African American Studies was proposed in Temple University's 1986 Academic Plan. This graduate program was to include the granting of both Master's and Doctoral degrees in African American Studies. Since its initiation, the department has graduated approximately 140 Ph.D.s.

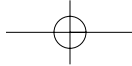
26. John Blassingame, "Black Studies: An Intellectual Crisis," *The American Scholar* 38:4 (1969): 561–572.

27. In 1996, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, approved a doctoral program in African American Studies. The university has an extensive history in the field, dating back to the early 1960s. See "Directions in Black Studies," *Massachusetts Review* (Autumn 1969). As a result of the initiative proposed by Ward Connerly and other members of the University of California Board of Regents, the approval of a doctoral program in African American Studies is currently pending at the University of California, Berkeley. The university currently offers a Ph.D. in Ethnic Studies. In the past five years, there has been a growing tendency both inside and outside African American Studies to question the theoretical and intellectual foundations of various strains of thought within the field, particularly Afrocentricity. See Stephen Howe, *Afrocentricity: Mythical Past and Imagined Homes* (New York: Verso Press, 1998); and Wilson J. Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

28. See B. Cleveland, "Black Studies and Higher Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* LI (September 1969): 44–46; Flournoy Coles, "Black Studies in the College Curriculum," *Negro Education Review* 20:3 (October 1969): 106–113; Douglass B. Davidson, "Black Studies, White Studies, and Institutional Politics," *Journal of Black Studies* 15:3 (March 1985): 339–347; and Carlene Young, "An Assessment of Black Studies Programs in American Higher Education," *Journal of Negro Education* 53:3 (1984).

29. Maulana Karenga, *Introduction To Black Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1993), 504–5.

30. Vivian V. Gordon, "The Coming of Age of Black Studies," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 5:3 (1981): 231–236.
31. Phillip T. K. Daniel, "Black Studies: Discipline or Field of Studies?" *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 4:3 (Fall 1980): 195–99.
32. Africology is defined as the Afrocentric study of phenomena, events, ideas, and personalities related to Africa. See Molefi K. Asante's *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987) and *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (Trenton: African World, 1980).
33. William E. Nelson, "Africology: Building an Academic Discipline" in James L. Conyers, Jr. (ed.), *Africana Studies: A Disciplinary Quest for Both Theory and Method* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., 1997): 60–66.
34. Nathan Hare, "Questions and Answers about Black Studies," *The Massachusetts Review* (1969): 727–736.
35. See Gordon, note 30.
36. Inez Smith Reid, "An Analysis of Black Studies Programs," *Afro-American Studies* 1 (1970): 11–21.
37. See Cruse, note 2.
38. James B. Stewart, "Reaching for Higher Ground: Toward an Understanding of Black/Africana Studies," *The Afrocentric Scholar* 1:1 (1992): 1–69.
39. Charles V. Hamilton, "The Challenge of Black Studies," *Social Policy* 1:2 (1970): 16.
40. Guy Martin and Carlene Young, "The Paradox of Separate and Unequal: African Studies and Afro-American Studies," *The Journal of Negro Education* 53:3 (1984): 257–267.
41. St. Clair Drake, "The Black Studies Movement," in Joseph E. Harris (ed.), *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1993): 491–495.
42. See Beverly Guy-Sheftall (ed.), *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Feminist Thought* (New York: The New Press, 1995): 451.
43. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, Barbara Smith (eds.), *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave* (New York: Feminist Press, 1982).
44. See Kilson note 19.
45. Russell L. Adams, "Intellectual Questions and Imperatives in the Development of Afro-American Studies," *Journal of Negro Education* 53:3 (1984): 201–225.
46. In recent years, the ideology of Afrocentricity as a theoretical perspective has become nearly synonymous with Black Studies as a discipline. African American Studies should be constructed as a set of theoretical perspectives, rather than a single theoretical perspective. See Tilden J. Lemelle, "The Status of Black Studies in the Second Decade: The Ideological Imperative," in James Turner (ed.), *The Next Decade: Research and Theoretical Issues in Africana Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Center for Research in Africana Studies, 1984).
47. See Maulana Karenga, "Black Studies and the Problematic of Paradigm: The Philosophical Dimension," *Journal of Black Studies* 18:4 (1988): 395–414.
48. See Molefi K. Asante, "Afrocentricity and the Quest for Method," in James L. Conyers, Jr. (ed.), *African Studies* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., 1997): 69–90.
49. See Asante, note 48.
50. While there are a number of texts that are utilized in African American Studies introductory courses, the overwhelming majority are authored by a single individual and do not represent the various perspectives of the history, development, and significance of African American Studies as an academic discipline. Moreover, the anthologies that are utilized are usually incorporated into courses that focus on history, literature, sociology, and psychology. See "Black Studies 101: Introductory Courses Reflect a Field Still Defining Itself," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 46:37 (May 2000): A20–A21.
51. Contrary to the beliefs of many external observers and critics, there exist a wide variety of theoretical, philosophical, cultural, political, and pedagogical perspectives within the field of African American Studies. See Russell L. Adams, "Intellectual Questions and Imperatives in the Development of Afro-American Studies," *Journal of Negro Education* 53:3 (Summer 1984): 201–225.



52. See James Upton, "Applied Black Studies: Adult Education in the Black Community—A Case Study," *Journal of Negro Education* 53:3 (Summer 1984): 322–333.

53. See Shirley Webber, "Intellectual Imperatives and Necessity for Black Education," in James Turner (ed.), *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues in Africana Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, 1984): 63–75.

54. John Henrik Clarke, "Africana Studies: A Decade of Change, Challenge, and Conflict," in James Turner (ed.), *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues in Africana Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Center for Africana Studies and Research, 1984): 31–47.

55. James Turner, "Africana Studies and Epistemology: A Discourse in the Sociology of Knowledge," in Turner (1984), v–xxv.

56. See Floyd W. Hayes, III, "Taking Stock: African American Studies at the Edge of the Twenty-First Century," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 18:3 (June 1994): 153–163.

57. Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1993): 504–505.

