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THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF
AN AFROCENTRIC CHRISTIAN COLLEGE:
IMANI KUUMBA COLLEGE AND GRADUATE SCHOOL

by

JUANITA M. BROWNE

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

University of San Diego

2004

Dissertation Committee

Johanna S. Hunsaker, Ph.D., Chair

Paula A. Cordeiro, Ed. D.

Paul Von Blum, J. D.

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ABSTRACT

The study examines Imani Kuumba College, (IKC), an Afrocentric Christian College. Since previous research does not examine any higher institution that provides a type of learning that focuses totally on the study of the Afrocentric world, this historical case study describes a unique educational institution that proposes to teach from a focus designed to raise self-esteem for African-Americans and racial understanding for other groups by studying the African-American experience, historically, spiritually and culturally. The study begins with an introduction that outlines the environmental and societal issues that motivated the creation of this innovative institution and its unique program. After discussion of minority academic achievement and its relationship to societal ills in the community, the study examines Afrocentric Christian Education in an attempt to discover the variables that are important in the history or development of an Afrocentric Christian College. Questions addressed include: Why this type of education, What events led to Imani Kuumba College's creation and What issues and challenges it faces since it examines the College's past experiences, its present status and environment and how these factors relate to one another.

Although the type of education that Imani Kuumba College offers is unique for an institution of higher learning, it is likely that this study can serve as a new design for higher education for African-Americans and others interested in the African world and the African world-view. Thus, this study describes what currently exists in Afrocentric Christian Higher Education and the historical development that led to the present state. Due to the fact that there is no previous study of an Afrocentric Christian institution of

higher learning, this case study, therefore can fill in a large gap in the research and can motivate a new area of research.

The generational quarrel concerning the most appropriate type of education for African- Americans is introduced, however multiple data sources were used to assure reliability and validity in the examination of the creation of this innovative program that Imani Kuumba College offers as it prescribes Afrocentric education not only for African Americans, but for non-African Americans as well.

DEDICATION

This dedication is to all people everywhere who, as the Bible says, “Perish for lack of knowledge.” Imani Kuumba College was created to be an institution where all people could become educated about the history and culture of African American people.

It is also dedicated to the memory of Dr. Carter G. Woodson who in 1933 wrote in *The Mis-Education of the Negro*: “The ‘educated Negroes’ have the attitude of contempt toward their own people because in their own as well as in their mixed schools, Negroes are taught to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and the Teuton and to despise the African.”

I thought I heard my people cry out for this Africa-centered knowledge. This study of Imani Kuumba College is sub-titled:

“I thought I Heard My People Cry.”

I want to thank my God without whom I could not have started Imani Kuumba College, since it was He who taught me the notion that, “I can do all things through Christ who strengthened me.” Phillippians 4:13 KJV

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study is an historical case study of Imani Kuumba College and Graduate School, an Afrocentric Christian College, founded in 1993 in San Diego, California. Imani Kuumba College is an institution that seeks to deliver a curriculum and teach in ways that are consistent with the thoughts, practices, cultural images, and interests that have emerged out of the African and African-American world and experience. The research will document the creation of a specific unique Afrocentric Christian educational institution; the events that led to the creation of Imani Kuumba College as an Afrocentric Christian College and trace the changes that have occurred since its inception. The issues and challenges that caused these changes will be examined as to how they affected the curriculum, programs and mission of the College. The environment and community relationships of the College and their role in determining the College's mission will be analyzed. The study will also describe this concept of Christian Afrocentrism as a philosophy.

This present study is important to this researcher for several reasons. This is not intended to be an evaluation of this institution that she founded. Hopefully, however it will encourage other research that may do that. First I seek to leave a legacy of the history in the creation of a unique educational institution. This written legacy is significant historically. African American history has often been recorded only orally. One of the

beliefs about African American people is that they do not read. It is said, “that if you want to keep anything from African Americans, just put it in a book.” Hopefully this study is an effort to reverse a prevailing notion that African Americans have little reason to read. One of the requirements for graduation from Imani Kuumba College is that each student leave a legacy by completing a study that addresses a community problem as a personal participant as well as a scholar prior to graduating. I also wish to encourage other members of the African American community to leave their legacy in books for their children and their children’s children to read. To my children, I repeat an African American folk saying:

Let me tell you my life stories before I'm gone.

so when you have children you can pass them on.

Secondly, as in the Gestalt, I wish to have the opportunity to put all the parts together to view the sum of these parts in order to have a better knowledge of the current and future needs of the institution. Thirdly, this research project expresses my concern and desire to facilitate changes in the education and treatment of all persons in our society, especially persons of color. Lastly, a purpose of this research is examination of the parts that may facilitate the task for others who wish to carry on the search for an education whose purpose is to close the gaps between people of different cultures, gaps of understanding that are often maintained by ignorance.

The *summon bonum* (or the greater good) was the goal to pursue an answer to factors that would lead not only to an education for African Americans that would benefit them psychologically and socially but for all people, in the notion that racism and prejudice could be ameliorated by knowledge and respect for the history and culture of

African Americans. It is the desire of the researcher that this study of an Afrocentric Christian institution will provide insight into the establishment of educational institutions that can lead to solutions to a decrease in racism and prejudice while creating opportunity for successful achievement.

Significance of the Study

There is a place and a need for a school with Imani Kuumba College's mission. It is significant to the field of education to discover what steps are a prerequisite to creating an Afrocentric Christian institution of higher learning. Within the African-American group, gender differences in educational achievement appear to be present. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics (1995) Black women tend to far outnumber Black men in college. Although this number may not differ from that of White females and males the issue becomes significant due to the fact the African Americans are differentially impacted by the issue of race. According to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Desk Reference (1999) ...“the life expectancy for white men is some eight years higher than for black men, while white women live almost six years longer than black women” (p. 212). This is one reason why the role of gender in and the disparity between the ratio of Black men to Black women have different meanings from the disparity between white men and women. The impact of the disparity appears greater in African Americans.

Additional data that impact this disparity is the fact that “...out of every 1000 African Americans alive and exactly 50 years old at the beginning of the period, between 4 and 5 (4.86) will die before reaching their 51st birthdays” (p. 221). The source of this data is the U. S. National Center for Health Statistics, Vital Statistics of the United States,

annual and unpublished data. Studies have shown a greater percentage of the total African American population than the percentage of the total White American population have had involvement with the criminal justice system, and welfare system. This fact may have an impact on the total society through its possible connection to welfare dependency, crime, health needs and substance abuse. Some theorists have identified this fact as indicative of the need for Afrocentric education.

In 1881 the renowned scholar, Dr. Edward Blyden complained in his inauguration speech as President of Liberia College that there was no organized teaching of the culture and civilization of Africa and that the "world's image of Africa was not in keeping with Africa's true status in world history." This led to a new consideration of a type of education that focused on Africa. The present study will introduce educational methods designed to enhance learning for those who have had difficulties relating to traditional Eurocentric education. Although Afrocentric education has been proposed as one way to address this need, researchers have not yet examined an institution of higher learning that places Afrocentricity as the center of a total curriculum in the educational system. This study may become a foundation for a new system of education.

Thus one indication of the importance of this proposed study is the fact that it may illuminate a type of education that can ameliorate many societal ills caused or exacerbated by an educational system that has not provided a type of learning that encourages the study or is consistent with the values and world-view of the Afrocentric world (Woodson, 1933; Asante, 1987).

An Afrocentric Christian Education institution proposes a choice of curriculum for African-Americans and non African-Americans that focuses on the African World View.

Upon completion of data collection the researcher will describe and illuminate the organization in such a way that readers will share vicariously the journey through time taken by the creation of a new type of institution. The purpose of the study is to trace the establishment of one specific Afrocentric Christian College, Imani Kuumba College and Graduate School. It is also to answer the questions Peshkin (2000) determines important to any study, i. e. “What’s going on? What have I seen? What do I, can I, or will I learn about what I’ve seen? (p. 8). Is Imani Kuumba College doing what its mission maintains? Can an accounting of the history, philosophy and the program benefit the researcher by exposing a more complete picture of the institution as well as benefiting prospective creators of similar culturally and spiritually relevant institutions? It is possible that the researcher may also see the institution from another perspective, as an observer rather than a participant?

Stake (1995) says that finishing a case study is the “consummation of a work of art. The study is an opportunity to see what others have not yet seen, to reflect the uniqueness [of a case], to engage the best of our interpretive powers and to make even by its integrity alone an advocacy for those things we cherish” (p. 136). This study proposes that the documents of the institution will form a palette of paints that when applied to paper will create a picture of Imani Kuumba College. The completed study will be focused on the researcher’s utilization of the interpretive powers that can serve as a cultural bridge in describing an institution which proposes a type of education that honors and respects Afrocentricity.

There are several reasons for this study. There is virtually no institution that parallels the cultural, philosophical and Christian nature of Imani Kuumba College. There

has been no previous research that examined another educational institution that describes its focus as one of meeting societal needs by raising the self-esteem for African Americans and enhancing the awareness for other marginalized groups by teaching the African American experience historically, spiritually and culturally. Thus educational theorists and practitioners may through this study trace the intersection of societal forces, cultural effects and religious forces as they affect the disparity in educational achievement of minorities.

This study will also aid educators and other professional persons to become more knowledgeable about African American culture. The immersion in African American culture for teachers or other professional persons who work with African Americans will be a product of this study. With the increasing number of race related crimes, an environment of learning can be introduced in the notion that a school can educate about the African focused culture without the need for a Black Studies Program. It is also possible that curriculum specialists may find something of value that can be utilized in the educational methodology of other programs.

Studies have shown that a greater percentage of the total African American population than the percentage of the total White American population have had involvement with the social systems of the criminal justice system, welfare and other agencies. A 1997 study by the Sentencing Project shows a rising disparity between the numbers of incarcerated Blacks and those of Whites. In 1994 there were 7.66 African Americans in federal and state prisons for every White. African Americans today make up 51% of the 1.1 million inmates nationwide and 1 of every 3 African American males in their 20s is under control of the criminal justice system (in prison, on probation, or on

parole.) One indication of the importance of this study is that it may illuminate a type of education that can ameliorate many societal ills that have been suggested as having been caused or at the least exacerbated by an educational system that has not provided a type of learning that encourages the study or is consistent with the values and world-view of the Afrocentric world (Woodson, 1933; Asante, 1987).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to focus historically on the creation of a specific institution, Imani Kuumba College. The purpose of the school is to produce Afrocentrists much in the way that medical schools produce M.D.s, law schools produce attorneys, and computer schools produce technologists. The notion is posed that it may be societal racism that has relegated the study of Afrocentrism only to African Americans while Eurocentrism education in TWIs, ("Traditional White Institutions") is prescribed for everyone.

This study will examine an educational institution that describes its focus as one of meeting societal needs by raising the self-esteem for African-Americans and enhancing the awareness for other groups by teaching the African- American experience historically, spiritually and culturally. Thus the purpose of this study is to document the creation of this college, examining a new type of educational institution which purports to ameliorate the lack of access to effective cultural education. This investigation will examine this institution's history, present status, and current environment.

Classic and contemporary studies of Black Americans and education have consistently posed the question of what type of education is best for African Americans. Many scholars maintain that African American educational needs differ from those of

other groups. Ogbu (1993) says that the achievement level of minority groups differ significantly from those of the majority group members, and that there is also a difference of achievement between different types of minority group members. Low achievement may be a result of three forces: societal forces, pressures from society on people who feel politically and economically powerless; public education forces, which are often seen as presenting and controlling an education that has little relevance to their personal needs; and community forces which do not see the educational systems teaching skills that will benefit their community.

According to the study of the National Assessment of Educational Progress, (NAEP, 1995), gaps in the academic performance of Black and White students appear as early as age 9 and persist through age 17. The report states specifically that Black children are less likely to be enrolled in preprimary education and are more likely to be below modal grade for their age. They report that gaps in reading, mathematics and science achievement appear as early as age 9 and do not narrow with age.

The NAEP data suggest that Black students are more likely than Whites to drop out of school. The census data indicate that Blacks are less likely to go immediately from high school to college (NAEP 1995). These statistics are more devastating for Black males who are far out-numbered in college by Black females. Many black males who are incarcerated are found to lack basic education, a situation which makes recidivism most likely. This environment often creates social forces that make Black males more feared in society. Often employment is more difficult to obtain. Criminal activity thus lures the Black male with its economic rewards. On the other hand the curriculum offered in the schools is not as easily connected to economic success as is illegal gang activity.

Participation in inner city gangs often appeals to young Black males who then are more easily accepted without education. Therefore, although Black male children outnumber female children in pre-school, community forces begin to effect their education by the time they reach elementary school.

According to the study, "High School and Beyond," a document released in 1982 by the National Center for Educational Statistics "one- half of Black and Hispanic high school students who were sophomores in 1980 had dropped out or graduated high-risk by 1984" (p. xvi). This parallels the findings of the College Board (1985) and the Carnegie Quarterly (1984/1985) which conclude that Black students, even if they attend school with Whites, receive an education that is different and inferior.

Background of the Study

Afrocentricism

Afrocentrism is defined in Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience (1999) as "the study of Africa and its history from a non-European perspective" (p. 45). Molefi Kete Asante, formerly Chair of African American Studies at Temple University, the first United States University to offer a Ph.D. Program in African American Studies, coined the term "Afrocentrism" in 1976, although the word had its roots in Pan Africanism. Karenga (1993) states that there is no single conception of Afrocentricity," only a general conceptual agreement that Afrocentric means essentially viewing social and human reality from an African perspective or standpoint" (p. 35). In its most moderate conception however "Afrocentrism" is defined by both Karenga (1992) and Asante (1987) as a rediscovering African and African American achievement, restoring Africa's rightful place in history and establishing its importance on a par with

European history, culture and accomplishment. Africana (1999) has suggested that one notion of the significance of Afrocentricity is based on the fact that:

Afrocentrists believe that African Americans and non-African Americans would gain from efforts made toward restoring pride and dignity in African heritage, viewing people of African descent as actors in history rather than “objects and expanding school curricula to include in part, acknowledging the role that Africa played in shaping European culture (p.45).

The fact that the Afrocentric concept has historically been a part of Black scholarship is shown by the numerous scholars who have detailed the existence of a traditional African world view in which certain distinguishing cultural characteristics and beliefs predominate. Chronologically they include: Woodson (1933); Forde and Parrinder(1954); Busia(1963); Mbiti (1970); Nobles (1972); Balander and Maquet (1974); Sowander(1974); Thompson (1974); Williams (1976); Levine (1977); Diop (1978); Gerhart (1978) and Zahan (1979). These scholars beginning with Woodson (1933) focused on the definition of a type of education that began with the description of cultural nationalism and continued along the path of inclusion of the African world in academic studies that led to the work of Asante (1987) and Meyers (1988).

It is Myers' (1988) opinion that one of the causes of conflict in contemporary American society is lack of knowledge of other cultures. Haki R. Madhabuti, (1990), publisher of Third World Press, expresses the same opinion, however he suggests a solution. Madhabuti says that it is the responsibility of African American educators and citizens to develop formal and informal educational settings where cultural understandings are not transmitted accidentally, but by design. Afrocentrism therefore,

according to Asante (1987) is a concept that meets that goal by placing African ideals, values and methods at the center of the focus. Asante (1990) states that Afrocentricity is “placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior” (p. 171). He further narrows his definition of that theory in a later (1992) study, Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge by stating that if the Afrocentrist does not put African ideals and values at the center of inquiry than “Afrocentricity does not exist” (p. 6). He states that “what many scholars who participate in African Studies do is not properly African Studies but European studies of Africa. This, he says has “little to do with the racial background of the scholar but rather with the perspective from which the person examines data” (p 7).

According to Asante (1987) Afrocentricity is not dated and relegated to ancient African culture since it is also “the belief in the centrality of Africans in postmodern history” (p.77). Asante believes that the passage of time does not limit the belief in the centrality of Africans (1992, p. 6). It therefore can still be contemporarily defined as the “placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior”(p 6). Afrocentrism as Asante (1988) conceives the term is a “theoretical constant based on a philosophy of African and African American history” (p. 12). This does not negate Eurocentrism however.

Some critics of Afrocentrism maintain, that “Afrocentrism” attempts to replace Eurocentric ideology with an African centered ideology (Lefkowitz, 1992). Asante (1988) responds to this charge, “Afrocentrism does not claim that an African centered world view should replace the current ideology, but it does claim to present a

construction of postmodern history which opposes the current ideology which places Eurocentrism at the center” (p.77).

To illustrate this the term “black” is examined. In this culture the term “black” refers to persons of African descent, and the model is African in origin and philosophy, however as a concept, “black” represents all of the colors of the spectrum absorbed into one. Therefore oneness is the basis of the model.

Black, then, does not mean the negation of white, though white is a reflection or projection of all the colors of the spectrum. “Rather the two are complements, both necessary for the fullest realization of oneness” (Meyers, 1988 p. 17). This perspective includes the philosophies and values that focus on Africa and African culture. African centered thinking is based on collectivism rather than individualism and speaks of the “composite African people”. An Afrocentric College may stress the Afrocentric concept of collectivism. This is the concept of Njia.

Njia (or “The Way”) describes the Afrocentric method as one that focuses on the ...“collective expression of the Afrocentric worldview [and] ...is grounded in the historical experience of African people” (Karenga 1993 p. 21). This collective expression forms the basis of the construction of Afrocentric values that are inclusive of the historical experiences both of Africa and of slavery.

Focus on these values allows the Afrocentric institution to utilize logic and symbolic relationships from the African centered world as well as to underline its perceptions of reality from “within the African historical framework” (Asante 1992 p.88.) These perceptions are extracted from an Afrocentric philosophy which is considered by Afrocentrists as being universal much in the way that many scholars of the Western

world consider European concepts to be “universal”. Welsh, in the forward to Asante ‘s (1992) study has observed that this universality is not threatened by a one-culture-centered focus. Welsh states, “ It does not take away from the universality or humanity of man to have a particular culture or history to stand as one’s center since all cultures share certain universal traits” (p. vii). Karenga (1993) agrees with this concept of universal sharing and states that African humanity is enriched and expanded by mutually beneficial exchanges with others. He further says that just “as there are lessons for humanity in Africa particularity, there are lessons for Africans in human commonality” (p. 36).

In term of linguistics and speech, Asante (1987) agrees with Herskovitz (1941) who says the “Afrocentric rhetoric while it is in opposition to the negative in Western Culture, allows other cultures to co-exist and in that particular aspect is substantially different from Western rhetoric” (p.170)

This notion of universality of Afrocentricism is enhanced by the fact that the Afrocentric philosophy is an African cultural system of “juxtaposition of African and American ways and values derived from the African American experience” (Asante p.2).

Afrocentric Education

The curriculum of an African American immersion school is not just to teach Black facts but to utilize the culture in the methods of teaching. Proponents of cultural relevance in education issue a charge that the present educational system utilizes teaching methods that are in complete opposition to the Afrocentric methods. The traditional teaching method employed by public schools emphasizes competition, while the Afrocentric method emphasizes cooperative methods and promotes learning and producing together (Fleming 1994). Utilizing the specific cultural strengths to effectively

enhance academic and social achievement is an Afrocentric recommendation for successful instruction. The notion of cultural relevance uses student culture “in order to maintain it and to transcend the negative effects of the dominant culture” (Ladson-Billings, 1994 p. 17).

Shujaa (1994) describes “African centered culture ...[as a]culture that values communal ethos, community and mutuality not atomisation and privatisation. . . “(p. 107). Fleming (1994) further highlights the collaborative nature of Afrocentrism rather than individualistic nature of Eurocentrism.

Because the emphasis is on the group, decisions and projects are based on group input and shared learning. Teaching methods focus on group study and sharing. “Each one teach one” as the focus is the folk concept. Study groups outside of class meetings are demanded. There is no emphasis on grade placement while there is fluid, flexible movement from one level of difficulty to another whenever the individual is ready. Each student is met where they are and brought to where they need to be. Admission tests are not required, although placement tests are utilized to diagnose necessary enhancement of skills. Each student is responsible for consistent reporting of acquired knowledge to others – sharing. Each student is focused on strengthening individual skills to raise the group. Each one helps students who have specific needs in the notion that tightening the loose links of the individuals will strengthen the chain of the group. The educational concept of the “normal curve” is presented as irrelevant and inoperable in the Afrocentric educational institution.

There are no rewards for individual standouts, no individual experts, no prizes given for the “leading citizen in the class” or the “best” of anything. There is little recognition

of the “top student in the class” except as an assistant to others, and no class valedictorian since the emphasis is on the quality of the total work of the group. Each individual chooses his/her role within the group as it enhances the group (community).

Encouragement is made to participate in areas that one enjoys and/or is particularly talented. The roles change from time to time in order to teach others the skills already gained by the leader. All roles are equally important since the group could not be successful without the input of each individual member. Leadership is taught with equal responsibility and the opportunity for each one to take over the role of leader if called upon. The skills are developed in order to meet requirements of the outside world and to enrich the community and the family. Responsibility for others, not glory for the individual, is the focus. Karenga (1993) says that “consciousness precedes unity” (p. 25).

Unity gives precedence to the folk, or the group. In the Afrocentric curriculum there is more focus on folk knowledge than citations of traditional scholars. Although scholars are studied, their theories and various philosophies are traced and connected to the traditional and historical values passed down from the folk from generation to generation. Scholars are studied in an effort to complement the traditional knowledge. In traditional African social systems the family is indicative of this group, folk or the community. The basis on which all African social institutions is founded is the family (Billingsley 1988). Billingsley describes the African society as one that extends that concept by including the entire family in all aspects of living. Education, religion, economics and all social systems are based on the family, therefore Afrocentric education transcends differences and encourages all ages learning together. In the African community the teacher, often the eldest, is called the “griot” (Franklin, 1988). The griot ordinarily becomes the

historian, the living dictionary, the wiseman, the psychologist and the oral keeper of the records. In Afrocentric education the oral is combined with the written expression of traditional wisdom passed down from generation to generation and shared from wise men to the young of the community or village (Franklin, 1988). In the African rites of passage all children in the village grow up in groups of like-aged young people. These groups are called age-sets. In the age-set between the ages of two to five years old the women are the educators for both males and females. By the time the age-sets experience their rites-of-passage the women become instructors to the females in the community and the older men likewise with the young males. In the contemporary African American community these events are culminated by the rites-of passage ceremonies at about age 13. (Kunjufu, 1989).

This rite of passage translates into the adoption by Americans of African customs and behaviors. It also becomes a statement as to the relationship of the passing of time to the adoption of African mores. Afrocentricity is expected to incorporate a new consciousness of the role of Africa as the center of Afrocentric study into one's behavior. This behavior is not inherent in African Americans since according to both Karenga (1993) and Asante (1987) not all African Americans, even African American scholars who research African American topics, necessarily have the consciousness that precedes teaching and thinking in the Afrocentric way. Afrocentric education proposes to teach and utilize methods that raise the consciousness of its students regardless of their background. Since both African Americans and non-African Americans lack knowledge and consciousness of Afrocentricity, it is the notion of the institution under study that all groups would benefit from education in the area. African Americans may benefit by

increased self-esteem while non-African Americans who may work in a multicultural environment may benefit by becoming more knowledgeable of the people with whom they work. Another group who could benefit by increased sensitivity is African Americans who feel “invisible” as described in Ellison’s (1952) Invisible Man and by DuBois’ (b.1868- d.1963) life-long philosophy. Karenga (1993) makes this clear by saying that in Afrocentrism “every act must be deliberately chosen for its historic purpose and mission” (p. 39), thus the goal must be focused on raising consciousness in each act of education. He says that a more “accurate and informative view of the African experience “... will contribute to a more accurate and informative understanding of the human experience in all its rich and instructive diversity” (p. 38).

Asante (1992) says that Afrocentrists call for a “reconstruction of our values” (p. 86). This is a reaffirmation of the need for an Afrocentric base for the Afrocentric institution. This he further says includes Afrocentric analytic procedures “politically, socially, culturally, and economically” (Asante 1992 p. 87). According to Asante (1992) Afrocentrism involves a reconstruction in the various areas of study, i.e. social science, history, psychology, religion, music, science, medicine and education.

This breadth of the areas in the Afrocentric study is evident as Asante (1987) says that “the African American view of a holistic personality which [is that] ... the healthy person is grounded in the African idea of sudicism, the spiritual commitment to an ideological view of harmony” (p. 185). Afrocentric psychologists, i.e. Nobles(1972, 1986), Joseph Baldwin (1980), Na’im Akbar(1976), Myers and other scholars in the area of Afrocentric psychology have led in a reconstruction or reconceptualization of the field of African personality theories. Meyers (1988) suggests that “Afrocentric psychology [is]

an evolutionary process” (p 13). Due to the lack of formal study in Afrocentrism the effort of reconceptualization is a continuing one. Shujaa (1994) agrees by stating that “becoming African-centered in one’s thinking is an ongoing process of personal transformation” (p. 263). According to Woodson (1933) as a result of racism manifested by miseducation, even African American scholars know little about Afrocentrism.

Jacob H. Carruthers (1994), Professor of Inner Cities Studies at Northeastern Illinois University and director of the Kemetec Institution states that “Black intellectuals must achieve intellectual freedom from European-centered constructions of knowledge and reconstruct Black education on an African-centered foundation (p.11). This present study will be focused on the researcher’s utilization of the interpretive powers that can serve as a cultural bridge in describing an institution which proposes a type of education that honors and respects Afrocentricity.

In continuing the holistic approach Asante explains that Afrocentrism covers the area of Social Science by defining its role as: “Modeling [institutions] on the traditional values and patterns of [African] people ...[instead of] following systems which have proved themselves neither in the native lands nor among us” (p. 40).

Carol Lee (1994) from the School of Education and Social Policy at Northwestern University writes that African-centered pedagogy reinforces “intra ethnic solidarity and pride without promoting inter-ethnic antagonisms” (p 297), however she also notes that “well-intentioned Afrikan (sic) educators seeking to fix the problems they experience with Eurocentric models of education will often turn to . . .[other] practices that are also Eurocentric, and that these methods are uniformly flawed” (p. 323) in their cultural ramifications.

Religion as an Aspect of Afrocentrism

Christian Afrocentricity is a concept that not only recognizes the centrality of the African perspective and experience but bases its existence on Biblical history and concepts with the notion that the history of the African American begins with the Biblical origin of mankind. The concept accepts the notion that the Biblical presence of the African precludes the traditional notions that the African worshipped “pagan spirits”. It recognizes the spirituality of the African as having existed from the time of creation, with Adam and Eve. This emphasizes the significance of the notion of the existence of only one race, the human race. The African focus of Christian Afrocentricity parallels the definitions of Afrocentricity espoused by Asante and Karenga without paralleling the spiritual focus of the so-called traditional African religions. In summary the Christian Afrocentric utilizes a Biblical base while emphasizing an African centered focus. This synthesis maintains that the concepts of co-existence and human commonality are both Afrocentric and Christian concepts. Although neither Karenga nor Asante prescribe Christianity as a religion, Christian Afrocentricity parallels this notion of Africa-centered universality and oneness with the Biblical perspective of Acts 17: 26 by the statement “and [He] hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their inhabitation” (KJV). Other translations of this same scripture are: “by the blood of one man, God has made all nations”; (NIV) and “that From one nation God made all men...” (Amplified Version). In its published literature the Christian Afrocentric institution which is subject of this study de-emphasizes the notion of “race” and prescribes the “oneness” and unity of all humankind. As previously noted, the issue of race is treated in the

Afrocentric environment as a non entity. Although Asante determined W.E.B. DuBois “preeminently a Eurocentrist and believed that he was “not an Afrocentrist,” since he was educated at schools such as Harvard and Berlin, Asante (1992) quoted DuBois on the notion of race when Asante referred to DuBois’ statement that “Race is essentially a political concept in racist societies but serves no practical biological purpose for the scientist “(p.124).

There is however some conflict concerning the role of Christianity within the concept of Afrocentrism. There is a notion as stated by both Asante and Karenga that the religion of Christianity does not have a role in the practice of Afrocentrism. The present researcher notes that the social concepts can be translated into equivalent spiritual concepts although Karenga (1993) criticizes Christianity and calls it “spookism” (p. 20). He, however isolates the “spiritual realities which he [believes] are in fact parts of [African American] history” (p. 20). Asante(1987) confirms that spirituality as a part of the African focus is also inherent in Afrocentrism. He describes the history of Africans and African Americans as one that has been replete with spiritual references, although he does not believe that Christianity as a religion is the African’s religion. In contrast however, according to Africana (1999), there has been a Christian presence on the African continent for nearly as long as ancient peoples have considered themselves followers of Jesus Christ. McCray (1991) in his study of The Black Presence in the Bible historically traces centuries of scholars who identify persons in the Bible who were Black. According to the Schomburg Center For Research in Black Culture (1999) Christianity has served a “pivotal and complex role in African American History” (p 147). This document refers to the African religious practices as “incorporating mysticism

and dynamic physical and oral expression while developing ...[its] own perspectives on Christian faith (p. 147). Afrocentric Christianity as a result proposes an historic partnership with the Biblical personalities from “Genesis” to “Revelations” which it posits as indicative of a Black presence in the Bible. In terms of universality Afrocentrism puts forth the notion of the “Golden Rule” therefore Afrocentric Christianity adds a consciousness of Biblical hermeneutics to the concept of Afrocentrism.

The above statements indicate that the original arguments in 1903 between W. E. B. DuBois, Administrator of Atlanta University, a Negro liberal arts college and Booker T. Washington, Founder of Tuskegee Institute, a Negro vocational school, regarding the appropriate type of education for Blacks are still being reconsidered. Prior to this DuBois-Washington debate the basic philosophy of the early Black Colleges was set by the legal restrictions of the 1896 Supreme Court Decision. De jure segregation, segregation by law, was formally established in this country by Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). This ruling was the law of the land related to segregated facilities until the 1954 Brown v. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education decision ordered desegregation of public schools “with all deliberate speed”. De facto segregation still existed. Although this Supreme Court decision was written to legalize segregation of the races on public transportation and public accommodations, it immediately became applied to public education.

Dickson Mungazi, Professor of Education at Northern Arizona University, states that “It was the historic ruling of the 1954 Supreme Court Decision that gave new meaning to the quest for a new theory of education” (Mungazi, 1993, p 60). As a

response to de jure and de facto segregation the Historically Black Colleges and Universities, (HBCUs), were founded.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Most HBCUs have been around more than 100 years. The federal document, Historically Black Colleges and Universities 1976-1994, published by the National Center for Education Statistics defines Historically Black Colleges and Universities as institutions established prior to 1964, whose principle mission was and is the education of Black Americans. This federal document states that the story of HBCUs began prior to the Civil War with the earliest college, Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, founded in the 1830's. After the Civil war ended the schools founded for Blacks were primarily religious such as Edward Waters College in Florida, Fisk University in Tennessee, and Talladega College in Alabama. It is generally accepted that there are 103 HBCUs—40 public 4 year colleges, 10 public 2-year colleges, and 4 private 2-year, 49 private 4-year and 4 private 2 year colleges. The figure may vary depending on the source and the year since some of the original HBCUs have merged. According to the document, Historically Black Colleges and Universities 1976-1994, published by the National Center for Education Statistics currently, HBCUs are 3 % of the nation's 3,688 institutions of higher learning but enroll approximately 16 % of the Black students in college and award 28% of Black Baccalaureate degrees.

In 1989 the U.S. Education Department Statistics stated that about one-third of all baccalaureate degrees earned by Blacks are awarded from the 87 four-year institutions designated as HBCUs. There are 106 institutions nationwide that have been granted HBCU-status according to the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher

Education. Most HBCUs began as primary and secondary schools but gradually developed into normal schools and college programs for the education of Black teachers. This role has continued today since they still produce the majority of the Black teachers; however, they also give degrees in many other areas. In 1994, 48% of science degrees in agriculture and natural resources, 45% of mathematics, 44% physical sciences, 40% biological sciences, 38% education and 37% in computer sciences and information sciences were graduates from HBCUs. (National Center for Education Statistics, U. S. Department of Education Office, 1995).

On the professional level, HBCUs have trained 75% of Black Ph.D.s, 85% of Black physicians, 46% of Black business executives, 50% of black engineers, 50% of Black attorneys, 40% of Black dentists, 50% of Black pharmacists, and 75% of Black veterinarians. In addition, 53.4% of African American public school teachers in 1993-1994 received their undergraduate degrees from HBCUs.

Although HBCUs were a part of the history of education for Blacks, an Afrocentric college differs from these institutions due to its curriculum and methods of teaching. An Afrocentric Christian College is defined as a college that teaches totally from an Afrocentric Christian perspective. Although there are no previous Afrocentric Christian Colleges, the literature details the historical relationship of religious institutions to Black educational institutions such as the Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). There are also elements of conceptual theories and educational innovations that are consistent with some of the principles of Afrocentric education. In order to define an Afrocentric Christian curriculum one can compare it with the conceptual frameworks of the types of curricular programs that are already familiar. These programs include Black

Studies, Women Studies, Multicultural Studies religious programs such as those taught at a seminary, or a parochial program which teaches liberal arts subjects from a religious base. There are commonalties for example, with various sorts of area studies that have been institutionalized in universities in recent years. These movements include the development of Black Studies programs to supplement the curriculum in universities. Mungazi (1993) said that "Black studies, urban studies, women's studies, multicultural studies, and bilingual education, all found an important place in the curriculum of institutions of higher education" (p. 100). Afrocentric education however differs from "Black Studies" in that it frames a curriculum that emphasizes a complete inclusion in all areas of the curriculum, not only as a supplement to traditional education. Although the addition of Black Studies or multicultural studies to the curriculum has been one attempt to close the gap between the exclusion of cultural studies, the present study illustrates that there is a difference between Afrocentrism and "Black Studies" or multiculturalism. Afrocentric education then differs from the "Black Studies" in that it frames a curriculum that emphasizes a complete inclusion in all areas of the curriculum, not only as a supplement to traditional education. Afrocentrists, Asante (1987) and Karenga (1993) both agree that they have difficulty with "multiculturalism" as it is generally defined and conceived. Asante (1992) points out that often whites' vision of multiculturalism is an Eurocentric vision which evolves from a conception of "an American rooted in the past, where whites... defined the protocols of American society..." (p. 311). This sets up an example to which Asante (1992) and Karenga (1993) both believe prescribe a hegemony which ascribes a role for European culture that places non European culture in a

subservient position. They believe that it is this European version of multiculturalism which encourages an aversion to Afrocentric theory and practice.

Statement of the Problem

Ladson-Billings (1994) points to the growing disaffection of African Americans with the kind of education their children receive today in the public schools. Some of the available studies propose the notion that the lack of achievement of black students is a result of the fact that schools are not culturally responsive. One example is Hale-Benson (1986) who proposes that the implementation of an Afrocentric Curriculum can help children learn through experiences that are both Afro and Euro-American while assisting them to develop positive attitudes toward self, learning and school. Ladson-Billings (1994) prescribes culturally relevant teaching as a method of improving academic performance for African American students. Ladson-Billings proposes that the reason why almost no literature exists to address the specific educational needs of the African American is because of the refusal to recognize African Americans as a distinct cultural group in addition to being a racial group.

Ladson-Billings (1994) notes that teacher candidates need to have prolonged immersion in African American culture in order to understand the students' home language, social interaction, patterns, histories and cultures. This then would allow the teacher to honor and respect the students' home culture, without looking down on their parents who speak a language considered substandard in the traditional school environment. The Historically Black Colleges and Universities were founded with the understanding of this philosophy of this type of involvement of the teacher and the school

with the student, the home and the community. Their history has had a significant role in American education.

The current literature shows a lack of resources on Afrocentric education on the college level. A college with a totally Afrocentric curriculum is virtually unknown in higher education. The traditionally or historically Black Colleges do not focus on an Afrocentric curriculum. They were established in response to de jure segregation, (segregation by law), and de facto segregation, (segregation as it exists in fact). The HBCUs therefore duplicated the curriculum of the white schools that had refused Blacks admission. Many of the educated Blacks found that their education may have qualified them for jobs, but did not prepare them to go back into their own communities (Woodson, 1933). Along with the cultural African world-view, Afrocentric Christian Education proposes a similar nurturing environment as the Historic Black Colleges and Universities. There is a difference however because the curriculum offered by these Historic Black Colleges and Universities, (HBCUs) is generally a parallel of the Traditionally White Institutions, (TWIs), since their focus is on providing African Americans the education that they could not receive when previously refused admittance to the TWIs.

As noted the original arguments between DuBois and Washington regarding the appropriate type of education for Blacks are currently being re-examined. The methods and approaches used in previous studies have been basically historical and sociological. Each researcher stopped short at being able to examine an educational institution that met their proposals for an essential Afrocentric focus. The previous research has only theorized that the relevance of the learning to one's life and community can influence the

effectiveness of an educational institution. As far back as 1881, the renowned scholar, Dr. Edward Blyden complained in his inauguration speech as President of Liberia College, that there was no organized teaching of the culture and civilization of Africa and that the “world’s image of Africa was not in keeping with Africa’s true status in world history.” This led to a new consideration of a new type of education that focused on Africa.

In 1933 Carter Godwin Woodson, known as the father of Negro History, described in his study, The Miseducation of the Negro, this same dilemma of a system that gives no credit for African knowledge, history and civilization but condones injustice. Woodson and the others were not able to answer their questions as to whether the type of learning environment is as important as the curriculum to the success of the learner..

The work of Woodson (1933) however is invaluable background for this case study because his theory was that the American form of education was inappropriate for African Americans because they differed from white Americans for many reasons. His solution was Afrocentric education, although he did not use the term, he fully described the concept. His work formed a model for others and became a foundation for Afrocentrism of today. It may be an appropriate study for future researchers to trace Afrocentrism from its beginnings to the current time.

According to Mungazi (1993), Woodson’s work in 1933 was followed by John Dewey by Dewey’s suggestion in 1938 that a curriculum should be designed that places the interests of the student above the interests of society, otherwise the student “may lose interest in the educational process and thus in society” (Mungazi, p. 88). This loss of interest, Mungazi believes might explain the high drop-out rate among some minorities. Consequently proponents of Afrocentricity propose a curriculum with a focus that

increases students' interest in staying in school since there is focus on knowledge that emphasizes satisfying the need for knowledge that can become utilized in the student's own community as well as the society-at-large.

Mungazi (1993) further traces this concept back in America's early history by illustrating that during the historic Jacksonian era a new way of thinking focused on a similar notion that the curriculum must be designed to reflect participation of all people so that society would progress as a whole. He explains that "educational psychologists and researchers began to argue that minority groups did more poorly in school because they lacked access to an educational environment that promoted their strengths, and that this was a result of racial discrimination" (Mungazi, p. 100). This is one argument that led to the advent of Black Studies in "Traditional White Institutions" (TWIs). Educators admit that some "Black Studies" should be taught (Haniff, 1991), however this is often the "buffet or cafeteria system" of education. One selects a few courses to be offered for a term, with little thought to appropriate academic relevance, and in February, (Black History Month), every year the institution's cafeteria serves "yams" and "collard greens" in an effort to appear to be culturally knowledgeable. According to Freeman (1995) students believe that Black studies should be practical, academically valid and culturally relevant. Ladson-Billings (1992) maintains that:

Although scholars such as James Banks, Carl Grant and Geneva Gay began on a scholarly path designed to change schools as institutions so that students might be prepared to reconstruct the society, in its current practice iteration, multicultural education is but a shadow of its conceptual self. Rather than engage students in provocative thinking about the contradictions of U. S. ideals and lived realities teachers

often find themselves encouraging students to sing 'ethnic' songs, eat ethnic foods, and do ethnic dances. Consistently, manifestations of multicultural education in the classroom are superficial and trivial celebrations of diversity (Ladson-Billing, 1992, p. 26).

These types of superficial celebrations may tend to trivialize the perception of the Black world. The dimensions of this Black world may be much larger than perceived by the current Black Studies programs. The term "Black Studies", according to Nick Aaron Ford (1973), has become an acceptable designation for all studies primarily concerned with the experience of people of African origin residing in any part of the world. Ford further has said that "Black studies has brought about the enhancement of pride of heritage in those whose origin had been despised by themselves and denigrated by others for so long" (p.77). Woodson in 1933 also referred to those whom he believed had self-hatred or hatred for Negro culture. Although he did not know the term Afrocentrism, he introduced the Afrocentric concept, that is, the concept of the relevance of academic study centered on the African world in literature, science, art and language studies. Woodson (1933) also analyzed the total curriculum and noted the absence of Negro culture in all subject areas. As stated Afrocentric education then differs from the above-described "Black Studies" in that it frames a curriculum that emphasizes a complete inclusion in all areas of the curriculum, not only as a supplement to traditional education.

Educational theorists suggest that curriculum decisions should be flexible and based on the composition of society. In agreement with that concept Mungazi (1993) concludes that curriculum decisions should not be forever, that "the curriculum must not be viewed as a permanent feature of education, but must be regarded as flexible enough to reflect the changing structure of society, especially the need to improve socioeconomic and

political systems” (p.105). As it is proposed in this type of interaction Afrocentric education “totalizes cultural and social organization demonstrating the essential character of human society from the centrality of Africa and the primacy of the classical civilizations” (Asante, 1990 p. 171), or Afrocentricity, which is defined as “placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involve African culture and behavior” (Asante, 1987, p. 6) proposes this focus on the structure of the society and introduces the flexibility of the Afrocentric curriculum that centers around the academic validity of “ ... recognizing the centrality of a world view based on Africa ...” (Asante 1987, p.174).

In summary, the question has then been historically posed as to what type of education best meets the needs and enhances the academic achievement of many members of society. There appears to be a difference in the academic achievement of minorities. This achievement also appears to differ among different types of minority groups. This then introduces the question as to why some minority groups perform more successfully than others in the educational system. In particular, the low academic performance of African Americans is a major educational and economic issue. The Afrocentric Christian College’s mission broadens the focus by expressing the notion that this need for knowledge of African- American culture is not solely for African-Americans but for the society as a whole.

As noted there is a wide selection of educational options for students in higher education including public, private, and religious colleges and universities. In addition, there is some choice regarding the curriculum whether it is general education requirements, a religious focus, or an Afrocentric focus, to name but a few. Although there has been considerable research about educational achievement and religious

education, private education as well as the impact of HBCUs, there is no research on an entire college with an Afrocentric Christian curriculum. In addition, although there is also much literature describing the Historical Black Colleges and Universities, biblically based Christian education from Kindergarten through twelfth grade, and Black Studies in the Traditional White Institutions, as previously stated, there is no previous study of an Afrocentric Christian institution of higher learning. Afrocentric Christian education proposes a choice of curriculum for African-Americans and others that focuses on the African World-View. This present study therefore may fill in a large gap in the research and may become the beginning of a new area of study.

Further research is necessary to study the success of an Afrocentric College. Some of the questions that might be answered by additional study are: What is the nature of the relevance of success to Afrocentric education? Can Afrocentric Education prepare its graduates to return to their own community to utilize their knowledge to help other members of the community and thus maintain their connection to their people?

Research Questions

The following research questions will be used to develop an historical case study of Imani Kuumba College, a ten-year old Afrocentric Christian College located in San Diego, California:

1. What events led to the creation of Imani Kuumba College and what factors influenced the form it took?
2. In what ways is Imani Kuumba College an Afrocentric and a Christian College?
3. What issues and challenges are Imani Kuumba College currently facing?

4. How is Imani Kuumba College effected by its environment and community relationships?

Limitations and Delimitations of This Study

This case study has several limitations. First, given the unique nature of this college some may believe that there may be limited transferability of the findings. Since there are no other Afrocentric Christian Colleges, it may be perceived that is confirmation of this limited transferability. Contrary to this possible popular belief this study is designed to be unlimited in its scope. It is suggested that the observations can be applied to unlimited groups, locations, genders, ages and cultures.

Next, the College is only ten years old and therefore still in its infancy. There is also the concern that the researcher who is the President and Founder of the college may be biased, therefore checks were built-in to insure the trustworthiness of the findings. These checks included the utilization of external observers to follow the derivation of the evidence from initial research questions to the ultimate case study conclusions and allowing external observers to trace the steps in either direction, from the conclusions back to the initial research questions and from the questions to the conclusions.

One of the concerns is that the subjectivity of the founder of the College as the researcher might invalidate the study. However in reality a case study is subjective and according to Yin (1994) it may rely heavily on previous experience and in this case the researcher's sense of worth of things becomes evident. Terms associated with the issue of subjectivity such as "distortion" and "bias" are often perceived as negative. This is in contrast to the positive perception of terms such as "unique" and "useful", personal

qualities of researchers utilized by Jansen and Peshkin (1992). Therefore the possible benefits of subjectivity can be explored as well as the concerns.

This section is presented to briefly address the issue of the subjectivity of the researcher and the possibility of the tainting of the results of the research. According to Peshkin (2000) all research is subjective to a certain extent. He maintains that “we are not indifferent to the subject matter of our inquiries” (p. 6). The researcher is subjective even from the beginning when the topic is selected. It is significant that one of the issues of proponents of Afrocentric education is the notion that the history of African-Americans has been distorted by historians or other researchers who are not African-American and have subjectively reported American history from their own perspective. These theorists believe that the “distortion often occurs due to the fact that the researcher subjectively makes the decision as to the importance, order and form of what is to be learned and how it relates to the argument, story or narrative that is continually undergoing creation” (Peshkin, 2000, p. 9). It is generally the researcher who subjectively determines the focus of the research. Peshkin states, that although “generally less consciously known to researchers, the phenomenon as named and conceived is probably associated with personal perspectives, dispositions and feeling - - - in a word their subjectivity - - and that also will bear on the interpretive process. We are not indifferent to the subject matter of our inquiries “(p. 8). Peshkin (1985, 1988) contends that subjectivity “operates during the entire research process, from the choice of topic, to data gathering and analysis, to the writing up of the findings” (p. 276). His caveat is that researchers must be aware of their subjectivity, then they can inform readers about where self and subject have been joined. Thus, it remains under control in the research process. Peshkin (1988) describes his

“subjective I’s, as aspects of himself that emerged under the particular circumstances of his research in a multiethnic school” (p. 18). He described one of his I’s as the “Ethnic Maintenance I”. Peshkin is Jewish and was doing his research in a fundamentalist Christian School. His fear was that he would not respect the beliefs of the Christian School students, teachers and staff. His conclusion was based on the understanding and recognition of his religious biases. Peshkin (1986) in his book titled God’s Choice, expressed awareness of the differences between himself and his fundamentalist subjects, however he also expressed the knowledge that he would be an unseen participant. He stated:

Though I intend that the people and the social situations under study will dominate this book, yet the writer may hover here and there, now unseen, now a shadow, now a lurking presence. As I read my own pages, I almost expect to see myself peering out from around the pages, a Kilroy-like interloping specter (Peshkin, 1986 p. 19).

In support of Peshkin’s observation Stake (1995) states that the qualitative case study is highly personal research, and that “rather than being encouraged to be an unbiased observer, researchers are encouraged to include their own personal perspectives in the interpretations” (P. 135). In further agreement with Stake, Peshkin (2000) has described the work of the researcher as a way of intertwining his or her self, or identity in a situation to promote understanding of the object of the investigation. He says that, “rarely, except in highly controlled or consensually defined situations, can research be a

simple form of record keeping and summary” (Peshkin, 2000, p. 5). Peshkin further maintains that the researcher is “never indifferent to the subject being studied” (p. 6).

Additionally, although the researcher has built in a variety of strategies to establish trustworthiness, the fact that she is President and founder of this college means that biases, if any must be carefully examined. This will be done within the method of triangulation to gain needed confirmation and to increase credence in the interpretation. Triangulation, according to Stake (1995) examines researchers’ questions such as, “Do we have it right?” And “...Are we generating a comprehensive and accurate description?” (p. 107). The protocols or procedures needed are dependent on the data situation. Stake describes these situations and their respective need for triangulation as: situations where description is uncontestable would need little effort toward confirmation; dubious and contested descriptions need confirmation; data critical to an assertion and key interpretations would need extra effort toward confirmation; while the authors’ persuasions if they are so identified, would need little confirmation. Triangulation according to Yin (1994) recommends the use of multiple sources of evidence. Due to the fact that this study primarily relies on documents and artifacts for data collection, although multiple types of documents and artifacts will be analyzed, other forms of data collection may have to be added to the analysis and the various methods of triangulation will be described in the chapter on methodology.

Definition of Terms

Before proceeding with this study, the matter of usage and definition of terms must be discussed. One will find that the term used for people of color with African ancestry varies from page to page and from citation to citation. Many terms can be found in the

literature to refer to people of African ancestry and term usage generally is related to the time period in which a document was written. Depending on the time period one will find references to “nigras,” colored people, negroes, Negroes, Africans, African Americans, Afro Americans and Blacks. The question is still raised very often by whites who do not want to be insulting by inadvertently using the wrong term, “What do you want to be called?”

This question can be answered by determining the operative factors of the reference. These factors include the time, setting, environment and intent of the speaker. Depending on the time and the intent of the speaker or writer, some terms are clearly pejorative, i.e. nigras, darkies, etc. Although the term that is used generally defines the time in which the speaker is referring, this study assumes that Black writers should be able to use the terms interchangeably without explanation. Blacks have many names for themselves (and for whites). A comparison can be made to the many terms that have been used interchangeably by Whites to describe White Americans., i.e. whites, Anglos, Anglo Saxons, Europeans, European Americans, Caucasians, Anglo Americans. This study will assume therefore that names are not necessarily significant, as long as it is understood to whom the writer is referring. These names used to refer to African-Americans can be interchanged from reference to reference.

In order for the reader to have a clearer understanding of terms utilized in this study the following list is included:

Afrocentric Christian College: A College which focuses on the African-American

experience and teaches from an Afrocentric curriculum which is Biblically based.

Afrocentricity: A quality of thought and practice rooted in the cultural image and human interests of African people (Karenga, 1988). The belief in the centrality of Africans in postmodern history. It is also the placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior (Asante, 1987).

Afrocentricity in contrast to Eurocentrism: Afrocentricity is preferable to Afrocentrism to clearly distinguish it from Eurocentricism which is an ideology and practice of domination and exclusion based on the fundamental assumption that all relevance and value are centered in European culture and peoples and that all of the cultures and peoples are at best marginal and at worse irrelevant (Karenga, 1993).

Afrocentrism: A theoretical construct based on a philosophy of African and African-American history (Asante, 1987).

Afrology: The science or study of all modalities related to people of African descent from an Afrocentric perspective.

Black nationalism: According to Karenga (1980) is social theory and practice organized around the concept and conviction that Blacks are a distinct historical personality and should therefore unite in order to gain the structural capacity to define, defend and develop their interest (p .15).

Black nationalists: Historically they have called for unity and pride in the Black community, and a political arrangement where they control their own destinies. Basic solidarity, race pride and independence have always been recognizable. Although nationalism has taken many forms including the “Back to Africa Movement”, Black nationalists have proposed establishing ties with Blacks in other parts of the world and in Africa.

Black Studies: The phrase “Black Studies” has become an acceptable designation for all studies primarily concerned with the experience of people of African origin residing in any part of the world.

De facto segregation: Segregation no longer legal but existing in fact. It may consist of racial patterns that linger from former legal limitations.

De Jure segregation: Segregation by law (Legal segregation). This type of segregation is an official policy of government-sanctioned limitations on a racial group that subordinate and stigmatize it.

Ebonics: A language spoken in the United States by African-Americans which uses many English words but is based on African syntactic elements and sense modalities.

Eurocentrism: An ideology and practice of domination and exclusion based on the fundamental assumption that all relevance and value are centered in European culture and peoples and that all other cultures and peoples are at best marginal and at worse irrelevant (Asante, 1988, p. 35).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities, (HBCU's): Black Colleges founded before 1964 in response to the inability of Blacks to be accepted for admission to the white colleges. The colleges were predominantly Black, however, persons of all colors were accepted. In their beginnings administration and faculty were White until Blacks gradually replaced most of them.

Imani : Kiswahili word for faith, comes from the Nguzo Saba, of the Kawaida originated by Maulana Karenga in 1965.

Kawaida : An African value system developed by Maulana Karenga, in 1965 based on seven principles, (the Nguzo Saba), including Imani and Kuumba, which are a part

of the name of the College which is the focus of this study. These seven principles initiated the ritual that thousands of African Americans observe, particularly from December 26 to January 1. This holiday was named by Karenga “Kwanzaa”, however the Nguzo Saba, or the seven principles are part of the lives of many African Americans throughout the year.

Kuumba: Kiswahili word for creativity. Part of Karenga’s, (1965), Nguzo Saba, Seven Principles of Kwanzaa.

Multiculturalism: as defined in its relationship to Afrocentrism: The development of a curriculum of instruction that affirms all people in their cultural heritage “. . . (Karenga, 1993, p.47).

Nguzo Saba: The Seven Principles of Kwanzaa, or the Kuwaiti, created by Karenga (1965).

Racialism: A political theory maintains that faith in African unity on the continent and in the African worldwide diaspora is the barometer for achieving black liberation.

Racism: A belief in the innate superiority of one’s own race and as an ideology of racial privilege. For

racism to exist however, a person or race must possess the power to affect, assert or enforce disadvantages and discrimination upon another individual or population (Anderson,1993, p.116).

“token” Black: Often if there is one Black in a classroom or other environment, this Black is considered the “native informant”. In education, these native informants are often expected to give direction on material that can be utilized in the classroom. Often members of historically oppressed groups themselves become oppressive as

they begin to identify more with the group doing the oppressing.(Elkins,1959). They therefore contribute to further discrimination, once they become part of the system.

Traditionally White Institutions (TWI's): This term is utilized to denote colleges and universities that are predominantly White, maintain a Eurocentric curriculum, and until 1964 practiced de jure segregation, which in many cases, was displaced by de facto segregation after 1964.

Summary and Plan for the Following Chapters

Chapter 1 identified the focus as well as the topic of the case study of an Afrocentric Christian College.

This chapter began with a description of the background of the researcher in order to explore the motivation for this study. Since the researcher is also a participant in the study her education and professional training and expertise were significant to the methodology of the study. The researcher's participation in the institution as the founder and President of the college provided access as a participant observer. The personal background of the researcher, an African American, also impacted the perceptions of the study. Afrocentrism as an historical cultural philosophy was defined however the institution as examined in the study combines aspects of Afrocentrism and Christianity to create a program that differs from the original notion of Afrocentrism as presented by Asante (1987). It is suggested that this difference may be due to the religious nature of the institution. Although both concepts are "Africa-centered" the impact of the Christian perspective may in the eyes of the original Afrocentrists have ramifications that create changes though subtle, in the original concept of Afrocentrism. The problems that the

institution was set up to confront are described historically, culturally, psychologically and socially.

Chapter 2 explores the literature related to the historical background that led to the concept of Afrocentrism as well as the studies on African American and other minority education. The fact that the Afrocentric concept has historically been a part of Black scholarship is shown by the numerous scholars who have detailed the existence of a traditional African world-view in which certain distinguishing cultural characteristics and beliefs predominate. This chapter also compares and contrasts the relationship between the HBCUs and the TWIs and introduces historical problems which the present institution is proposed to treat.

Chapter 3 provides a more extensive view of the chosen methodology and factors leading to the choice of case study methodology. Elements of the case study are identified and factors that impacted the study are described. Afrocentric methods are combined with traditional methods in order to maintain the Afrocentric quality and authentic nature of the study.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the documents and data utilized

Chapter 5 presents analysis and discussion on the implication of this research to contemporary education that transcends gender, culture, age and religious background. Recommendations for future research are also identified in this chapter.

Chapter 2

Introduction

The overall purpose of this study is to conduct an historical case study of Imani Kuumba College, Christian Afrocentric College. The study will examine the events that led to the creation of the College and established its definition as an Afrocentric Christian College. The literature review will be organized as follows: an historical overview of the literature on African-American Education in the United States, literature concerning African-American education and its relationship to academic achievement. The three sections of this review will include an overview of (1) minority educational achievement, (2) an historical overview of Black higher education and (3) Afrocentric Education.

This overview of the literature on this topic will begin with a review of research studies on minority achievement. In order to establish the foundation for success in higher education the examination of minority educational achievement will include an analysis of some factors that impact Black student achievement on all levels including prenatal and postnatal, preschool, elementary, and secondary. Although every one of these factors may not be relevant to all minority achievers, at least one of the listed factors affects most minority achievers. These factors will be defined as barriers for African-American educational success and therefore this type of analysis will show how the factors which effect minority achievement differ on each level from preconception to college age.

In order to relate the impact of these factors of the foundations of elementary and secondary education to college age achievement, discussion of the history and background of the Historical Black Colleges and Universities along with comparisons of the Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) to institutions known as “Traditional White Institutions” (TWIs) will begin to sharpen the focus of this review. The fact that many of these institutions of higher education began as church-related schools before becoming liberal arts institutions mandates a discussion of the role of the Black Church in higher education in order to presage the discussion of the founding of the Historical Black Colleges and Universities and to define Christian Afrocentrism as an educational concept.

Afrocentric Educational Epistemology

Ultimately the concept of an Afrocentric college will be examined after narrowing the focus to the Black college student and Afrocentric educational epistemology. Thus Afrocentric education will be examined as a specific educational approach designed to address the barriers that may have been causal factors for the comparatively low student achievement and the high rate of minority drop-outs. These drop-outs may have left the minority society ill-equipped to assume leadership in a country in which they may soon out-number the “majority” population. In examining the roots of Afrocentric Education the final section will define Afrocentrism as an educational concept that utilizes specific cultural strengths in an attempt to address factors of racism and prejudice while it effectively enhances minority academic and social achievement.

Minority Achievement

According to the U. S. Census statistics in the year 2000 the people traditionally referred to as “minority” have increased their populations so much in the United States that in many areas of the nation they have begun to outnumber the white societies previously known as the “majority.” However in this study the working definition of minorities will be defined as non-white residents of the United States. These non-white residents will be further divided into voluntary and involuntary minorities and some specific characteristics of both groups will be discussed in terms of how the educational system of the United States impacts these characteristics. Due to the rapid growth of minorities in the United States, educational needs of the country have increased. Irvine (1991) describes the impact of the nation’s minorities on the future of the United States by stating:

The nation is at risk because the fastest-growing segment of the school population, blacks and other minorities, is being systematically and effectively excluded from the benefits of educational opportunities. These educational benefits lead to individual economic independence, which this country will ultimately depend upon for its strength and survival (p. xiii).

The above description of the nation is an ominous announcement for the future society that already feels threatened by the increasing poor and uneducated who are in the welfare and criminal justice system. Historically, according to the National Center for Education Statistics (1982) “one-half of Black and Hispanic high school students who were sophomores in 1980 had dropped out or graduated high-risk by 1984” (p. xvi). Currently, according to the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (2002) the dropout rate in 2001 was 7.3% for Whites, 10.9% for Blacks (non

Hispanic) and 27.0% for Hispanics. There may be many causal factors for this lack of achievement, however, one reason that this situation may be getting worse is that there may be more drop-outs due to increased course requirements for graduation from public school. According to Chion-Kenney in 1984, 8% of the states have some kind of competency testing and school boards are continuing to mandate additional requirements for graduation to respond to increased questioning concerning the quality of the graduates. Each day brings more testing requirements that may result in achievement barriers for Black students. In 1991 Irvine concluded that with the addition of requirements for higher grade point averages, higher minimum passing scores on competency tests, and longer school days and school years, minority students are failing, retained, and dropping out of schools in record numbers. Currently the Education Commission of the States Clearinghouse (2001) notes that these requirements increased in 2001 and are scheduled to increase in various states of the country in 2004 and 2005. Some minority groups which will be discussed in the next section are experiencing higher success rates while others are failing. Among all ethnic groups, Asian Americans had the highest graduation rate, 65% in 1997; Hispanics, 45% (the same level recorded for the past five years) while the rate for American Indians dipped to 36% from 35%, According to the American Council on Education (2000) the high school graduation rate for African Americans aged 18-24 declined for the third straight year to 74.7%, a decrease of more than 2% since 1990. In late April 2003, the United States Department of Education brought leading scholars together for the anniversary of the 1983 report: *A Nation at Risk*. The May 22, 2003 issue of *Black Issues in Higher Education* reports that the panel

agreed that little progress has been made in improving academic achievement in the 20 years since the 1983 report.

Differences Between Minority Groups

The problem of failing students can be further examined by analyzing the differences between minorities. Who are these minorities and are there differences between their perceptions of success in American education? Although there is an espoused value of the United States as a color-blind society, as West (1992) says, "race still matters". There are different types of minorities; therefore the specific objectives of any anthropological study of minority education should be defined. Some minority groups are academically successful in school, while other minority groups are not, a conclusion based on their percentage in the population (Coleman, et al. 1966). Ogbu (1993) charged that society looks for the bad news rather than the good. Ogbu further asserted that the explanation of the success or failure of minority children in the educational system usually only focuses on minority groups who do poorly in school. This then proposes a need to examine why certain minorities adjust and perform differently in school in spite of similar cultural and language differences.

Two groups, Asian-American students and Mexican-American students, both with limited proficiency in the English language in the 1930's were compared again in 1947. This comparison showed that the Asian-American's language problems had almost disappeared while these language problems had persisted with the Mexican-American students. In fact the Asian-American students were doing so well that their representation at the junior college level had risen to almost 250% of their expected rate; however less than 5% of the Mexican-Americans in the seventh and eighth grades made it to junior

college (Ogbu 1974/1977). Coleman's (1966) comparison of minority groups reported that Asian-American students performed better than Blacks, Mexican-Americans, Native-Americans and Puerto Ricans in reading, verbal ability and math.

Even among the Hispanic groups in the United States, there are differences in achievement. Suarez-Orosco (1986) reported that Hispanics of Central and South American or Cuban origins tended to perform better than Mexican-Americans and mainland Puerto Ricans. Students who were born in Mexico dropped out less than those born in the United States (Varlede, 1987). One conclusion from these studies that may be drawn is that certain cultural groups developed techniques for learning in this society that others have not mastered as well.

There may be multiple reasons why there is a difference in the achievement of members of some of these groups. Some minority groups do better in school than others even when a more successful group has apparently greater disadvantages of culture and language. In Ogbu's (1993) report he stated that often the minorities who differ most from the dominant group in language and culture are performing best in school.

Currently according to the 2001 survey by the Princeton New Jersey College Board organization, language diversity of test takers has increased over the last decade. Today, 19% of the students compared with 16% in 1991 say they are bilingual or consider English to be their second language. A minority group that does poorly in school in its own country of origin or has an involuntary minority status appears to do much better when its members emigrate to another country. This seems to be the case even when the group's culture and language are even more different from the culture and language of the dominant group of the host society. Ogbu (1993) explained this seeming anomaly by

saying that even though many minority children have initial problems in educational adjustment, these problems tend to diminish over time for some groups. For some other minorities, however the problems may even increase in magnitude. Ogbu (1974) posed the notion that the history, subordination and exploitation of certain minorities as well as each minority's response to this treatment are powerful influences on his/her success or failure in school. The College Board officials acknowledge that an "opportunity gap" is reflected by the comparative SAT scores of Whites and Asian Americans, and those of Black, Latino and American Indian students.

According to College Board President Gaston Caperton (2001) these score gaps also appear on virtually every measure of achievement including other standardized tests and classroom grades, and often show up as early as fourth grade. Caperton (2001) further poses the notion that these differences may be indicative of a persistent social problem in the United States: that of inequitable access to high quality education.

Forces That May Impact Success or Failure

Three forces that contribute to the problem of low school achievement are defined as societal forces; pressures from the society that impact people who may feel politically and economically powerless to move from one social level to another, school forces, which are often perceived as dictating and controlling an education that has little relevance to their personal needs and community forces, where their peers in their own communities see the educational systems teaching few skills that will benefit or inspire minority graduates to improve their own communities.

Societal forces are pressures that have been placed in existence by political, legal or social beliefs. Societal forces can impact individual achievement by pressing the

individual to seek education which may not only improve the opportunity for economic and social success but also provide greater opportunity for the minority group to attain status in the larger society. These societal forces are often fueled by the notion or perception that the minority parents are to blame for their children's lack of educational achievement. This also includes the perception that minority parents do not want to work, although the reality, according to the studies by Coleman et al. (1966) and Jencks et al. (1972) minorities often lacked access to desirable jobs as adults. (This is the result of the denial of equal opportunity for the minority to use education meaningfully in order to help raise his/her status in the society). Even the welfare reform laws that were passed in 1995, which have reduced the rolls from 4.4 million to 2.7 million have led to low-paying, dead end jobs for many.

Currently, according to a 2000 report from the Educational Testing Services, *Piece of the Puzzle: How States Can Use Education to make Work Pay for Welfare Recipients*, the federal government should help to provide access to higher education for people on welfare. College aid is also denied to students with drug convictions. A question on the United States Education Department's aid application bars federal grants, work-study money and United States backed and subsidized student loans to anyone who has been convicted of selling or even possessing drugs. This 1998 law became more stringent under the current Bush administration. According to the 1990 Census on occupations and wages, Blacks working in the top private sector jobs earned 20% less than similar White workers, a racial disparity far greater than in lower-paid jobs.

Currently, according to University of Wisconsin-Madison sociologists Eric Grodsky and Devah Pager, authors of an August 2001 study published in the American

Sociological Review, even when Black men reach top occupations such as lawyers, physicians and financial service sales reps and managers they are paid about 72 cents for every \$1 that white men earn. These disparities also arise if employers assign their Black employees to serve minority communities (Grodsky, 2001). Researchers over a period of time have pointed to these societal family and individual forces as being more powerful than school factors in determining poor school performance.

School forces are often directly linked to the societal forces. In the case of Blacks, “the disproportionately high rate of low school performance is a kind of adaptation to their limited social and economic opportunities in adult life” (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). The systematic and structural racism in United States’ institutions leads to the “inability of African Americans to qualify for educational advancements, jobs, and mortgages [which] creates a cycle of low educational achievement, underemployment and unemployment, and substandard housing” (Ladson-Billings, 1992, p. 24). Ogbu (1993) argued that having access to jobs that would encourage respect for the individual and for the group would increase the group’s desire for education. In his 1974 research in Stockton, California, Ogbu noted the “minority community members’ perceptions of dismal future opportunities influenced their perceptions and responses to schooling” (p. 84).

Community forces are often applied to negatively impact education for minorities. This can occur when the community does not see how education is beneficial since those who become educated generally leave the community, and therefore the community tends to discourage its members from attaining that education. Another community issue is that the lack of jobs in the minority community generally leads to disparity in per pupil

spending. Wealthy communities generally provide an educational environment which appeals to experienced teachers due to the availability of a wealth of technological equipment to facilitate learning. The movement called Critical Race Theory, CRT, addresses this issue of wealth as it accuses school reformers who overlook the issues of funding in an analysis of educational achievement of refusing to recognize relevant evidence. Ladson-Billings (1992), representing the CRT movement asks, "If money doesn't matter, then why spend it on the rich?" (p. 25). The minority community is very skeptical of a society that tells them that the amount of money in the community does not dictate the quality of education when the community continues to see more money spent in the wealthy communities.

Grissmer, Flanagan and Williamson (1997) in a report, "Does Money Matter for Minority and Disadvantaged Students?" published by the National Center for Education Statistics (1998) concluded that money directed at minority and disadvantages students brings higher achievement scores, and has a much higher effect than money directed toward more advantaged students. Their overall conclusion was that money did matter.

They also report that the data proved that even when early childhood programs produce large initial gains the effects usually diminish over time. The empirical evidence suggests that the large growth in pre-school participation and kindergarten may have a limited impact on 9-year old scores, but would not significantly impact scores at ages 13 and 17 (Barnett, 1995).

Money is not the only factor to consider. The minority student achievement gaps exist even in the middle and upper socioeconomic classes; therefore, the inequities of income and economic status do not completely explain the lower grades and test scores of

different minorities. The factor of school forces that transcends the social inequities of economics must also be examined in order to explain these lower grades. Ogbu's (1993) notion of school forces includes problems "arising from cultural differences between minority students and school personnel" (p. 90). Cultural differences often result in school personnel failing to understand and respect minority culture. Consequently this lack of understanding may cause behavior that conflicts with students' adjustment and learning. Ogbu (1993) also suggested that the minority student must also "understand and accommodate school culture. . ." (p. 90). This suggestion implies the need for mutual understanding. In order for the understanding to occur, it must come from the minority student as well as the school system. This mutual understanding, Ogbu (1993) maintains, is necessary in order to effect the final factor, the response of the minority community to the school environment.

Teachers' average level of experience lowered as substantial numbers of inexperienced teachers were hired to teach the baby boomers. Other significant factors were class size, teacher education, and graduate degrees and parental education.

Minority Response to the School System

The minority response to the school system is the third factor in school adjustment and performance problems, however, different minorities respond differently. There are at least three types of minorities according to Ogbu (1993). These three types are autonomous minorities, immigrant minorities and caste-like or involuntary minorities. Autonomous minorities, i.e. Jews and Mormons, although they possess a cultural identity and are not completely free from prejudice and discrimination practiced against them, they do not have the same problems in learning to read and compute. This may be due to

the fact that their culture encourages and demonstrates school success. These autonomous minority societies include the presence of community members whose economic success illustrates the relationship between education and achievement.

In contrast, the second type of minority which can be labeled immigrant minorities, came to the United States voluntarily because it sought the American dream. Examples of groups that fit into this second category are the Chinese and the East Indians. This type of minority, the immigrant minority also generally does not experience great school failure.

In further contrast, the third and last group includes the caste-like minorities who were brought into the U. S. involuntarily through slavery, conquest, or colonization e.g. American Indians, Black Americans, Native Hawaiians and Mexican Americans. Ogbu observed that overall these minorities were not well respected by the dominant society and were denied the possibility of assimilation. Due to differences in cultural traditions these involuntary minorities usually experience more difficulties in school performance as well as social acceptance.

Emphasis is often placed on the differences between the culture of the minorities and the dominant society; however each minority group has cultural traditions that may differ from the other minority groups as much as they differ from the dominant society. These cultural differences can result in different responses to the treatment of the dominant society. In 1992 Ogbu originally identified two types of cultural differences between autonomous minorities, immigrant minorities and caste-like minorities. He identified these types as primary cultural differences and secondary cultural differences. Primary cultural differences are those that existed before interaction with the dominant society and secondary cultural differences arose after contact or after participation in an

institution controlled by another population. Secondary cultural differences, Ogbu (1982) concludes, develop as a “response to a contact situation, especially a contact situation involving the domination of one group by another” (p. 93).

Differing Perceptions of Minorities and Whites

In other words, Blacks and other involuntary minorities developed new or secondary cultural ways of coping, perceiving and feeling as a result of their relationship with Whites. This is often described as style. Style is introduced as one of the factors in the analysis of cultural difference. Ogbu (1993) found that style as one of the features of the secondary cultural differences is related to “cultural inversion”. Cultural inversion is defined by Ogbu (1993) as “the tendency for members of one population, ... to regard certain forms of behaviors, events, symbols and means as appropriate. . . because they are “not characteristic of white Americans” (p. 94). Thus these caste-like or involuntary minorities usually define what is appropriate by what is in opposition to the behaviors, events, symbols and meanings and preferences of white Americans. This parallels the stance of these minorities who reject “white” symbols and using “black” symbols as a means of constructing their identity. Previously Fordham and Ogbu (1986) had identified a cultural orientation which “defines academic learning in the school as ‘acting white,’ and academic success as the prerogative of white Americans” (p. 177).

In order to contrast the academic success of different minorities Ogbu (1993) parallels the behavior of the immigrant type with the behavior of the involuntary minority type by looking at the way each group perceives their social or collective identity. The immigrants tend to perceive their social identity as primarily different from that of White Americans while the involuntary minorities actually develop a new social identity in

opposition to that of white Americans “after they have become subordinated” (p. 95).

They do this in reaction to the treatment they receive from the dominate group. The involuntary minorities know, says Ogbu (1993), that they cannot pass for White or return to their homeland and this leads them to develop their own identity as (hyphenated) Americans. The immigrant group, unlike the involuntary minority group appears to accept, understand and tolerate the fact that they are being discriminated against because they believe that they are “guests” in the dominate society’s country because they may not speak the language or may not have an education.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2003) the number of 5 to 25 year-olds who spoke a language other than English at home more than doubled between 1979 and 1999. Of those who spoke a language other than English at home in 1999, one-third spoke English with difficulty. Spanish was most frequently spoken by 5 to 24 year old who spoke a language other than English at home. In California, there were 1.5 million students in bilingual education programs (one-fourth of all students) in 2001-2002.

In contrast to the involuntary minority group, the immigrant group members know that they have the option to return to their homeland or to re-emigrate to another country. Involuntary minorities however, do not feel that White Americans have a right to discriminate against them because they are not guests but citizens in the country. They also know that this discriminatory treatment will not disappear whether or not their minority can speak the language or whether or not they become educated.

Differing Coping Techniques between Minority Groups

Unlike the immigrant minority group, the involuntary minorities use different techniques to reduce or cope with the discrimination they perceive. These techniques often include collective struggle. The struggle for equality for involuntary minorities often is a group struggle rather than an individual one. The involuntary minority generally defines its struggle for civil rights as a struggle for the entire community. It often develops group survival strategies to compensate for apparent lack of equal opportunity for equal and fair competition (Ogbu, 1993). Unlike the immigrant group, it perceives its treatment as permanent, not temporary. Thus the involuntary minorities tend to distrust the public schools and perceive them in the same light as other forms of institutional racism.

Immigrants and involuntary minorities exhibit differences in beliefs and behaviors between their groups and Whites. For example some societies, in Central and South America emphasize getting ahead by who you know or your family name, rather than individual abilities. Other groups believe that their caste-like position makes them naturally inferior. One example of difference in cultural behaviors are those of the Punjabi Indians who are taught to defer to adult authority rather than defending their individual ideas. The Punjabi also have a culture that teaches them to avoid eye contact with members of the opposite sex, therefore they may tend to avert their eyes when speaking, in order to be considered polite and to show respect (Gibson, 1983). These cultural behaviors, such as rote memorization and cooperative learning, when exhibited in the American school environment are often misunderstood. When involved in these behaviors these immigrants are often accused of cheating. In their home countries the previous educational experiences for many of these immigrants were those where all

learning was done by rote recitation in a group. This is in contrast to the American system of education which encourages individual learning. Minorities as new-comers to America's schools may not only have to learn the language and the subject, but also they must learn a different style of learning.

Immigrant minorities with cultural differences therefore may initially experience difficulties in school but they often appear to overcome these barriers and achieve academic success. This is because, unlike involuntary minorities, immigrants tend to see their cultural differences as "barriers to be overcome and not as markers of identity to be maintained" (Ogbu, 1993 p. 99). Involuntary minorities connect their identity to their culture. This strategy was defined by Gibson (1983) as accommodation without assimilation.

Perhaps these cultural differences of the immigrant group are not looked upon by the host group as negatively as Black cultural differences are looked upon because these differences existed before the immigrants came to the United States and did not arise to express opposition to white American society. Many of these immigrants believe that the educational and economic opportunity in their homeland is far surpassed by what is available in the United States, therefore when they may attend a school that is considered inferior by white Americans; the immigrants do not consider it inferior. Thus the immigrant group is eager to adopt American behavior in order to receive their schooling because they believe that this behavior enhances academic success. Immigrant parents and community members also reinforce the desire to follow the rules of the educational system that they believe are superior to that available in their homeland. The immigrant may use passive ways to reduce the effects of discrimination. One passive way the

immigrant has of coping with discrimination is through their selection of course material. Older children often select courses requiring less use of language and they also avoid major areas that would lead to jobs that they know might discriminate against their group (Ogbu, 1993).

Involuntary minorities on the other hand, “perceive the cultural differences they encounter in school as markers of identity to be maintained, not as barriers to be overcome (Ogbu, 1993, p. 100).” Involuntary minorities often equate the school modeled behavior as “acting white” (Ogbu, p. 101). According to this research this perception usually begins at the elementary school level but increases as the children pass through junior and senior high school.

An example of this maintenance of identity is illustrated in Fordham and Ogbu’s (1986) study of a black high school in Washington, D.C. The Capitol High student peer group appropriated school activities as a means of defining what it meant to be “Black” versus “White”. In this case, the school did not make this distinction for the students. The students used the school setting and school arrangements to make the distinction meaningful in their everyday school activities. Certain activities, such as studying hard, excelling, and making good grades were singled out as evidence of “acting White.” Speaking Standard English, reading poetry or trying out for the academically oriented clubs or honor societies, were also categorized as “white”. Other activities, such as being good at sports or misbehaving in class, were interpreted as evidence of acting Black or as oppositional to acting White, and thus were viewed as more desirable for Blacks. Other minorities have similar concerns. For example, many American Indians and Mexican Americans “perceive the public schools as an agent of assimilation into the White

American or Anglo cultural frame of reference; and these minorities consider such assimilation or linear acculturation detrimental to their culture, language or identity” (Fordham & Ogbu, 1985 p. 200).

Although those immigrant groups described above generally feel that they will be successful in their chosen adopted homeland, involuntary minorities on the other hand do not feel that they can achieve equality of treatment in this white-dominated society. This makes them resentful of the system. They then feel it necessary to develop survival strategies to use against a society that practices what they believe is institutional racism. Ogbu (1993) says that these survival strategies often compete with schooling and cause students’ efforts to be displayed in nonacademic activities in which they (involuntary minorities) see more future opportunities. These activities are often in the areas of sports and music. The communities of the involuntary minorities generally give more celebrity status to their athletes and entertainers than to their academicians (Hare & Hare, 1991).

The belief that the schools practice institutional racism makes the involuntary minorities wary of the public schools which they see as powerful institutions controlled by Whites. They do not always encourage their children to obey the rules because, unlike the immigrant community, the rules are interpreted by the involuntary minority community as a means of continued colonization. In fact many of the involuntary minority group members appear to be inspired by the people in their community who disobey the rules and who “make it” without an education.

Currently, according to the United States Department of Commerce at grades 4 and 8, both White and Black students had higher average scores in 2002 than in 1992. Similar increases across the decade were seen for eighth-grade Hispanic students and fourth-

grade Asian/Pacific Islander students. The average scores for White and Black twelfth-graders, however, declined during the same time period.

In 2002, the United States Department of Commerce data report that White students and Asian/Pacific Islander students had higher average scores than Black and Hispanic students, and White students outperformed Asian/Pacific Islander students at all three grades. American Indian/Alaska Native students had higher average scores than Black and Hispanic students at grade 4.

In 2002, the same data report that the score gap between White and Black fourth-graders was smaller than in 1994 and the gap between White and Hispanic fourth-graders was smaller than in 2000, but neither gap was found to be significantly different from 1992. No changes were detected in the gaps between White and Black students and between White and Hispanic students at grades 8 and 12 since 1992.

The report concluded that the percentages of students at or above Proficient were higher in 2002 than in 1992 for White, Black, and Asian/Pacific Islander fourth-graders and for White and Black eighth-graders and that the percentage of White twelfth-graders at or above Proficient was lower in 2002 than in 1992.

Summary

The status of minority student academic achievement can be summarized therefore by observing that even though immigrant and involuntary minority children both experience difficulties in reading, computing and social adjustment, the involuntary minorities have higher rates of school failure and social adjustment problems because they have an opposite cultural frame of reference and oppositional identity along with a

distrust of white people which makes it harder to conform to school rules and exhibit behaviors that may enhance academic success.

Defining the Terms "Black", "White" and "Race"

Although the designation of the term "minority" has changed as indicated above, currently two racial categories in the United States have remained stable while others have fluctuated. These categories are Black and White. However in the past, the definitions of Black and White have been blurred. For example, in early census data, citizens of Mexican descent were considered White. Ladson-Billings (1999) has observed that "over time, political, economic, social, and cultural shifts have forced Mexican Americans out of the White category" (p. 9). Some individuals from various ethnic groups have even come to the United States and brought suit in the courts to be declared White (Haney Lopez, 1995). It does not take long for some groups to realize that America is divided into sides, and that the winning side is the "White side". Everyone wants to be a winner. Whiteness is positioned as the norm or ideal, therefore everyone is ranked and categorized in relation to their proximity to this Whiteness norm (Ladson-Billings, 1992).

Nevertheless, it cannot be proven scientifically that race really exists. Many people consider race to be a constructed concept rather than real. Who is a member of which "race" is often arbitrarily determined. Ladson-Billings (1992), Black scholar, identifies situations when her class and social position could override racial identification and in one particular instance she says, "for that moment I became 'White'" (p. 10).

Differences in achievement between Black and White Students

In order to avoid the necessity of using the term Black or White in this study the term “of color” has been utilized. Children of color constitute an increasing proportion of the nation’s students. Kunjufu (1984) made the observation that African-American students made up only about 17 % of the public school population, however they made up 41 % of the special education population. In 1994 they represented 30% of the public school population. According to the National Center of Education Statistics (2003) they currently represent a majority percentage of the public school population. Yet Ladson-Billings (1994) presented the notion that “the quest for quality education remains an elusive dream for the African-American community” (p. ix). She described the status of today’s African-American students as a “downward spiral” and reported that “African-American students lagged far behind their white counterparts on standard academic achievement measures” (p. x). Blacks have traditionally been relegated to substandard schooling. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) in their previous study maintained that this was so because Whites have controlled Blacks’ education by determining that they knew what Blacks needed educationally. For example, Ladson-Billings (1994) reports that “African-American children are three times as likely to be suspended from school” (p. xi). This supports Ladson-Billings (1994) who cites the data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) which indicates that gaps in the academic performance of Black and White students appear as early as age 9 and persist through age 17.

Caveats in Measuring Achievement

Although the previously stated statistics are significant because they show improvement, the whole notion of achievement tests and the significance of scores are problematic. Achievement is generally measured by test scores. These scores are often

used to indicate lack of achievement when they do not measure up to those predicted. Steele (1997) considers the notion of over prediction or under performance as a phenomenon of the test bias literature. He explains that over prediction occurs when “students from one group wind up achieving ... lower college grades ... than other students with the same beginning test scores” (p. 617). This therefore leads to over predicting how the low-performing group will actually achieve.

As noted, currently, according to the United States Department of Commerce at grades 4 and 8, both White and Black students had higher average scores in 2002 than in 1992. Similar increases across the decade were seen for eighth-grade Hispanic students and fourth-grade Asian/Pacific Islander students. The average scores for White and Black twelfth-graders, however, declined during the same time period.

Causal Factors for Low Achievement in Opposition to High Test Predictions

(Steele 1997) concluded that although the students may test at comparable initial skill levels, the actual performance for one groups may then be lowered by some other causal factors. Steele’s research is focused on determining the most significant causal factors. Steele identified the factors as domain identification, stereotype threat, *disassociation of self-esteem and school achievement, student-teacher relationship and supportive academic programs (Steele, 1997).

Domain identification as a general theory connects sustained school success with a necessary identification with the school and its sub domains. This identification for some groups of students can result in their being negatively stereotyped and this stereotyping can become a threat which dramatically depresses student performance. For example, women are often stereotyped as lacking mathematical and science skills. This causes

disidentification and can hamper the performance of women in these fields. Domain identification as a theory then assumes that to sustain school success one must have a personal identification and relationship with school achievement. Steele (1997) further identified the areas that have continued to limit this domain identification as socioeconomic, social and cultural orientations.

Negative stereotyping interferes with the performance of students in minority groups because members of these groups fear being reduced to a state of validating certain stereotypes regarding academic achievement. Steele (1997) maintains that these threats “can pressure disidentification, a reconceptualization of the self and of one’s values so as to remove the domain as a self-identity, as a basis of self-evaluation” (p. 614).

Disidentification then allows the group to utilize survival techniques that are similar to the one used in the “sour grapes” fable by Aesop. This technique is to pretend that one does not really desire the previously coveted prize. That is that the students don’t care about the domain anyway and therefore are not motivated to succeed in the domain. The domain in this case is the educational institution.

The Role of Student-Teacher Relationships in Achievement

Ladson-Billings (1994) identified student-teacher relationships as a factor which also contributes to low performance levels of minority students. She stated that in 1994 in the twenty largest school districts, although students of color made up over 70% of total school enrollment, conversely, the numbers of teachers of color, particularly African-Americans, are dwindling. The data from the United States Department of Commerce show that African-American teachers make up less than 5 % of the total public school teaching population. This 2002 study on institutional racism reports that Black staff in

further education are under-represented, less likely to be promoted or get a permanent contract, despite, on average, being better qualified than their White colleagues. This report further stated that 55% of Black staff are educated to degree levels compared with 49% of White staff, they are less likely to be promoted and more likely to remain on temporary contracts, thus only 6% of Black staff work at a managerial level compared with 9% of White staff. This lack of representation becomes a deterring factor for both students and teachers. Consequently, “Many of these teachers — white and black alike — felt ill-prepared for or incapable of meeting the educational needs of African American students” (Ladson-Billings, 1994 p. xii). The teacher-student relationship can often make the difference between the student who strongly identifies with the educational institution and one who feels separated from it. Steele in the April 1992 Atlantic Monthly article titled “Race and the Schooling of Black Americans”, discusses this “disidentifying with school” by stating:

I believe that in significant part the crisis in black Americans' education stems from the power of this vulnerability to undercut identification with schooling, either before it happens or after it has bloomed (p.6).

According to a National Education Association survey as reported by the Associated Press on August 28, 2003, just 1 in 10 teachers in America's classrooms is a minority, a sign that teachers have far less diversity than the people they educate. About 40% of the students are minorities, according to government figures. This NEA report, “The Status of the American Public School Teacher” draws its latest findings from the 2000-2001 school year. It further states that Whites have accounted for about 90% of all teachers for

the past three decades, including in 2001. 6% of teachers were Black, a number on the decline, according to the report. Another statistic of importance concluded from this report is that the largest percentage of teachers, 43% got into the field more than 20 years ago. The second largest group, 23% entered the profession within the past five years. The ramifications of this latest statistic indicates that a large number of experienced teachers will be retiring and teachers with relatively little experience and perhaps fewer minority will proliferate the public school system. The National Center for Education Statistics 1998 report concludes that teachers as a group are most productive with between 4 and 20 years of experience.

Family and Environmental Factors

Teachers may minimize the importance of the teacher-student relationship when they report that the lack of motivation and achievement in Black students is the result of a dysfunctional environment. Educational studies of Black students have often focused on their disadvantaged homes, their poverty and their so-called cultural deprivation. Clark (1983) studied family life and school achievement and its effect on the reasons why poor Black children succeed or fail. His conclusion was that it is not the structural characteristics of these families that predict or explain the wide variation in academic achievement, but it is the family culture that aids or does not aid achievement because it provides or fails to provide children with school survival skills. These skills, Clark (1983) argues are important in the achievement of academic success. According the National Center for Education Statistics (1998) the available evidence suggests that changes in the family would have been expected to have a positive effect on test scores from 1970 to 1990. Higher parental education and smaller family size are the main factors leading to

higher predicted test scores of approximately 0.2 standard deviation for Black and White students. The sizes of the predicted effects are about the size of the White score gains, but much smaller than the score gains of Blacks. While these family gains can account for nearly all White score gains, they can explain only approximately one-third of Black gains. According to the 2000 Census there were 8.7 million African American families. Less than one-half (48%) of all African American families were married-couple families (for White families, the corresponding figure was 82%), 44% were maintained by women with no spouse present and 8% were maintained by men with no spouse present.

African American families tend to be larger than White families. The 2000 Census indicated that 21% of African American married couple families had five or more members, compared with 12% of their White counterparts. African American women, age 16 and over, were more likely than their White counterparts to participate in the labor force (64%). About 19% each worked in three other occupational categories: technical, sales and administrative support jobs; service occupations; and managerial and professional specialty jobs. The fore-going findings are all from the annual demographic supplement to the March 2002 Current Population Survey of the United States Census Bureau.

There is still, however, a question concerning the relationship of economic status to Black student achievement. Ratteray's (1986) qualitative study analyzed 50 Chicago independent inner-city schools with enrollment between 70 and 1300. The average population was 200. These schools were private schools based on a specific cultural or religious philosophy. The report included brief case studies of ten of these independent schools and compared Blacks from high-income stable families to whites from similar

home backgrounds. This is unusual since most studies of Black achievement focus on Black children from one-parent homes or poor inner-city Blacks. Ratteray determines that even with similar home backgrounds achievement levels of white families are higher than black families. Ladson-Billings (1994), however, questions the economic aspect of Ratteray's study as she observes that it appears to be in contradiction to statistics in a news article from the June 5, 1985 USA Today that made six observations showing that:

1. Nearly one out of two African American children was poor;
2. The rate of infant mortality among African Americans was twice that of whites;
3. African American children are five times as likely as white children to be dependent on welfare and to become pregnant as teens;
4. They were four times as likely to live with neither parent;
5. They were three times as likely to live in a female-headed household, and;
6. They are twice as likely to live in substandard housing (Harlan, 1995).

Black children are also less likely to be enrolled in preprimary education and are more likely to be below modal grade for their age (Ladson-Billings, 1994). Ladson-Billings further notes that "gaps in reading, mathematics and science achievement appear as early as age 9 and do not narrow with age and that Black students appear to be more likely than white students to drop out of school" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 8).

Steele (1992) states that the achievement deficits occur even when Black students suffer no major financial disadvantage, among middle-class Black students on wealthy college campuses and in graduate school among Black students receiving substantial financial aid. He further states that poor Black Americans value education highly, often

more than whites. He also states that gaps in the achievement also occur when Black students are given pre-college preparation. Therefore, if the money or lack of it is not the problem then there must be another source; possibly this source may be the lack of cultural education and self-esteem raising.

In 2001 the National Center for Education Statistics found in that while Blacks have lower levels of educational achievement, educational attainment and earnings than Whites, the gaps in educational achievement are frequently smaller and are sometimes entirely absent for individuals with higher levels of prior educational achievement. Therefore their conclusion is that factors other than differences in educational achievement may contribute to Black-White gaps in achievement in employment and earnings.

The Issue of Relevance of Education to Community Needs

In examining these data it is important to note that although the student who comes from a poor community often rebels against certain types of training because of its irrelevance to his/her needs and to the needs of the community, (s)he nevertheless holds relevant training and educational experience to be of great value. According to Morgan (1990) "the ghetto student sees no relevance between what he learns in school and how he might function in society. He believes therefore that the curriculum is irrelevant"(p.34). Blacks are aware that even when they do achieve in school they are not guaranteed to get good jobs or high wages or other benefits expected of white people with similar academic accomplishments. Black parents may place a higher value on a college education knowing that racism in the society may make the playing field a little more even.

Current 2003 data from Public Agenda and the National Center for Postsecondary Improvement (200) says that among African American parents 44% identify a college education as essential for the future. A December 1999 National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education study called *Great Expectations: How the Public and Parents – White, African-American and Hispanic – View Higher Education* indicated that students of color are held back from a college education by poverty, language barriers or lack of family experience in higher education.

Historically many Black schools do try to maintain the focus on relevance to the Black community. This is shown by the mission of these Black schools which is often to look at the curriculum and to try to apply education to create solutions to societal issues. One question is often posed: How do we prepare our teachers and social workers to deal with crack and urban decay in the Black community? Education may only be part of the solution. According to Knowles (1989), Vice President for Academic Affairs at Denmark Technical College in South Carolina, “Black students who have obtained knowledge or skills need to be committed to giving back to the Black community” (p. 21). Although this statement was made on Oct. 12, 1989 it corresponds with the overall philosophy presented by Carter G. Woodson, known in 1933 as the father of Negro History. His philosophy of Negro Education was a forerunner of the concept of Afrocentric Education. Afrocentric Education aims at training to enable Black and non-Black students to be able to go back into the inner-city community with the knowledge that can make it possible to serve the residents of these communities. Currently the National Center of Education Statistics (2001) indicates that community service is listed as one of the graduation requirements.

Multicultural Education as a Solution

One response to ameliorate the conditions that have led to negative Black student achievement has been multicultural education. Ladson-Billings (1992) maintains that:

Although scholars such as James Banks, Carl Grant and Geneva Gay began on a scholarly path designed to change schools as institutions so that students might be prepared to reconstruct the society, in its current practice iteration, multicultural education is but a shadow of its conceptual self. Rather than engage students in provocative thinking about the contradictions of U. S. ideals and lived realities, teachers often find themselves encouraging students to sing ethnic songs, eat ethnic foods, and do ethnic dances. Consistently, manifestations of multicultural education in the classroom are superficial and trivial celebrations of diversity (p. 26).

Although there is still insufficient evidence to conclusively evaluate the effects of raising student self-esteem through this type of multicultural education, other educational interventions have been introduced.

Educational interventions in the form of compensatory education, i.e. interventions designed to compensate for the deprivation and disadvantage assumed to be inherent in African American homes and communities, often were based on presuppositions which inferred that as far as education is concerned African-American children can be seen as deficient white children.

Recent studies (2000) conducted by the Civil Rights Project at Howard University suggest that Black public school students are three times as likely to be categorized as needing special education services as Whites making them subject to less demanding schoolwork, more restrictive classrooms and isolation from their peers. These 14 studies found that Black students were three times as likely as Whites to be labeled “mentally retarded.” This assumption prescribes a remedial type of education that omits the factors evident in cultural differences.

Cuban (1989) suggested that the “two most popular explanations for low academic achievement of at-risk children locate the problem in the children themselves or in their families. Ladson-Billings (1994) disagrees with this conclusion and reports that her research shows that Black students are no less likely than Whites to have their parents involved in their schooling, although Black students are more likely to face a disorderly school environment than their white peers. A NAEP study (2000) contradicts the concept that Black parents are not interested or involved with children in school. However this parental support may not encourage Black students to take difficult courses. Even if it is true that Black parents are often involved in their children’s schooling, there is not adequate research to determine the extent to which Black parents are aware of prenatal and postnatal factors on their children’s future achievement.

Prenatal - Postnatal Factors for Black Student Success

One question about students concerns the effect of prenatal and postnatal factors on academic achievement. Historically, Sanders-Phillips (1989) assumed the position that there are critical prenatal and postnatal influences in cognitive development. As a result of previous studies in the area (Gorski, Lewkowicz & Huntington, 1987; Lipsitt,

1977,1986; Lipsitt & Werber, 1981), Sanders-Phillips (1989) concluded that very young infants are “capable of perceiving and responding to the environment and, subsequently, learning from their interactions with the environment” (p. 19). It also appears that the circumstances, (cultural, biological and environmental) that promote early learning also tend to promote the development of later cognitive skills (Kagan, 1979). Sanders-Phillips (1989) also agreed with Hale-Benson (1982) that many Black children, particularly those who are raised in circumstances of economic poverty, are at greater risk for later educational failure or under-achievement. Currently the National Center for Education Statistics (2002) has determined that children’s early growth, development and readiness for school are influenced by many health factors including their mother’s prenatal behavior and the prenatal care she received. Their Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (2002) finds that the early experiences in and before kindergarten impacts their educational experience. This suggests that early learning and educational achievement are predetermined to some extent in the infant’s first year of life.

Test Scores of Preschoolers as recorded by the Schomberg Library Research (1999) indicate that in Motor/Social Skills White males scored 99.8; White Females 105.5; African American Males 98.2 and African American females 101.7. In Verbal Memory Skills White Males scored 95.2; White females 100.5; African American Males 93.3 and African American females 99.0.

Although the results show a wide disparity in the achievement scores of Black and other children, surprisingly, until the age of two years old, black infants score as well, and in some instances higher, than other ethnic groups. According to Sanders-Philips (1989), the lack of adequate prenatal care received by many Black mothers is a causal

factor for this latter disparity of achievement. This is often due to mothers giving birth at young ages, as well as the lack of financial resources available to these young mothers.

Currently according to the United States National Center for Health Statistics as reported by the Schomburg Library Research Center (1999) Out of 1,000 pregnancies the rate of White women under age 15 was 1.3; and 15 to 19 years old 84.7. The rate per 1,000 for Black pregnancies for women under age 15 was 11.0; and for 15 to 19 year olds, the rate was 216.7.

Sanders-Phillips concluded that a “significant number of black infants are at risk for prenatal and perinatal insults that can render them more vulnerable to difficulties in sensory processing, nervous system dysfunctions, and subsequent learning problems” (p.19). The level of prenatal care may forecast the level of future educational achievement for the child.

In her qualitative study of interactions between mothers and their infants in Black and White families, Sanders-Phillips (1989) cited Clarke-Stewart (1973). Clarke-Stewart reported that Black mothers, with fewer financial resources, provided fewer toys and were more restrictive with rules for their children’s behavior. However they spent more time taking care of the child’s sensory needs than White mothers who were not as physically close to their babies in infancy. Researchers have concluded that this lack of financial resources in Black families may result in inadequate nutrition and other factors that could effect the children’s development, health and cognitive skills (Sanders-Phillips, 1989). The claim has been made that “in the United States, the rate of infant mortality among low-income groups, particularly black low-income groups, approaches that of developing countries” (Sanders-Phillips, 1989, p. 30). This claim can also be related to

student achievement and success because “these environmental realities can, and do, decrease the probability that any of these children will be able to realize and achieve their full academic potential” (p. 33). Studies have shown that providing preschoolers nutritionally sound food resulted in enhanced learning. Conclusive studies have not yet shown the effect of nourishment of the expectant mothers on their children’s preschool and kindergarten achievement.

More recently, according to statistics provided by the Schomberg Research Library (1999) other factors that are evident for African Americans infants are that according to a Harvard Medical School study Black infants were two or three times more likely than White infants to weigh less than 3 pounds at birth. Major factors in low birth weight include smoking and drinking during pregnancy, insufficient prenatal care, poor nutrition, and anemia. In addition, nearly 90% of African American mothers experience complications in pregnancy, such as infection or rupture of the amniotic membrane, premature labor, high blood pressures, and hemorrhaging. Currently, the United States National Center for Health Statistics (2003) indicates these problems are three times more likely to occur among Blacks than whites and there may be some relationship to later learning.

Preschool and Kindergarten Student Achievement

The United Negro College fund data (1999) reports that nearly 4% of African American preschoolers live in households with less than \$10,000 annual income, compared with only 9.5 % of White preschoolers in similar circumstances. 66% of African American children live in single-parent homes, compared with 15.8% of White

children. African American children generally grow up in families in which the experience of higher education is less common than in White families.

African American children outnumber Whites in preschool enrollment (52.5% vs 43.5%). Although they score equally well on tests of motor and social development and verbal memory, they score lower only in the area of vocabulary. African American students begin to lag behind during grade school, and the gap remains consistent from then on. African Americans composed only 12.5% of all students who received regular high-school diplomas in 1993-1994. According to the document, "The Educational Progress of Black Students" released by the National Center for Education Statistics of the U. S. Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement (2002), Blacks continue to trail whites in many areas, despite some gains. This document concludes that "Black children start elementary school with less preschool experience than white children, and a gap in preschool enrollment rates has developed. In 1991, 31% of Black 3 and 4 year olds were enrolled, compared with 40% of whites. "Black 3 and 4 year olds, however were more likely than whites of this age to be enrolled in kindergarten in 1991 (8 % and 4 % respectively)" (p. 1).

A (2000-2001) study by the National Research Council suggests that young children who are at risk of school failure have a greater likelihood of success when they participate in early childhood programs (Bowman, Donovan and Burns 2001). The National Center for Education Statistics conducted a survey of classes that served children prior to Kindergarten in Public Schools: 2000-2001 and determined that about half (49%) of the children were White, 24% were Hispanic, 23% were Black, 3% were Asian, and 2% were American Indian/Alaska Native. In order to determine the impact of

these percentages it is important to note that 61% of all public school students are White, 17 % Hispanic, 17% are Black, 4 % are Asian and 1% are Indian/Alaska Native. This becomes even more significant when it is noted that in the city schools the figures are 28% of the prekindergarten children are White, 35 % Hispanic 33% Black. In rural areas or small towns 74% of the prekindergarten children were White, 10% Hispanic, and 12% Black. Among all public school students in city schools nationwide 37% are White, 27% Hispanic and 30% Black. Nationwide 79% of all rural/small town public school students are White, 7% Hispanic and 10 % Black. In the West 47% of the public school prekindergarten children are Hispanic. In schools with the lowest level of poverty, 79% of the prekindergarten children were White, 8% Hispanic and 7 % Black. In schools with the highest level of poverty, 15% of the students were White and 39% were Black. Although the 38 year-old early childhood Head Start Program has been recognized as a value by early childhood education specialists, there is increasing debate over its future. At issue is a Bush administration and House of /Representatives' plan to give states more control of the program under which funds traditionally flow from Washington D C, to local grantees. The advocates of the Bush plan are represented by Representative Mike Castle R-Del, (2003) chief author of the reform plan who says, "the simple truth is that children in Head Start are learning, but they aren't learning as much as they deserve to be learning". The United States Department of Health and Human Services also says Head Start children lag behind more affluent peers in vocabulary, early writing and math awareness when they enter kindergarten (Black Issues in Higher Education 2003).

Early Impact of Teacher Behaviors

By the time students enroll in kindergarten they have well-developed personality traits and characteristics, attitudes, perceptions and predispositions toward learning, all of which individual teachers either prefer or dislike. Although seldom recognized or publicly admitted, teachers do favor some students and treat them preferentially in their classroom. Students are aware of teachers' partial behaviors (Weinstein, 1985). Although it is often the students' personality traits and characteristics that have been developed toward learning that are responsible for teachers making decisions that impact the rest of the child's academic life, there are specific types of students that teachers prefer. Irvine (1991) calls one of these student types "attachment students" (p. 51). These attachment students' characteristics are that they are bright, obedient and cooperative. They make no excessive demands. In contrast, another type of student is the "rejected student" who is the exact opposite of the attachment student (p. 53). Whenever teachers interact with the rejected students it is usually to administer discipline.

Steele (2001) recommends the utilization of a teaching strategy for poor students who weakly identify with the majority society. He suggests using a Socratic strategy which attempts a teacher-student relationship in which there is little cost of failure and the gradual building of domain identification. This type of strategy can encourage more student-participation of because the process does not cause embarrassment due to public failure. Steele proposes the notion that wise practices can reduce Black students' underachievement in a real-school context and unwise practices can worsen achievement.

In addition to student practices, teachers often react to certain student characteristics over which the students have no control. One student characteristic that teachers often use to make decisions about students is their names. Some teachers made more favorable

judgments about students who have common or frequently used names than students who have unusual names (Irvine, 1991 p.53). Certain names, although unusual for White Americans are more widely recognized as African-American names. This has become increasingly significant as many African-Americans give their children names of African derivation.

Irvine (1991) also posed the notion that in addition, teacher expectations can increase differences in student achievement. These teacher expectations are often manifested in the seating placement of the student. Ogbu (1974) previously observed that teachers placed students who were expected to be good students in accessible seating while others were placed further away from the teacher. He also observed that, even when students were promoted to higher grades, this seating plan was often continued by the new teachers throughout the students' school years.

One of the factors that may have an impact on Black Americans lack of achievement in the classroom may be the fact that there is a deficit in the number of teachers in the nation's classrooms. More than a million veteran teachers are nearing retirement, according to statistics provided by the National Education Association (2001).

The nation will need two million new teachers in the next decade. In high poverty urban and rural school districts alone more than 700, 000 teachers will be needed in the next 10 years. The problem is compounded by the anticipated increase of student enrollment. It is forecast by the United States Department of Commerce (2001) that by the year 2008 public school enrollment will exceed 54 million, an increase of nearly 2 million children more than today. Enrollment in elementary schools is expected to increase by 17% and in high schools by 26 % according to the Nation Center for

Education Statistics (2001). As a result of financial deficits in many areas those teachers who do retire are not being replaced. This is particularly true in California where there is a financial crisis that is impacting education. Quentin R. Lawson (2001), executive director of the National Alliance of Black School Educators in Washington D. C., in an interview to the Jet Magazine in January of 2001 says that fewer Blacks are entering teaching due to the fact that there are increased opening in other fields which pay more. In higher education, African American tenured faculty have not advanced significantly. In the California State University System, the Los Angeles campus is representative. Total full-time tenure-track faculty include: White 65.3% (394) Asian/Pacific Islander 18.8% (114), Hispanic 10.2% (62), African American 5.7% (35) and American Indian 0.16% (1). While the 2000 Ethnic make-up of the students is: Hispanic 52.6%, Asian/Pacific Islander 21.7%, White 16.4%. African American 8.9% and American Indian 0.5%

This lack of role models, lack of knowledge and sensitivity to minority students often contributes to low self-esteem. Thus, even decisions made in kindergarten had a long-term effect on the self-esteem of the children who responded to the teachers' expectations. Ogbu (1993), in his research, posed the notion that if students did not have a good self-concept, they tended not to do well at any age. He argued that African-American students tend not to do well when they do not see personal success in their future and therefore are not inspired to excel.

They are also often not inspired by teachers because teachers often have difficulty working with children whose behavior has been culturally socialized. Socialization often occurs in the community in which the child lives and this socialization is often based on

the previously stated community perception that no matter how much education one receives, the denial of equal opportunity limits the accessibility of economic success. Irvine (1991) suggested that when Black children behave in ways consistent with their cultural socialization, teachers often treat them as stereotypic members of their racial group. It is doubtful that this same treatment occurs when White children also behave in ways consistent with their cultural socialization. Irvine (1991) calls this “guilt by association” which implies that Black students must demonstrate to teachers that the negative stereotypes generally associated with Black students’ behavior do not pertain to them (p. 56). According to Morgan (1990) “the impersonal schools the inner city youth attends try to make him over so he will reject his [cultural] background and fit the images of persons of middle class aspirations and background” (p. 6). This denial and refutation of one’s cultural heritage and racial identity have been described as self-hatred and leading to lowered self-esteem.

Self-Esteem as a Factor in Achievement

These beliefs often cause Blacks to lack the confidence that they can compete with Whites, which brings into study the issue of self-esteem and its relationship to educational achievement. African-Americans are generally not convinced that education should be totally discarded, but that education should be made relevant to meet the needs of all students. Consequently academic programs that support the needs of the individual and the community are sought. MacArthur fellow Lisa Delpit (1995), the recipient of the award for Outstanding Contribution to Education in 1993 from the Harvard Graduate School of Education has proposed that a part of teacher education include bringing parents and community members into the class for future educators to tell prospective

teachers and their educators their concerns for their children's education and how they would like to see schooling changed. She also suggests that the educators go out to community gatherings to listen and get first hand information concerning the community's desires for new teacher education.

Self-esteem may also be impacted by the perception of unequal treatment. The inequities of the educational system were addressed by Morgan (1990) who agreed with Woodson's (1933) evaluation when he said that Black and White students do not start equal. He maintained that:

The black student is required to learn in a new and different culture [from the one that he is a part of in his own community], one which has little relevance for him, while the white student is learning in a familiar culture which has a relevance he accepts and understands while the white student is only extending his knowledge, the black ...student must learn the new culture, keep up in it, and be evaluated by it at the same time that he operates from a new base. (Morgan, p. 33)

Steele (1999) says that many Black students equate school with a place where, more than anywhere else in society, they learn how little valued they are. Further research may evaluate the relationship between this self-hatred and lowered academic achievement.

Steele (1999) focuses on the notion of lack of self-esteem by titling it "stereotype threat". He says that that the threat of stereotypes about their capacity to succeed may cause Black college students to fail to perform as well as their white counterparts. He

defines the term “stereotype threat” as the threat of being viewed through the lens of a negative stereotype, or the fear of doing something that would inadvertently confirm that stereotype. Steele says that this stereotype threat causes Black test takers to know that they are especially likely to be seen as having limited ability and therefore they feel extra intimidation. He believes that this intimidation is not generally present for Whites due to the fact that White students have often said that while they hardly have any sense of even having a race, they believe that Blacks constantly think about race. Steele says that Blacks have many experiences with the majority “other group” that make their race salient to them. Steele conducted an experiment by testing both Black and White students with a test that asked the student to tell their preferences in sports and music. On this test that were any items that are usually associated with African-American imagery like jazz, basketball, and hip-hop as well as many other items such as tennis, swimming and classical music. When the Black students expected to take a test of ability, they reported less interest in basketball, jazz and hip-hop than the Whites, however when the test was presented as unrelated to ability the same Black students strongly preferred things African American. The conclusion was that the Blacks eschewed these things only when preferring them would encourage the evaluators to be encouraged to view them stereotypically. Steele (1999) raises the question of whether the effects of stereotype threat come from the fear of being stereotyped or whether they come from self-doubt. He addresses this question by considering George Herbert Mead’s idea of the “looking-glass self”. This idea is one where social psychology has assumed that one’s self-image is based on how one is viewed by others, including ones family, school and society in general. Historically this theory was first applied by Freud and Bettelheim when it was

focused on the experience of Jews and was later applied to the experience of African-Americans by Allport, Fanon, Kenneth Clark and others. This theory then drew the conclusion that Blacks internalize negative stereotypes as performance anxiety and low expectations for achievement which they then fulfill. This becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In Steele's experiment Black students taking the test under stereotype threat appeared to be trying too hard and their poor success was due to the fact that they spent too much time on the test by rereading the questions, rechecking their answers and rereading the multiple choices ad nauseum. They then allowed the stereotype threat to cause them to test poorly and inefficiently. There were even health ramifications to this experiment. Steele reported that the blood pressure of Black students performing a difficult cognitive task under stereotype threat was elevated compared with that of Black students not under stereotype threat or White students. The idea of stereotype threat then increases the impact of low self-esteem due to the fact that Black students often were more concerned that their test results would cement stereotypes about their group and that these stereotypes would have a limiting effect on their educational world.

One of the goals of Afrocentric education is to lessen the students' perception that his/her performance reflects on the race. An Afrocentric school can reflect this by setting and usual high standards while at the same time motivating the student by assuring them that they can reach those standards.

In terms of assessment scores Steele (1999) suggests that Black students have better skills than the test-score gaps shown in the National Center for Education Statistics. This is reflected in the notion that the gap exists because the proportion Blacks with very high

scores is smaller than the corresponding proportions of Whites and Asians, therefore when each group's scores are averaged, the Black average is lower than the white and Asian averages. Unfortunately this is not taken into account and Blacks' test-score deficits are interpreted in many other negative ways. Steele (1999) states that the truth is that virtually all Blacks on a specific campus have test skills within the same range as the test skills of other students on campus.

As an additional caveat, Steele states that the makers of the SAT tests state that the test only measures about 18% of the skills that influence first year grades and even less of what influences subsequent grades, graduation rates, and professional success. This reinforces the popular notion of African Americans and others that these tests are not a significant predictor of college success. The relationship to the creation of an Afrocentric College to this is the notion that admission requirements should not be based on entrance exams and that the school should create niches in which negative stereotypes are not perceived to apply, therefore weakening a group's sense of being threatened by negative stereotypes and allowing its members a trust that would otherwise be difficult to establish.

Throughout the 1990s the national college-dropout rate for African Americans has been 20 to 25 percent higher than that for Whites and the grade-point average for Black students is two-thirds of a grade below that of Whites (Steele, 1999). A government study of the quality of education states that "getting a high quality education has always been seen as one of the best ways to improve one's social and economic prospects, especially for someone who is socially or economically disadvantaged" (United States Department of Commerce, 1991, p.1). Studies of the educational progress of Black students indicate

that Black children are at an educational disadvantage relative to White children for a number of reasons. These reasons, from a study titled "Poverty in the United States" released in 1991 by the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, included:

1. Lower average levels of parental education;
2. A greater likelihood of living with only one parent;
3. Fewer resources in their communities as a result of income-based residential segregation; and
4. A greater likelihood of experiencing poverty (p. 2.).

The Census of 2000 also addresses the above items and the current conclusions were that:

1. In terms of education: African American women age 25 and over were more likely than their male counterparts to have earned at least a bachelor's degree (18% versus 16 %).
2. 52% of all African- American households consisted of single parent families.
3. Although there was an overall reduction in residential segregation of Blacks between 1991 and 2000, the largest metropolitan areas (1 million or more) population had higher residential segregation than the middle-sized ones (500,000 to 999,000 population) which, in turn had higher residential segregation than the smallest metropolitan areas. While all four metropolitan areas quartiles showed a pattern of decreasing residential segregation over time three of the five indices showed a pattern of higher segregation in places with a higher percentage of Blacks in 2000. As the percentage of the population that

is Black increased, Blacks were less likely to be evenly spread across the metropolitan area; less likely to share common neighborhoods; and more likely to live near other Blacks.

This current report showed that the most segregated areas in 2000 had previously been the most segregated in 1990. In the 1992 report, the data indicated that 46% of Black children, as opposed to 16% of white children, lived in a family with an income level below the poverty line. The impact on the educational achievement of these children has been documented even in elementary school. The report that listed the results of all the years between 1980 and 2000 indicated that, all large metropolitan areas showed a decline in the residential segregation of Blacks between 1980 and 2000 but the changes from year to year are not substantively significant. Most strides seemed to have been in the West and South, particularly in California, Florida and Texas, although increases in segregation were apparent for some small metropolitan areas in the South. Less progress was made in the Northeast and Midwest and the large metropolitan areas that had been the most segregated at the beginning of the 1980-2000 period remained at or near the top of the list. The figures, however, may be misleading since more minority families are moving from cities to suburbs. Residential segregation has resulted in rising racial segregation in suburban schools, according to a study by researchers at Pennsylvania State and Harvard Universities. Dr. Sean Reardon (2001), assistant professor of education and sociology at Pennsylvania State University notes that minorities who move to suburbs are more than likely finding themselves in segregated communities with segregated schools. In a paper published in the 2001 issue of the journal *Sociology of Education*, Reardon and John T. Yun, a doctoral student at Harvard's Graduate School of

Education analyzed racial enrollment data for all suburban public schools in the United States from 1987 to 1995. They found that segregated minority schools whether in cities, suburbs or rural areas tend to have higher concentrations of poverty and fewer community resources for education.

In 1999 the poverty rate for African Americans fell to a record low of 23.6 % and the media household income was the highest ever recorded for African Americans (\$27, 910). According to University of Wisconsin-Madison sociologists Eric Grodsky and Devah Pager (2001) on the average Black men earned less than otherwise similar White men in the private sector, the percentage difference in earnings between Blacks and Whites was smallest (5%) in the lowest-paid occupations and greatest in the highest-paid occupations.

Elementary and Secondary Student Achievement

According to the study of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (2000), (NAEP), gaps in the academic performance of Black and White students appear as early as age 9 and persist through age 17. The report summarizes the status of elementary age Black children by stating specifically that Black children are less likely to be enrolled in preprimary education and are more likely to be below modal grade for their age. Gaps, they report in reading, mathematics and science achievement appear as early as age 9 and do not narrow with age. The NAEP data suggest that Black students are more likely than Whites to drop out of school, although this gap has closed over time. The National Center for Education Statistics Study of Educational Achievement and Black-White Inequality expressed the same conclusions in its 2001 report.

Parental Involvement

This same NAEP study (2001) contradicts the concept that Black parents are not interested or involved with children in school. However this parental support may not encourage Black students to take difficult courses however. In fact, the study concludes that Black students are no less likely than Whites to have their parents involved in their schooling, although Black students are more likely to face a disorderly school environment than their White peers. From a study on the curriculum of the schools where Blacks attended, the assumption was made that Blacks are less likely than whites to take advance science and mathematics courses or to study a foreign language. The census data indicate that Blacks are less likely to go immediately from high school to college. This could be caused by the lack of college preparatory courses in their curriculum. These statistics are more devastating for Black males who are far out-numbered in college by Black females.

The Black Male in Crisis

The situation of Black males in the United States has reached crisis proportions. Percentage-wise more Black males are involved with the criminal justice system than any other group. This involvement can be earned and unearned, since racism has caused many Black males to be characterized as "likely criminals." Many who are incarcerated are found to lack basic education, a situation which makes recidivism most likely. The environment often creates social forces that make Black males more feared in society. This fact along with the increased possibility of past involvement with the criminal justice system often makes employment more difficult to obtain. Criminal activity thus lures the Black male with its economic rewards. On the other hand the curriculum offered in the schools is not connected to the economic success of illegal gang activity.

Participation in inner city gangs often appeal to young Black males who then are more easily accepted without education. Therefore, although Black male children outnumber female children in pre-school, community forces begin to effect their education by the time they reach elementary school. Since the situation of Black males often differs so greatly from Black females and from White males, it is necessary to discuss them separately.

Black Males in Elementary School

Black males are often referred to as an endangered species because although more male babies are born, Black females far outnumber Black males at maturity (Kunjufu, 1989). In other words, although three times as many Black male babies are born as Black female babies, the mortality rate for Black males is so high that Black females upon reaching adulthood often have difficulty finding husbands. This creates an environment for the Black male that differs from that of the Black female. Gender differences, in fact, are as significant as cultural differences, according to studies by Coates, (1972); Eaves, (1975); Grant, (1986); Irvine, (1985); Simpson and Erickson, (1983); and Taylor (1979). Some possible predictions for young black males in the educational system are that they are:

1. More likely to interact with other black males and least likely to interact with the teacher;
2. More likely to have nonacademic interactions with peers;
3. More likely to use a cooperative learning style;
4. More likely to receive controlling statements and qualified praise;

5. More likely to be labeled deviant and described more negatively than white males;
6. More likely to receive nonverbal criticism; and
7. Less likely to receive positive feedback.

This type of elementary school experience appears to help lessen the motivation of young Black males to achieve in school and sets a pattern that often leads to lack of success in junior high school.

Black Males in Junior High Schools

Ladson-Billings (1994) reveals that Black students, particularly Black male students at the elementary and junior high levels are three times as likely to be in a class for the educable mentally retarded as are White students, but only one-half as likely to be in a class for the gifted or talented. According to Grant (1986) and Irvine (1986) Black males at the junior high level are:

1. More likely to be in the lowest academic track;
2. More likely to be isolated socially and academically from white students;
3. More likely than white males to be sent to the principal's office for challenging the teacher;
4. More likely to be judged inaccurately by teachers.

There is evidence that these situations are a result of society's fear of Black males. Hare and Castenell (1985) concluded that "black males are probably the most feared, least likely to be identified with, and least likely to be effectively taught" (p. 211). Where are the Black males? Ladson-Billings (1994) states that more young African-American men are under the control of the criminal justice system than in college. A special issue

of Fortune Magazine (1990) makes the claim that a hypothetical African-American boy who was born in California in 1988 is three times more likely to be murdered before reaching senior high school than to be admitted to the University of California. In support of these statistics, the New Orleans public school system discovered that although Black males represented 43% of the 1986-1987 school population, they accounted for 58% of the non-promotions, 65% of the suspensions, 80 % of the expulsions, 45% of dropouts, and only 19% of gifted students.

Black Male Survival Strategies

These statistics of failures do not necessarily indicate a lack of capability however, Black males who are capable of high achievement and test high on predictors of school success, often adopt survival strategies. Success in school often becomes secondary to success with peers and in the community. These survival strategies often contribute to low academic achievement. Black males are often fearful of the community's perception of them. Steele (1997) describes these survival strategies that include:

1. Pretending to be dumb or "lunching" (pretending to be unable to answer questions in class or appearing to be not paying attention). By "being out to lunch", the other students would not label these Black males as "gay" or "brainiacs."
2. Clowning or being a comedian in school. By keeping the other students entertained, achieving black males would be looked upon as "regular guys".
3. Hanging out with bullies and/or gang members. By making friends with bullies, even if it required the achieving Black males to do the homework for

their so-called friends, the Black males would have thus “paid their dues” and be allowed to get good grades.

4. Focusing on sports or entertainment activities (Steele, 1997). The role that athletes and entertainers play in the Black community would allow the Black male “forgiveness” for being smart in school.

These four survival techniques are utilized as methods which would allow a Black male to achieve in school without losing status with his peers in the community.

However there are dangers inherent in each of these tactics. Grades become lower in classes where the student does not answer questions; teachers do not appreciate the student’s “entertaining personality”; making friends with bullies often encourages gang membership and focusing on sports and other entertainment activities often takes too much time from studying. By acquiring these strategies in junior high school the Black male often sets a pattern that provides a shaky foundation for high school achievement.

Black Students in High School

As previously stated, in the study, “High School and Beyond,” a document released by the National Center for Educational Statistics in 1982, “one-half of Black and Hispanic high school students who were sophomores in 1980 had dropped out or graduated high-risk by 1984” (p. xvi). This complements the findings of the College Board (1985) and the Carnegie Quarterly (1984/1985) which conclude that “Black students, even if they attend school with whites, receive an education that is different and inferior. In another report from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 53% of white eleventh-graders could perform reading tasks that they were likely to encounter in college but only 20% of Black students could perform these complex

reading tasks” (p. xv). African American High School dropouts in 1994 were 10.3% of the population.

Though African Americans’ college population increased from 8.8 to 10.1 between 1984 and 1994, the numbers were still below Blacks’ share of the total college-age population which was 14.3%.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2002), because of changes in the data collection procedures, data may not be comparable with figures for years prior to 1992 however in 1992 the drop out rate for all races 16 to 24 years old was 11.0 %; the rate for Whites was 7.7%; for Blacks 13.7% and Hispanics 29.4%. In October of 2001 the drop out rate was for all races 10.7%; for Whites 7.3%; for Blacks 10.9% and Hispanics 27%.

According to the National Center of Education Statistics (2001), Black-white differences in high school/GED completion rates could be compared for every sample of young adults except the 1979 sample. A black-white gap in high school/GED completion rates (in the range of 2 to 8 percentage points) was evident in the 1983–1989, 1986–1992, and 1992 samples. For young adults with similar levels of prior educational achievement, blacks received high school diplomas or GED certificates at a rate similar to or higher than whites.

Dropping-out as a survival strategy and defense mechanism

As noted earlier, Ogbu (1974) claimed that poor school performance was a defense mechanism, an adaptive behavior that Black children use to fend off discrimination.

Another defense mechanism is involved when Black children and their parents give up when they see no real chance for success in their community. This lack of achievement

may be the reason why Black high school students are more likely than White students to be enrolled in general and vocational tracks and take fewer academically rigorous courses. Black students are more likely to be enrolled in business or general math and less likely to be in algebra, geometry trigonometry or calculus (Oakes, 1985). It is also noted that even though the course titles are similar for Black and White students, the content often varies (Oakes, 1988). A Black student therefore has often been given an extremely elementary course with an impressive title. Students who complete these courses with technical titles are often trained only for entry level jobs that do not reflect their educational credentials.

However, although the lack of Black high school students in college preparatory programs impacts the Black community on a level greater than that caused by high school drop-outs, drop-outs are doubly untrained for professional jobs. The high school drop-out rate in New York and California is about 35%. In inner cities, where large numbers of African-Americans live, the rate nears 50% (Chan & Momparler, 1991). With such a high drop-out rate the impact on the number of Black college students is significant since the lack of early educational preparation makes it difficult to gain admission to college.

The National Center for Education Statistics (2002) reports the differences in Black and White educational achievement. Their main findings in their analyses of educational achievement, which compared mathematics and reading levels of Black and White children at various points between grades 1 and 12, showed Black-White gaps in mathematics and reading achievement appeared at every grade studied. Even for children with similar levels of prior achievement one or two grades earlier, mathematics and reading scores of Blacks were generally lower than the corresponding scores of Whites.

Comparisons of the size of Black-White achievement gaps were possible between nearby grades within the same sample of children, as well as across different samples of children from grades 1 to 12. The Black-White mathematics gap differed in size across grades, in a manner consistent with a narrowing of the gap during elementary school, followed by a widening of the gap during junior high school and little change during senior high school. The Black-White reading gap also differed in size across grades, but not in an entirely consistent manner; it grew wider between grades within two elementary school cohorts, but was narrower in cohorts observed in grades 9 and 12 than in a cohort observed in grade 2. Compared with White children, Blacks scored lower on mathematics tests at every grade level studied between grades 1 and 12 (Black-White mathematics gaps were usually similar in size for both boys and girls).

Within the same samples of children, the Black-White gap increased by two-fifths between grades 7 and 9, but changed little between grades 1 and 2, grades 3 and 5, and grades 10 and 12. Across different samples of children, the Black-White math gap was two-fifths smaller in grade 5 than in grade 2, but one-half larger in grade 9 than in grade 5, and about the same size in grade 12 as in grade 9. Between the grade 2 and grade 12 samples there was no difference in the size of the Black-White math gap, suggesting that any narrowing of the gap between grades 2 and 5 was largely negated by the widening of the gap between grades 5 and 9.

Even for children who had similar math scores one or two grades earlier, a Black-White mathematics gap usually appeared. A Black-White mathematics gap was present in grade 2, even for children with similar math scores in grade 1; in grade 5, even for children with similar math scores in grade 3; in grade 9, even for children with similar

math scores in grade 7. These gaps were 59 to 70 percent smaller than the corresponding mathematics gaps for children as a whole. (Black and White children with similar math scores in grade 10 had similar math scores in grade 12.)

Compared with Whites, Blacks also scored lower on reading tests at every grade level studied between grades 1 and 12. Black-White reading gaps did not differ consistently for boys and girls. The Black-White reading gap grew wider between some grades, but was narrower in grades 9 and 12 than in grade 2. Within the same samples of children, the Black-White reading gap increased by one-third between grades 1 and 2 and one-fifth between grades 3 and 5, while remaining about the same between grades 7 and 9, and between grades 10 and 12. Across different samples of children, the Black-White reading gap was one-third smaller in grade 9 than in grade 2, and two-fifths smaller in grade 12 than in grade 2.

A Black-White reading gap was generally present, even for children with similar reading scores one or two grades earlier. For children with similar reading scores one or two grades earlier, respectively, the Black-White reading gap was 58 to 77 percent smaller than the corresponding Black-White reading gap for children as a whole. While findings within the same samples of children would, by themselves, suggest a widening of the Black-White reading gap as children progressed through school, findings across different samples suggest an overall narrowing of the Black-White reading gap between grades 2 and 9, with this narrowing persisting through grade 12. This difference in findings may be consistent with the actual experiences of children as they progressed through school, or it may arise from the use of different cohorts of children in the comparisons. The collection and analysis of longitudinal data following the same sample

of children all the way from grade 2 through grade 12 would help to further address the question of how the Black-White reading gap changes over the course of the school years.

On average, Blacks in grade 1 had lower mathematics and reading scores than Whites, and Blacks in grade 12 also had lower mathematics and reading scores than Whites. Among children with similar test scores one or two grades earlier, Blacks generally acquired fewer reading skills than Whites, and usually acquired fewer mathematics skills as well. These findings imply that Black-White disparities in educational achievement can widen as students progress through elementary or secondary school. Possible explanations for these differences in achievement growth include differences in the school or home environments of children of different racial backgrounds that make it more difficult for Blacks to acquire math or reading skills at the same pace as whites (National Center for Educational Statistics 2001).

Black College Students

Kunjufu (2000) in an article entitled "Who Will Save Our Boys" printed in The Smiley Report reminds us that although the Black male is in crisis, the news media constantly reminds the public of the 1.2 million African American males in prison but seldom mentions the 517,000 African American males in college. He also notes the discussions are often about the number of African American males who drop out and are placed in special education classes but less discussion is held about the thousands of African American males in advanced placement, honors and gifted and talented classes. He also parallels the trumpeting of news about deadbeat dads and the silence about the 484,000 African American male who are single parents. He notes that although most

churches are 60% female there should also be mention of the 6 million men who are active church members. Kunjufu mourns the lack of priorities that continue to exacerbate the harm of the negative statistics and says that decision are made to cut funding for cost-effective programs such as Head Start, Chapter I and Pell Grants, while efforts are successful to fund \$18,000 to \$38,000 each to house inmates with a recidivism rate of 85%. Kunjufu proposes that more funding of educational and cultural programs such as Rites of Passage programs will lessen the statistics of drop-outs from school and from society. The high drop-out rate for African American college students, those who do not finish college within six years is 62% compared with a national drop-out rate of 41% (American Council on Education, 1995-1996).

Woodson (1933) stated that Black students knew they would not qualify for certain jobs because of their color; therefore, higher education became irrelevant to their needs. Consequently Black students often left the educational system from frustration and resignation. This may also be a contemporary concern.

Currently the 2001 National Center for Education Statistics report their main findings about Black-White differences in educational attainment. They find that Blacks having similar levels of prior educational achievement as Whites had received a high school diploma or General Educational Development (GED) certificate at an equal or higher rate than Whites. For young adults with similar levels of prior educational achievement in the same four samples observed between 1979 and 1992, the postsecondary educational attainment of Blacks was as high as, or higher than, that of Whites. For such young adults, the college attendance rate was higher for Blacks than for Whites. Further, Black college attendees with levels of prior educational achievement

similar to those for Whites completed college at rates similar to, or higher than, the rates for White college attendees.

The NAEP data (2001) indicates that for young adults who had attended at least some college, college completion rates were consistently lower for Blacks than for Whites. The Black-White gap in college completion ranged from about 13 percentage points in the 1979 sample to about 19 percentage points in the other three samples. Again, in contrast, among college attendees with similar levels of prior educational achievement, the college completion rate of Blacks equaled or exceeded that of Whites.

Historically in 1980, 28% of all Black students between eighteen and twenty-four years of age enrolled in college. This number had decreased to 19% by 1982 (Children's Defense Fund, 1985). When Black students do attend college, 42% of them attend two-year colleges where up to 75% of entering students leave and never return. Fewer than 12% complete a four-year degree, and fewer than 5% graduate from professional and graduate schools (Baratz, 1986; Zwerling, 1976). Black students who eventually graduate from four-year colleges leave with economically undervalued degrees in education, the social sciences, and the humanities. Technically oriented degrees tend to qualify graduates for jobs that tend to pay more. When Black students do graduate with technically oriented degrees such as those in the sciences, mathematics, and computer sciences, they tend to receive them from Historically Black Institutions rather than White institutions. Currently In the year 2000-2001 the total Baccalaureate degrees in all disciplines combined for African Americans was 16,370, a 15% increase from the year 1992-93 of 14,198 (Black Issues in Higher Education 2003).

The question then is posed as to why Black students tend to fare better socially, personally, and academically at these predominantly Black institutions (Fleming, 1984). Allen (1984) found that half of the Black students entering traditional White institutions never graduate and that when Black College students do graduate, their grades are, on the average two-thirds of a letter grade lower than other graduates.

United Negro College fund data (1999) show that African American students start their education with significant socioeconomic disadvantages, compared with White students. A smaller proportion of African Americans are now receiving degrees from HBCUs than before but Black enrollment has remained constant and HBCUs play a major role in conferring undergraduate degrees on African American students who go on to receive doctorates in education biological sciences, and professional fields. Predominantly White universities now play a larger role in educating African American undergraduates who later obtain doctorates in the physical sciences (United States Department of Commerce (1999).

Afrocentric Epistemology

Classic and contemporary studies of Black Americans and education presented by Blyden (1832-1912), Crummell (1819-1898) and Cruse (1984) have consistently posed the question of what type of education is best for African-Americans. Additional questions include, How is self-esteem related to the acquisition of knowledge? Can Afrocentric education meet the need of raising self esteem? Can Afrocentric education prepare its African-American graduates to return to their own community to utilize their knowledge to help other members of the community and thus maintain their connection to their people? A response to those types of questions is offered by Wiley (1991). He

describes the environment as important to the educational process and states that an environment must be provided that is conducive to the whole educational process rather than just the academics. Dr. Norman Handy (1997), Vice Chancellor of Development and University Relations at North Carolina A & T University, explains that one difference between the Black School and the predominantly White one is that, "We take a student's culture, academic background and economic situation into account [in curriculum decisions and evaluating counseling needs] and generally that's not done at majority institutions" (p. 191).

Wells (1998), editor of a Harvard University publication, outlines a goal of the Black Schools. Black colleges, Wells notes, take students from wherever they are, and take them to where they need to go. In other words, one can argue that academic background is not as important as the motivation to learn, because an educationally compromised student can graduate with none of the deficiencies that (s)he had when that student entered the Black school.

The notion that HBCUs give students the tools to make up for their educational deficit is illustrated by Handy (1997) when he explains that "we look at students as diamonds in the rough" (p. 19).

Black college administrators look upon these unpolished diamonds as evidence of the Black college's long-standing mission as an opportunity to provide educational opportunities to students who would otherwise have been denied a post secondary education. However there have been many misconceptions about the nurturing that is supplied by the Black College. According to Awasom (1993) HBCUs provide a great deal of nurturing for their students. The students of these schools evaluate the Black

schools by making comments such as, "They treat you like family. They want you to succeed" (Awasom, 1993, p. 4012). Although this nurturing is looked upon positively by students, when nurturing is evident on the college level, as is often the case in the Black Colleges, the colleges are accused of watering down the coursework and passing the students through.

There is little evidence of watered-down courses and in fact, Black Colleges, are recognized by Black students and others as being more academically rigorous. Additionally, the literature states that, "while nurturing is an important component of Black college life, HBCU officials note that students undergo as rigorous a course-load as students at majority white colleges" (Willie, 1989, P.9). Willie, a Harvard education professor who is himself a graduate of Morehouse College, a Black men's college, maintains that "people often overlook the fact that white students fare better socially and academically at white schools because the support systems at those institutions cater disproportionately to them" (p.10). In reverse, Black students in white colleges may not achieve because they lack this support system.

Willie (1989) posed the notion that "one of the most important things that accounts for the success of Black college graduates is that they have mentors to lead them through and positive role models" (p. 10). The National Research Council show that HBCUs have an excellent track record of producing Black scholars, particularly in fields where Blacks are underrepresented. Some well-known graduates of Black colleges include Louis Sullivan, former Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services; Walter Massey, nominated to head the National Science Foundation, historian, John Hope

Franklin; Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall; and current Secretary of State, General Colin Powell.

According to Clark Atlanta University President, Dr. Thomas Cole (1989) Black colleges are described as having a mandate to support Black students, and this mission is paramount. This philosophy is expressed by the administration and faculty who believe that if the students do not succeed, it is not the fault of the student but the fault of the administration and faculty. Cole stated, "Our students are admitted because we think they can succeed and we know that we fall short if they don't succeed" (p. 16). Cole, says that "not only do Black colleges set high standards for students, so that they will do as well as possible, but they provide whatever additional help is necessary to ensure that the students achieve their academic goals " (p. 16). "On Black campuses, there is real attention [given] to the development of the human being, to becoming a leader, [to looking at] who you are as a person and your responsibility to society" according to Robinson (1989, p.16), Assistant Professor of Counselor Education at North Carolina State University. This tradition of developing leaders began with the historical predominantly Black colleges.

Black Students and Environmental and Social Issues

The realization of the need for a broader education has made a definite impact on Black colleges, for programs at these schools have definitely progressed. According to a profile summary done by the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (1999), out of 117 predominantly and historically Black colleges, only 24 are still two-year degree schools (p. 21). In achieving this broader education, researchers such as Redd (1991) have said that the type of learning environment as well as the

curriculum is important to the success of the learner. The curricula of the previously established HBCUs paralleled the curricula of White colleges. Howard University, according to the research, was established for the purpose of providing higher education for Negroes. According to President Mays' June 1967 Centennial Commencement Address "Higher Education and The American Negro, "when Howard University was founded in 1867, virtually all science, religion and statesmanship were declaring that the newly emancipated people were a little less than human". Howard, often called the "Black Harvard", has certainly disproved that statement by having educating distinguished alumni.

Historical Background of Black Higher Education

Howard University like most of the historically Black colleges opened immediately after the Civil War. Initially, these post Civil War schools offered elementary and secondary school teacher education, but they eventually began to offer college level educational opportunities to Blacks. Even though Blacks could attend White Colleges after 1954, the Historically Black Colleges and Universities have been the primary educators of Black Americans. According to Trent (1991), currently most Black students choose to attend predominantly White institutions, while those who speak for Black colleges believe Black schools continue to perform a service, chiefly in motivating students. HBCUs were originally established to provide for the minimal educational needs of the free and newly-freed Black people. Administered and staffed primarily by Whites they helped train Negro teachers and administrators whom eventually assumed leadership of most of these colleges. Their purpose was questioned, by those who believed that the Blacks should be allowed to attend the White colleges, however if the

doors of the Negro colleges had been closed, many of these Negro teachers and administrators would have been denied an education because White colleges were still unwilling to accept Black students (Franklin, 2000).

A Chronological introduction to Black Colleges

Most HBCUs have been in existence for more than 100 years. A Federal Document, entitled Historically Black Colleges and Universities 1976-1994, (National Center for Education Statistics, 1995) defines Historically Black Colleges and Universities as institutions that were established prior to 1964, and generally expressed that their principal mission was, and continues to be, the education of Black Americans. This document states that the story of HBCUs began prior to the Civil War with the earliest college, Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, which was founded in the 1830's. Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and Wilberforce College in Ohio were the only two Black schools established in the 1850's by Blacks. After the Civil War ended, the schools founded for Blacks were primarily religious, such as Edward Waters College in Florida, Fisk University in Tennessee, and Talladega College in Alabama. The first land grant act, called the First Morrill Act, was passed by Congress in July of 1862. Funds from this Act were distributed with the intention that they would finance educational opportunity for all. This federal document (1995) reports that the creation of public land-grant colleges and universities in the United States was the most important development in American higher education. Schools such as Howard University and Meharry Medical College were founded as a result of this initiative.

In the beginning of the twentieth century most Black colleges generally were still controlled by white administrators and white teaching staffs. This was the situation until

1926 when Mordecai Johnson, Howard University's first Black President, was chosen. However, most Black colleges today are staffed by predominantly Black administration and faculty. Today, as in the past, HBCUs still assume the lion share of the nation's responsibility for educating African-American students (Trent, 1991). According to a recent report on Black college trends by the National Center for Education Statistics (2002) Black colleges continue to enroll some of the most deprived college-bound students, including many who require remedial coursework.

Nevertheless the question of the type of education that would be most beneficial for Blacks has remained the focus of Black and White writers. Woodson (1933) asserts, "for a generation ...the quarrel as to whether the Negro should be given a classical or a practical education was the dominant topic in Negro schools and churches throughout the United States" (p. 12). Mungazi (1993) historically traces this same theme of the question of the appropriate type of education through the years from 1933 to 1993.

During these years one focus was on cultural nationalism. According to Mungazi (1993) "among the factors that have impinged heavily on the discussion of the theory of education in the United States are racism, slavery, ethnicity and social class" (p. 56). He further posits the notion that educators have raised the question of whether all Americans, regardless of their racial origin, have equal opportunity for a successful education in this country. The historically Black colleges were founded in order to provide the African-American this equal opportunity for education.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

Predominantly Black colleges increased in number from one in 1854 to more than 100 by 1950. They were primarily three distinct types; church-related, privately endowed

and public institutions (Franklin, 2000). In order to understand the history of these HBCUs, it is necessary to explore the early scholarly writings on African-American education which date back to 1890's (Shujaa, 1994). This was the period just before the Plessy v. Ferguson 163. U.S. 537 Supreme Court decision of 1896 which legalized the concept of segregated education.

The Plessy-Ferguson Segregation Decision

The Plessy-Ferguson case did not directly deal with education. Plessy, who was one-eighth Black, tried to board a "White Only" railroad car. Although Plessy had only one-eighth Black blood, this one-eighth was discovered by a railroad conductor and Plessy was thrown off the train (Miller, 1966). Although this case addressed public accommodations it was immediately applied to public schools and was interpreted to signify the notion that "separate but equal" schools were adequate for Negro students. According to Taylor (1999) Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) "legitimized modern American apartheid" (p. 186).

Revisiting the Debate

The issue of the type of education Blacks should receive became an historical conflicting question presented by Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) and W.E.B. DuBois (1868-1963). DuBois, a graduate of Fisk and Harvard Universities, became well-known for his studies in education that were in direct conflict with the educational philosophies of Booker T. Washington. Washington was a protégé of General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a white former Civil War General, who established Hampton Institute, a Black educational institution in Virginia. Hampton Institute specialized in industrial or vocational education. Students at Hampton built everything they used,

including their desks and their beds. Washington explained in his (1901) autobiography, Up From Slavery that he earned admission to Hampton by showing how well he could dust a room. Armstrong took him under his wing and Washington became enamored with Armstrong's theory of industrial education for Blacks. After graduation from Hampton Washington went to Tuskegee, Alabama in 1881. There he founded a school after he first assured the white citizens of Tuskegee that his students would not be in competition with any Whites because they would take only the jobs that Whites did not want (Franklin, 1947/1988). White southerners agreed with Washington's "advocacy of a type of education that they believed would consign Negroes to an inferior economic and social status in Southern life" (Franklin, p. 248). Washington believed that the Black man should practice accommodationism by earning the respect of the white man without antagonizing him.

DuBois (1903) espoused a theory in opposition to Washington's. He maintained that industrial education should not exclude classical studies, and in his essay, "The Talented Tenth" in Souls of Black Folk, DuBois identified a need for a certain percentage of Blacks to be classically educated as teachers, without whom even Washington's industrial arts students could not complete their studies. DuBois believed that classical education must be provided for teachers in order for them to be trained to teach all students, even those students pursuing an industrial education.

The Period between the Plessy (1896) to the Brown v. Kansas (1954) Decisions

The theme of the next two historiographic periods was described by Shujaa (1994) as the period of segregation and integration. This period came after industrial or vocational education was more than fifty years old. In the early twentieth century the goal

of Black Education was moral uplift, the “civilizing” of a people. Woodson (1933) however, decried the ending of this goal of “moral uplift” in his The Miseducation of the Negro. In 1880 Negroes had begun to take over more of the positions of the majority white teachers in the Negro schools (McPherson, Holland, Banner, Weiss & Bell, 1971). Woodson believed that in 1880 the attitude of the Negroes who became leaders as a result of being educated was different from what it became in 1933. He maintained that in 1880 men went off to school to prepare themselves to come back and help uplift a downtrodden people. He also believed that there was evidence that these times had changed because too many Negroes in 1933 went to school simply to memorize certain facts in order to pass examinations for jobs. According to Woodson (1933) after Negroes obtained these positions, they paid little attention to (uplifting the down-trodden) people in their community. Woodson blamed this on the fact that Negroes were receiving an education that was not only ill preparing them to work in the community, but that they were receiving a type of education that brainwashed them to believe that everything about Negro culture and community was negative. Woodson maintained that this brainwashing then made these Negroes less inclined to want to have anything to do with their own people. DuBois, in his advocacy of nationalism through Pan-Africanism attempted to motivate Black people to be concerned not only about the downtrodden in their own community, but he attempted to unite persons of African descent all over the world. His nationalism was an international concern.

DuBois (1903) believed that the answer to race and class conflict in America was education. He argued that “racial antagonism can only be stopped by intelligence” (p.118). In an essay, entitled “The Negro Common School” (1903) DuBois confronted

Washington's theory of vocational education. Although DuBois preached cultural nationalism, Asante (1980) in turn confronted DuBois' philosophy of classical education for a certain percentage of Negroes, the "talented tenth" and charged DuBois with being brainwashed by the Eurocentric education he received in Europe and at Harvard University. Asante (1980/1990), known as the father of modern Afrocentricity, and former Chair of the African American Studies Department, at Temple University, (the first Ph.D. Program in African-American studies in the United States) suggests that Du Bois was "essentially a European scholar using methods he perfected on the basis of European conceptualizations to analyze and study Black people" (p.171). This evaluation, interestingly, is similar to DuBois' evaluation of Washington.

At the same time as the DuBois-Washington confrontation between industrial and classical education, southern apologists for slavery were attempting to answer the question of the type of education that should be given to the newly-freed Blacks. These southern apologists for slavery had three themes: (a) The North was the devil that meddled in the Southern States affairs; (b) Blacks' lack of innate ability to learn classic curricula; and (c) southerner's paternalistic concerns for their "Nigras". Therefore they (the Southerners) would know what was best for them (Shujaa, 1994).

Ex-slaves Searching for Freedom through Education

The post Civil War period of Reconstruction is often related by white historians of the early twentieth century Dunning School at Columbia University as a period in which Black ex-slaves were wandering aimlessly around the South because they lacked the ability and the intelligence to live on their own (Logan (1954/1965). Logan however, describes the scene quite differently. He states that although some ex-slaves were leaving

the plantations of their former owners, they were not wandering aimlessly without goals or intelligence. They were not only purposely searching for their family members that had been sold during slavery but were seeking education which they believed would narrow the gap between themselves and White men.

These Black ex-slaves had specific goals which they expressed to Civil War General Sherman. These goals were fashioned into what became known as the "Basic Program of the Freedmen" (Logan, 1965). This program listed five key areas in which Blacks wanted to have control in their lives. First, in the area of politics, the ex-slaves requested the right to vote and run for office. The ex-slaves requested land so that they could take care of themselves and their families without help from any government agency. Third, in the area of social needs, their request was simply for the right to legal marriages. Fourth, in reference to the area of the military, they requested the right to defend their country and themselves.

Although all of the above-mentioned goals showed that the ex-slaves had intelligence, the fifth key area, according to Franklin (2000) and McFeeley (1971) was the most important request. This request was for education - - the right to learn to read and write. Education then, was the major request of the newly freed Black Americans. They submitted these requests to General Sherman during his famous march to the sea. They did not obtain these rights and in fact the period of Reconstruction was well recognized by historians as a period of attempts to remove any rights gained by the Negro, regardless of the passing of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. The 13th Amendment freed the slaves, the 14th gave civil rights to all men and the 15th amendment gave former male slaves the right to vote. According to Franklin (2000) all of

these so-called rights were denied the newly freed Black men during the period of Reconstruction. Instead the periods of Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction were the most physically violent in African-American history and were marked by hundreds of lynchings of innocent Blacks and other violence perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan. According to Franklin (2000) the “new century opened tragically with 214 lynchings in the first two years” (p. 238). Franklin (2000) further explains the Freedman’s Bureau’s attempt to prevent this violence and work toward obtaining the rights embodied in 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. In opposition to this, McFeeley (1971) described the Freedman’s Bureau as an agency that did not fulfill its promises. He described an agency that was impotent in its goals and whose efforts to enforce the three amendments became a fiasco.

Education – the Spoils of the War

This impotence was not significant in the area of education however. McFeeley (1971) in his study of the Freedman’s Bureau maintains that although impotent in other areas, “Black education was the Bureau’s most enduring legacy” (p. 93). From the period of Reconstruction (referred to by Logan (1954/1965) as the nadir of Civil Rights for Negroes) up until the twentieth century, Black education went through stages of church related education, self education, and segregated education. Since Black newly freed slaves were paying amounts equal to that paid by whites at that time for school fees and taxes, they began to focus on the inequity of their educational opportunities.

Although these schools were often built and financed by philanthropists, these benefactors did little to encourage the equitable distribution of public funds for education of Negroes (Franklin, 2000). In 1898 the per capita expenditure for education in Florida

was \$5.92 for whites and only \$2.27 for Negroes. In Mississippi in 1900 it was \$22.25 for whites but only \$2.00 for Negroes (Franklin, 2000) yet Black ex-slaves paid taxes on a parity with whites without receiving education on a parity with whites. Franklin notes that in 1901 the Sixth Atlanta Conference for the Study of Negro Problems showed that between 1870 and 1899 Negroes paid a total of \$25 million in direct school taxes and \$45 million in indirect taxes. In addition to paying this large amount in public school taxes, Negroes were also paying more than \$15 million in tuition and fees to private institutions where they were sending their children to be educated (Franklin). Their taxes were then paying for a school system in which they were not getting any benefits.

In a desire to obtain these benefits the Negroes began to argue Supreme Court cases which related to education and began to question the “separate but equal” ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson* 163. U.S. 537 (1896). These cases included *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. (1950), where the Court said graduate schools could not be segregated; *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950), ruled against segregated law schools and then *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) ruled that the nation must begin desegregating all schools. Writing for a unanimous court, Chief Justice Earl Warren (1954) stated “In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954, p. 691).

Was Desegregation Educational Freedom?

As the result of this Supreme Court decision, in the middle of the twentieth century, revisionist historians were willing to question the previous theories of the Southern

apologists. They began to confront segregation. This period also included the work of scholars who began to scientifically disavow the theories which purported that Blacks were inherently inferior. According to Shujaa (1994) "Scholars began to probe the history of scientific racism and its insinuation into the school in the form of intelligence tests and other standardized tests" (p.101).

In the 1990s the intellectual movement called "critical race theory" scrutinized the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* and categorized its decision as a betrayal of Negroes. They claimed that its passage by the Supreme Court was an example of the ulterior motives of the country. Ladson-Billings (1999) described the *Brown* decision as one that helped "United States in its struggle to minimize the spread of communism to so-called Third World nations" (p. 19). She identified the Supreme Court decision as little more than a public relations venture for the United States.

Although legal segregation was being eliminated the Historically Black Colleges and Universities, HBCUs, continued to appeal to students. The benefits of attending Historically Black institutions (HBCUs) were weighed against the merits of attending traditional white institutions, (TWIs).

HBCUs Compared to Traditional White Universities (TWIs)

These HBCUs can be compared to the TWIs in many ways. In size, the HBCUs are generally smaller than TWIs. HBCUs average enrollment was about 2,719 in 1994 versus TWIs average enrollment of 3,872. Many HBCUs were very small, with 14 having enrollments of less than 500. The largest HBCUs were the University of District of Columbia (10,599), Howard University (10,115), Florida A & M (10,084) and Texas Southern (10,078). There is also a difference in the percentage of women versus men

students in the HBCU. It would be of interest to examine how societal issues of the Black male have impacted the college admissions and retentions. HBCUs have a higher proportion of female students than TWIs. In 1994 female students at the HBCUs were 59% of the total student population compared to 55% in the TWIs. There were many more four-year HBCUs than two-year colleges. Most students in HBCUs (94%) were enrolled in four-year schools compared to 61% of all schools. Of Black four-year college students 26% were attending HBCUs while only 2 % were attending two-year HBCUs (McGrath, 1965).

The president of one of these predominantly Negro institutions has said that the major task of the Negro colleges is one of "taking students who have experienced cultural deprivation and preparing them in the short span of the college experience to compete on a basis of equality with American college graduates" (Jenkins, 1964, p. 3). Jenkins' statement highlights three factors about these institutions: (a) they arose to serve a disadvantaged group in American society, as a result of which (b) they have had to devote much of their effort to remedial work, and (c) in the past they have had to place the emphasis in their curricula on a limited number of utilitarian and vocational ends.

Most of the Black colleges then were established in order to train Black clergymen, but because of the small pool of qualified clerical students, most became de facto teachers' colleges. De facto because for the most part, these schools were colleges in name only, consisting of elementary and secondary school departments. According to Browning and Williams (1928) a small number of them developed advanced curricula and began granting Bachelor of Arts degrees after 1865. Liberal arts curricula were offered in these schools to help blacks become fully participating citizens.

HBCUs Defined

One major problem in studying these colleges designated as HBCUs, is the difficulty of defining them. These institutions had to meet several criteria. They were first defined as institutions that had been founded before 1964 and where Black students are 50 to 100% of the student population. Some universities such as Tuskegee, Fisk, Howard or Atlanta are well-known as Black institutions, but many others are only regionally or locally known. The number ranges from 103 to 123 institutions thus identified. These figures change for several reasons. Some schools have merged with each other or with predominantly white public schools, while others have increased their white population to the point that they are no longer technically Black colleges (i.e. Bluefield State College in West Virginia, which originally was all Black, is now predominantly non-Black). Some new or currently largely white institutions, particularly those serving the inner city areas may have become predominantly Black, as have three of the eight new campuses of Chicago City Junior College. The Digest of Education Statistics (2001) identifies 103 Historically Black Colleges and Universities as of the fall of 2000. They include 41 public 4-year schools, 11 public 2-year institutions, 48 private 4 year institutions and 3 private 2-year institutions.

Additionally in studying the condition and potential of the predominantly Black colleges and universities in the United States, it is necessary to understand that they vary widely, though not necessarily as widely as predominately White institutions. Although it is also true that White institutions differ from each other, Black Colleges are chiefly four-year undergraduate colleges with a small number of junior colleges and a few graduate schools (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2000). They originated in the

missionary movement of the northern churches in the mid-nineteenth century and in the land-grant legislation of the Federal Government first enacted in 1862 (Patterson, 1997). Most enroll a preponderance of women rather than men. According to the Schomburg Library Research Center (1999) women greatly outnumber men among African American college students representing 6.3% of the total higher education enrollment in 1994 as compared to 3.8 % for males. Women's overall rate of enrollment is 24% higher than that of African American males; by contrast, White women have a 10% edge in enrollment rates over White males.

Their entering students are on average less well prepared for college work than those in other colleges and due to lack of money, these students have difficulty in completing their education (McGrath, 1965). According to McGrath (1965) the need for financial aid from outside the family, in the form of scholarships, fellowships, part-time and summer employment, and loans is commensurably larger in Negro colleges. In 2002 according to the United States Department of Commerce the percentage of undergraduates attending four year colleges and universities who received financial aid 49.3% white 66.3% African American. McGrath maintains that faculty members in Black institutions devote a much higher proportion of their time to teaching and assisting students in various other ways than is typical of other institutions. Most of the faculty, therefore, have little time or opportunity to continue their own education at the graduate level or to do research due to this added load.

Grade Point Averages

The Schomburg Library Research Center (1999) reports the cumulative undergraduate Grade Point Averages of 1992-1993 Bachelor Degree Recipients by race

as: Out of the total number of students who received a Grade Point Average of 3.50 (28%) and above 11.3% were African American; Out of those who received 3.00 to 3.49 (42%) 34.4% were African American; and those who received less than 3.0 (30%) 54.3% were African Americans.

Fiscal Comparisons

Some researchers, including Boyd (1992); Cross (1993); and Lenix-Hooker (1992), feel that the inadequate resources of Black institutions result in an intellectual disservice being done to Black students. Fleming (1984) on the other hand, in her research on Black students in White schools, with vast resources, indicates that Black students tend to face an unaccepting environment that provides inadequate support for their needs. In trying to discern whether Black colleges did anything that White colleges did not do, Fleming (1984) conducted a comparative study of the effects on Black students of Black and White institutions. Her study compared freshmen and seniors in institutions in order to obtain data that supported reasonable inferences as to the progress that Black students make in Black and White colleges. Fleming confirms the already widely acknowledged premise that "positive interpersonal supports constitute a precondition for cognitive growth" (1984, p. xi). She poses the notion that participation in campus life, especially in leadership roles, challenges students' intellects and stimulates their interest in classroom affairs. As a consequence, identity problems frequently surface that tie-up intellectual energies (Cook, 1990). Cook identifies a sociocultural alienation that affects Black students' adjustment in predominantly White institutions. According to the United State Department of Education Statistics (2001) the current-fund revenues are \$2,173,308 for 4-year schools and \$99,880 for 2-year schools. Tuition and fees brought in \$446,452 in 4-

year schools and \$18,981 in 2-year schools. Government funds, private gifts, grants and endowment income as well as some sales and services were responsible for income that did not support the institutions adequately. Even with few resources, the evidence is that Black students in Black schools show more academic progress than their counterparts in White colleges (Fleming, 1984). Fleming (1984) further stated that one reason for that is because in White colleges, the problems of an unaccepting environment often act to interfere with effective intellectual growth for African-American students. Cross (1993) gives further evidence that in spite of far better facilities at these TWIs, Black students showed evidence of intellectual stagnation in the senior year, and frustrated achievement drives.

Psychological Ramifications to Intellectual and Professional Development

Although major studies of Black colleges have been concerned with objective institutional characteristics such as endowment, instructional facilities, classrooms, laboratories, library facilities, faculty salaries, research publication by faculty, and student services, utilizing these rich resources for comparison, most Black colleges cannot win in any competition with predominantly white institutions. With all of these resources however it has been noted that although Black students in a white school may have entered with higher academic test scores they showed little further development of their initial abilities. Fleming (1984) commented that “not only do the black schools produce greater intellectual progress for black students, but the ambivalent treatment of blacks in the north may set the stage for the development of intrapsychic conflict” (p. xv). This is not true for white students in white schools.

Despite complaints by White students, the college environment theoretically acts to support their intellectual and professional development. Fleming (1984) maintains that as a result White students develop in White colleges the way Blacks in Black colleges do. This then raises the question of why? Is it the case that Black institutions contribute something unique to Black education that is unlikely to be duplicated by White institutions now or in the near future? Or, alternately, is there evidence that the superior resources available to White institutions produce intellectual gains that outweigh whatever benefits may be derived from the predominantly Black education experience?

These are the questions that inspired the Carnegie Corporation to fund an intensive comparative psychological investigation of the issues. The Carnegie Corporation reported that, in terms of racial diversity, the majority of students in HBCUs are Black but the number of other groups is steadily increasing. Black Issues in Higher Education (2002) indicates that 86% of students at HBCUs were Black. The degrees given are overwhelmingly baccalaureate degrees and it is a common occurrence for students to receive their undergraduate degrees at HBCUs and go on to TWIs for graduate degrees. As previously stated, one explanation for this is that one of the reasons African-American students choose African-American schools for their undergraduate degrees is for the nurturing they receive. They often choose White schools for their graduate degrees since due to racism the White schools are often given more national acceptance than the Black schools. According to a 1998 article in Black Issues of Higher Education the rate of increase in the last five years of conferring baccalaureate degrees at HBCUs compared to production at TWIs shows an increase that is substantially higher than at TWIs. As for faculty, it is an observation outlined in a 1989 issue of Black Issues in

Higher Education that Black faculty look upon their job descriptions differently from White faculty. Robinson (1989) argued that these Black faculty members understand the needs of Black and minority students they do an excellent job of mentoring...and “helping them to make the juncture from college to professional life” (p. 16).

According to Malveaux (1989) race became much less of an issue at a predominantly Black University. Malveaux (1989), a Harvard University graduate, writes that she transferred from Harvard to Howard so that she would not always have to suffer by constantly being seen as a representative of the Black race. Malveaux maintained that in Black Schools students are able to develop as individuals rather than as spokespersons for the race, unlike Black students in White schools who often suffered from issues of cultural identification.

Black Students in White Colleges

Black Students as “tokens”

Malveaux resented being treated as a “token” in the white institutions and rejected being continually place in the spokesperson role. Other examples of the notion that Black students in White colleges suffer from expectations that they are representatives and spokespersons for their race can also be cited. A female student from East Africa who attended a San Diego Christian University, addressing a class of students (Imani Kuumba College, Spring of 1999) and explained her considerable dismay at being called upon in an ethnic literature class to constantly represent the African-American perspective when she knew nothing about being an African-American, and even less about African-American literature. She related the fact that many Africans and African-Americans felt the need to show their gratitude for being admitted into the white school to the extent that

they were afraid to refuse to be the “token Black” out of fear that they would fail the course. This student said that she was criticized by the teacher because she was “not as participative” in this class as she was in her journalism major classes where she knew the subject. She said when she declined to “perform” in this class, another student, a Kenyan male, was asked and he “made a fool out of himself” trying to make up answers on the African-American perspective.

Racism in TWIs

According to the Black Student Association several students of color have dropped out of the predominantly white Christian University attended by the student referred to above because they felt that they paid too great a price emotionally to attend. Other Black students spoke of feeling isolated and never fully accepted (Forum of Black Students, San Diego, California, spring 1998). Robinson (1989) maintained that “many students graduate from [predominantly] white institutions but often have paid personally for having co-existed in an alienating environment for several years” (p. 16). Many Black students do not graduate due to the difficulty of being unable to concentrate on their studies while constantly trying to assimilate. Assimilation, they are taught, is desirable, because they are constantly rewarded for throwing off or submerging any Africanisms that may be a part of their behavior (Haniff, 1991). Asante (1991) explains that most teachers do not even realize that African-Americans or Hispanics have had to “experience the death of his/her own culture to master white cultural information” (p.28).

A racist description of the Black student was given in 1926 by Levy-Bruhl when he said that Black students are different because “primitives perceive nothing in the same way Europeans do” (p.30). Little did he know that other than his use of the term

“primitive”, which emphasized his belief in the inherent inferiority of Blacks, he might have been correct. It is difficult to describe the typical African-American student for many reasons. Some have been able to succeed in the educational system by assuming the identity of the dominant culture; some by pretending to agree with the lessons taught in the schools while at the same time wearing a mask that conceals their true feelings. Paul Laurence Dunbar, a Black poet of the early twentieth century, wrote his poem “We Wear the Mask” to describe this phenomenon. According to Morgan (1990) “a large body of speculative, emotive and rhetorical data exists ...but few studies qualify as definitive” (p. 2). It therefore remains difficult to describe the typical Black student.

Fleming (1984) indicated that much that is communicated to Black students in White schools is communicated nonverbally and that the nonverbal messages that are communicated make it difficult for Black students to feel comfortable. Many Black students ignore their feelings and convince themselves that to receive an education they must endure racism at the TWIs. The suffering done by Black students in TWIs is often balanced against the importance of receiving the education as a repayment to the Black family which has sacrificed to send their child to school in order that (s)he may become a leader. The Black scholar, i.e. George Washington Carver, W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, has historically fulfilled expectations of being a Black leader in the larger community. The complaint has been that the contemporary student does not generally take the role as leader in his own community. This role has largely been filled by the Black ministers.

The Roots of Afrocentric Education

Education and the Black Church

The leadership in the Black community has traditionally been its ministers (Hare and Hare (1991). These writers maintain that leadership in the Black community remains in the Black church. In fact they argue that the “churches may constitute the only remaining positive and established institutional structures in the black community that are owned and operated by seriously autonomous black people” (p. 27). About half of the Black colleges were sponsored and supported, at least in part, by religious denominations, but most were publicly supported like the Traditional White Institutions. (Willie & Edmonds, 1978).

Many of the cities and states that established colleges for the education of Blacks and also took over the church supported institutions (Franklin, 1947/2000). Mungazi (1993) observed that the issue of separation of church and state was of recent concern, and that in 1690, The New England Primer, which combined literature and religious instruction, stated that “the practice that emerged during the colonial period that the state could support education of a religious nature was not considered a conflict between church and state because it was believed that the state could benefit from individuals with high religious values” (p. 97).

Religion – both a blessing and blasphemy

The influence of religion on African-Americans has been significant. From Martin Luther King, Jr. to Malcolm X, from Adam Clayton Powell to Andrew Young, from the Reverend Jesse Jackson to the Minister Louis Farrakhan, many African-American political and civil rights leaders have been ministers. In fact, one thing stands out clearly and that is that for the African American there is little separation between church and state. Woodson (1933) observed that one of the most striking pieces of evidence of the

failure of higher education among Negroes in the 1930s was their estrangement from the masses. He further observed that, in schools of theology, Negroes are taught the interpretations of the Bible worked out by those who have justified segregation and winked at the economic debasement of the Negro. Woodson (1933) also observed that “most of such miseducated ministers, therefore preach to benches while the illiterate Negro preachers do the best they can in supplying the spiritual needs of the masses” (p.76). Woodson further noted that a large majority of Negroes still belong to the Black community churches. However, the more education Negroes receive, the less comfort they seem to find in these groups. These churches do not measure up to the standard set by the university preachers. Woodson (1933) maintained that the unchurched of this class do not become members of such congregations, and those who have connected themselves remain chiefly for political or personal reasons and tend to become communicants in name only. According to Woodson (1933) “the Negro church, however, although not a shadow of what it ought to be, is the great asset of the race” (p. 78). Even DuBois (1903) supported Woodson’s (1933) argument by observing that:

In many respects then, the Negro church during recent generations has become corrupt. It could be improved, but those Negroes who can help the institution have deserted it to exploiters. The ‘highly educated’ Negroes have turned away from the people in the churches, and the gap between the masses and the “talented tenth” is rapidly widening (p. 77).

Woodson’s observation underlines the continued separation between educated Blacks and those with less education. Contemporary small churches often cater to the uneducated while the educated African-Americans generally are members of the larger

churches. The early Black ministers espoused the philosophy of cultural nationalism, contemporary Black ministers may join with many present-day intellectuals to espouse Afrocentrism cultural nationalism's contemporary form.

Cultural Nationalism

The next period in the history of Black education focused on cultural nationalism, a precursor to Afrocentrism. This beginning of Afrocentrism or cultural nationalism was a transition to movements which led to focusing on issues that again raised the question of the purpose of Black education and the effect of this education on the family, relationships and the community. Cultural nationalism in the 1960's further created a demand for Black Studies to be taught at predominantly white colleges, that Black Studies Departments be established and that Black faculty who "shared the Black experience" be hired (Ford, 1973). The phenomena, Afrocentrism and Black or cultural nationalism are conceptually identical. The difference is only in the use of the term.

When the concept of Afrocentrism was called cultural nationalism Black leaders were not only writing books, but preaching the concept in the Black church. Afrocentrism began as a notion in pre-Civil War America and in Africa, most prominently through Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) and Alexander Crummell (1819-1898). Blyden and Crummell were functioning in the dual role of Christian ministers and academic scholars in Liberia. They both argued for the fostering of an "inclusive racialist construct that maintained the preeminence of a racialist characterization of black freedom that was necessitated by ancient civilization" (Scroggins, 1993, p. 217). This philosophy became a religious mission by motivating Blacks to continue striving for a freedom that was a

Biblical and historical mandate. With the advent of the term “Afrocentrism” this concept of Black or cultural nationalism became changed in name only.

Afrocentrism and Afrocentric Education

Although as previously stated, the term Afrocentrism is a recent inclusion in contemporary vocabulary, the fact that the Afrocentric concept has historically been a part of Black scholarship is shown by the numerous scholars who have detailed the existence of a traditional African world-view in which certain distinguishing cultural characteristics and beliefs predominate. Chronologically they include, Forde and Parrinder (1954), Busia (1963), Mbiti (1970), Nobles (1972), Balander and Maquet (1974), Sowander (1974), Thompson (1974), Williams (1976), Levine (1977), Diop (1978), Gerhart (1978), and Zahan (1979). These scholars, beginning with Woodson (1933), focused on the definition of a type of education that began with the description of cultural nationalism and continued along the path of inclusion of an African world in academic studies that led to the work of Asante (1987).

Woodson in his 1933 study Miseducation of the Negro did not use the term “Afrocentricity”. His world was a world of push carts and shoeshine boys. He did not experience the world of Black computer technicians or even Black fast food employees yet many of the observations he made of his Black world in 1933 are also relevant to today. Examples include, middle class Blacks leaving the Black community, storefront preachers next to the liquor stores on every corner in the Black community, and “jack leg” (uneducated preachers) ministering to the Black masses. These images are still present in the Black community. Although Woodson was not familiar with the term “Afrocentricity”, his description of an education that focused on Africa, Black historical

contributions and Black community needs is congruent with the descriptions of “Afrocentrism” given in 1987 by Molefi Asante who is known as the father of Afrocentrism.

According to Asante (1987) “Afrocentricity is the belief in the centrality of Africans in postmodern history” (p.77). It is also the “placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior” (p. 6). Afrocentrism as Asante (1988) conceives the term is a “theoretical constant based on a philosophy of African and African-American history” (p. 12).

Afrocentrism is explained by Meyers (1988) as a phenomenon that promises to address questions such as: What are my origins? Who are my people? Where do my ancestors come from? What kind of people were they? What was their culture? How did they utilize their environment when establishing social organizations? How did these social organizations interact with other societies’ social systems? It is Myers’ (1988) opinion that conflict in this contemporary American society comes from lack of knowledge. “In Afrocentric epistemology” said Myers, “self-knowledge is the basis of all knowledge” (p.13). Myers further describes Afrocentrism as an evolutionary process. Her reference is to Nobles (1986) whom she claims refers to the Afrocentric experience as a “reclamation, reascension, and revitalization” (p.13).

Some critics of Afrocentrism maintain that Afrocentrism attempts to replace Eurocentric ideology with an African centered ideology (Lefkowitz, 1992). Asante anticipated this charge in 1988 by saying that “Afrocentrism does not claim that an African centered world-view should replace the current ideology, but it does claim to present a construction of postmodern history which opposes the current ideology which

places Eurocentrism at the center” (p.77). Ratteray (1990) proposes that a combination of this Eurocentrism with a lack of consensus among Blacks on the nature and goals of Black education is a barrier for African-Americans in their pursuit of liberty.

Myers (1988) treats the term “afrocentrism” as a synonym for the term “black” and defines it as follows:

In this culture, 'black' refers to African descent: the model is African in origin and philosophy. Also as a concept, black represents all of the colors of the spectrum absorbed into one; oneness is the basis of the model. Black does not mean the negation of white, though white is a reflection or projection of all the colors of the spectrum. Rather the two are complements: both necessary for the fullest realization of oneness” (p. 17).

Since “Afrocentrism” is a more modern term for “Black or cultural nationalism” it is important to note that Henry Highland Garnett (1815-1882) who was considered a nationalist, in the early 1900’s offered a form of Afrocentrism that was based on the philosophy that Blacks had to understand themselves and their interaction with cultures throughout the world. Scroggins (1993) maintains that “in order for blacks to achieve the goal of full participation in the world context where racism thrived, blacks would need to have a philosophical construct of racialism on their own ...” (p.23). Proponents of Afrocentric Education suggest that this racial construct is obtained by structuring a curriculum and educational environment that is culturally relevant to its students.

Afrocentric Education

The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (1999) describes Afrocentrism by stating that:

Having rooted itself in the African experience which is the source and substance of its raison d'être, black studies as a mode of grasping reality expands outward, to the acquisition of other relevant human knowledge and the knowledge of other humans... for even as there are lessons for humanity in African particularity, there are lessons for Africans in human commonality and African humanity is enriched and expanded by mutually beneficial exchanges with others. (p. 184)

Ladson-Billings (1994) shows that the search for this philosophical construct of racialism led to the growing disaffection of African-Americans with the kind of education their children receive today in the public schools. Some of the available studies propose the notion that the lack of achievement of Black students is a result of the fact that schools are not culturally responsive. One example is Hale-Benson (1986) who proposed that the implementation of an Afrocentric curriculum can help children learn through experiences that are both Afro and Euro-American while assisting them to develop positive attitudes toward self, learning and school. Black children achieve more in a curriculum that capitalizes on their cultural learning style. This concept is also called cultural synchronization (Boykin, 1986). Ladson-Billings (1994) addresses W.E.B. DuBois' (1935) question of the need for separate schools to satisfy the lack of quality education African-Americans have received in the nation's public schools. Ladson-

Billings (1994) replies to those who criticize the idea of African-American immersion schools on the grounds that they are the same as the historically legally outlawed segregated schools, by saying that "schools in large urban centers today are more segregated than ever before because many whites and middle-income people of color not only fled the cities and abandoned the schools to the poor children but took with them the resources by way of the diminishing tax base" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 2). In other words, Ladson-Billings states that the argument is moot because African-Americans already have separate schools. "The African American immersion school movement is about taking control of those separate schools" she explains (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 3). Ladson-Billings further prescribes culturally relevant teaching, another manifestation of Afrocentrism, as a method of improving academic performance for African-American students. She proposes that the reason why almost no literature exists to address the specific educational needs of the African-American is because of the refusal to recognize African-Americans as a distinct cultural group in addition to being a racial group. The objection is that African-American children are treated as though they are exactly like white children but "just need a little extra help" (Ladson-Billings, 1993, p. 3).

The curriculum of an African-American immersion school does not only include teaching history of famous Blacks but tends to utilize Afrocentric culture in its educational methodology of teaching. The previously named proponents of cultural relevance in education issue a charge that the present educational system utilizes teaching methods that are in complete opposition to Afrocentric methods. Fleming (1994) also observes that many African-American students do achieve in Euro-centric schools but that they do so at a cost. The traditional teaching method employed by the public schools

emphasizes competition and individualism while the Afrocentric method promotes learning and producing together. Utilizing the specific cultural strengths to effectively enhance academic and social achievement is recommended by proponents of Afrocentric education. Programs are proposed that attempt to capitalize on students' individual group and cultural differences rather than ignoring them. The notion of cultural relevance uses the student's culture "in order to maintain it and to transcend the negative effects of the dominant culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1994 p. 17).

Ladson-Billings (1994) further points out that teachers who practice culturally relevant methods can be identified by the way these teachers see themselves and others. They believe their students can succeed and the teachers have a stake in the students' success because they see themselves as part of the students' community. Teachers of culturally relevant programs see teaching as "digging knowledge out" of students, a concept Ladson-Billings (1994) describes as oppositional to the "putting in of knowledge" that she observes in the traditional schools (p. 52). Culturally relevant teaching is described as a method which encourages students to learn collaboratively and expects them to teach each other and take responsibility for each other. This is a complete antithesis of the practice of competition in traditional Eurocentric education. Culturally relevant Afrocentric teaching is represented as a program that honors students, provides dignity and enhances feelings of self worth. For this reason, culturally relevant teaching is described as encouraging critical thinking rather than accepting what the teacher says without question; however, it proposes to help students to develop necessary skills so that they participate fully in helping themselves to get to where they need to be academically. Academically the Afrocentric teachers realize their need to provide an instructional

bridge so they can help the students to achieve academically and to move from what they know to what they need to know (Ladson-Billings, 1994). Students work on the skills they already have and build connections to new learning. Culturally relevant teaching encourages taking individual differences and diversity into account as well. Previously poor students in a culturally relevant program are encouraged to participate, unlike the traditional schools where teachers often are afraid to call on poor students who might give incorrect responses.

In culturally relevant programs, students find reasons for greater participation and involvement as their real-life experiences become part of the official curriculum (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 117). "Teachers and students work together in a collective struggle against the status quo" (p. 118) which allows both teacher and student to feel as though they are members of the same team. The teachers are thus candid about being political beings as they address real-life issues their students may encounter in their daily lives.

Ladson-Billings (1994) notes that teacher candidates need to have prolonged immersion in African-American culture in order to understand the students' home language, social interaction, patterns, histories and cultures. This then would allow the teacher to honor and respect the students' home culture, without looking down on their parents who speak a language considered substandard in the traditional school environment. The Historically Black Colleges and Universities were founded with the understanding of this philosophy which requires this type of involvement between teachers, school, students, the home and the community. This history of Historic Black

Colleges and Universities has had a significant role in teacher education in American education. Afrocentric higher education has not filled a parallel role.

The current literature shows a lack of resources which relate to Afrocentric education on the college level. A college with a totally Afrocentric curriculum is virtually unknown in higher education. The traditionally or Historically Black Colleges do not focus on an Afrocentric curriculum. They were established in response to de jure segregation, (segregation by law), and de facto segregation, (segregation as it exists in fact). The HBCUs therefore duplicated the curriculum of the white schools that had refused Blacks admission. Many of these college-educated Blacks found that their education may have qualified them for jobs which society often refused them, but did not prepare them to go back into their own communities where they were needed (Woodson, 1933).

Summary

In summary, this literature review was divided into three sections. The first section discussed minority educational achievement. It provided an analysis of factors that impact this achievement from prenatal to college age and noted that these factors differ in relationship to the cultures of various types of minority groups.

These minority groups were categorized into three types, autonomous, immigrant, and caste-like or involuntary minorities. It was noted that the minority responses to the educational system have varied depending on their membership in the specific type of the three minority groups. This indicated a necessity to examine the educational impact caused by cultural differences between minority groups as well as cultural difference between the dominant society. These cultural differences were analyzed to determine the

impact of the differing perceptions of various types of minority groups on inequities in the educational system. The question of why some minority groups perform more successfully than others also has been addressed.

In addressing this question, it has been theorized that minority groups often have identity issues which make it difficult for domain identification with the school system. Domain identification as a general theory connects sustained school success with a necessary identification with the school and its sub domains. Consequently this research has provided insight into negation of domain identification in addition to other factors that may contribute to low performance of many minorities.

Other factors that were examined were three forces that appear to contribute to the problem of low school achievement, society forces, school forces, and community forces. Although this study was basically an examination of minority educational achievement, these three forces as well as the structure of the school practices in teacher-student relationships were examined in order to determine the impact of their relationships on minority academic achievement.

Achievement of Black males was treated separately from general minority achievement because there are many factors that effect Black males specifically. The relationship of Black males to the educational system was defined as a crucial factor in explaining many difficulties of Black males in this society. Therefore, a special study of Black males in the educational system has been included due to the fact that the status of the Black male in this society often varies greatly from that of minority females or of white males. The Black male in this study was examined on all student levels since many of the general achievement findings do not take into account the role of gender

differences. It was noted that Black women far outnumber Black men in the colleges, and that consequently Black males often find it necessary to acquire survival tactics in order to continue to attend school. These survival tactics used by the Black male were identified and examined.

In the second section an historical overview of Black Higher Education presented a background to the educational environment that led to the founding of the HBCUs. The factors that have contributed historically to the success of Black colleges were examined. The historically Black colleges and universities which have been successful for many years were described and comparisons were made between them and the traditional White institutions. The Historically Black Colleges and Universities have been compared with the Traditional White Institutions in order to analyze the benefits of each.

In order to weigh these benefits, the historical question of what type of education should be available for the ex-slave and the contemporary African-American was explored resulting in the theory that the relevance of the learning to one's life and community can influence the effectiveness of an educational institution.

In the final section the roots of Afrocentric education are traced from the post Civil War period, through the early 19th century nationalism, to the present day and it was noted that as far back as 1881, the renowned scholar, Dr. Edward Blyden complained in his inauguration speech as President of Liberia College, that there was no organized teaching of the culture and civilization of Africa and that the "world's image of Africa was not in keeping with Africa's true status in world history." This led to a new consideration of a new type of education that focused on Africa. In 1933 Carter Godwin Woodson, known as the father of Negro History, described this same dilemma of a

system that gives no credit for African knowledge, history and civilization while condoning injustice. Although Woodson and the others were not able to answer the question as to whether the type of learning environment was as important as the curriculum to the success of the learner, the work of Woodson (1933) however is invaluable background for this study because his theory was that the American form of education was inappropriate for African-Americans since they differed from white Americans in many respects. His solution was Afrocentric education. Although he did not use the term, he fully described the concept. His work formed a model for others and it became a foundation for the Afrocentrism of today. It would be an appropriate study for future researchers, to trace Afrocentrism from these cultural nationalism beginnings to the present.

Afrocentrism as an educational concept was defined as one that utilizes specific cultural strengths in an attempt to ameliorate the factors that have contributed to the lack of educational achievement of many African-Americans, consequently, the primary focus was on the Afrocentric educational epistemology, therefore in this final section of this study Afrocentric education as a concept was theoretically introduced as an answer to the question of the type of education that might address the needs of today's society, while the benefits and difficulties of Black students' academic achievement in White colleges were presented for analysis.

In this case study the researcher will show how one Afrocentric College utilizes cultural strengths to enhance learning. Some of the questions that might be answered by additional study by other researchers are, What is the nature of the relevance of success to Afrocentric Higher Education? In what ways can an Afrocentric College effectively

prepare its graduates to return to their own community to utilize their knowledge in helping other members of the community and thus maintain their connection to the people? How can the Afrocentric epistemology create a higher level of academic achievement for African-Americans? How can study in the area enhance racial understanding for non-African-Americans?

Chapter 3

Results of the Study by the Faith Based Institute

Results of the study of Consensus Building conducted by the Faith Based Institute gave direction to the proposal of Imani Kuumba College as a Faith-Based Organization. These three groups of interviewees included:

Group 1: Counselor/administrator/ professor of three local community colleges, one inner-city 4-year institution; a member of a College Board of Governors and the Director of an inner city Health Promotion Center;

Group 2: Two student Drop outs (in-active students); five community members; some gang members, a group of recovering addicts, three ex-felons and;

Group 3: Three religious leaders and members of a community organization writing a proposal for the benefit of youth in the community. The interview questions included:

Brief description of their entity and its purpose; Definition of the problem as seen by the interviewees, prioritizing of the needs; background or history of what they see as the “problem”; and data about their clientele or residents and the environment.

Group 1: Representative from educational institutions, (A community College, a 4-Year Institution and a Director of a Health Promotion Center).

This group defined the problem as:

- A. Students coming educationally unprepared for college
- B. People lacking health education and knowledge of resources, and availability of treatment.

Group 2: Present and former students, Community Members ,Gang Members,

Recovering Addicts attending a rehab program and an ex-felon

This second group defined the problem as:

- A. A lack of affordable education that is relevant to everyday life. (Time efficient), conveniently scheduled, available child care included, appropriately culturally sensitive.
- B. A lack of appropriate education that would give them opportunity to qualify for more than entry-level jobs.

Group 3: Religious leaders and a community organization (Special group writing a proposal for community enhancement :

This third group defined the problem as:

- A. Education that was lacking in moral and ethical preparation for positions that would enhance community persons to return to the community to help ameliorate community problems and help rehabilitate community persons who suffer from spiritual and physical illnesses.
- B. Lack of unity within in the community
- C. Lack of knowledge about and respect for different cultures

Needs as Defined by Each Group

The first group defined needs as:

- A Better basic educational preparation, basic skills

B. Better basic reading, comprehension skills

The second group defined needs as:

- A. More institutions willing to meet persons where they are, diagnose their needs and give greater support for meeting the basic needs.
- B. More sensitivity to cultural background and values with the desire to meet them where they are and not to prescribe cultural neutrality.

The third group defined the needs as:

Spiritual and morally ethical direction for leadership

Concerns as Defined by Each Group

Complaints of first group:

- A. Low retention rates for African Americans
- B. Students with past and present health problems

Complaints of second group:

- A. Average completion time for an Associates Degree (4 to 5 years)
- B. Lack of support services.
(Inconvenient transportation outside of community, Lack of child care,
- C. Too many semester-long no - credit classes.
- D. Too much time to complete Associate degrees.
- E. Few jobs for Associate degree recipients.

Background Statistics that Support Conclusions of Interviewees

In relation to retention Group 1's educational personnel were citing the study, "High School and Beyond," a document released by the National Center for Educational Statistics in 1982, which stated that "one-half of Black and Hispanic high school students

who were sophomores in 1980 had dropped out or graduated high-risk by 1984” (p. xvi) In another report from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 53% of white eleventh-graders could perform reading tasks that they were likely to encounter in college but only 20% of Black students could perform these complex reading tasks” (p. xv). African American High School dropouts in 1994 were 10.3% of the population.

These drop-outs may have left the minority society ill-equipped to assume leadership in a nation in which they may soon outnumber the “majority” population. According to the U. S. Census statistics in the year 2000 the people traditionally referred to as “minority” have increased their populations so much in the United States that in many areas of the nation they have begun to outnumber the white societies previously known as the “majority”. Due to the rapid growth of minorities in the United States educational needs of the country have increased.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (1982) “one-half of Black and Hispanic high school students who were sophomores in 1980 had dropped out or graduated high-risk by 1984. Currently according to the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (2002) the drop out rate in 2001 was 7.3% for Whites, 10.9% for Blacks (non-Hispanic) and 27% for Hispanic.

According to the American Council on Education (2000) the high school graduation rate for African Americans age 18-224 declined for the third straight year to 74.7%, a decrease of more than 2% since 1990.

Minority student achievement gaps exist even in the middle and upper socioeconomic classes; therefore, the inequities of income and economic status do not completely explain the lower grades and test scores of minorities. Other factors must also

be examined. John Ogbu (1993), in his research, “Variability in minority school performance” expresses the notion that cultural differences often result in school personnel failing to understand and respect minority culture. Consequently this lack of understanding may cause behavior that conflicts with students’ adjustment and learning. Ratteray and Steele (1992) determines that even with similar home backgrounds achievement levels of white families are higher than black families.

Confirmed by Article in the Union-Tribune.

Recent articles in the San Diego Union-Tribune newspaper indicated that local Four- year Colleges and universities are impacted and admission numbers are limited for new students even those who graduate from community colleges.

Community Persons Complained about Lack of Relevance.

In examining these data it is important to note that although the student who comes from a poor community often rebels against certain types of training because of its irrelevance to his/her needs and to the needs of the community, (s)he nevertheless holds relevant training and educational experience to be of great value. According to Morgan (1990) “the ghetto student sees no relevance between what he learns in school and how he might function in society. (S)he believes therefore that the curriculum is irrelevant:

The community members indicated that Blacks are aware that even when they do achieve in school they are not guaranteed to get good jobs or high wages or other benefits expected of white people with similar academic accomplishments.

Group 1 complained about the lack of educational achievement among many African Americans and Group 2 complained about the teachers since one of the factors that may have an impact on Black Americans lack of achievement in the classroom may

be the fact that there is a deficit in the number of teachers in the nation's classrooms. More than a million veteran teachers are nearing retirement, according to statistics provided by the National Education Association (2001).

J. Jordan Irvine (1991) in Black Students and School Failure also posed the notion that in addition teacher expectations can increase differences in student achievement. One of the factors that may have an impact on Black Americans lack of achievement in the classroom may be the fact that there is a deficit in the number of teachers in the nations classrooms. More than a million veteran teachers are nearing retirement, according to statistics provided by the National Education Association (2001).

The nation will need two million new teachers in the next decade. In high poverty urban and rural school districts alone more than 700, 000 teachers will be needed in the next 10 years. The problem is compounded by the anticipated increase of student enrollment. It is forecast by the United States Department of Commerce (2001) that by the year 2008 public school enrollment will exceed 54 million, an increase of nearly 2 million children more than today. Enrollment in elementary schools is expected to increase by 17% and in high schools by 26 % according to the Nation Center for Education Statistics (2001). As a result of financial deficits in many areas those teachers who do retire are not being replaced. This is particularly true in California where there is a financial crisis that is impacting education. Quentin R. Lawson (2001), executive director of the National Alliance of Black School Educators in Washington D. C., in an interview to the Jet Magazine in January of 2001 says that fewer Blacks are entering teaching due to the fact that there are increased opening in other fields which pay more. In higher education, African American tenured faculty have not advanced significantly.

In the California State University System, the Los Angeles campus is representative. Total full-time tenure-track faculty include: White 65.3% (394) Asian/Pacific Islander 18.8% (114), Hispanic 10.2% (62) African American: 5.7% (35) and American Indian: 0.16% (1) While the 2000 Ethnic make-up of the students is: Hispanic 52.6%, Asian/Pacific Islander 21.7%. White 16.4%, African American 8.9% and American Indian 0.5%

The community member in Group 2 complained that this lack of role models, lack of knowledge and sensitivity to minority students often contributes to low self-esteem. Thus, even decisions made in kindergarten had a long-term effect on the self-esteem of the children who responded to the teachers' expectations. John Ogbu (1993), in his research, "variability in minority school performance" posed the notion that if students did not have a good self-concept; they tended not to do well at any age. He argued that African-American students tend not to do well when they do not see personal success in their future and therefore are not inspired to excel.

They believed that the students are also often not inspired by teachers because teachers often have difficulty working with children whose behavior has been culturally socialized. Socialization often occurs in the community in which the child lives and this socialization is often based on the previously stated community perception that no matter how much education one receives, the denial of equal opportunity limits the accessibility of economic success. Irvine (1991), previously cited suggested that when Black children behave in ways consistent with their cultural socialization, teachers often treat them as stereotypic members of their racial group. It is doubtful that this same treatment occurs when White children also behave in ways consistent with their cultural socialization.

Irvine (1991) calls this “guilt by association” which implies that Black students must demonstrate to teachers that the negative stereotypes generally associated with Black students’ behavior do not pertain to them (p. 56). According to Morgan (1990) “the impersonal schools the inner city youth attends try to make him over so he will reject his [cultural] background and fit the images of persons of middle class aspirations and background” (p. 6). This denial and refutation of one’s cultural heritage and racial identity have been described as self-hatred and leading to lowered self-esteem.

Parents in the community group considered self-esteem as a factor in achievement. They stated that these beliefs of negation of student’s cultural strengths often cause Blacks to lack the confidence that they can compete with Whites, which brings into study the issue of self-esteem and its relationship to educational achievement. They stated that as African-Americans they are generally not convinced that education should be totally discarded, but they believe that education should be made relevant to meet the needs of all students. Consequently academic programs that support the needs of the individual and the community were sought by the interviewed parents.

MacArthur fellow Lisa Delpit (1995), the recipient of the award for Outstanding Contribution to Education in 1993 from the Harvard Graduate School of Education has proposed that a part of teacher education include bringing parents and community members into the class for future educators to tell prospective teachers and their educators their concerns for their children’s education and how they would like to see schooling changed. She also agreed with Professor Michael Eichler , MSW, a member of the faculty of the School of Social Work at San Diego State University and Director of its Consensus Organizing Center’s suggestion for gathering information by suggesting that

the educators go out to community gatherings to listen and get first hand information concerning the community's desires for new teacher education.

The community members also expressed their concern about the effect of educational inequities on self esteem of students in the community. Self-esteem may also be impacted by the perception of unequal treatment. These inequities of the educational system were also addressed by G. Morgan (1970), author of the study The Ghetto College Student: A Descriptive Essay on College Youth from the Inner City who agreed with Carter Woodson (known as the father of Black History's) evaluation in his 1933 study, Miseducation of the Negro, when he said that Black and White students do not start equal. He maintained that:

The black student is required to learn in a new and different culture [from the one that he is a part of in his own community], one which has little relevance for him, while the white student is learning in a familiar culture which has a relevance he accepts and understands while the white student is only extending his knowledge, the black ...student must learn the new culture, keep up in it, and be evaluated by it at the same time that he operates from a new base (Morgan, p. 33).

This notion of self-esteem is even more precarious according to C. Steele (1997), in "A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identify and performance" as published in the American Psychologist, says that many Black students equate school

with a place where more than anywhere else in society they learn how little valued they are.

The College Administrators in the first group reported that though African Americans' college population increased from 8.8 to 10.1 between 1984 and 1994, the numbers were still below Blacks' share of the total college-age population which was 14.3%.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2002) because of changes in the data collection procedures, data may not be comparable with figures for years prior to 1992 however in 1992 the drop out rate for all races 16 to 24 years old was 11.0 %; the rate for Whites was 7.7%; for Blacks 13.7% and Hispanics 29.4%. In October of 2001 the drop out rate was for all races 10.7%; for Whites 7.3%; for Blacks 10.9% and Hispanics 27%.

According to the National Center of Education Statistics (2001) Black-white differences in high school/GED completion rates could be compared for every sample of young adults except the 1979 sample. A black-white gap in high school/GED completion rates (in the range of 2 to 8 percentage points) was evident in the 1983–1989, 1986–1992, and 1992 samples. For young adults with similar levels of prior educational achievement, blacks received high school diplomas or GED certificates at a rate similar to or higher than whites.

The high drop-out rate for African American college students, those who do not finish college within six years is 62% compared with a national drop-out rate of 41% (American Council on Education, 1995-1996).

As reported in previous sections of this study Woodson (1933) stated that Black students knew they would not qualify for certain jobs because of their color, therefore, higher education became irrelevant to their needs. Consequently Black students often left the educational system from frustration and resignation. This may also be a contemporary concern.

The 2001 National Center for Education Statistics reported their main findings about Black – White differences in educational attainment. They find that

Blacks having similar levels of prior educational achievement as Whites had received a high school diploma or General Educational Development (GED) certificate at an equal or higher rate than Whites. For young adults with similar levels of prior educational achievement in the same four samples observed between 1979 and 1992, the postsecondary educational attainment of Blacks was as high as, or higher than, that of Whites. For such young adults, the college attendance rate was higher for Blacks than for Whites. Further, Black college attendees with levels of prior educational achievement similar to those for Whites completed college at rates similar to, or higher than, the rates for White college attendees.

The NAEP data (2001) indicated that for young adults who had attended at least some college, college completion rates were consistently lower for Blacks than for Whites. The Black-White gap in college completion ranged from about 13 percentage points in the 1979 sample to about 19 percentage points in the other three samples. Again, in contrast, among college attendees with similar levels of prior educational achievement, the college completion rate of Blacks equaled or exceeded that of Whites.

The Director of Off-campus programs at a local community college, a member of the first group noted that a large number of those who placed lowest in the required English Placement Exam were students of color and low-income white students. These students were placed in “no-credit” classes based on their scores on exams that tested their vocabulary. The vocabulary words on the test were often archaic words one could only have known if one were an avid reader of English literature such as Chaucer and Shakespeare. Unexplainably the students who scored low on these placement exams were placed in classes that taught English grammar rather than vocabulary. They were often placed so low that it would take many semesters before they would have taken enough classes to finally reach the “For credit” English classes. The purpose may have been to aid the students, however the end results were that students became frustrated, their education became more expensive, they were delayed in getting jobs, they dropped out and further impacted a community where many experienced generational welfare and involvement in the criminal justice system. The researcher noted that these students were those who were most apt drop out of the college due to the fact that they became disillusioned when they realized that they had to take a series of many more courses and prerequisites before they finally were eligible to take the “For Credit” classes.

The counselors at the community college noted that while these “at risk” students were enrolled in the lower English courses they were increasingly failing the courses they were taking in other areas, i.e. social science, history etc. This may have been due to their lack of skills in English above the remedial level. To this observer there appeared to be little benefit for these increasingly needy students to take more and more “no credit” classes that were prolonging their tenure in college and impacting their efficacy in other

classes. The large number of drop-outs suggested that the students also had the same notion. With the large number of students at the public college, individual, personalized attention was not readily available. Many of the students were older students who due to their family and job responsibilities had little time to devote to obtaining tutoring outside of the classroom. Many even had problems of low self-esteem due to past difficulties such as lack of basic educational preparation, involvement with the criminal justice system or with drugs.

The religious leaders and church members group stated that religion traditionally has always been an integral part of African-American life and culture. It is the Black minister who has traditionally borne the leadership role in the Black community. The African American has traced his roots back to the Black church of his ancestors. To study the Black man is to follow him in the chronology of the Black Church. This pursuit is often difficult in the "American" context due to the overwhelming belief in the concept of "separation of church and state" legislation which characterizes the current public school system.

Criminals in the Community as Leaders

The leaders in the educational institutions expressed the concern that they often feel as though they are in competition with criminals in the community who are often looked upon by members of the community as examples of financial success. In a large number of cases the child of the ghetto has learned that, while formal training may be desirable, it is not necessarily relevant to his life. He sometimes starts trafficking in illegal commodities to get money, cars and clothes or to fulfill the requirements of a gang family where he feels more of a sense of belonging than he does in the educational system.

Although he may initially have begun doing illegal activities for the money, a side effect of these activities was temporary fame in his gang or his community. This temporary fame made education less important to him. He remembered how the schools devalued him and tried to make him change and reject his cultural background. This effected him psychologically and made him believe that he was not valued. The gangs and drug dealers, athletes and rap artists have been looked upon as the role models by the young people in the community, since they are the ones who have been successfully financially and those who have been innocent church go-ers in the community have remained powerless and poor (Hare and Hare, 1991 Miseducation of the Black Child).

The educational representatives realized that his need for successes are provided by his community family, and these temporary successes lead him to devalue formal training. When he attends school he is aware that he is not being accepted for the uniqueness that his history and culture brings.

The community members' group believed that the educational system accepts him in direct proportion to the amount of his culture that he rejects, and the amount of the dominant culture he accepts. Also he has trouble seeing the value to him of any education. He often left the educational system from frustration and resignation. They agreed with scholars who expressed the notion that "The impersonal schools the inner city youth attends, try to make him over so he will reject his [cultural] background and fit the images of persons of middle class aspirations and background" (Morgan, 1970).

The former students stated that they experienced the situation where in formal study whenever a Black student tried to academically approach an issue that relates to African American's, he/she is accused of hostility or some other indictment, which only

reinforced the idea that his education is supposed to continue to be irrelevant to his life, his people, or his community. His intersection of ethics and leadership is at the point where he must decide to be accepted by “white-washing” himself, pretending to have no interest in African-American subjects, forget relevance and give up his identity while searching for self-esteem in an educational system which calls him abnormal, (outside of the norm).

This chapter defines the methodological decision for utilizing the case study research format. This is followed by the outline of the steps that became a part of the chosen methodology.

Yin (1994) states that documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic. The forms it takes include: letters, memoranda and other communiqués; agendas, announcements and minutes of meetings and other written reports of events; administrative documents i.e. proposals, progress reports, and other internal documents; formal studies or evaluations of the institution, i.e. accreditation agencies, federal government agencies, such as the Veterans’ Administration and State and Federal education agencies; and, newspaper clippings and other articles appearing in the mass media (p.81).

A second strategy for data collection was observing and analyzing videotapes and photographs of events presented at the College. Observations included classroom observations, presentations by students and performances by students. The researcher reviewed key videotapes of sessions such as IKC’s graduations and other meetings. Additionally, since the inception of the College hundreds of photographs have been taken of students, programs, classes, faculty, staff, and community events. These photographs

were arranged both chronologically and thematically in order to more clearly describe the history, and development of IKC.

Materials produced by the College including brochures, registration materials, facilities and class observations, and accreditation studies were studied in order to document the analysis of the academic format of the College's program. These materials were used to historically trace the creation and establishment of the College and to examine it in the context of the educational and social environment in which these events occurred.

Methodological Decision

The goal of this study is to historically trace the creation of Imani Kuumba College, an Afrocentric Christian College. For this reason the case study format was selected as most conducive to telling the story of this unique institution. Merriam (1998) defines the case study as being one that most often tells a story. Case studies and histories can overlap, and due to the fact that this case study will rely on many of the same techniques as an historical study, the use of the case study methodology added the benefit of direct observation. As an historical case study this particular analytical method seemed most appropriate since according to Leedy (1974) "the historical method is appropriate to be applied to those data that are primarily documentary in nature" (p.68).

In an historical study the subjects are often dead or otherwise unavailable. In this historical case study the documents were utilized to establish a chronological and factual description as well as a documentation and accounting of the changes that culminated in the establishment of the present status of the case.

Merriam (1998) suggests that the outline of a case study report illustrates the emphasis on depth of the case study instead of the breadth. This study of Imani Kuumba College (IKC) followed some of Merriam's suggested format, i.e. "an entry vignette, issue identification, [showing the purpose and method of study]; extensive narrative description to further define [the College] the case and contents; development of the issues of the organization, descriptive detail of the institution; documented quotations and assertions; and finally a closing vignette" (p. 24).

According to many scholars including Asante (1983), Karenga (1993) and Anderson (1993), Afrocentric research is most authentic when Afrocentric methods are used. One of these methods is to include cultural forms of African centered communication within academic studies. Both the entry and closing vignettes are traditional forms of Afrocentric cultural narration (Asante 1987; Anderson, 1993). As a further illustration of the cultural study the Afrocentric focus appears in the methodological format as well by utilizing Afrocentric inserts in the writing of the report. Thus this study utilizes a methodology that is dictated by the issues regarding the selection of the case as an historical and cultural study. The research questions focused on these issues.

Research Questions

This study explored the following questions:

1. What events led to the creation of Imani Kuumba College, and what factors influenced the form it took?
2. In what ways is Imani Kuumba College an Afrocentric and a Christian College?
3. What issues and challenges is Imani Kuumba College currently facing?

4. How is Imani Kuumba College affected by its environment and community relationships?

Overview of the Methodology

The Afrocentric focus then is on centrism which “shapes the concepts, paradigms, theories, and methods of Africalogy” (Asante 1992 p. 12). Asante also identifies several general subject fields in Africalogy in which a student of Africalogy chooses a research issue and works to utilize appropriate methods for the subject. Africalogy is defined by Asante (1992) as “the Afrocentric study of phenomena, events, ideas, and personalities as they are related to Africa (p. 14). He says that this is a very different research inquiry than the one which imposes Western criteria on the phenomena. Asante (1987) states that “a black person’s writing does not make the writing Afrocentric no more than living in Africa makes a person Afrocentric (p. 169). Asante (1987) further points out that when researchers speak on Black issues that in itself “does not make the discourse Afrocentric” (p 170). Saying all of the above does not mean that all researchers who study issues that may impact African Americans should all use the same methods of research any more than studies that impact White Americans should use the same research methods.

In Afrocentric methodology the focus is generally on selecting the type of research methods that are appropriate to the study, keeping in mind that Afrocentric study centers on African values which are generally collective rather than individualistic. Africalogy focuses on collectivism and decreasing individualism. It frowns on methods that allow non-African Americans to continue to pick African Americans leaders. Keeping this in mind Asante has provided some caveats for researchers. Asante (1992) reminds one that all African American researchers are not Afrocentrists and many utilize the same

methods as Europeans. Tillman (2002) and others write about the opportunity for choice in research methods. She describes the role of the researcher as one where (s)he is free to determine the relevance of the methodology and not to have that determination made by one who is not culturally sensitive or culturally knowing. The researcher, Tillman states, should be allowed to determine the appropriate methodology as a result of his/her cultural knowledge. This would then form the rationale for the Afrocentric researcher, if in opposition to the methods of the Eurocentric researcher.

This proposal is for an historical case study of Imani Kuumba College and Graduate School, an Afrocentric Christian College which was founded in 1993. Due to the fact that Imani Kuumba College is defined as an institution that attempts to deliver a curriculum and teach in ways that are consistent with the thoughts, practices, cultural images, and interests that have emerged out of the African and African-American world and experience, the researcher has chosen the historical case study as the methodology of the study in the notion that the flexibility of the case study design can complement the cultural focus.

The case study research design has many possibilities of enhancing the reader's understanding of this institution. A case study, according to Yin (1994), Stake (1995), and Merriam (1998) has a role to illuminate the reader's understanding of the phenomenon or organization. By utilizing this method of inquiry, Imani Kuumba College can be studied with a depth that can illustrate the complexities of the institution, while it also gives the advantage of hindsight but also has relevance to the present. This will be done by the showing of the influence of the passage of time i.e. deadlines, legislative change, cessation of funding etc. The case study also can include vivid materials, quotes,

articles, illustrations and the researcher can obtain and utilize data from a wide variety of sources. This data can cover many years and describe how preceding times led to a situation, spell out differences of opinion on issues and suggest how these differences have influenced the result, thus the case study format can allow the researcher in the present study to present information in many ways from many perspectives.

According to Yin (1994) the heuristic quality of this type of research method can explain reasons for a problem, the background and the why; explain why the innovation worked or failed; discuss alternatives, not used and; evaluate, summarize, conclude. This methodology then would provide the instrument for the examination of the present study. Data collection strategies that will be used include document review and observations of events. Documents will be collected and examined in order to attempt to describe the philosophy and the events that led to the creation of an Afrocentric Christian College and continue by tracing the changes that have occurred since its inception. The issues and challenges that caused these changes will be examined as to how they affected the curriculum, programs and mission of the College. The study will also examine the environment and community relationships of the College and their role in the pursuing of the College's mission.

Theoretical Framework

Using Yin's (1994) process of triangulation various data sources were examined by outside auditors in order to confirm the researcher's findings were not impacted by her bias.

Auditors

The role of the auditor(s) consisted of the following. First the auditor(s) examined the records in order to check their accuracy. Secondly, the auditor(s) were concerned with the fairness of the study. The audit trail consisted of the examination of the following:

Legal documents

Institutions Records

Bank records

Diaries, Journals and Personal Papers

Institution Published materials

i.e. Catalogue, Business Plan, Flyers, Announcements,

Advertisements, Founders Day Documents

Newspaper articles

Photographs and Video Tapes of Events

Facility Blueprints and Inspection Reports

The auditor reviewed credibility of the study through personal examination and comparing to the researcher's study. The auditing process consisted of two phases in order to establish trustworthiness. The first focus was on assessing confirmability. Secondly the auditor focused on dependability. A feedback session was held at the completion of the audit. Those auditors who could not attend personally gave feedback by e-mail and/or telephonically.

After checking the records for accuracy and focusing on the fairness of the representation of the study, they certified that the conclusions of the study were justified.

Christian Aspects of the College and Philosophical Standards

The data that the researcher used in order to address the first of the Research Questions concerning the Christian aspects of the College were examined by two auditors, both pastors of two different churches in the community. They checked to determine if IKC's written philosophy was in agreement with the researcher's statements concerning the Christian elements of the description of IKC. They also checked the Student and Faculty and Staff handbooks for standards of conduct that reflected the researcher's statements of the College's Christian focus. They examined the written philosophy and determined it in agreement with the President's report of IKC's Christ-Centered philosophy.

One auditor attended all classes for two complete semesters and determined that the actual program was consistent with the written philosophy. The other auditor attended the Board meetings for more than three years and determined that the philosophy was consistent with the institutional Goals and Mission as reported by the researcher. He also confirmed that the consistency with doctrine, moral and educational philosophy.

Operational Standards

A San Diego Attorney examined all the legal documents referring to the organizational structure management and creation of the College as reported by the researcher. These documents also included the purpose and mission of the College.

He examined the policies and procedures through the documents of the Board of Governors and the legal founding documents through Articles of Incorporation, Registration with the State Bureau of PostSecondary Institutions and Secretary of State documents and State Bureau of Charitable Organizations, Tax Exempt Documents, both

state and federal and other non-profit documentation. Publications, Policies and Procedures of IKC were examined.

Educational Epistemology and Educational Standard

The learning experience, faculty organization and content was reviewed by a retired College Professor and administrator for the State Teachers' Union who subsequently volunteered and became a mathematics instructor for the College. She examined the published curriculum of the educational program as well as the instructors listed for each course to determine if it confirmed the President's findings. She also examined the researcher's detailing of the educational epistemology.

Student Success and History

Student Development Student Success and Graduate History were documented by the Registrar who consulted the College records in order to confirm the researcher's report of student success in the area of graduate records, GPAs and alumni positions..

Student Support Services and Student Events

An alumna of the College and former Student Government President examined the Student Handbook, and confirmed the researcher's description of student support services and student events.

Library

She also checked the cataloguing and actual holdings of the student library and resources of media and art to determine whether they were consistent with the cultural, educational, and moral findings of the researcher. They were also found to be illustrative of the philosophy and goals of the College. Two consultants from the Accrediting Agency also confirmed the holdings of the library.

Finances

Three auditors provided confirmation of the financial standards of the College, One was the Accountant, a member of the Board of Governors and owner of a Financial Accounting Firm, the other was the controller for a large San Diego Health Institution with several branches and a formal auditor, a certified public accountant who reviewed all the records of the organization and the records of the accountant.

The College Accountant reviewed the bank statements and verified financial reports of the president and checked documents for sources, amounts and use of the funds; the Financial Representative on the Board of Governors attended every Board meeting and reviewed the minutes concerning the President's financial reports; and the Certified Accountant performed the official audit.

A Board member documented the financial abilities of the students and monitored their attempts to pay some tuition . She also examined the students' volunteer work in the College offices in lieu of tuition.

Board of Governors

A former Board of Governors President and an Administrator with the Community Colleges of Fresno, California examined the Board of Governors and their consistency with the doctrine, moral and educational philosophy of the College. He reviewed the Governors' Manual and the report submitted by the researcher.

An independent community person, a graphic artist examined previous photos and took many additional photographs and videotapes of the many cultural and educational events held by the college in order to confirm the researcher's documentation of these

events. He also examined the catalogue and the publications of the college recorded events.

College Facilities and Security

A Police Officer in the City Heights Area, and a member of the College Board examined diagrams, maps and reports of the physical plant and toured the campus and its environment in order to confirm the researcher's assessment of the College's facilities and its security measures.

Counseling and Strategic Planning

Two pastors, a husband and wife of an El Cajon, California Church evaluated the counseling and strategic planning areas of the College.

A local business man evaluated the College's strategic plans for future financial support in order to evaluate the researcher's description of the financial status of the College.

In summary, all the auditors examined the data in specific areas not only to check for accuracy, but to ascertain the fairness of the study. Signed documents of the auditors are located in the appendix.

Data Collection

Data collection for this study utilized three primary strategies: the study of documents, observations, and photographs. Document review is not the most common method in qualitative research. Merriam (1988) notes that researchers usually prefer to produce their own data rather than use documents. The use of documents in research is often relegated to historical research studies. The present researcher has been an historian for more than 37 years, a factor which made the historical use of documents a logical

choice. The advantages to document review in the present study was their availability and accessibility. The knowledge of the researcher as participant observer facilitated the collection and selection of the documents. As a result of this participant knowledge these documents could be arranged chronologically and thematically for review to furnish descriptive information, and to trace changes and development. Yin (1994) states that documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic. The forms it takes include: letters, memoranda and other communiqués; agendas, announcements and minutes of meetings and other written reports of events; administrative documents i.e. proposals, progress reports, and other internal documents; formal studies or evaluations of the institution, i.e. accreditation agencies, federal government agencies, such as the Veterans' Administration and State and Federal education agencies; and, newspaper clippings and other articles appearing in the mass media (p.81). Thus for this study accreditation reports, relevant community survey data such as census reports, personal papers, newspaper articles, diaries, journals, calendars, meeting minutes, student work products, and organizational records were some of the documents analyzed. Additionally, materials produced by the College such as brochures, registration materials, syllabi and other related materials were examined in order to document the analysis of the academic program of the College.

The next two strategies for data collection included observing and analyzing videotapes and photographs of events presented at the College. These observations included classroom observations, presentations by students, theses defenses and performances by students. The researcher reviewed key videotapes of sessions such as IKC's graduations and other meetings. Additionally, since the inception of the College

hundreds of photographs have been taken of students, programs, classes, faculty, staff, and community events, these photographs were arranged both chronologically and thematically in order to more clearly trace the history, and development of Imani Kuumba College. In summary then there was a convergence of multiple sources of evidence, i.e. archival records, documents, direct and participant observations, media recordings and photographs, notes, journals, and diaries.

Materials produced by the College including brochures, registration materials, facilities and class observations, and accreditation studies were studied in order to document the analysis of the academic format of the College's program. These materials were used to historically trace events that led up to the creation and establishment of the College and to examine the institution in the context of the educational and social environment in which these events occurred.

Due to the fact that this dissertation followed a case study format, the notion presented by Yin (1984) that multiple methods are often used in case studies was relevant to this study of Imani Kuumba College. Data analysis is an effort to construct order out of confusion (Guba and Lincoln 1981). To achieve this mandate the researcher selected data that provided chronological and topical links to knowledge that could complete pre-selected unifying patterns (themes) by coding. These themes corresponded with categories introduced by the research questions. This coding produced the categories including: legal steps, policy decisions and social and environmental factors. These categories corresponded to the research questions under focus.

Question # 1

Specifically, in order to answer the first of the research questions, the events that led up to the creation of Imani Kuumba College were documented through minutes of the founding Board of Governors and legal documents such as those that were prepared for the incorporation, state approval, tax exempt status and agreements between Imani Kuumba College and other organizations. Examination of Imani Kuumba College's original Strategic Planning documents and diaries and journals of the founder was also utilized. In addition, the legal steps required to establish Imani Kuumba College were examined through its Articles of Incorporation; legal by-laws; state approval application; tax exemption process; its requirements for governing boards; accreditation prerequisites; and other documents that recorded the developmental stages of the institution. These stages were described in a form that could provide lessons to be learned by other new institutions. This reconstruction of the developmental steps also provided a method that reflected the notion of the Gestalt examination of the parts and binding them together and placing them in a form where they could be viewed as a whole, with the result of the creation of a totally new entity. The answer to the second part of this question which asks about the factors that have influenced this form that the College ultimately assumed was approached through examination of documents which had recorded changes in the curriculum, faculty, administration, catalogue, written agreements and Imani Kuumba College Board Minutes. Changes in policy that occurred since its inception for the purpose of being in compliance with the state requirements and accreditation standards, as well as the changing of environment and location were examined chronologically. These events illuminated the changing role of the College as the College attempted to establish its mission. Changes in curriculum offerings were documented as they related to

degrees offered, typical academic programs taken by students, and decisions relating to the choice of course offerings, in an effort to perceive the institution's actual mission and goals and methods of evaluation of the effectiveness of the program. Analysis of these documents addressed the factors that have influenced the current form of the College.

Question # 2

In the examination of the second research question evidence collected included published materials, syllabi, and other related documents that were examined in an effort to illuminate the Afrocentric and Christian nature of the College. This provided an examination of the organizational structure of the Board of Governors in order to illustrate the make-up of those who were responsible for the decisions that created and set the policy of the College. Further documentation described the College's supporters, administrators, faculty and staff, through an examination of the correspondence, list of supports, accreditation documents, minutes of current board and committee meetings and agreements with other colleges and reviews of cultural and religious events presented by the college described the issues and challenges faced by the College.

Question # 3

The third question was addressed by examining documents such as Board minutes, correspondence, legal documents and other archival documents to trace the barriers, challenges, and crises that IKC faced. Accreditation documentation furnished documentation of the everyday hurdles that were consistently confronted.

According to Merriam (1988) the analysis of data in a qualitative study seeks to include details sufficient to understand the particular setting and the persons involved. She states that "Qualitative research places emphasis on understanding through looking

closely at a person's words, actions and records" (p. 136). This requires observation of the actions and reactions of individuals as well as the actual documents.

Question # 4

In order to answer the fourth question concerning the impact on the College of the environment and community relationships, it was important to document the competitive or collaborative nature of Imani Kuumba College's relationships with other organizations through correspondence and meeting reports. Cooperation and opposition from other religious and educational institutions and organizations were examined as they precipitated changes that were required for survival of the College. Documents were examined that included the Imani Kuumba College Business Plan which outlined the environment, the location and statistical analysis of the community served. Newspaper articles describing the area as one of the highest crime areas in the City of San Diego were examined. Police reports and other types of census and statistical documents concerning the area and the residents were reviewed in relation to the connection to the basis on which the mission of the College was stated. Relationships were traced with other community organizations such as Civil Rights Organizations, national, state and city governmental organizations, churches and other religious organizations such as the Black Muslims; community organizations (i.e. agencies for the homeless, recovering addicts, patients of health clinics); the State Universities and-out-of state colleges and universities. Many policy decisions made by the founding Board of Governors were based on the impact of these relationships. These data were found in correspondence, conference notes and minutes from meetings in and outside of San Diego. Descriptions of these relationships with other institutions included connections with international and

national organizations such as contacts with education specialists and representatives in African countries including The Ivory Coast, Gabon, and Senegal, West Africa, South Africa and Zimbabwe; the N. A. A. C. P., (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People); the Urban League; Neighborhood House; Human Relations Commissions; Rotary Club and other civic organizations.

Building and Establishing Trustworthiness

The researcher took careful measures to establish the trustworthiness of this study. According to Fitzpatrick, Secrist and Wright (1998), “by using methods of triangulation, biases that are present in every individual method may be corrected” (p.29). Triangulation is defined as “combining different methods in the same research to ... double-check findings...” (p. 28). This study utilizes triangulation of data collection and data sources. To build or enhance credibility multiple sources such as varying types of written documents (i.e. diaries, written records, and minutes) were collected. Fitzpatrick, Secrist and Wright (1998) suggest seeking an outside investigator to validate the data. In order to achieve the goal of more credible findings, as recommended by Patton (1987) and Yin (1994) this researcher utilized review of the records and reports by outside scholars in order to validate her findings and to check for accuracy and palatability in interpretation. Additionally, archival data, observational data and photographic data were included. Member checking was conducted by an overall examination of the data and the conclusions by selected members of the IKC Board of Governors. Another technique that was employed to gain more credibility was the process of inquiry audit. Guba and Lincoln (1981) maintain that independent judges can authenticate the findings of a study by following the trail of the researcher. After the researcher described in detail how the

data were collected and how categories were determined an independent auditor examined the records and other documents to determine the validity of the researcher's findings. When the independent auditor was able to replicate the findings the reliability of the study was accepted. Dey (1993, however delves into the issue of the role of the independent auditor from another perspective by stating that "If we cannot expect others to replicate our account the best we can do is explain how we arrived at our results" (p. 251). These measures provided a check on the validity of the researcher's use of the data and on the interpretation.

Caveats Concerning the Methodology

In addressing the issue of the validity of subjectivity of the researcher, Peshkin (1992) discusses the caveats and recommends strategies for the subjective researcher's use. One of Peshkin's (2000) suggestions is to collect information for an "information based-text". This collection would allow the researcher to develop data from an accumulation of observational notes, interview transcripts, documents and literature. The written text would follow interpretation of these data. The interpretation, Peshkin (2000) says "has to do with a perspectival accounting for what I have learned" (p. 9). His view is that in every type of research, the researcher has some point of view and that one can "create, [only by] trusting that I have steered clear of such self-deception and self-delusion that would undermine ...[the work]" (p. 9). The way the case and the researcher interact is presumed "unique and not necessarily reproducible for other cases and researchers, a personal valuing of the work is expected." (p.136). Stake (1995) gives further insight to the issue of subjectivity by explaining that in the interpretation of the data and the development of the written report, the researcher usually follows one of

these three paths: (a) chronological or biographical development of the case; (b) the researcher's view of coming to know the case or; (c) description, one by one of several major components of the case (p.135).

In a recounting of a personal situation related to this issue of subjectivity, Peshkin (2000) described one of the dangers of researching a religious or cultural organization. He describes a situation where the governing board of the Indian High School he was studying made two requests. First, that the completed study should "benefit the school and second, that the researcher should be aware of the subjects concern for cultural survival" (p.7).

Since religion is also a significant aspect in Black culture, to study the Afrocentric institution which is the focus of this dissertation researchers find themselves in a similar position to that of Peshkin (1986) when he conducted the study, God's Choice. He described the need for the researcher to develop an understanding of Fundamentalist Christian culture. Contrary to Peshkin's experiences with both the Fundamentalist Christians (1986) and the Native Americans (2000), the researcher of the present proposed study is an "insider".

Although religion is a significant aspect of this study Peshkin (1992) further maintains that religion is only one such aspect. He maintains that subjectivists claim that all human observations are subjective and that these subjectivists see human artifacts differently from other objects because they assume that there is a future design for their use. The Weberian notion of science is that it is value free and that the objectivity should be maintained (Barone, 1990). Peshkin (1992) contrasts this Weberian view with the

views of Kant, Hegel, Marx, Mannheim, Wittgenstein, Polyani, and Kuhn (Riley, 1974), by listing their beliefs as follows:

1. Perception is not neutral ...[and is] shaped by . . .mental attitudes and interest of observers;
2. Truth and validity claims reflect historically determined values and interest of different groups and;
3. Reality is mediated by conceptual schemes (Kant), ideologies (Marx), language games (Wittgenstein), and paradigms (Riley, 1974) (p. 6-7).

Jansen and Peshkin (1992) raise the same questions as Riley (1974). That is, "Is a value-free social science possible? If so, is it desirable?" (p.1). Jansen and Peshkin (1992) further cite Eisner (1990) as he describes objectivity in four ways such as; the elimination of bias; being fair and open to all sides of an argument; a method or procedure to get information, such as in an objective test; and seeing things the way they are (Jansen & Peshkin, p.1).

This definition implies that subjectivity does not meet the same requirements for validity and non-bias as objectivity. Philips (1990) in opposition to Eisner maintains that "all methods and all representations are partial" (Philips, 1990 p. 20). Philips proposes a method of escape from biases which includes peer reviews. A caveat is necessary here because Philips states that scientific objectivity is based on a social agreement not on one's individual work. This parallels the notion of many minorities, that history is in the eyes of the beholder.

Smith (1980) expressed a similar notion that personal emotions of researchers might distort their perceptions. The question then is raised concerning whether objective

researchers' emotions can determine which data they utilize and which they "feel" are not relevant. Smith's conclusion was based on a realization she reached after being treated by a therapist. Her therapist helped her to recall that she had negative feelings about her own high school experience which would impact her current research at a high school. This raises the question as to whether researchers need to visit a therapist whenever they do research, on the chance that they might discover unresolved feelings about all of their research subjects. Smith (1980), nevertheless says that emotions can be positive as well as negative, that in fact the meaning of an event can be revealed through feelings far better than facts from folders, transcripts and conferences. Smith however, does express a caveat that it might be necessary for researchers to do some self-examination to distinguish between emotions that are "generated from the situation and those that may be self-generated and irrational" (p. 10).

In contrast LeCompte (1987) addressed these issues of bias and subjectivity in ethnographic research by locating bias in many of the researchers' ages, sex, social class and ethnicity. She maintained that research is always influenced by the status of the researcher. She looks upon this bias as a positive influence that can enrich the quality of the studies. LeCompte (1987) coins the term "disciplined subjectivity" to describe the "practice for determining conscious and unconscious sources of bias" (p. 43). In agreement Agar (1980), an anthropologist, considers bias unavoidable. He says that it is only important to know what kind of bias the ethnographer has and what kind of role the bias played in the ethnographic account. In other words, the researcher needs to have an understanding of the bias and its effects on the research. Agar's (1980) caveat is that researchers must discipline themselves by looking at the data in different ways and

remain conscious of the biases. Ginsberg and Matthews (n.d.) list a number of techniques to balance this bias. These techniques include peer supervision and keeping a checklist of possible contaminating influences on the data. Rubin (1981), sociologist, agrees with the necessity for understanding one's biases because she maintains that all knowledge is subjectively gained since all social environment and personal experiences are drawn upon in order to interpret research findings.

Jansen and Peshkin (1992) ask the question, "What, if anything do qualitative researchers gain or lose if they relinquish objectivity as an attribute of their research process?" (p. 718). The questions the present researcher raises are, Would the study of Imani Kuumba College have been more valid if I, the founder, decided to create the College in order to study it? Or, Can a valid study be made of the history and creation of the College after the fact? Other questions that might be asked include: How does this study differ from other participant studies? Can an accounting of the history, philosophy and program benefit the researcher by exposing a more complete picture of the institution as well as benefiting prospective creators of similar culturally and spiritually relevant institutions?

In consideration of these questions Peshkin (1985) in the notes of his study of the fundamentalist Christian School issues a disclaimer saying:

And yet I do not mean to insert myself directly throughout the narrative, as do Belmonte (1979) and Slater (1976), although I am very sympathetic to Slater's comments: "Paradoxically . . . it is harder to extricate myself [from the study] than to preserve the totality as experienced. For there is a unifying link between the person and

the objective: the observer as tool, and a crude one never above suspicion, especially his own (Slater, 1976, p. 12).

The present research focused on Imani Kuumba College as an educational entity. This focus and the study of this entity was chronological as it unfolded through a period of time from the institution's creation to its present status. It does not attempt to be an in-depth study of Black education in general, nor to analyze psychological issues of being Black in contemporary society, Afrocentrism or other "Black" issues. It simply traces the creation and introduction of a specific type of education, as it relates to this specific institution, Imani Kuumba College. This researcher utilized the caveats proposed by the researchers previously cited as a check list to explore any possible negative biases, while at the same time examining the benefits of the positive attributes of subjectivity such as cultural understanding, relationship with participants, background as an historian/social scientist/educator and my forty years of experience in Afrocentric study and research.

Cultural Concerns

Another example of the possibilities of positives in the subjectivity of the research is described by Mary Hermes. Hermes (1999), a researcher of mixed heritage, Lakota, Chinese, and White, returned to the reservation to do a study on culture-based curriculum that would result in her dissertation. She found that there is a "growing, Native-oriented ... ethic for doing research in our own Native American communities" (p. 86). Hermes (1999) interpreted this movement as a shift from 'research for research's sake' . . . to research that serves a specific purpose or need of the community within which it is situated" (p. 87). She describes this type of research as a community based research project, or one that revolves around the perceived needs of the community rather than one

that is dictated by academic protocol or traditions” (p 94). Therefore, Hermes (1999) makes no claims to utilizing an unbiased or objective methodology.

In conclusion, there are both positives and negatives in subjective research conducted by a participating researcher. In this case, it is maintained that the positives of having the research done by a participant generally outweigh the negatives. This research is possibly enhanced by the eyewitness reports versus secondary research. One question is implied. That is: Could another researcher other than the founder duplicate this research? Although the documentation is available for any researcher, different researchers have different skills. Peshkin (2000) says that the “skills are not equally distributed among researchers. The shape and substance of interpretation is likely to vary just as there is variability in other researchers with other ideological leanings” (p. 6). Other researchers who do not know the original story might not be aware of the documents that would be available and might even be a necessary part of the story.

In agreement with Hermes and Stake, this empirical researcher contends that there are no more negatives for this type of research than an objective study. Even statistics can be used subjectively by selecting data favorable to the researcher’s purpose. In fact, as stated, this researcher maintains that research done by an eyewitness, a positioned subject to use Renato Rosaldo’s term, can benefit and enhance a study.

Summary

In summary this chapter describes the research design and the methodology utilized in this historical case study of Imani Kuumba College. This methodology followed the conceptual framework of the case study as defined by Merriam (1998), Yin (1994) and others with an inclusion of methods of triangulation to build and establish trustworthiness

in order to validate the perceptions of the researcher, who although she may have bias, has a unique access to first-hand knowledge of the history and current experiences that define the case.

The research questions as stated dictated the methodology in the collection and examination of the data. This data collection process was as it specifically focused on the research questions were also described in this chapter. The justification for selection of documents was examined and themes were outlined. In addition to the concept of the case study process however, the methodology included a justification for a cultural, (Afrocentric) approach to the writing with appropriate forms of African centered communication within academic studies, as defined by the researcher. The background of this researcher, an African American woman who founded the institution, was described in an effort to explain the possible interest and expertise in the subject and the choice of the historical case study as the method of research.

In order to establish the trustworthiness of this study multiple methods were used. Member checking was used by an overall examination of the data and the conclusions by selected members of the IKC Board of Governors. Another technique that was employed to gain more credibility was the process of inquiry audit. Guba and Lincoln(1981) maintain that independent judges can authenticate the findings of a study by following the trail of the researcher. Independent auditors examined the records and other documents to determine the validity of the researcher's findings by replicating the findings. These measures provided a check on the validity of the researcher's use of the data and on the interpretation.

This bringing together of different data sources allowed for triangulation that can enhance the benefits of having a researcher who is also a participant with access to first hand knowledge of the history and current experiences (Lincoln & Guba, 1981). The document analyses and observations provided data for an historical case study of this institution and may illuminate the relationship between the role of education and the Black experience.

The cultural approach will hopefully fulfil the concerns expressed by Hermes (1999) that “...research serves a specific purpose or need of the community within which it is situated “(p. 87) This cultural approach included utilizing Afrocentric cultural traditional form of narration as well as Afrocentric inserts in the writing of the study.

Thus this study utilized a methodology dictated by a synthesis of Afrocentric and established research and reporting protocol. The next chapter provides an analysis of the information acquired during the data collection process.

Chapter 4

Description of the Subject of the Study

Imani Kuumba College is described in its catalogue as:

A Christian institution that approaches life from a Biblical view and is committed to rebuilding and bring life and hope to the decaying inner cities. The College is a center of learning where students, faculty, administrators, and support staff are also engaged in the pursuit of God's cause, God's truth and their application to life. Imani Kuumba College is also a Christian institution which recognizes the legitimacy and validity of Black or African interests, goals, objectives, values and culture, utilizing a black frame of reference (p. 6).

Along with these values the College community involvement is outlined in one descriptive pamphlet that is disseminated as informational material by the College indicates that the college is a college with an in-depth involvement in the cultural, religious and academic elements of urban African-American life.

Student Success at Imani Kuumba College

IKC has had successful graduates and some of the currently matriculating students' profiles are described. Many of these successful students at IKC have been those who

could not previously be admitted to other schools without passing entrance exams or who were reluctant to apply due to lack of educational skills provided when they were young.

Some missed out on this education because they were incarcerated, were foster children and/or moved around constantly, as juveniles attended Continuation (Alternative Schools), or lived in the South where they only attended school for part of the year.

Graduates of Imani Kuumba College

Graduate E.S is a woman who suffers from severe diabetes. She is a single parent who also is raising a son and a granddaughter. Her daughter died when the child was very small. This woman had previously attended the community college without graduating successfully. She graduated from Imani Kuumba College and entered into a Masters Program in Counseling at Point Loma Nazarene University from which she graduated with honors. She is now a candidate for the Ph.D. in Psychology from another accredited university.

Graduate E. S. (a male) is a former drug addict. He had little previous education in the South. He has graduated from Imani Kuumba College become a minister, founder and C.E. O of a successful non-profit organization which visits and provides services for residents in convalescent homes who have no family visitors. Residents of these homes who in the past were not responsive, are now aware of their surroundings, have performed in fashion shows and other forms of entertainment for the convalescent home and outside guests.

Graduate L. S. directs her church choir and works as a supervisor for a department of the City of San Diego.

Graduate G P., a single mother who after raising two children, adopted her deceased sister's three children and is now helping her son, a single parent raise her two grandsons. She graduated from Imani Kuumba College with honors is a College administrator an evangelist and Sunday School teacher in her church. She also attained an additional Bachelors degree from another school, a local accredited college.

Graduate E.A., is foster child who has a history of moving from home to home. She completed high school in a Continuation School and therefore had little chance of being admitted to a private college. She is the youngest to study at IKC (21). She served as President of her class at Imani Kuumba College, was an honor student, volunteered as the School Librarian and completed a quantitative study for her senior project, on the impact of self esteem in education the African American Child.

Profile of Some Present Students of Imani Kuumba College

A current student was a single mother of four children for many years. She attended elementary school in the South where the school year was shortened in order to allow the children to harvest the crop. A member of a large family recently received her G.E.D. With no previous college preparation she is presently a graduating senior at Imani Kuumba College writing a book, her senior project on "Domestic Violence and African American Women. She plans to be a teacher and offer seminars to women who experienced domestic abuse in the community.

Another student, a Bishop of the Penecostal Church is doing a study on "The role and Acceptance of African Women ministers in the Church Community."

One of the male students who has been incarcerated for years and is now in a half-way house, has functioned as the President of Imani Kuumba Student Government. He is

completing a study on “The Impact of Afrocentric Education in the Lowering of the Rate of Recidivism.”

A male student who, with his wife and child, has been homeless for several years is completing his study on the ramifications of lack of knowledge of the Constitution of the United States on poor citizens.

A young mother whose son and brother was killed by police officers is writing on issues that impact young African American males; A non-African American female student is writing on issues of rehabilitation for family members of siblings who have committed suicide; and A disabled elderly female student is writing on health issues of those persons who live by dialysis due to kidney failure.

One of the missions of the college is to serve the community therefore each students must become knowledgeable about an issue they perceive as a community problem and offer scholarly suggestions for change. In order to do this all students must write on issues with which they have personal experience or knowledge, however their studies are done in a scholarly process utilizing the American Psychological Association format.

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters Degrees

Community leaders that have received honorary degrees from Imani Kuumba College include:

Former Deputy Mayor, and San Diego City Councilman, Rev. George Stevens

Jean Brown McKinney (Wife of Bishop George D. McKinney and Founder of

Sojourner Truth Academy, an inner city K-12 school);

Rose Buchanan, Author and Founder of a Music Academy and The National Gospel

Music Workshop

Willie Blair, Special Asst. to United States Congressman Bob Filner

David Lloyd, President and Owner of Bay City Marine (First African American Shipbuilder for the United States Government and honored by African American Encyclopedia).

2004 Honorary Degree Recipient

Navy Commander Mickey Ross

In summary, the past and present students served, as well as the honorary degree recipients illustrate the Mission and Goals of the College. Their focus was that of community service in a Christian, cultural environment.

Brief History of the College

Imani Kuumba College and Graduate School was founded in response to what was perceived by its founder as an alarming disintegration of the urban communities in and around San Diego, California as well as the nation. Its first business plan indicated that it is a Christian institution that approaches life from a Biblical view, is committed to rebuilding and bringing life and hope to the decaying inner cities.

Imani Kuumba College offers classes in the areas of African-American Studies, Biblical Studies and Communication Studies. One stated purpose for the founding of the college was to provide a cultural center, a place in the community for anyone to visit and have a coffee at the Karamu Coffee House, get tutoring or health or other referrals. The College Catalogue states: Imani Kuumba College's focus is as a center of learning where students, faculty, administrators and support staff are also engaged in the pursuit of God's cause, God's truth and their application to life. Imani Kuumba College focuses upon the African-American experience. The school's name, Imani, (Swahili for "faith"), and

Kuumba, (Swahili for “creativity”) is presented as a representation of the College’s mission to bring hope and quality educational opportunities to people of all races, especially to those who are inhabitants of decaying inner cities and urban areas.

Structure of the College

As a small institution, the school stresses personalized attention to the students. The faculty includes 23 earned doctorates and master degree instructors as a rotating staff and classes are limited to 8 to 10 students. Classes are held in the evenings and on weekends. Imani Kuumba College is also an Afrocentric institution which recognizes the legitimacy and validity of Black and African interests, goals, objectives, values and culture and utilizes a Black frame of reference (Catalogue p. 9).

Location and Environment of the College

The College is located in the “City Heights” or Mid-City area of San Diego, California. Within this area, there are approximately 70,000 people. This is one of the most ethnically and racially diverse areas in San Diego. The population in the area as of January 1, 1999 was 68,728; 39% Hispanic, with a population of 25, 771; 22% white, at 15,052; 22% African American, 15, 040; and 19% Asian and others, 12,865. As a Christian school the College has a strict student and staff conduct policy prescribing private and public behavior for its faculty, staff and student body which is identified as being Christ-like as Biblically defined.

The College is authorized by the State of California to offer 18 different degrees, including Bachelor, Masters and Doctoral degrees. These degrees are Christian degrees in the areas of business, African-American Studies, communication studies, educational

counseling and guidance, educational curriculum and supervision, multicultural education teaching and psychology.

Structure of the Classes

The structure of the classes is based on the seminar model. There are specific class objectives and course outlines; however each student is first tested for diagnosis and evaluation in order to facilitate the plan of customized instruction and assignments within each subject area. Consideration of past educational experience (or lack thereof) is utilized to determine the partial rationale for placement in courses. The program of study includes the California State requirements for general education, however every course has a Christian and Afrocentric focus. The Christian focus prescribes Biblical perspectives in all areas and the Afrocentric focuses on traditional African values which are based on historical concepts and foundations. The next requirement for graduation includes a focus on one of the major areas. English is required for every student until the senior project, thesis, or dissertation is completed. Math, including Statistics is required for all students in order to complete the research requirements. Science is based on Creation Science. Foreign languages are required as a prerequisite to missionary work and ministry in diverse communities.

Size of the Classes

The size of each class is limited to 8 to 10 students and the goal for the population is 200 students. The college limits the class size in order that students may receive individual attention and personal tutoring if necessary. Although the curriculum is Christian, (Biblically based), and the focus is Afrocentric, students are members of many

cultures including Hispanic, Haitian, European, White American and Asian. Non-Christians are also represented in the student population.

Imani Kuumba College seeks to educate its students so that they may develop:

- A. A strong Christian character;
- B. An excellent mind;
- C. A capacity for leadership in the urban communities and in chosen fields;
- D. The desire to render constructive service to their fellow person and to God;
- E. A deep, abiding faith in God and love for humanity;
- F. A better understanding and appreciation for the Black and African cultures;
- G. Marketable skills that will enable them to successfully compete in the job market;
- H. A lifelong learning and cultural experience necessary to a productive and responsive life.

The majority of the students have had barriers to achieving an education including poor past educational experiences, lack of opportunity due to economic limitations, family responsibilities, homelessness, foster child status, years of incarceration, past addictions, or health problems. The average age of the students is 40.

To accomplish the goal inherent in its mission statement, the College has established the following objectives:

To provide continuing educational opportunities for professional education for practicing ministers and other Christian professionals; to provide a spiritual counseling center for drug abuse, child and marriage counseling for the inner-city community which can also be used as a training program for students at the College; to teach students about

the Black and African cultures and the valuable contributions that have made to society and the world at large; to establish a program in urban education and other fields in response to the urban needs and to sponsor spiritual, educational and cultural events for students and inner city residents.

The classes are conducted in the Afrocentric manner. This means that they are designed with the notion of inclusion of everyone and the idea of sharing as educational models. Group study outside of class is a requirement. The students, faculty and administrators all become family and even children and grandchildren of students sit-in on classes on a regular basis. Each student has the responsibility to share with and teach others, their classmates, their families, their churches and their communities, the African notion of "Each one teach one".

Community service is a requirement for each student and in order to fulfil requirements for graduation each undergraduate student must conduct a research study of a minimum of 60 pages, each masters student a minimum of 120 pages and each doctoral student minimum of 200 pages, which defines a problem in the community about which they have some personal knowledge. This study, although community focused, must be academically based and follow identical process and structure as a master's thesis in a traditional university. The premise is that researchers are needed who have Afrocentric knowledge, who accept the responsibility of working on societal problems as a ministry, and utilize their personal experiences as a scholarly testimony to God as a solution to problems.

Introduction to the Analysis

Due to the fact that this dissertation will follow a case study format, the notion presented by Yin (1984) that multiple methods are often used in case studies is relevant to this study of Imani Kuumba College. As stated in the methodology section, the methods of data collection included document and archival records and participant observation. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981) the data analysis is an effort to construct order out of confusion. To achieve this mandate the researcher will search for unifying patterns (themes) by coding.

According to Merriam (1988) the analysis of data in a qualitative study seeks to include details sufficient to understand the particular setting and the persons involved. She states that "Qualitative research places emphasis on understanding through looking closely at a person's words, actions and records" (p. 136). This justified the plan of analyzing documentation relating to the social, educational and environmental climate. Therefore, in order to answer the fourth question about the impact on the College of the environment and community relationships, it was important to analyze the competitive or collaborative nature of Imani Kuumba College's relationships with other organizations through correspondence and meeting reports.

Since there is no other Afrocentric Christian College of its kind the analysis of the development of this institution must also include comparisons with other entities that are known. These entities include Black Studies programs in America and abroad; religious institutions; and local public, private, Christian and Bible Colleges.

This chapter provides an analysis and interpretation of information obtained during the data collection process. The methodology that was utilized was that of the historical case study.

Steps for Analyzing the Events That Led to the Creation of the College

Due to the lack of information on the procedural steps that should be taken in order to create a College of this type, we realized that we would have to work almost completely in the dark. There was much information on how to start an elementary or pre-school since the Charter School movement was beginning at that time. Although we believed that if “our children were our future” as in a contemporary song, *The Greatest Love of All* sung by Whitney Houston, then it should be equally important to leave them a legacy of adults who could help teach the children. Data collection strategies that were used include documents and observations. Data collection for the analysis of this study thus included three primary strategies: the study of documents, observations and photographs. Documents included meeting agendas, announcements and minutes of meetings and other written reports of events; administrative documents, grant proposals, progress reports, and other internal documents; formal studies or evaluations of the institution, (i.e. accreditation agencies, government agencies, administrative and education agencies); and newspaper clippings and other articles appearing in the mass media.

An examination of the correspondence, accreditation documents, minutes of current board and committee meetings and agreements with other colleges described the issues and challenges faced by the College.

Multiple methods and various data sources were used to develop a picture of Imani Kuumba College’s 10-year history. The methods of data collection included discovery and retrieval of document and archival records and participant observation. Data was obtained through document inspection and observation, interviews and published and

non-published sources. A second strategy for data collection was observing and analyzing videotapes including presentations and performances by students. These added to the hundreds of photographs taken of students, programs, classes, faculty, staff, and community events were arranged chronologically and thematically.

All information was based on documented information and observed events. The most paradoxical problem was that the story continued to develop day-by-day and since the researcher did not know how the story would “turn out”, there was the temptation to record every event that happened daily. The researcher wanted to include all the negative occurrences in the event that the College failed and all the positive occurrences if the study were to end with the College’s outstanding success.

During the data analysis process therefore, it was necessary for the researcher to make decisions as to the selection of the documents that were the most important to the drawing of this picture. Analysis of the data became uniquely challenging due to the lack of knowledge of the researcher as to the conclusion of the story. In order to maintain organized focus the data analysis then was intentionally centered totally around the proposed research questions.

Significant Themes

The following themes emerged in this case study. They were: (1) Focus of many Christian schools on “forgiveness” rather than academic rigor; (2) Afrocentrism considered incompatible with Christianity, (3) Transformation of a traditional institution by cultural infusion; and (4) Individuality paralleling universality.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1981) data analysis is an effort to construct order out of confusion. The documents establish a chronological and factual description and

accounting of the changes and establishment of the present status. To achieve this mandate the researcher searched for unifying patterns (themes) by coding. These themes included legal requirements, events, curriculum, philosophy, public relations, admission requirements, types of students, and faculty and staff. The researcher utilized the following steps as guidelines for data collection and data analysis to describe Imani Kuumba College with a view of its origins, goals or objectives, purposes, activities, successes and failures.

One example of the focus of many church schools was experienced by the IKC President while working at several Church Colleges. As Academic Vice President of the researcher's church's college the focus that were observed was in the area of staffing issues. The Pastor of the church often hired many unqualified teachers because they were "saved", needed a "ministry", needed a job or "liked children." Numerous honorary degrees were given out in worship services for reasons such as; to thank visiting preachers or to honor service to the church. This practice of indiscriminately bestowing honorary degrees inspired the masses to request honorary degrees rather than desire education and knowledge. This practice also cheapened the earned degrees. Memos from the pastor would state that classes were often suspended for "Prayer Service" and the Church Sunday bulletins would often announce that college credits were given for attending worship services where there was no accountability of attendance or study. The "doctrine" was more important than the academics and everyone was "forgiven" for missing, being late or leaving early from scheduled classes. Sexism was the norm since many denominations believed that the male must be the "head" and that women should not be allowed to be pastors, ministers or bishops in the church. In the Official Manual of

this particular national denomination women were proscribed from being ministers. In order to assure that there would be no confusion as to their roles they were called evangelists rather than ministers. Even though the position of Academic Vice President was filled by a female, males were called in to make all the decisions. These males were always less qualified educationally than the female Vice President. Financial accounts were often mixed. Donations that were given to the school were often used in the church. Checks that had been written out to the College were cashed by the church and the funds were not given to the College. Furniture that was loaned to the College by the Vice President was allowed to be kept by the landlord of the college when the rent was not paid by the church.

Many of the church leaders were saying, "I don't need no education. My pastor has enough for me." The head assistant pastor gave a sermon in a Sunday worship service stating, "As long as I have my B.A. (My 'Born Again') that's enough"! Students at the Church School were not concerned about graduating with a degree. They maintained the belief that the ultimate reward was to receive certificates awarded in the church service, in front of all their friends and family in the congregation. This would sustain them "until Jesus returns".

Afrocentrism was often considered a "sin" because it was represented as "militant" and or divisive. Significant knowledge was gained in order to parallel Christianity with Afrocentricity. It was noted that even if the church may not have kept current with Afrocentric values, religion traditionally has always been an integral part of African-American life and culture. It is the Black minister who has traditionally borne the leadership role in the Black community. The African American has traced his roots back

to the Black church of his ancestors. To study the Black man is to follow him in the chronology of the Black Church. This pursuit is often difficult in the “American” context due to the overwhelming belief in the concept of “separation of church and state” legislation which characterizes the current public school system. Since Imani Kuumba College is a Christian Afrocentric Institution research focused on the critical connection between Black religion and Black education was crucial to this study.

This also elucidated the theme that traditional institutions may be transformed by cultural infusion. As a part of the examination of Imani Kuumba College an observation was conducted of the Afrocentric cultural aspects of the church affiliated with Imani Kuumba College. This observation was an attempt to record the impact of Afrocentrism on the cultural expression of a traditional American Sunday worship service in an effort to note effects of contrasting the cultural perception with an American tradition, i.e. football. The researcher did a study of this Black church as it related to the Afrocentric nature of the College. This observation was an attempt to discover the role of the Black church in the culture of these African Americans. The observation was conducted by recording behavior by observing from within a sound-proof glass. There was no sound heard through the glass therefore the researcher had to completely make any analysis based on behavior and cultural interpretation. This observation compared the American church ritual to African tradition and to an American athletic event, i.e. a football game.

Action and Interaction at an Afrocentric Church Service

Setting: 8:00 A.M. Sunday morning at a Black Church in San Diego, CA. A

3-Hour Service observed from a sound-proof glass booth at the back of the

auditorium. This allowed the researcher to focus on the action and interactions of the congregation.

The hypothesis: (1) Traditional worshippers reflect cultural traditions by communicating individually with their God while at the same time participating in a community ritual. (2) This very traditional African-American expression can be compared not only to an African ceremony, but also to a very American Football Game.

Pattern: Individual actions and interactions as well as crowd synchronized action.

Summary of Observation: The two-part hypothesis is true that (1) African-American traditional worshippers reflect cultural traditions by communicating individually with their God while at the same time participating in a community ritual, and that (2) This very traditional African-American expression can be compared not only to an African ceremony, but also to a very American Football Game and also to a very formal academic ritual.

Focus: This is an ethnographic analysis of a worship service as an Afrocentric cultural experience and its comparison to an everyday social experience of the dominant society.

The Pre-service began when three members of the congregation interrupted the music quietly playing over the loud-speaker by each one taking a mike and beginning to sing songs without accompaniment. By the singing of these three members the early-attendees were wrenched from their greetings of kisses and hand-shakes with the other early-worshippers whom they excitedly express their pleasure at seeing, although it had only been days since they saw each at classes, prayer meeting or other daily worship or at

the latest — one week ago at last Sunday's worship. One could have been an observer at an athletic event. The pre-service warm-up compared to the pep-talk given by the coach prior to the football game. Some members of the church walked in with a "holier-than-thou" attitude, exhibited by head raised, eyes lowered as they walked down the center aisle, with a dignified nod until they spotted someone else, a visitor perhaps, sitting in their usual seat. They gave the usurper the "evil-eye" as they squeezed in beside them and knelt down to pray, (with one "evil-eye" on the trespasser.) It was early and the service had not started when a woman with seven children entered, seated the children, taking up a whole pew. These children are either foster children, grand children, neighborhood children or a combination because (a) the woman appears too old to have children that young; (b) several of the children appeared to be the same age; and (c) they are children of several racial groups. Each child had come prepared for a long service with a small bag of snacks. After the woman got her children all situated and the service began, a late woman entered with five children. She showed considerable practice in bulldozing her way into her seats, as though she did this every Sunday. She squeezed her body into the pew and gestured to her children to do likewise. They bashfully sat while the earlier woman with the seven children glared at the late woman, (who ignored her). The elderly Mother's Board, Deacons and Deaconesses occupy the front seats and God Bless the visitor who accidentally sat in those seats as the Usher asks them to move further back.

The very back seats are taken by the young people and others who looked as though they intended to leave early even though the minister gave a glowering look to those who left before the Benediction. The Choir marched down the long middle-aisle with a rhythmic bouncing step while the congregation stood and swayed in the rhythm. The

choir sat up high in the choir-stand while late-coming choir members slinked into their seats in full view of the entire congregation. The choir was accompanied by a small band of musicians, a drummer behind a plexi-glass enclosure, a trombonist whose instrument tapped a choir member's rear, a saxophonist who swang with his instrument, a pianist and an organist who weighed 300 pounds more or less and became so animated that his movements on his organ's bench shook the drummer's enclosure. The Bishop entered with his aides, all males. The Congregation all stood to honor him, except for small children and the woman who had previously pushed herself and her children into the already crowded pew. Instead, she took this opportunity to wiggle over and occupy more of the seat. This caused her neighbors to re-seat themselves gingerly after the praise service. Ushers seated late worshippers to the already full church up in the choir-stand with the choir. This prompted Deaconesses in white dresses to rush up with hand-made lap scarves to shield the congregation from the sight of the bare legs in short dresses of the late-comers in the choir stand. A tall man carrying a flag that said CHILDRENS' CHURCH walked in front of the congregation and children from all over the auditorium followed him like the "Pied Piper" as he led them out of the auditorium to go to the Sunday School rooms. It is only 15 minutes later that this tall man came back carrying a crying toddler. The man had a searching look until the child spotted his parents in the service, and was reunited with them. The preacher's sermon was an experience both in audience participation and crowd control, and he paused in his very active movements only to look expectantly toward the congregation for response. The congregation became an excited crowd in anticipation of the game. The preacher led the crowd in the manner of a cheerleader, pumping them up in the traditional African "call and response" pattern.

One could draw conclusions as to the length of time that any member of the congregation has been “saved” by the newness of his clutched Bible or by the speed by which (s)he finds the Scripture verses cited by the preacher.

Many new members (and some preachers) had to hunt for the specific Book in the Bible which may show a direct correlation to the time they spend reading it and their ability to recall the location of each book without looking in the Bible’s index. The audience response became so animated that fans broke out from pocketbooks and/or are passed out by ushers. Men dressed in suit jackets began to wipe their faces with large handkerchiefs which they appeared to have brought in anticipation of the heat. Men and women jumped up and begin to shout and dance up and down the aisles. The shouters’ eye-glasses were removed by Deaconesses who rushed over to attend. The deaconesses holding hands, formed a circle around the shouter. This helped to protect the shouter and any worshipper from any unexpected collisions. Sometimes, however, the spirit was caught by one deaconess in the circle and another group from the congregation had to take over by forming the protective hand-holding circle around her. After the sermon the audience continued to participate by marching en-masse to the collection plate. This was the first real opportunity the congregation has to (a) to see everyone or (b) be seen, in their various finery; some formal tuxes, some with large hats, some traditional African garb, and some casual, (young women in slacks, which caused the Mother’s Board to glare in disapproval.) Every one participated in this marching ritual, even the drunken wino who occupied the back seat and the young woman with the extremely high heels, extremely short mini and the jaded look of a prostitute.

The choir stood and sang, accompanied by the musicians. They rocked in synchronized movement. The choir director performed a complex dance to cue the singers on the various choruses. The floor shook with the vibration of the music. Here and there a member of the congregation stood to have more room for clapping and appreciation of the music. The congregation became like an excited crowd in anticipation of the game. A look at the feet of some of the women showed that they had long ago kicked off their very dressy shoes in consideration of their comfort. While their parents were so absorbed, teenagers were shyly glancing at each other across the aisles, planning a quiet exit from the auditorium on pretense of going to the rest rooms. Under the pews, along with the parents discarded shoes were babies sound asleep on the floor, oblivious to the loud action. Babies who were awake were in their mother's laps swaying to the music, clapping their hands or shaking tambourines. When "the Spirit" hit the mother, someone from the congregation automatically took the baby from the mother's arms to allow her to continue her spiritual expression. The choir was the half-time entertainment, which reminded the crowd of why they were there, and the band stirred up the rhythm in anticipation of the team's play. The Bishop as the quarterback gave the instructions (signals) to the ministers and his aides moved into the huddle of the pulpit in formation. When the preacher made a "first down", the congregation shouted and applauded their appreciation. Upon each first down, there was dancing in the aisles. The Collection of the offering marked the turn-overs when the preacher changed place with the congregation which now carried the ball. The Deacons and Deaconesses were "the line" as they stood facing the congregation prepared to be a line of defense as the evangelists in the church tackles sin as the congregants came up to face the altar. The audience performed the

“wave” as they raised their hands in suppliant worship. All celebrated the victory as “Jesus makes the touchdown.”

Process notes were illustrative of the focus on actions of the individual within universal patterns.

The researcher learned that there was a similar pattern to each worshipper's spiritual expressions and that these expressions correlated to what she had learned through study about the African worship patterns. This pattern transcended “race,” age or gender. White congregants, the elderly and young, male and females all formed a united group swaying in the rhythm of the service. She also learned that each participant moved back and forth from individual and personal communication with their God to a community expression synchronized in rhythmic movement and animated spirit with other members of the congregation. She further learned that although this was a cultural or ethnographic expression, it also was universal and that it could be compared with people at an athletic event where there was no ethnic division. It was also perceived that people could be motivated by emotions to behave in ways that may differ from their perceived personalities. The participants, even though many may be normally quiet and shy in secular environments, they appeared to take on different personalities in the church environment. The normally quiet ones shouted, the inexperienced performed, the undiscovered became musically talented, the shy preached publicly, the followers became leaders, the withdrawn became extroverted, and strangers became friends in the church environment. The observer could see the changes as they occurred in the demeanor and behavior of the people as the service progressed. The researcher began to perceive Africanisms that had been observed on previous travels through Africa. It seemed

amazing that even though the majority of these people had never visited Africa, they unknowingly had somehow acquired these mannerisms. The researcher also began to appreciate the richness of an experience to which she had in the past paid little attention. In the area of field research the researcher learned that body-language alone can tell much of the story. The richness of the culture became manifest as it was shown in the rhythm of an experience that was seen and not heard. I enjoyed experiencing the detail that a researcher should perceive although I wondered how a researcher who was not African American would have perceived the same scene.

The analysis of this observation showed how one event, i.e. a worship service can take on a completely different form when the participants belong to a particular cultural group. It also shows how the perception of the researcher can be shaped by the researcher's past experience. This theory is transferred to the present study.

This observation links with the study in many ways. The study states that the church is a microcosm of African American society since religion has played an historically traditional role. This observation of the African American church illustrates the similarity of themes between the Afrocentric Christian Church and the Afrocentric Christian College.

The themes that parallel the study include: the role of Afrocentrism in traditional environments; the spiritual basis that permeates the study, the variety of the subjects and illustrates their unity without uniformity. The church scene examines the behavior of people individually, yet shows each one as a part of the group. This emphasizes the notion that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Although the subjects may differ

in economic status, in racial and cultural background, the Afrocentric nature encouraged participation from all present.

The worship services is a traditional “American” institution, however, the rituals were performed from a cultural perspective. There was a distinct link between the African American church and an American traditional event, the football game. The church scene examines the behavior of people individually yet as a part of the group. This illustrates the equality of the subjects although there are certain evidences of different economic status, in the dress and seating. Although the scene included non-Africans Americans, the program, Afrocentric in nature allowed participation from all present. Nia, or purpose is represented here in the concern for members of the community. The worship service had the appearance of a celebration where the celebrants shared with others. This correlates completely with the Afrocentric focus.

Another purpose for the focus at Imani is the multigenerational participation of all ages and genders. The church scene showed the roles played by people of all ages from infants to senior citizens.

The church, like IKC encourages the concept of reaching people wherever they are and taking them where they need to be. The Scriptural reference is Christ’s saying “Come as ye are”. This is illustrated in the fact that both institutions express the notion that one should be forgiven for ones negative past history. IKC does not include S.A.T.s or other tests in their admission process.

The church often uncovers skills and talents in ordinary people that allows them to be leaders in the institution. Even non-graduates have been known to teach Bible or Sunday School. Many of the leaders or elders are former addicts, prostitutes or have other

connections with the criminal justice system. Many were motivated to religious service and now have been motivated to human service by other members in the congregation. The church nurses have been the first step for many who then get training in the health professions.

The African form, which is a part of IKCs focus is that of “each one teach one”. This is illustrated by the mother’s Board of the church that teaches the younger women, and the men of the church who participate as surrogate fathers for the “fatherless”. IKC utilizes the same pattern in sharing the learning experience. All children attend classes whenever their parent(s) wishes. All students take on the responsibility of anyone’s child who needs attention at any time during class. Personal problems are shared and IKC students become involved with offering creative (Kuumba) suggestions on solving these problems. Education in IKC like the crowded pews of the church always has room for one more.

There are differences between IKC and the church scene however. Often the church believes that the only degree that is important is the B.A. , “Born Again” while IKC encourages the holistic preparation of the intellect as well as the soul.

In opposition to the church scene depicted, IKC recognizes that in the contemporary church there are many problems that its cultural education may be able to change. Many elders of the church interpret the scripture to practice sexism. This confirms that observation of the study that “traditional institution may be transformed by cultural transfusion”.

There is a question concerning how the average non-Afrocentric researcher would interpret the many levels of this cultural experience in an African American church

service. . It then appears that Afrocentric education of the type that IKC offers might guide another researcher in interpreting the data from this observation without the danger of coloring their interpretation with their only weltanschauung, (their own world-view).

The final theme of this study, that of individuality paralleling universality, is further stated in a current issue of *Black Issues in Higher Education* by Lani Guinier (2004), Harvard University's Bennett Boskey Professor of Law.

I think students feel very torn between the call to improve themselves individually and the tension that they have looking at the rest of the Black community and seeing that so many of their relatives or their friends, their peers, are being left further and further behind (Guinier March, 2004 interview with *Black Issues in Higher Education*).

Afrocentric education provides the observer with a lens to look through that allows the shedding of Eurocentric cultural bias. While IKC focuses on the Scripture that states, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus "(Gal 3:28 KJV).

In summary, then, there were more similarities than differences when the Christian Afrocentric Educational Institution is compared with the African-American Church.

IKC encourages the student to utilize negative past experiences as an opportunity for "testimony" which becomes an act of "witness" to help others. This testimony reminds community persons that if the student "could do it, then so can't they".

The focus of Imani Kuumba College transcends improvement through the individual self-esteem building to an additional mission of improvement for society in general. Not only is the Imani Kuumba College student educated to revere and honor Black culture and history, each of the students must write a scholarly study that examines a community

problem with which the student has had personal experience. The studies which have been submitted include: one written by a foster child who suffered in eight foster homes. This student, a psychology major wrote her study on the "Psychological Ramifications of Being an African American Foster Child". Another student, a woman who survived domestic abuse has written on the "Causes of Domestic Abuse for African American Women". Another study done by a welfare mother describes the pitfalls and skills developed by a welfare mother. A female recovering drug addict wrote on methods of recovery less well known by specialists in the field. A grandmother who raised four of her own children and is now home schooling four special needs children of her drug-addicted, incarcerated daughter is writing on "Educational Innovations in Home Schooling Special-needs Children". A young man who has been incarcerated for 15 years is writing on the "Impact of Afrocentric Education on the Rate of Recidivism".

A student whose son was killed by police in an issue of racial profiling is writing on the topic. Another student who has an elderly and ailing mother is writing on the lack of quality health care for the elderly. Another student a nurse in a care facility is writing on the problems in the nursing home care facilities. A female supervisor in the Post Office is studying the role of the African American Woman supervisor in a government organization. Other students have studied the role of "ebonics" in the public school system and the results of the lack of knowledge of the Constitution as it impacts the presence of African Americans in the criminal justice system. These studies, done in a scholarly fashion and in fact are defended before professors of other institutions and other interested professionals and non-professionals, all have personal relationship to the lives of the students, yet create opportunity for study which may have universal benefit.

Data analysis for this present study then began in observations made more than ten years before with the observations of the role of the church in life and culture. Stake (1995) indicates that “there is no particular moment when data analysis begins”(p. 71). He indicates that we are continuously taking impressions and observations and giving meaning to the parts. Since the researcher is also the founder of the institution previous observations over the years had registered consciously and unconsciously. These impressions will contribute to the analysis. Therefore it is of importance that the researcher is bound by the analysis of data that is focused on the research questions. The research questions on which this study is focused are:

1. What events led to the creation of Imani Kuumba College and what factors influenced the form it took?
2. In what ways is Imani Kuumba College an Afrocentric and a Christian College?
3. What issues and challenges are Imani Kuumba College currently facing?
4. How is Imani Kuumba College affected by its environment and community relationships?

Analysis of Philosophy of the Institution

The philosophy of Imani Kuumba College according to the minutes of its founding Board of Governors is to provide an education to those of any race who have an interest in African American Culture. It operated on the basis that if the Christian message of the relationship of all peoples is expressed, racism could be eliminated. It is a paradox for the leadership of Black institutions because of charges of separatism, ungodliness and segregation. All the course content and course descriptions contain references where

applicable to the notion of “one race the human race”. The text book used for the course required by all beginning students, African American Roots, written by the President and founder is based on the notion that all mankind began in the Garden of Eden and that from one people God created all mankind. The college records show a student population that although it is primarily African American has students of many cultures, Hispanic, Asian, white American, Haitian, and East African.

Imani Kuumba College states in its documents that it recognizes that by law students of color can attend the traditionally white schools. Imani Kuumba was established to meet specific needs and interests. These needs were to establish a college that met the educational requirements determined by law, yet gave access to many who due to circumstances of their environment or economic status required additional assistance to meet admission criterion. Another need was to enhance educational foundations and or raising of self-esteem through academic study of the Afrocentric history and culture while utilizing Afrocentric methods.

Although Imani Kuumba college is not an Historically Black College due to the fact that it was not established for African American students and also that it does not meet one of the criteria for a HBCU, Historic Black College and University, that it must be at least one hundred years old, its educational philosophy was designed to duplicate that of the HBCUs. That philosophy was to meet students wherever they are academically and take them to where they need to go. The Catalogue indicates that students are not required to take S.A.Ts or other admission exams. According to the Student Handbook the requirements that had to be met by students were based on the students’ desire to

achieve academic and spiritual excellence and an interest in community leadership through knowledge and respect for the African interests and culture.

Imani Kuumba College was also originally set up and structured to meet the requirements of the accreditation agencies and the State requirements for other Post Secondary Schools. The accrediting agency, Transnational Association for Christian Schools is an agency that meets the same State requirements as WASC, Western Association for Schools and Colleges, however, TRACS focuses more on the academic along with spiritual requirements than WASC which focuses on the academic with much emphasis on the physical site and facilities. The founder of IKC knew that with the limited funds that were available there would be little chance of fulfilling the requirements of large gymnasiums, cafeterias and physical campus that might be a prerequisite for accreditation with a large agency. The Accrediting agency listed 30 standards that had to be met.

Analysis of Goals and Mission of the Institution

The previous study of Afrocentrism along with the observations contributed to the defining of goals for this new Afrocentric institution. The “Goals” as stated in the first Catalogue of Imani Kuumba College described how these students would be served in the Institution. The Imani Kuumba College Catalogue states that it seeks to educate its students so that they may develop:

- A. A strong Christian character;
- B. An excellent mind;
- C. A capacity for leadership in the urban communities and in their chosen fields;
- D. The desire to render constructive service to their fellow person and to God;

- E. A deep, abiding faith in God and love for humanity;
- F. A better understanding and appreciation for the Black and African cultures
- G. Marketable skills that will enable them to successfully compete in the job market; and
- H. A lifelong learning and cultural experience necessary to a productive and responsive life. (1991 Catalogue p. 15)

For non-African Americans Imani Kuumba College described in its Mission Statement its focus as an education that would promote good will and understanding, especially for those who were in leadership and professional positions that impacted the members of the African American community. In our research and personal experience we had been unable to find any other College that taught totally from both an Afrocentric and a Christian perspective. We believed that just as “12-Step Programs” included the spiritual perspective which many believe were invaluable in changing the lives of many former addicts, life-changing results could also come from a spiritual focus in a cultural education.

The Mission Statement of Imani Kuumba as stated in its first Catalogue (1993-1994) is:

...The primary mission of Imani Kuumba College is to bring life, hope and opportunities to the decaying inner cities and their inhabitants through the Gospel of Jesus Christ, quality education adequate job training, economic development programs and qualified leaders (p. 15).

Therefore according to the mission statement the leadership at Imani Kuumba College had a mandate to maintain the mission and the Biblical perspectives in order to relate the goals and needs of the College, and to utilize them as standards, or guidelines in reaching and achieving these goals. All of this knowledge works well on paper, but in reality can be effected by the dynamics of other organizations' behaviors as they interact with the operational efforts of Imani Kuumba College's leadership as it attempts to make ethical operational decisions.

Relevance

Imani Kuumba College expressed in its administrative materials and catalogue its concern about making changes in its community and empowering the members of the community to "do it themselves". Its mission is stated in its literature as "to bring life, hope and opportunities and their inhabitants through the Gospel of Jesus Christ, quality education, adequate job training, economic development programs and qualified leaders (1991 Catalogue p. 15).

In the Mission Statement for IKC one objective was providing relevant education for members of the community. Karenga's (1993) discussion of the issue of relevance became a guideline for the College in reaching its goals and objectives. Karenga rated relevance as one of the most important concept in the Black studies movement. Some of the ways to define this relevance include: studies that have the objective of cultivating, maintaining and continuous expansion of a "mutually beneficial relationship between the campus and the community (p. 14). He argues that that goal is not a political one. He raises the notion that "if white studies or traditional colleges courses seek to produce socially competent and committed leaders for the white community, how does one justify

calling such an academic and social mission political for Blacks and proper for whites?" [T]he basic justification for all education is that it enhances our social competence and therefore, our capacity to make a more significant contribution to society (p. 15). Another ground for relevance posed by Karenga (1993) is that" [Black Studies] is a critical contribution . . . which will not only benefit Blacks but also the U. s. and the world ... and [focuses not simply on Blacks]s but includes other Third World peoples and whites in appropriate socio-historical periods and places of interaction wit Blacks and denying no people its relevance, unlike the case of traditional white studies(p. 18). He further reminds of Mary McLeod Bethune's (1939) call for service oriented professionals and intellectuals who would 'discover the dawn and bring this material within the understanding of ... the masses of our people' "(p. 19).

Criminals in the Community as Leaders

Leaders in educational institutions are often in competition with criminals in the community who are often looked upon by members of the community as examples of financial success. In a large number of cases the child of the ghetto has learned that, while formal training may be desirable, it is not necessarily relevant to his life. He sometimes starts trafficking in illegal commodities to get money, cars and clothes or to fulfill the requirements of a gang family where he feels more of a sense of belonging than he does in the educational system. Although he may initially have begun doing illegal activities for the money, a side effect of these activities was temporary fame in his gang or his community. This temporary fame made education less important to him. He remembered how the schools devalued him and tried to make him change and reject his cultural background. This effected him psychologically and made him believe that he

was not valued. The gangs and drug dealers, athletes and rap artists have been looked upon as the role models by the young people in the community, since they are the ones who have been successfully financially and those who have been innocent church go-ers in the community have remained powerless and poor.(Hare and Hare, 1991) His need for successes are provided by his community family, and these temporary successes lead him to devalue formal training. When he attends school he is aware that he is not being accepted for the uniqueness that his history and culture brings. He realizes that the educational system accepts him in direct proportion to the amount of his culture that he rejects, and the amount of the dominant culture he accepts. Also he has trouble seeing the value to him of any education. He often left the educational system from frustration and resignation. "The impersonal schools the inner city youth attends, try to make him over so he will reject his [cultural] background and fit the images of persons of middle class aspirations and background" (Morgan, 1990 p 6). In formal study whenever a Black student tries to academically approach an issue that relates to African American's, he/she is accused of hostility or some other indictment, which only reinforces the idea that his education is supposed to continue to be irrelevant to his life, his people, or his community. His intersection of ethics and leadership is at the point where he must decide to be accepted by "white-washing" himself, pretending to have no interest in African-American subjects, forget relevance and give up his identity while searching for self-esteem in an educational system which calls him ab-normal, (outside of the norm).

Benefits for Blacks and Non-Blacks

An important goal for the College was to provide access to this type of education for Blacks and non-Blacks equally. Anderson (1993) further stated that "the goal and utility

of African American studies are to serve as an educationally beneficial and intellectually broadening field of study for all students regardless of race or ethnic origin (p.10). This statement, which paralleled Imani Kuumba College rationale for providing Afrocentric education to non-African Americans as well was also reinforced by Banks' (1991) notion that many educators make an erroneous "assumption that only students who are members of a particular ethnic group should study that group's history and culture" (p. 12). This statement clarifies tends to nullify the notion that this study of an Afrocentric Christian College has limited transference. Banks further states that the "... curriculum should also help individuals develop cross-cultural competency – the ability to function within a range of cultures" ...[and] to respond positively to individuals who belong to other ethnic and cultural groups" (p. 26).The curriculum was for those who were interested in learning within a focus that recognized the academic validity and historic legitimacy of Afrocentrism. A (1991) article in the San Diego Union-Tribune described Imani Kuumba College as a:

...Christian institution that approaches life from a Biblical view, is committed to rebuilding and bringing life and hope to the decaying inner cities. The College is a center of learning where students, faculty, administrators, and support staff are also engaged in God's cause, God's truth and their application to life. Imani Kuumba College is also an Afrocentric institution which recognizes the legitimacy and validity of Black or African interests, goals, objectives, values and culture, and utilizes a Black frame of reference.

This Board of Governors developed objectives based on their vision for the College. These were spelled out in the Board of Governors Manual.

Objectives of the Institution

To accomplish the goal inherent in its mission statement, the College established the following objectives:

- A To develop a School of Liberal Arts which includes African- American Studies Biblical Studies and Communications Studies;
- B. To provide continuing educational opportunities for professional education for practicing ministers and other professionals;
- C. To provide a spiritual counseling center for drug abuse, child and marriage counseling for the inner city community which can also be used as a training program for students at the College.
- D. To teach students about the Black and African cultures and the valuable contributions they have made to society and the world at large;
- E. To establish a program in urban education and other fields in response to the urban needs; and
- F. To sponsor, spiritual, educational and cultural events for students and inner city residents.

Factors that Influenced the Form it Took

The founder completed the application to the California Post Secondary Office for approval as a Post Secondary School and the application fee of \$5000 was remitted along with the extensive application packet which included the College Catalogue, course curriculum for each of 18 different degrees, syllabi for all courses, course descriptions,

copies of each of 18 different diplomas, list of faculty, administrative staff and the legal documents. Volunteer clerical and library staff were recruited and organized.

Curriculum

The original courses and curriculum were in the areas of Business, Biblical Studies, Education and Liberal Arts from an Afrocentric Perspective and were designed to meet the California General Education Requirements with which the founder was familiar as a result of her many years of tenure with the California Community Colleges. Since there were no previous colleges with a totally Afrocentric Christian Curriculum, the proposed curriculum of Imani Kuumba College was based on a fusion of liberal arts courses and Black studies courses. The degrees as listed in the first Catalogue were: Bachelor of Arts in Business, African American Studies, Communication Studies, and Biblical Studies. The Masters of Arts Degrees were: Master of Arts in African American Studies, Communication Studies, Educational counseling and Guidance, Educational curriculum and supervision, multicultural education, teaching, Biblical studies, Biblical counseling and Christian Education. The next degrees listed were Doctor of Philosophy Degrees. These were Ph.D. in Arts in African American Studies, Biblical Studies, Education, Communication Studies and Psychology. The course syllabi and descriptive outlines were prepared by following the guidelines and formats of curricula from college systems in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and California private and State Colleges. The purpose and objectives of the Imani Kuumba College curriculum were guided by the findings of a task force funded by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the 1970s. Some of this task force's statements of objectives were:

- To provide an understanding of the life, history and culture of Afro-Americans
 - an awareness of the Black experience.
- To develop the tools of inquiry necessary for research and publication.
- To provide an opportunity to acquire skills and knowledge for building the Black community.
- To provide an understanding of the current social, economic and psychological condition of Black people.
- To provide specialized training and to develop professionals.
- To humanize American education and American society.
- To reveal the personal and social consequences of racism and to prepare students for the work which will help destroy that aspect of American society.
- To provide interdisciplinary study from a Black perspective.
- To provide meaningful human study experience which in itself might serve as a career or complement the professions.

International Implications for Black Studies Programs

In 1973 Ford discussed the objectives of Black studies programs between 1968 and 1973.

His international research in Africa and the Caribbean paralleled the conclusions of those of the founder of Imani Kuumba College in her research from 1989-2000. Ford cited John J. Akar, the Sierra Leonean ambassador to the United States' speech, "An African's View of Black Studies." presented at an annual convention of the College Language Association when he said ... "Black Studies and African Studies are one and the same thing." ... Akar specified another of Imani Kuumba Colleges founding

statements that... overriding consideration should be academic competence, qualifications, experience and excellence. “

Ford (1973) cited Dr. C. E. Zamba Liberty (1971-72)s, dean of the College of Liberal and Fine Arts in Liberia when he explained:

African Studies is not, per se, a discipline but an amalgamation of Disciplines; it is not a singular area of study but a combination of many areas of study. . . “This gave rationale to Imani Kuumba College’s curriculum design of an Afrocentric program that encompassed all areas of study.

In the Caribbean territory at the college of the Virgin Islands, Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas the Black Studies was described as:

...far more than a mere program of studies. It is really a new kind of education, one that seeks to prepare black people for leadership and creativity at the highest levels. It is marked by a human orientation and a commitment to human values. Materialistic systems are not ignored, but are properly subordinated to human concerns. ... Its philosophy redefines man’s roles. He is seen not as the conqueror of other men or even of the environment, but as a being who must attain a positive, mature and harmonious relationship with other men and the universe. (p. 204)

Ford (1973) also reinforces Akar and Imani Kuumba College’s founder as he states that [Black Studies] “is valuable to other kinds of people who need to learn more about

blacks and hopefully to learn how to develop and maintain productive, mutually satisfying relationships with them.” (p. 205).

Afrocentrism as an Educational Focus

Karenga(1993) also describes the Kawaiida theory which is the foundation of Kwanzaa that is utilized as a model for IKC. The Nguzo Saba appears in several of the printed documents from the College. Karenga states that this theory should form the foci for African American educational studies.

Analysis of Philosophy of the Institution

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The State of California Bureau for Private Post Secondary and Vocational Education

Although the application had been submitted the approval was not forthcoming due to the fact that the State Post Secondary Agency disbanded. We were notified that we

must wait for a re-organization of the agency. We waited three years, in which time the minister who was working with the founder left the State and contact was lost.

The Need for a Radical Change

When the Agency reorganized about three years later, the California Post Secondary Office consisted of all new members, one of whom we were told was, significantly, Ward Connerly, the Black man who had led a movement against Affirmative Action in California. This fact was significant to us since we were concerned that he might have objections to the approval of a college that focused on Afrocentrism. We were told that due to the fact that California was beginning to abound with “quasi” schools that were little more than diploma mills, the new agency was dedicated to making it harder for new schools to be created. The new requirements stated that in order to be approved as a Liberal Arts College we had to remit to the agency not the \$5000 we had submitted previously, but \$250,000 which would be held in escrow in case there were students who needed their fees refunded. We then believed that we would have to close the College since we were being funded totally by the founder and therefore we had no access to that type of money.

After much prayer and meetings with the Board of Governors we decided that we would change our direction and instead of focusing on a liberal arts college with a Christian basis we would be only a Biblical Based College teaching only our own religion. That decision was not difficult due to the fact that we were truly a Christian College teaching our own religion, with the goal of preparing graduates who would be able to minister in our community. We had previously submitted the Liberal Arts Degrees simply because we believed that our degrees would not be respected if they were not

similar to the traditional colleges. (See Change Document in Appendix). Our College's church then took over the governance of the college and the pastor became President of the Board. Many changes had to be made which can be found in the Change Document in the appendix.

This decision, however required changing all diplomas, course outlines, syllabi, course descriptions, and the complete catalogue. It also required recruiting teachers who not only were certified and teaching at other universities, but they had to also be certified by the Church under whose control the College was now placed. Changes in other bases of the institution were minimal due to the fact that the College had originally and had always been a Christian Institution. Our missions and our goals had always been to create an institution that would teach our students our own faith.

Issues of Leadership and Ethics

Ethical questions regarding racism, traditional bureaucracy, history, and affirmative action have impacted the students of this Institution. One task was to discover appropriate options to pursue in order to remedy the situations or issues that make it impossible to achieve the institution's goals, while still adhering to the ethical principles of Christianity. The aim was to aid the leadership of the Institution to ethically apply the appropriate scholarship to issues while continuing to be faithful to the mission of the College.

For this reason the educational leader of an Afrocentric College often must make decisions about his/her personal life that contradict these notions. The leader has to displace the seeming success of the criminal in the community, by dressing in a particular way and driving a certain type of car and publicly always showing

appreciation of African culture. The intersection here impacts the issue of whether the black educational leader's life is his/her own or must he/she have twenty-four hour visibility in his/her community?

In an institution like Imani Kuumba College, there is added pressure on the leadership, since the school is in an Afrocentric institution made up of persons of different cultures, (Black, White, Asian and Hispanic), and of different religious denominations of Christians and non-Christians. The focus of Imani Kuumba College is on achieving oneness with all humankind. The creed of *e pluribus unum* is emphasized. One of the institution's goals is cultural sensitivity and respect for all and in fact, the cover of one of the textbooks written by the President of the College focuses on the Biblical notion that: *From one ancestor He made all nations to inhabit the whole earth...*

Imani Kuumba College Students

The records of the registrar show that the first students included an 83 year-old woman pastor in the doctoral program, a disabled 60 year old who had retired from the police department due to ill health, a mother of two on welfare, a 45 year old who had attended school for only six months a year in the South where she and 13 brothers and sisters had to work in the fields and were unable to attend school regularly; a grandmother who had raised her own eight children and was now home-schooling and raising her four grandchildren, whose mother was an incarcerated drug addict. These grandchildren were all special needs children who needed special care. Other students were Haitian and African refugees for whom English was a second language; a white young woman who was a recovering addict; a 50 year old woman, a diabetic who had attended a local community college for five years and had been unable to graduate due to

her health problems. This diabetic woman was raising her own children and the daughter of her deceased daughter. The original students also included a young male who lived in a half-way house after an incarceration of more than 15 years and another male, a recovering drug addict, a woman survivor of domestic abuse, and the youngest student, an 19-year old who had survived a turbulent life as a foster child in eight different foster homes.

Imani Kuumba College as an Afrocentric and Christian College?

In the examination of the second research question data included published materials, syllabi, and other related documents that illuminated the Afrocentric and Christian nature of the College. Further documentation described the College's supporters, Board, administrators, faculty and staff.

IKC's Christian nature

Analysis of the Afrocentric and Christian Nature of the Institution

In addition to the fact that all classes, even science and mathematics classes are Biblically based, the Christian nature, philosophy and doctrine is documented in all of its literature. The Catalogue includes a section on IKC's doctrinal beliefs. Its illustrations are all of a religious nature and the pages in the Catalogue, Student Handbook, Staff Handbook and Faculty Handbooks spell out the Christian nature of the College. Students, faculty and staff must read and either sign or affirm their agreement with the Christian standards of behavior. TRACS, the Accreditation Agency also has a standard that must be met which guarantees that the institution will agree with the Christian standards set forth by the Accreditation Agency.

There were no other Afrocentric Christian Colleges, colleges that teach totally from an Afrocentric Christian basis, therefore examples or precedence were non-existent and it is difficult to find leaders who have experienced the exact same decision situations. A semblance of parallelism was established not only by the statements of leaders of Black Institutions of higher learning but other institutions as well. Imani Kuumba College proposes to offer a curriculum that is Afrocentric and totally Biblically based. The curriculum as published indicates that a student can graduate from this College by taking all courses that not only meet the State requirements for graduation but will be able to succeed because (s)he will see the relevance of his/her coursework to his/her own lives and develop skills that will not only make him a better scholar in traditional classes but an excellent scholar, with supportive instructors, who is motivated to study more. This Afrocentric method of instruction focuses on the group rather than the individual. Competition is diminished and group assistance and responsibility for each other is encouraged in all classes. The class objectives are indicated by descriptions of the responsibility of each student to learn, not only for the personal knowledge but more importantly for the objective of teaching others. The ultimate Afrocentric goal for each class was defined as "Each one teach one". The ultimate Christian goal was for Every one to be their "brother's keeper".

Darwin T. Turner in an address given in August 1968 to the conferees at Faculty Conference, Benedict College, South Carolina, said;

An Afro-American College should be an Afro-American College. That is, it should offer subjects and materials of interest to students of Afro-American ancestry and to those

*non Afro-Americans interested in learning more about the
Afro American.*

According to its Catalogue description Imani Kuumba College and Graduate School was founded in response to the alarming disintegration of the urban communities in and around San Diego California, as well as the rest of the nation. Imani Kuumba College describes itself as a Christian Afrocentric institution which recognizes the legitimacy and validity of Black and African interests, goals, objectives, values and culture, and that utilizes a Black frame of reference.

According to Mungazi (1993) John Dewey was suggesting in 1938 that a curriculum should be designed that places the interests of the student above the interests of society, otherwise the student "may lose interest in the educational process and thus in society" (Mungazi, p. 88). This loss of interest, Mungazi believes might explain the high drop-out rate among some minorities. Consequently proponents of Afrocentricity propose a curriculum with a focus that increases students' interest in staying in school since there is focus on knowledge that emphasizes satisfying the need for knowledge that can become utilized in the student's own community as well as the society-at-large. The Afrocentric Christian College's mission broadens this focus by expressing the notion that this need for knowledge of African- American culture is not solely for African-Americans but for the society as a whole.

Mungazi (1993) further traces this concept back in America's early history by illustrating that during the historic Jacksonian era a new way of thinking focused on a similar notion that the curriculum must be designed to reflect participation of all people so that society would progress as a whole. He explains that "educational psychologists

and researchers began to argue that minority groups did more poorly in school because they lacked access to an educational environment that promoted their strengths, and that this was a result of racial discrimination” (Mungazi, p. 100). This is one argument that led to the advent of Black Studies in Traditional White Institutions (TWIs). Educators admit that some “Black Studies” should be taught (Haniff, 1991), however this is often the “buffet or cafeteria system” of education. One selects a few courses to be offered for a term, with little thought to appropriate academic relevance, and in February, (Black History Month), every year the institution’s cafeteria serves “yams” and “collard greens” in an effort to appear to be culturally knowledgeable. According to Freeman (1995) students believe that Black studies should be practical, academically valid and culturally relevant. Ladson-Billings (1992) maintains that:

Although scholars such as James Banks, Carl Grant and Geneva Gay began on a scholarly path designed to change schools as institutions so that students might be prepared to reconstruct the society, in its current practice iteration, multicultural education is but a shadow of its conceptual self. Rather than engage students in provocative thinking about the contradictions of U. S. ideals and lived realities teachers often find themselves encouraging students to sing ‘ethnic’ songs, eat ethnic foods, and do ethnic dances. Consistently, manifestations of multicultural education in the classroom are superficial and trivial celebrations of diversity (Ladson-Billing, 1992, p. 26).

These types of superficial celebrations may tend to trivialize the perception of the Black world. The dimensions of this Black world may be much larger than perceived by the current Black Studies programs. The term "Black Studies", according to Nick Aaron Ford (1973), has become an acceptable designation for all studies primarily concerned with the experience of people of African origin residing in any part of the world. Ford further has said that "Black studies has brought about the enhancement of pride of heritage in those whose origin had been despised by themselves and denigrated by others for so long" (p.77). Woodson in 1933 also referred to those whom he believed had self-hatred or hatred for Negro culture. Although he did not know the term Afrocentrism, he introduced the Afrocentric concept, that is, the concept of the relevance of academic study centered on the African world in literature, science, art and language studies. Woodson (1933) also analyzed the total curriculum and noted the absence of Negro culture in all subject areas. Afrocentric education however differs from the above-described "Black Studies" in that it frames a curriculum that emphasizes a complete inclusion in all areas of the curriculum, not only as a supplement to traditional education.

In contrast to the total Afrocentric curriculum decisions, academic choices have been available for white students for many years, and today even the program of magnet schools for Kindergarten through twelfth grade education, allows curricular choices from languages, arts, medicine, and other immersions without stigma (Ary, 1985). The previous educational theorists suggest that curriculum decisions should be flexible and based on the composition of society. In agreement with that concept Mungazi (1993) concludes that curriculum decisions should not be forever, that "the curriculum must not be viewed as a permanent feature of education, but must be regarded as flexible enough

to reflect the changing structure of society, especially the need to improve socioeconomic and political systems” (p.105). As it is proposed in this type of interaction Afrocentric education “totalizes cultural and social organization demonstrating the essential character of human society from the centrality of Africa and the primacy of the classical civilizations” (Asante, 1990 p. 171), or Afrocentricity, which is defined as “placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involve African culture and behavior” (Asante, 1987, p. 6) proposes this focus on the structure of the society and introduces the flexibility of the Afrocentric curriculum that centers around the academic validity of “ ... recognizing the centrality of a world view based on Africa...” (Asante 1987, p.174).

Along with the cultural African world-view, Afrocentric Christian Education proposes a similar nurturing environment as the Historic Black Colleges and Universities. There is a difference however because the curriculum offered by these Historic Black Colleges and Universities, (HBCUs) is generally a parallel of the Traditionally White Institutions, (TWIs), since their focus is on providing African Americans the education that they could not receive when previously refused admittance to the TWIs.

Imani Kuumba College’s rationale for an Afrocentric curriculum is that most Americans, Black and white, uneducated and “educated” are ignorant of the actual history and contributions of African Americans (Woodson). Black History Month established in 1929 by Carter Godwin Woodson, the Father of Black History has been an effort to change that.

One of the manifestations of Afrocentrism at Imani Kuumba College is the observance of the Kwanzaa holiday developed by Karenga (1984). In his principles of the Kwanzaa model as outlined in the Appendix, there are parallels other known ethical

principles. These Kwanzaa principles of the Nguzo Saba are stated in the Imani Kuumba Catalogue and other published materials. Some Eurocentric ethical principles parallel the Afrocentric principles of Kwanzaa. Additionally, although the Nguzo Saba, or the Seven Principles of Kwanzaa are not considered to be religious, they do embody a spiritual frame-work. Imani Kuumba College catalogue utilizes the Nguzo Saba then parallels them with the Biblical Christian principles of ethics as indicated in the Scriptures. The College parallels the religious injunction of St. Augustine who said, "Never take any action that is not kind, and that does not build a sense of community, a sense of all of us working together for a commonly accepted goal, with the principle of Unity or Umoja. Umoja is the first principle of Kwanzaa from the "Nguzo Saba, " (the Seven Principles in Swahili). Imani Kuumba College's ethical beliefs not only correspond with this principle, but this principle is a restatement of Imani Kuumba College's mission published in all of its literature. To parallel Kant's (1964) Universal Rule, interpreted as "Never take any action that you would not be willing to see others, faced with the same or a closely similar situation, also be encouraged to take", the College utilizes the "Golden Rule". (Matthew 7:12) This Biblically based Golden Rule principle is also one that Imani Kuumba relates to and includes in its philosophy and expresses in its practice of the Kwanzaa principles of the Nguzo Saba, as stated in its catalogue as the principle of Ujima.

Kwanzaa

Dr. Maulana Karenga, the Chair of Black Studies at California State University in Long Beach, created the Kwanzaa holiday in 1966. It was intended to be a cultural observance for Black Americans and others of African descent, a joyful celebration of

their culture and history, and a reaffirmation of their values. Today more than five million people celebrate Kwanzaa every year between December 26 and January 1, and Imani Kuumba College honors its principles year-round. Part of what makes Kwanzaa so unique is that it honors history while it exhibits hope for the future by educating its people about the seven principles, (also called the *Nguzo Saba*), throughout the coming year.

Principle 1 is *Umoja*, or Unity

Principle 2 is *Kujichagulia*, or Self-determination

Principle 3 is *Ujima*, or Collective Work and Responsibility

Principle 4 is *Ujamaa*, or Cooperative Economics

Principle 5 is *Nia*, or Purpose

Principle 6 is *Kuumba*, or Creativity

Principle 7 is *Imani*, or Faith

Philosophical Parallels of Kwanzaa and Other Theories to the College

These Kwanzaa principles of Kawaiidi utilized by Imani Kuumba College had many parallels to other philosophies. In the area of economic efficiency Adam Smith (1776), known as the “Father of Economics”, (expressed *The Wealth of Nations* Connan Edition, New York: the Modern Library 1937 p. 164) The sign of the most efficient production is when one always acts “to maximize profits subject to legal and market constraints and with full recognition of external costs” (p. 164). This economic principle in the Kwanzaa *Nguzo Saba* would be the principle of “Ujamaa”. This is recorded in the introduction to the grant proposals submitted by Imani Kuumba College. Imani Kuumba indicates in these grant proposals that it believes that if the costs were placed against the benefits, it

would cost far less to help to sustain an education so that the cycle of welfare mothers will not be a drain on taxpayers and criminal activity may lessen. Statistics have shown that it costs far less to send a student through Harvard University than it costs to keep him/her incarcerated. According to the original business plan of Imani Kuumba College there is no price tag that can be put on lives that are lost in the commission of crimes or by police officers in attempts to arrest alleged criminals. There have been innumerable lives lost in accidents caused by police pursuits of alleged criminals, who might commit less crime if they could be educated to fulfill worthwhile jobs. Imani Kuumba advertises that it attempts to do that with its many programs for rehabilitating ex-offenders and the under-employed. Imani Kuumba College speaks of economic efficiency and refers to the Biblical parable about good stewardship and investment in the parable of the “talents” (Matthew 25:14-30).

In the philosophy of Distributive Justice (Rawls, 1971) there is a parallel to the Nguzo Saba when it states “Never take any action in which the least among us are harmed in any way, or the Social Contract, we make the agreement that poor and uneducated and unemployed should not be made worse off. (p. 121) The related principle from the Nguzo Saba would be that of “Nia” .

An ethical question becomes, is the role of the Black school to educate the ignorant in order to combat racism, or is it to educate those are sincerely interested in learning about African American culture? Must a drowning man save himself or is he first responsible for saving other drowning men?

Analysis of Imani Kuumba College's Operational Plan

One premise of education is that it can prepare one for successful careers. These careers are also available in the inner city. Both African Americans and non-African Americans are often prepared to serve the community with little knowledge of the community they serve. As indicated in the operational plan, African Americans as a distinct group have suffered from the fact that their circumstances for coming to this country and their treatment after arriving have created circumstances that are exacerbated by lack of knowledge. All careers require a knowledge of minority groups.

The African-American has been one of the oldest and largest minority groups in the United States and the World. According to Franklin (1996) this group differs from other minority groups in the United States for several reasons. (1) They did not choose to immigrate to this country, but came in chains; (2) They were unable to maintain a connection with their "mother country", therefore had no choice but to remain in America rather than return to Africa; (3) They were forcibly stripped of their native culture as a result of the institution of slavery. (4) Their history has been denied and looked upon negatively and their contributions to American culture have been denied. (5) They are still objects of prejudice, controversy and fear in the area of economics/jobs; Affirmative Action; Crime statistics and social ills, i.e., drugs and welfare.

Needs Analysis

Page 9 of the Imani Kuumba College Business plans presents a needs analysis that is based on the premise that all people need to know the constituents with whom they work, however the problem with a generic multicultural or ethnic studies is that it is too broad. In a speech delivered on March 2, 2001 at the Los Angeles Westin Hotel to the

ACCTL, the Association of California Colleges for Tutoring and Learning Assistance, by the President and Founder of Imani Kuumba College, she stated:

We often substitute the study for an 'ethnic meal' with signs to tell us what we're eating. Mama's sweet potato pie, made by Jack in the Box in February, (Black History Month), may taste good, but what kind of change does this cause in our lives or our professions? The most that can happen is that we will forever-more swear off of pumpkin pie. They say when you taste black, you never go back!

The speech further stated that this meal gives us very little information that can be used as data and added to our skills. We need to do more than eat ethnic food, sing ethnic songs, and do ethnic dances. "Identifying Chicken Body parts at Kentucky Fried doesn't make one a surgeon.

This statement parallels the concern of another Black historian that the error of this society is not that with all our education we don't know everything, it is that according to W. E. B. DuBois (1868-1963) men know so little about other men. In many areas this lack of knowledge can be dangerous. In the area of medicine, for example, to save a life doctors of all cultures need to know some of these cultural differences:

A Black newborn baby is generally smaller at birth than a white newborn. If the doctor is not taught this in medical school, the doctor may automatically assume that the Black newborn has a health problem, or as many African American mothers complain, the doctor may assume that the mother has a drug problem. On the other hand, a black 2 year old is generally taller than a white 2 year old, therefore the doctor may miss a medical problem that in reality does exist.

Cultural knowledge may be like the game of “Jeopardy”. Knowing the right questions can be more valuable than knowing the right answers. For educators learning that there is a language called “Ebonics” may help a lot more than learning to speak Ebonics.

According to the College’s published materials one of the concepts of the focus at Imani Kuumba College is to make the students aware of the fact that education can be relevant to their lives and to their interests. It has long been a belief in the African-American community that education is the “white-mans domain”, and that the knowledge one gains in the educational system is for and about European Americans only. One of the reasons for this is that educational decisions appear to be made for African Americans without taking into account African- American culture.

These decisions often effect minority education. There are also many effects of societal, school and community forces on the learning modalities of minorities. Even classroom modalities differ as a result of difference in culture, however, the inclusion of these socio-psychological aspects are not considered a necessary part of the academic study. In other words, even when students are studying African American subjects, they are told that they must utilize Eurocentric methods. The difference between studying a culture from ones own world view (*weltanschauung*), and another cultural view is that the other culture, is not considered.

Issues and Challenges

The third question was addressed by analysis of change documents and other archival data tracing the barriers, challenges, crises and changes in policy that occurred for the purpose of being in compliance with the state requirements and accreditation

standards. Additionally, the changing of environment and location are examined chronologically by studying the documents that detailed these changes.

Need for change

After IKC submitted its first application to the State Bureau of Private Postsecondary Schools and Colleges, the process came to a standstill. When the political administration changed the agency was disbanded. IKC's founder lost the moneys that had been submitted for membership and after 18 months a new Postsecondary agency was established. This Board of Governors of this State agency changed the rules. Due to the fact that California began to be known for a large number of schools that were little more than "diploma mills", (it was said that one could start a do-called college in a post office box in California), the agency became more rigid with its requirements for approval. Liberal Arts Colleges were required to post a \$250,000 bond that was to be held in escrow in case the school went out of business and students requested refunds.

The minutes of the Board Meeting of May 1992 show that the Board discussed the issue and voted to approve the proposal of the founding president that the college be completely changed to meet the less rigid qualifications for a Christian school, teaching only its religion. The Board indicated that since Imani Kuumba College truly met that criteria, it would allow itself to be limited to only that. The archives show the all Catalogues, course descriptions, staff and instructor requirements and other original materials were revised and the necessary changes were made. Many of the original instructors, some who were so committed to the College that they traveled all the way from Northern and Central California to teach classes, were no longer willing to participate due to the changes that they felt would be required in their course outlines.

They were soon replaced by volunteer staff and administrators. Many of the new staff had could only work part-time since they had commitments to other colleges and universities. This second staff included: the Vice President of a local community college, the Director of the library of a local community college, the Dean of a local college and many instructors from the local state and private university and college systems and the a professor of a local bible college. The founder and president of IKC was working full-time and a half at a local community college, while working full-time as the only administrator at IKC. The president of the Board of Governors resigned along with a member of the Board, a native American, due to the new changes. The new Board President was an assistant to the Mayor of a Central California City and a state college professor accepted the position although it required him fly to San Diego on a regular basis for board meetings.

One of the difficulties in getting staff was the fact that there were no other Afrocentric Christian colleges from which they could have received training. Training in Afrocentrism is necessary even for African Americans who have been instructors in Black studies. According to both Karenga (1993) and Asante(1987) not all African Americans, even African American scholars who research African American topics necessarily have the consciousness that precedes teaching and thinking in the Afrocentric way, therefore Afrocentric education instructs one to teach and utilize methods that raise this consciousness in students.

Even the methodology for data analysis is effected by the cultural group to be studied. To study African American culture, it is often necessary to translate the problem into European language to describe it, but then to return to Afrocentric methods to

analyze it, and then back to European language to express it. To be an African American scholar one must often be schizophrenic if one wishes to study anything that is a part of the African American community. It is said in the Black community that African-American researchers often come to the Black community, make studies under the guise of helping the Black community however hurting the community with conclusions drawn from a European frame of reference which often sees the Black community as “dysfunctional” anyway.

In terms of the methodology for studying issues in the Black community, one might necessarily require a hybridization of what one learns in class with a cultural adaptation. Imani Kuumba College also strains the cultural adaptation through a Biblical “strainer” in order that the policies and procedures will reflect its mission.

African American scholars are desperately needed in the Black Community, however, many educated Blacks become sensitive to the fact that often when they study Black issues, they are somehow suspected of not being scholarly, whereas in reality the translation that is required in that type of study means that they are being extremely scholarly. Due to this situation, Blacks are often reluctant, and in fact terrified to study anything related to the community from which they come.

This intersection between leadership and ethics occurs in many examples of leaders in the Afrocentric Christian educational institution, the faculty, Church Leaders, Black students, the President, and all of the students, black and white. All of its curriculum is Biblically based and its staff, students and faculty are admonished to be guided by these ethical principles, not only in the college but in their lives. Documents at Imani Kuumba College reflect this fact in the catalogue and in the forms that must be signed by faculty

and staff which spell out the ethical principles that must guide their lives. Even the accreditation documents dictated by the Christian Accrediting agency under which Imani Kuumba College has applied for accreditation requires this type of behavior from the staff, students and faculty. This is related to the fact that although this society is supposedly guided by legal principles which are often defined as situational ethics, the process at Imani Kuumba College is spelled out in internal manuals. The purpose for this is stated in the college documents as a means to eliminate different interpretations of these requirements as they believe that differing interpretations often occur and cause conflict in secular environments. This conflict often results as different entities determine that that leadership and ethics intersect to a lesser degree. There is also an interesting juxtaposition of the Afrocentric concept of "Different strokes for different folks" with the Biblical prescriptions for ethical living. Imani Kuumba College's documents such as the student and faculty and administrators' handbooks address this issue by drawing the line of intersection here in eliminating any paradoxes that might occur in situational ethics by stating that all actions, cultural or traditional must correspond with Biblical principles of acceptable behavior.

Another barrier to African American leaders in educational institutions is the lack of funding. Most alumni are not wealthy enough for large endowments to be made to maintain the institution.

...[M]ajor studies of black colleges have been concerned with objective institutional characteristics, such as endowment, instructional facilities, (classrooms, laboratories), library facilities, faculty salaries, research

publication by faculty, and student services. On these grounds, most black colleges cannot win in any comparison with predominantly white institutions (Fleming, 1984 p ix).

At one point in its early history, in order to overcome this barrier Imani Kuumba College entered into partnerships with TWIs (Traditional White Institutions) that appeared to be financially solid. The data indicates that these attempts were particularly troublesome and the outcomes surprising.

Partnerships of Different Colleges and Universities

Imani Kuumba College had researched the role of other institutional partnerships. Institutions have often maintained partnerships where two or more institutions work together to offer programs and facilities that are not possible or economically efficient to be offered otherwise.

For many years Harvard and Yale Universities have participated in partnership programs which allowed students to take classes at either University. This was a method of creating additional opportunities for Colleges without duplicating efforts, although both of these ivy-league schools were among the most-endowed in the Country. The IKC partnerships through analysis of documents including correspondence, agreements and minutes of meetings indicate troublesome relationships.

The Culture and Behavior of the Partnering Institutions and their Alleged Motives

The first experience of a partnering agreement with another local Christian College was negative. This Christian College was chosen because a newspaper article was written about one of their students who was doing student teaching in a local school. This student had sent degrading questionnaires home with the Black children in the class. The Black

parents had threatened litigation. IKC believed that it could help by providing some culturally relevant education to the students at their college and our students could benefit from enrolling in some classes there in an articulation agreement. The written agreement was not lived up to by the partnering institution. Students complained of moneys they were loaned from federal financial aid where the amounts disagreed with the statements from the loan companies. They were charged to repay loans for amounts that they never received. The courses that were listed in the "Articulation Agreement" were not articulated by the partnering institution and students then had to re-take many courses. The agreement was that the Imani Kuumba College classes would be given credit for their parallel in the partnering school's catalogue. Other courses, particularly the general course requirements would be taken at the partnering institution.

The "Artificial Nigger"

The most damaging incident that occurred was the incident of the "Artificial Nigger." One of the Imani Kuumba College students arrived crying at the office of the President of Imani Kuumba College. She said that she was too embarrassed and hurt to return to her English class at the partnering institution. She informed the President that she and all the students were required to read a story titled "The Artificial Nigger". Although the President was shocked she told the young woman that "there must be a misunderstanding on [the student's] part" and requested the student to bring the book to her. The story was a short story written by Flannery O'Connor in a book titled A Good Man is Hard to Find. The plot was even more debasing than the title and the story was replete with references to Black people who carried razors and might cut a white little boy, Black people who had hair standing four-inches up on their heads, Black people who

were Pullman porters and waiters in the dining car of a train and wore uniforms that were too good to be worn by “niggers”. The protagonist of the story constantly frightened his little six-year-old by telling him not to speak to “niggers” on the street, even to ask directions since the “niggers” were dangerous. He purposely ran off ahead and left his grandson in order to frighten the boy into learning that he should never be comfortable around “niggers.” The title of the story came from the fact that when the grandfather finally found a white man from whom to ask directions, and he arrived safely back at the train station, he saw what is known as a “lawn jockey”. This was a statue of a Black that was originally used as a hitching post for horses. The final words of the story were” Look they don’t have enough niggers, they even have to have an artificial one.”

The President contacted the Academic Vice President to inform her of the fact that this reading was required in the English Class. This Vice President had been a student of the Imani Kuumba College President years previously and therefore the President believed that she could not have known about this situation. The Vice President replied that she “would talk with the instructor to find out how this story was being used in the class.” The Imani Kuumba College President was disappointed due to the fact that she could not imagine any redeeming quality to the use of this book. Evidently the V. P. did talk with the instructor because about a month later the instructor wrote to the President of Imani Kuumba College, not at Imani Kuumba College, as President but as an instructor of “Social Science” in the Community College where the President served as Director of Black Studies. Her eight page letter said that the English teacher would like to come to Imani Kuumba College and meet with the President. She stated that she passed by the College almost every evening since she was studying for her Master’s degree at a

nearby Bible College. She also said that she was not a “racist” which was evidenced by the fact that her father, a Methodist minister, had written a play once about Harriet Tubman, a Black heroine and she had spent a summer in New Orleans after studying the “Harlem Renaissance in College. She also included what she said was the author’s notes. These notes used the word “nigger” throughout. The President responded with an invitation to her to visit and have lunch with the President at the College. The instructor replied that she would not have time to visit until the following year. The IKC student withdrew from the College and although the other Imani Kuumba College students graduated on the advice of the President, no future students were sent to the partnering institution from Imani Kuumba College. The treatment at that partnering institution showed a complete lack of respect for the President of IKC and the Black students who were insensitively exposed to a class assignment about an “Artificial Nigger” and even the requirements of the partnering institution did not measure up to those of IK since they hired a teacher with only a Bachelor’s Degree to teach a course for which she had no training. She would not have been hired by IKC.

Another Partnership with another Christian Institution

The next experience was with another Christian University that lacked diversity in their student body, faculty and staff. It is a richly endowed university. For several years, however, the President of Imani Kuumba College has been voted by the students, the “most enjoyed Chapel speaker” and has spoken several times to the University’s more than 2,500 students in the Chapel, as well as addressed several classes at their request. The President of IKC had earned a Graduate Degree from this University and therefore felt safety in IKC having a relationship with it. For many years the very few African

American students at this University have complained of feeling alienated. In fact, the President of Imani Kuumba College had been called on in the past to invite the African students to spend the weekend at her home, in order to help to make them more comfortable. Many African students left the University because of these feelings.

The IKC president was informed by the admissions counselor of the partnering institution that most of the white student population expressed strong feelings against Affirmative Action and strong belief in the “innate inferiority of students of color”, and in fact, many chose to attend the wealthy Christian white college as an extension of their wealthy, white Christian private high schools where their parents sent them to guarantee they would not have to go to school with “Blacks”. Even the few Black faculty have left the University, expressing the “unbearable conditions.”

The wife of one of the professors in the Department of Education at the partnering university contacted the President of IKC to request that she host one of the unhappy African students for the week-end. This student appeared extremely successful. (She was the President of the Black Student Union, Organizer of the Gospel Choir, member of a special touring group of singers in one of the Universities traveling groups, and editor of the school newspaper). She phoned the President of Imani Kuumba, crying because she had no “social life” and that the students who seemed to accept her in all those activities, would not invite her out on a date, and she was very lonely.

Impact of the Partnership on IKC Students and on the Institutions

The partnership school expressed its motive as that of achieving diversity by having an increased population of African-American students and faculty. This desire was prompted by the Governmental (Accreditation Agency's) concerns of lack of diversity as

requested by the Accreditation Association. Another motive was that since their facilities on-campus were up to capacity and therefore, they could not recruit any more students, providing Imani Kuumba College as an off-campus site would allow some of their original students to take some of their classes at Imani Kuumba College, and therefore, not impact the facilities on-campus.

The agreement between Imani Kuumba College and this partnering institution was based on the discussions of the needs of the students and the mission of Imani Kuumba College as an institution that would be working to improve students' study skills and knowledge concerning information, as well as providing an Afro-centric curriculum that would help to raise the self-esteem and confidence of the students so that when they completed the program at Imani, they would enter the partnering institution as well-prepared scholars who had every opportunity to succeed. The partnering institution would recognize that these students had had bad experiences at white schools in the past, but were able students who needed only the support offered by Imani Kuumba to succeed at their University. The required curriculum was submitted for approval to the partnering institution. The partnering institution's academic committee, made up of faculty and academic staff thoroughly evaluated the courses and approved them for credit in their departments. The students were admitted into the partnering institution to receive full credit for all courses they would be taking and upon completion of the required curriculum at Imani, would attend the partnering university as well as Imani Kuumba College.

The partnering institution, which has now received its credit for the diversity provided by Imani Kuumba College students, has now reneged on its many promises to

the leadership of Imani Kuumba, i.e. no additional evening classes have been made to accommodate these students, although it was known from the beginning that these students had to work during the daytime. Although the partnership school administrator says "it would be a wonderful idea to hold these classes at Imani" - none have been held there. Since almost all Imani students would have the same major at the partnering school, it would be guaranteed that these classes would be completely full. Imani students, although assured by the Federal Financial Office that they would receive enough money in scholarships, grants and loans to pay tuition, books and other expenses, the moneys were not dispersed to them. They only received loans which did not even cover tuition. The President of Imani purchased the necessary text books for them; they are now told that the only way they will be allowed to register for classes is if they "drop" all classes they have taken over the year that they were registered. This will "make their slate clean and they will owe nothing." They not only registered properly, applied for financial aid to pay their tuition (were told that they had received it), studied and attended all classes and received grades, but did not drop courses that the partnering institution is seeking to drop "without their consent". They are also told that after they drop everything they have taken they will be allowed to take only and one-half units each session at Imani, (Although Imani offers three unit courses every eight weeks). They must come "ready or not", quit their jobs that support their families, to take only the day courses on the campus of the partnering institution, although no classes are being offered to them in the evening. If they drop their previous courses, they are in trouble with Federal Financial Aid since they received loans for a "full-time" student taking 15 or more units.

The partnership institutions encountered by Imani Kuumba College expressed the notion that diversity was a desirable goal for them as a partnering institution, while Imani Kuumba College was candid in its expressed interest in achieving educational and financial aid for its students, persons who all came from a negative educational experience and background and could not attend school otherwise. Both partners should then be equally involved in a “win-win” situation. According to the students, the partnership school was not honest, however or open and truthful about their goals for the agreement. When students complained that their financial aid was not being administered legally, since they were asked to drop classes that they had already taken, and not given the amount of money allotted, according to the Federal Financial Aid Administration, the partnership school threatened Imani College that they would not negotiate until the United States Congressman to whom the students had complained, was “called off”. This implied that they were not proud to have their conduct reported widely. Although this was an intersection of leadership and ethics, the Imani Kuumba College President, although previously unaware that the students had made a formal complaint to the United States Congressman, refused to demand that the students give up seeking their Constitutional right of access to their Congressman, even if she was threatened by the partnering institution.

The students at Imani Kuumba College had invested their time and energies and sacrificed to go into debt to register as students at the partnering school, under the impression that the partnership would allow them all of the assets indicated in the agreements between the two schools and that they were making progress toward their

goals of self-sufficiency, education and full-employment, not welfare. To lose, not only their money, but their credits certainly made them worse off than when they began.

These students were encouraged to participate in this partnership and assured by Imani Kuumba College that they would not losing their ties with Imani since they would continue to be taught and mentored by Imani. This was reassuring to them because they were told that they would continue to benefit from the strengthening of their skills and the support that Imani would give them. Imani Kuumba College Board of Governors discussed the issues presented by the partnering institution's original African and African Americans students. These issues included racism and feelings of isolation on the campus. The partnering institution however did nothing to make changes to the environment about which these original African American students had previously complained, i.e. alienation, and racism. The President expressed in meetings with the partnering institution that she felt like she was sacrificing Imani Kuumba College students without the support they could give to a situation that had previously damaged many African American students in Traditional White Institutions. Imani would be performing as a recruiter or "Judas Sheep, leading the lambs to slaughter." The irony was however that if the partnership did not continue the students would receive no financial aid at all. Imani without the partnership in its original version would not have money for staff, faculty, rent, books etc. For the students, failure now appeared imminent since the Imani Kuumba College's purpose now seemed to have been eliminated. Promises to the students had been broken and their lives had been completely disrupted, since they all made sacrifices by attending classes nightly at Imani Kuumba College's campus from 6 to 11 P.M. and on weekends, for one whole year, with the notion that according to the

agreement between the partnering colleges that if they tried as hard as they could they would be able to complete their education. They, unknown to students and the Imani Kuumba College administration had all be given loans, not scholarships, grants, or work-study for which they were eligible. The loans that they received now must be paid, which makes it impossible for them to pay anything to pay for their education at Imani Kuumba College and the courses for which they worked hard to complete were to be dropped against their will.

The Intersection between Leadership and Ethics.

The President of Imani Kuumba College believed that in advising the students to leave their jobs and to leave Imani in order to attend the partnering institution without completing their program at Imani as agreed, would damage the students and appear to prove that the entire mission of Imani had failed.

What then were the leader's options? What was the ethical decision to be made here? Imani Kuumba College believed that leadership was needed here from the partnering University's administration which continued to say that it wanted to "continue the partnership", yet refused to make the simple but ethical leadership decisions concerning evening classes; honoring the original agreement and the Imani sequence of courses approved by the University, official approval of the Imani Kuumba sociology courses as choices in the sociology major as submitted; and the Federal Financial Aid disbursed according to the eligibility as indicated by the Federal Government; opportunities for eligible Imani Kuumba students to receive the University's scholarships that are based on Grade Point Averages; and Imani Kuumba College students hired for work-study positions, even if they are not white. (Only the one white Imani Kuumba

College student was hired for on-campus Federal work study, although the students received letters from the Financial aid office stating their eligibility for the work-study jobs); Imani Kuumba College Students were also refused off-campus work study, although other University students were allowed these off-campus jobs and Imani Kuumba College was designated as an official off-campus site of the University. Not one Imani student was given a "diversity" scholarship, administered by the University. When the Imani Students applied for the on-campus scholarships, given for high grade point averages, (I.K.C. students average G.P.A. was 3.65), they were told to apply in the Spring Semester. When the Spring Semester arrived, they were told that "all the scholarships had been given out in the previous Fall semester", and that they were too late."

The leadership of the College believed that although this situation was certainly at a point of intersection of leadership and ethics, because the decisions could negatively impact the students, who could very easily have nothing to show for their entire year of coursework, or might culminate in the death of the College if the leadership does not "sell out" the students to remain a partner of the University.

Although IKC files included documents from a Christian lawyer, the leadership of the College was faced with an ethical leadership question about whether one Christian Institution should be able to meet and negotiate with the other without litigation for charges of breach of contract, damage to professional reputation of the Institution, misuse of Federal Funds, fraudulent data supplied to the Accreditation Board and illegal dropping of students' classes or grades or other charges. I feel that Christianity was on trial here, since the way the students have been treated has affected some of the new

Christians whom we have brought to Christ. They are not sure they wanted to be Christians, if Christians acted this way.

As previously determined the mission of Imani Kuumba College was stated as one which instructs its students to apply their studies to real-life situations. The purpose of this study is to trace the creation of the College in its intersection of leadership and ethics in the administration of an Afrocentric Christian School, as well as the available leadership options for this institution's leader. The philosophy of the College is that knowledge should be applicable to real-life situations. The assigned class readings and recorded discussions were utilized to analyze the ethical situations and prescribe leadership techniques. Focus was on the impact of organizational dynamics of the partnership on the ethical decisions of the leadership of this Institution. These ethical issues included partnerships in which students are encouraged to leave Imani Kuumba College prematurely to attend classes on the partner campus before taking the preparatory classes, (Ready or not); Students who can only take evening classes, yet all classes are scheduled for daytime. Students who are eligible for work study and financial aid, only given loans and only the one white student hired for work study. It was hypothesized that there would be divergent ethical perspectives from leaders of varied backgrounds, i.e. Christian educators vs. secular, but that Christian organizations, by their nature would not have issues of ethics in their dealings with one another. Since all of the actors were "Christian," there would be no confusion as to the ethical practices to be utilized. The belief is that since these organizations espouse the same Biblical foundation, all business practices will be morally and ethically in concert. This study may juxtapose St. Thomas Aquinas' theory of the "natural" goodness of man, with St. Augustine's theory of the

“natural” evil nature of man. One conclusion may be that the so-called Christians may be following the leadership of Machiavelli rather than Jesus Christ, and the secular leaders may be closer to the divine.

Societal and Environmental Issues

The final research question about the impact on the College of the environment and community relationships was analyzed through documentation of the competitive or collaborative nature of Imani Kuumba College's relationships with other organizations through correspondence and meeting reports. Cooperation and opposition from other religious and educational institutions and organizations were examined as they precipitated changes that were required for survival of the College. Further examination of documents included the Imani Kuumba College Business Plan which describes the environment, the location and the community served. Newspaper articles, police reports and other types of census and statistical data concerning the area and the residents were reviewed. Data included correspondence, conference notes, meetings' minutes and contacts by the school with education specialists and representatives in African countries including The Ivory Coast, Gabon, and Senegal, West Africa. South Africa and Zimbabwe, the N.A.A.C.P., (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People); the Urban League; Neighborhood House; Human Relations Commissions; Rotary Clubs and other civic organizations. This research was done to compile input from educational leaders internationally as well as locally.

Black College Graduates as Leaders

Although there is no data on previous graduates of an Afrocentric Christian institution there is data on the success of graduates of Black Colleges and their role as

leaders in the contemporary society and environment. Some well-know graduates of Black colleges who have become leaders in the white world are Dr. Louis Sullivan, Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, Walter Massey nominated to head the National Science Foundation, historian and Chair of President Clinton's Committee on Racism, John Hope Franklin; Supreme Court Justice, Thurgood Marshall; and former General Colin Powell, presently Secretary of State under President George W. Bush.

One of the foremost pioneers in Black education, Carter G. Woodson (1933) has noted that the Black scholar quickly loses his identity and contact with his community because he becomes convinced that there is something wrong with his relating to it in any meaningful way. Self-hatred becomes perpetuated in the 13+ years of schooling that he/she endures.

Historically African Americans have had to fight for education, since during slavery it was illegal to educate a slave, and after slavery, institutions of education have not welcomed African Americans. The ethical question for the black scholar then became one of his relationship to the black community. Carter Woodson (1933) who wrote about Black education said that educated Blacks seldom returned to their Black communities after they become educated in the larger community schools. The leadership of the Black schools today struggle with the issue of whether to encourage educated Blacks to go into the white world where their better salaries can support them and their families well, or to return to the Black community where salaries and working conditions are poor, but rewards come from knowing that they can change the lives of a large number of their own people. They know that other groups are not going to choose to work under those

conditions and therefore the ethical issue becomes one of self interest vs. the greater good for the greatest number.

The mission of the leadership of Black Schools is to look at the curriculum and try to reflect solutions for societal issues.” How do we prepare our teachers and social workers to deal with crack [cocaine] and urban decay in the Black community, when they become less culturally identified with their own history and their community?” says Dr. Timothy Knowles, Vice President for Academic Affairs at Denmark Technical College in South Carolina. (Black Issues, Oct. 23, 1989 p 21).

Justification for Education

IKC’s publications point to a concern for contemporary social issues with the Biblical statement “Our people perish for lack of knowledge (Hosea 4:30) Even in an ethics class, a doctoral student, who works with many people of color in the Navy, equated celebration of Black History Month to membership in the Ku Klux Klan. For another member of the class to see no difference in his people” who left slavery in Ireland, to come to America where they would be free, and a people “who were forcibly taken from a continent where they were free and forced to come to America where they would be enslaved for more than 200 years, proves the point that much education is needed.

New Solutions for Old Problems

These are the attitudes that saw “reverse discrimination “in affirmative action. Imani Kuumba College was, in fact founded as an example of a solution that does not require Affirmative Action since it proposes to do for itself rather than confront those who wish to keep its people uneducated. *Imani*, (the Swahili word for “faith”) and, *Kuumba*, (the

Swahili word for Creativity), College, has outlined in its materials as its primary mission to bring life, hope and opportunities to the decaying inner cities. The College has proposed to be a center of learning where its students, faculty, administrators and support staff are engaged in the pursuit of God's cause, God's truth and its application to their lives. This then is the mission its leadership identified a mandate to uphold.

The leadership at Imani Kuumba expressed this mandate to maintain the mission and the Biblical perspectives in order to relate the goals and needs of the College, and to utilize them as standards, or guidelines in reaching and achieving these goals. All of this knowledge fits well on paper, but possibly in reality can be effected by the dynamics of other organizations' behaviors as they interact with the operational efforts of Imani Kuumba College's leadership as it attempts to make ethical operational decisions.

The Golden Rule as indicated in the Religious Injunctions of St. Augustine proscribes taking any action that is not kind and does not build a sense of community, a sense of all ... working together for a commonly accepted goal. The corresponding Kwanzaa principle is *Umoja*.

Keeping in mind the principle of *Government Requirement*, it appears that the partnering school was concerned about the Government Requirements since they looked upon the accreditation institution as the central authority that required them to use any means necessary to appear on paper to have achieved their requirements to achieve diversity, but they were more concerned with the utilitarian benefits by eliminating the students of color at great harm to them, as long as their institution reaped the benefits or appeared to obey the law. This violated the Kwanzaa principle of *Ujima*.

Summary

The goal of this research was to trace the creation of an historic Afrocentric Christian College. This was done by vicariously re-tracing with the founder the steps that were taken to create the institution. These steps were re-created through the analysis of archival documents, observation and records of events and societal and environmental elements that set goals and motivated changes.

In preparation for analysis data collection strategies were those that utilized multiple methods for the purpose of triangulation in an effort to establish trustworthiness of the study due to the fact that the researcher was a participant. Examining all documents: including public relations materials disseminated by Imani Kuumba College, legal documents, reports from the accrediting agency, newspaper articles and photographs taken of events, directed the analysis of data that traced these events and factors that impacted the institution, i.e., financing, accreditation, curriculum, its mission and objectives, and its students, administration and faculty.

In addition to categorizing data that focused on each of the research questions this chapter described another purpose of the study. This additional purpose was for the researcher to have the opportunity to see the Gestalt or the sum of all the parts. To examine the institution in a case study method allowed the researcher to see the results of the binding of the historical events that were a part of the College's creation. Another self-fulfilling desire of the researcher was to leave a legacy in the event that history does not record the establishment of an institution that purported to offer an alternative to traditional education that in its uniqueness has no duplicate due to its components of culture and religion.

Since an Afrocentric Christian College was virtually unheard of one of the methods of analysis was to utilize the method of comparison to institutions that were known. These institutions included other educational institutions; private, Church schools, Black studies programs, TWIs and HBCUs.

This chapter also describes the intersection between leadership and ethics as they apply to this combination of Afrocentric, Christian and Traditional research methods as it examines an institution that is a reflection of this type of hybridization. This often intersection between leadership and ethics became a focus in selecting data for the purpose of this analysis.

Hopefully other researchers will continue this study by evaluating the institution for its success and/or failure in reaching its stated goals and that these researchers and others will be able to use this study as a stepping stone toward the goal of formulating educational theory that recognizes culture and relevance as prerequisites to positive education for all people.

Chapter 5

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the implications of the research in this case study of Imani Kuumba College. These implications will include the possible impact of Afrocentric Christian higher education on contemporary education as it transcends age, gender and racial and religious background. There will be highlighting of some of the key findings of this case study. The chapter also includes recommendations for future research.

One indication of the significance of this study is in the fact that it may illuminate a type of education that is proposed to ameliorate many societal ills caused or exacerbated by an educational system that has not provided a type of learning that encourages the study or is consistent with the values and world-view of the Afrocentric world (Woodson, 1933; Asante, 1987). Afrocentric Christian education proposes a choice of curriculum for African-Americans and non-African-Americans that focuses on the African World-View.

Summary of the Study and its Methodology

The understanding of this qualitative study was obtained through literature review and extensive examination of the documents collected for a period that began more than ten years prior to the opening of the institution. This process continued through the planning and implementation stages up to the present time. This examination gave credence to the concept of differing realities.

The case study methodology in research recognizes that there are multiple realities. This concept of multiple realities was prominent after the 1960's Civil Rights Movement began. The Civil Rights Movement was founded on the principle that, regardless to the popular concept of the negativity of the word "black", the movement provided a different reality in the expression, "Black is beautiful."

This research looked at leadership in the community and the impact of relevant education to its success or lack thereof. Leadership in the Black community was represented by community participation in church, community and criminal environments. Though these three areas were divergent, many of the leadership skills were a result of practice within these organizations.

At the conclusion of this study and as a fellow in The Faith Based Leadership Training Institute of 2003, supported by the James Irvine Foundation to train pastors and key lay leaders on engaging in ministry to their local communities, the researcher participated in additional study of this topic by interviewing three different entities concerning their perception of the community problem of the highest priority. The answers of all three entities corresponded with the stated mission of Imani Kuumba College and in fact appear to corroborate or reinforce the data in the study that addressed a range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioral issues of the conclusion of this study. This provided additional converging development of the lines of inquiry. The results of this study are outlined in the appendix.

Implications of the Study

The primary goal of this study was to understand Imani Kuumba College. The researcher believes that her findings have implications for the world, United States and

the African American community and education systems universally. It is the hope that all people will see the connection they all have with each other, as well as the interest they must have in each other's success.

The implications for educational systems is that administrators and policy-makers must be open to change and innovation in higher education. The researcher found deep-seated resistance in policies and practices of traditional higher education and many higher educators. Those working in education need to evaluate their own beliefs about other cultures. They need to assess their feelings about researchers who desire to study African American life and culture and encourage scholarly study. This encouragement may introduce more educational research that can improve traditional higher education. This focus may lessen conflicts on issues such as affirmative action.

Ladson-Billings (1994) noted that teacher candidates need to have prolonged immersion in African-American culture in order to understand the students' home language, social interaction, patterns, histories and cultures. This then would allow the teacher to honor and respect the students' home culture, without looking down on their parents who speak a language considered substandard in the traditional school environment.

The Faith-Based Institute's study showed a common thread throughout all groups. This common thread could be used to build consensus for cooperative action. All three groups in the study outlined in the appendix stated education as the area most important in solving what they considered the basic problems in the community. The first group, the educational administrators saw the problem as low quality students who were not well prepared with the basic skills.

The community saw education as the greatest need to solve community problems, however they believed that the type of education should be more relevant to the needs of the community, create more economic opportunity and give more respect to the cultural background of the community. Religious leaders believed that education would be more beneficial if it were more morally and ethically focused, and community members were concerned that those who were educated needed to be better equipped to serve the community.

All groups therefore were united in their expression of the need for education, hence an individual or a institution might be instrumental if they could be a broker that could organize all of the groups in creating new educational institutions that could relieve the impacting of the present organization or by creating new departments in existing institutions more sensitive to community needs or concerns.

Goals of the Study

The goal of this study is more than simply gaining an understanding of Imani Kuumba College. It is the research's hope that this research will lead to increased acceptance of the validity of different realities and perceptions. An additional goal is the expansion of culturally enriched education for African Americans and non-African Americans, increased cultural consciousness in teacher education programs, financial cooperation and opportunities for non-traditional higher education and social, moral and political change.

Another important goal was to understand Christian Afrocentrism through the case study of one pioneering Christian Afrocentric institution. The second was to trace the

historical context of the question of the most beneficial type of education for African Americans.

The third goal was to stimulate dialogue between traditional and non-traditional education programs of higher education and to note the points of divergence for suggested changes. This recognizes the notion that respect for all cultures can be enhanced through knowledge of the history and increased understanding of existing cultural strengths. One goal can be to show the strengths of the African American community rather than the weaknesses.

Recommendations

Educationally, there must be an assessment of a system that has not changed in hundreds of years, especially as our population becomes more diverse (Powell 2001 p.259).

The current researcher has indicated ten specific recommendations for consideration. The purpose of these recommendations is to enhance the opportunity for success for those persons in the community who have traditionally been "left behind".

1. There should be as much financial support for African American education as African Americans in sports.
2. Afrocentric education should be encouraged for non-African Americans as well.
3. Afrocentric education should be more than the "buffet-style" of Black studies offerings separate from "main-stream" courses.
4. Teacher training should improve knowledge and understanding of cultural groups, particularly African Americans.

5. Traditional institutions should review the practices of Imani Kuumba College's program to determine if any can be incorporated into traditional higher education.
6. Financial/funding opportunities such as "charter schools" should be considered in higher education in order to fund more innovation programs of the type that are the focus of this study.
7. The concept of "each one teach one" as an historic collective attitude should be encouraged.
8. African American churches, community and other organizations must begin to support institutions like Imani Kuumba College in order to bridge the religious and secular community in an effort of mutual progress.
9. Unity should be the goal — not uniformity.

It is recommended by the present researcher that additional research be done to examine the possibilities of partnerships with colleges and universities, community and faith-based organizations and community residents to create institutions and departments within institutions that are sensitive to the stated needs.

Perhaps established institutions would be willing to examine methods of supporting institutions like Imani Kuumba College which was designed to focus on these needs since Afrocentric education as shown in this study transcends racial background. The similarities between cultures provide bridges to understanding.

Personal Reflections and Conclusions

The research views this study as a means of seeing the Gestalt, that the whole is much more than the sum of the parts. She does not look upon the study as concluded

since it is only the first ten years of Imani Kuumba College. I have learned a lot as a result of tracing the institution's creation and in hindsight wish I were started an institution of this kind today, with the knowledge that I now have.

What then do I tell my children? To my children, I say:

Let me tell you my life stories before I'm gone.

so when you have children you can pass them on.

I hope that when I have passed over to another life that this school will be a legacy I have left to others who will be able to pick up the reins and continue the direction of empowering the community to provide its own leaders. I have learned the truth of a story by an anonymous writer. I call this following story "the Goose Story"

An unknown author has written a short story titled, "Do We Have As Much Sense as a Goose?"

The story describes how geese heading back north for the summer fly along in formation. Scientists, the author said have found that as each bird flaps its wings in formation, it creates uplift for the bird immediately following. giving at least 71 percent greater flying range. Track runners and bicyclists etc. has discovered the same scientific law and even race car drivers try to get into the draft of the lead car. The story said that when the lead goose gets tired of fighting the resistance of going it alone, he quickly gets back into formation to take advantage of the lifting power

of the goose immediately in front The other geese, the story said continue to honk from behind to encourage those up front to keep up their speed and most importantly, when a goose is sick and falls out, two geese fall out of formation and follow it down to help and protect it. They stay with it until it is either able to fly or until it is dead, and then they launch out on their own or with another formation to catch up with their group.

The “Goose Story” has several applications to the evolution of Imani Kuumba College, an Afrocentric Christian College and its connection to the ancestors, historians, sociologists, psychologists, social scientists and educators who have gone before.

The “Goose Story” shares several “basic truths:”

1. People who share a common direction and sense of community can get where they are going quicker and easier because they are traveling on the thrust of another.
2. If we have as much sense as a goose, we will stay in formation with those who are headed the same way we are going.

Although none of the traditional historic Black Colleges focused on an Afrocentric Christian education, their direction was toward providing quality education which also raised self-esteem to the Black community.

3. It pays to take turns doing the hard jobs.

The adage that it makes “no sense to reinvent the wheel” is evident here because although the studies of previous scholars, stopped at a point long

before the establishment of an Afrocentric Christian College, the efforts and experience of a Booker T. Washington, who as an accommodationist discovered that Blacks were interested in an education that promised self-sufficiency outside of slave or sharecropping labor; and W.E.B. DuBois who entered into a confrontation with Washington, took turns with Washington when DuBois decided to place some machines into Fisk University so that it too could offer some classes in industrial arts alongside the courses of classical education.

4. We need to be careful what we say when we honk from behind.
5. If we have the sense of a goose, we will stand by each other.”

We must therefore, fly side by side with each other, supporting and protecting each other, teaching each other and protecting each other if one is falling.

Afterword

Imani Kuumba College is, like many other colleges struggling to maintain itself financially. This institution has the added difficulty in the fact that since it is not yet accredited its students are not eligible for financial aid. This is particularly devastating since Imani Kuumba College's mission is to provide access for students who are least able to attend traditional institutions of higher learning. These students include the many homeless, poor, recovering addicts and or former incarcerated and other underrepresented.

The Accreditation Agency determined that Imani Kuumba College met the requirements for accreditation approval except for the fact that their financial situation did not allow them to hire many administrators. Although their instructors were all first-class and were working without pay, since they all had other employment which allowed them time to volunteer at Imani, administrators did not have the same flexibility.

Due to the fact that administrators were already working full-time at other institutions, they were to able to volunteer. Currently, however Imani Kuumba College has been able to obtain a cadre of volunteer administrators who are either retired or have flexible hours in other employment. These include: a Vice President, a former administrator/professor from a Detroit, Michigan University; a Dean, a medical doctor from Haiti who founded a women's health center; a librarian a former public school librarian from Michigan; strategic planners, a Bishop, founder of an inner-city ministry; a

grants-writer, consultant and former Television host of a Business Series of Programs; a and a pastor of an area church. The counseling department has been enhanced by a counselor from the San Diego Community College District, and a certified counselor, a woman Pastor of an area church.

The situation had become a “Chicken or the Egg” scenario since the accreditation agency requirements are that the institution is financially stable.

Imani Kuumba is continuing to progress toward that goal of financial stability, however. It has become a co-hort to a new partner, an accredited university. Imani Students attend this university concurrently and receive degrees from both Imani and the other university. Imani Kuumba College classes are open to students from the other university and both colleges share the same physical space for classes.

This college parallels Imani Kuumba College in many ways. Although it is not Afrocentric or Christian, it shares many of Imani Kuumba College’s missions and goals. It focuses on oneness and diversity. It values culture history and environment. It has a human services focus. It expresses the notion of administrative caring and concern for the individual student and it is involved in the community.

Imani Kuumba College is also involved in President Bush’s “No Child Left Behind Program”. It provides supplemental educational services as a tutoring provider for students K-12. This program is one designated to enrich the educational experiences of students in low performing schools. Imani Kuumba College offers parents of students attending title I schools in need of improvement additional sources of academic instruction for their children outside normal school hours in math, reading, language arts and cultural studies.

Imani Kuumba College also has partnerships with other community groups including a local accredited college's Health Promotion Center which offers classes and health services to Imani students.

Currently Imani Kuumba College is partnering with an accredited university. The students attend both colleges concurrently, Imani Kuumba College in the evenings and the other university on two week-ends per month. Imani students have all chosen the Social Services major at the other university. The relationship with the other university allows the students to matriculate in a program where they may receive financial aid and have extensive training in an area that complements their interest in working in and for the community. This relationship also allows the students of the other university to attend Imani Kuumba's classes since they are held on university's site. Imani Kuumba College, if given the opportunity, plans to continue to move toward its goal and mission of solving community problems through education.

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Appendix One

Background of the Researcher

In an effort to describe the researcher's interest and expertise to conduct this study a little information on the personal background of the researcher is included. I received a Bachelor of Arts Degree with triple majors of English, Education and Sociology in 1965 and a Masters in English and Education from Temple University in 1970. While serving as Chair of Afro-American Studies at a Northeastern College during the 1960's, I designed the curriculum for the first Afro-American Studies Program in the State. In 1975 I completed all course-work for the Ph.D. Degree in history with a concentration in the areas of American Social History, Afro-American History, Afro-American Literature and African History. Post Graduate Studies at Harvard University included Black Intellectual History, Urban History and American Social History. Additional Post Graduate studies at San Diego State University were in Anthropology (American Culture), Caribbean Literature, Black Rhetoric, U S. History Black Perspectives, I and II and Multicultural Education. The Post Graduate degree of Educational Specialist was earned in 1991 and prior to the current study for the Ed.D. a Ph.D. in religious studies was earned. This educational experience laid the groundwork for the scholarly study in Afrocentric Christian Education.

On a personal level, as a single parent, raising and home schooling eight children fostered a desire on the part of the researcher to create non-traditional education for others. My children all received full scholarships and degrees from prestigious universities including Harvard, Yale, Clark, the University of Massachusetts, Cambridge

College, Northwestern and the University of California at Los Angeles, (U. C. L. A.)

The youngest child attended the community college at ten years old and is currently completing his Doctoral Dissertation at U.C.L.A.

My experiences as a single parent prompted me to further my own education and to provide a solid educational background for my children and my religious commitment prompted me to create a faith based- organization that would also provide spiritual guidance that could help members of my community academically achieve personal and group success.

Prior to founding Imani Kuumba College the researcher was Academic Vice President of a Religious College and for 37 years was Professor of Cross-Cultural Studies, History and Social Science and Director of Black Studies at two Community Colleges and a Christian University. Her Civil Rights activities during the 1960s included more than nine arrests and marching with Dr. Martin Luther King. After returning home to Massachusetts for several years the researcher became a columnist covering Civil Rights for a Massachusetts newspaper.

She has been honored many times for educational achievement and community service by United States Senators, The F.B. I., the United States Attorney General's Office, many national publications including: Who's Who in America, Who's Who in American Teachers, Who's Who in International Education, Religious Organizations, Cities, Temple University Chapel of the Four Chaplains, Universities and Community Organizations, has traveled extensively and made presentations to educational administrators, as well as being chosen to be a delegate to represent the United States in eight African nations. She has been honored by many Human Relations Commissions for

outstanding contributions to the community and service to the non traditional student and has been honored by the Community College from which she retired, for the highest faculty rating at the institution. One of her publications concerning her pilgrimage to the Island of Goree, Senegal West Africa was read into the Congressional Record by a California Congressman.

The researcher has served as President of a chapter of the N.A.A. C. P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), honored by the National Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and has served as Executive Director of Human Relations for a large Northeastern City. Her many awards for promoting diversity and understanding among different races have been the subject of national media coverage. She also spent years as a Social Worker for the State of New Jersey working with foster and adoptive children and parents with problems.

She has served as consultant to Mayors and Governors in the area of Human Relations, Consultant to State of New Jersey Public Broadcasting, an Intergroup Relations Specialist for Pennsylvania, and many other positions in education. The many publications of the researcher have further focused on these areas of the African American Culture, Urban American Studies and nontraditional education.

This background, personally, educationally and experientially has provided the foundation and preparation for the researcher's interest and expertise in non-traditional educational programs and has led to the present research and study. Her life-long work as a scholar and her personal life and professional positions as well as this current project illustrate a consistent concern for society, education and the issue of race in America.

**CURRICULUM VITAE
JUANITA M. BROWNE, Ph.D.**

6277 Boulder Lake Avenue
San Diego, California 92119
JBrowne925@aol.com
www.imanikuumba.com

business (619) 461-4500
phone (619) 698-7918 home
fax (619) 461-3900 Work
fax (619) 698-7775 Home

SUMMARY

President and Founder of Imani Kuumba College, a Christian Afrocentric College and Graduate School. Professor -Emeritus of Cross-cultural Studies, History and Social Science at Grossmont College 1975- 2000.

EDUCATION

- Ph.D. **Mason University Ministerial Education**
- Ed.D. **University of San Diego, Educational Leadership**, May 2004
- Ed.D. ABD **Northern Arizona University, Educational Leadership**
- **Point Loma Nazarene University Post-Masters Educational Specialist**
- Ph.D. **Temple University, History ABD**
- M. Ed. **Temple University, English Education**
- B.A.. **American International College, Springfield Massachusetts- English, Education and Sociology**
- Additional PostGraduate Studies:
 - Harvard University Black Intellectual History, Urban Black History, American Social History, San Diego State University, Anthropology - American Culture, Caribbean Literature, Black Rhetoric U.S. History - Black Perspectives I, U.S. History - Black Perspectives II, Multicultural Education.**

AWARDS

- Whos Whos in America 2004
- Honored by the National MaHogany Magazine April 6, 2002
- Commendation from City of San Diego Deputy Mayor George Stevens in recognition of leadership with Imani Kuumba College February 2002
 - City of San Diego for Commitment to Diversity January 2002
- Honored by the United States Navy - Coronado Martin Luther King Celebration January 2002
- Who's Who in American Teachers
- Who's Who in Distinguished Educators
- Honored by the Chapel of Four Chaplains, Temple University
 - For Outstanding Community Service
- Honored by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History For Outstanding Contributions
- Honored by Heartland Human Relations Assoc.
 - For Outstanding Service to the Nontraditional Student
- Honored by the National Black Business and Professional Women
- Honored by Senator Waddie Deddah as Outstanding Teacher
- Honored for Outstanding Achievement in the field of Education A.I.D. Inc.
 - Seventh Annual Black Achievement Awards
- Ph.D. Degree with Distinction- Mason University

- Gamma Beta Phi Honor Society- Northern Arizona University
- Honored by the United States Attorney's Office 1997
- Honored by Grossmont College for 25 Years Service 1997
- Honored by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation 1996
- Education Award from the National Coalition of 100 Black Women 1994
- Ebony Excellence Award for Education. 1994
- Honored by Grossmont College as Outstanding Professor 1993-94

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- Executive Director of Human Relations for the City of Atlantic City, New Jersey
- Taught and designed bilingual courses for the Spanish speaking- Northern Educational Service (called the University of the Streets)
- Consultant on Mayoral and Governors Committee of Human Relations for the State of Massachusetts.
- Consultant for State of New Jersey Public Broadcasting
- Arrested nine times in Selma, Alabama and Springfield Massachusetts for Civil Rights Activities during the 1960's
- Co-chair Council of Civil Rights Organizations
- Intergroup Relations Specialist for Harrisburg Pennsylvania Public Schools
- Director, Off-Campus Programs, Grossmont College
- Director and founder of an off-campus branch of Grossmont College for non-traditional students, which served over 250 students (1982)
- Member, St. Stephen's Church of God in Christ since 1977
- Pianist and Arranger, St. Stephen's Church of God in Christ, Junior Choir
- Faculty Advisor, Black Student Union, Grossmont College 1982-1998
- Director of Black dramas (Casts of more than 200 actors, dancers, singers and musicians at East County Performing Arts Center, El Cajon California

PUBLICATIONS INCLUDE:

- *African American Roots: A study of Blacks in the Bible* -(Spiritual Version)
- *African American Roots* (Academic Version)
- *The Black Woman: A History*
- *Thought I Heard My People Cry... An account of a pilgrimage to Goree Island, Senegal, West Africa*
- *U.S. History, Black Perspectives*
- *American Culture*
- Newspaper Column 1966-1970, Springfield Herald, Springfield, Mass.
- "The Black Woman" *ERIC Resources in Education*

FOREIGN TRAVEL/STUDY ABROAD

- 1999 -Ghana, West Africa - Delegate to African African-American Summit
Visited Elmira Castle, Site of Slave holding pens
- Johannesburg, 1997
Studied African educational systems with Supt. of Schools and University of South African and Vocational College

- South Africa, 1997 - Met with President Nelson Mandela regarding comparative African and African-American educational systems.
Delivered books and supplies to a residential school for the blind.
- Zimbabwe, 1997 Conferenced with President Robert Mugabe regarding education
Met with Black College Presidents for African-American Summit.
- Goree Island, Dakar, Senegal, West Africa 1996- Studying origins of slavery at original slave trading port.
- Dakar Senegal - Delivered 50 boxes of books and supplies to Martin Luther King Middle School. Accompanied by Vice Counsel from American Embassy, Atty. Nathan Holt
- Caribbean, Martinique and Columbia, South America, 1994
Visited slave plantations, studied devices of cruelty and enslavement
- Gabon, Central Africa and Goree Island, Senegal, West Africa 1993
Studied slavery remnants, slave systems and African literature at University of Dakar.
Made oral presentation on African American History in America to Curriculum Committee for country of Senegal
- Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), West Africa - Dakar Senegal, West Africa, 1991
Made oral presentations on education. Wrote article on slave trade and the Goree Island Slave Repository.
Published article, "*I Thought I Heard My People Cry* "which was read into the Congressional Record by an American Senator. This article was later published and has been used by college and university literature and history classes.
- Jamaica, British West Indies, Virgin Islands, Bermuda and Barbados
Comparative studies in slavery

Appendix Two

Auditor Reports

The role of the auditor consisted of the following. First the auditor examined the records in order to check their accuracy. Secondly, the auditor was concerned with the fairness of the representation of the study. The audit trail consisted of the examination of the following:

- raw data
- diary entries
- condensed notes
- theoretical notes
- category structures
- typology analyses
- peer debriefing notes
- member checking process
- photographs

The auditor reviewed credibility of the study through evidence of member checking, peer debriefing notes, and triangulation. The auditing process consisted of two phases in order to establish trustworthiness. The first focus was on assessing confirmability. Secondly the auditor focused on dependability. A feedback session was held at the completion of the audit.

After checking the records for accuracy and focusing on the fairness of the representation of the study, the following auditors certified that the conclusions of the study are justified.

AUDITORS REPORT

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A feedback session was held at the completion of the audit.

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Respectfully Submitted,

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Respectfully Submitted,

Dave R. Mode, Jr.
Pastor

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After checking the records for accuracy and focusing on the fairness of the representation of the study, I certify that the conclusions of the study are justified.

Representative of Board of Governors
Imani Kuumba College

AUDITOR'S REPORT

The role of the auditor consisted of the following:

This auditor photographed some of the events and examined photographs of other events.

A feedback session was held at the completion of the audit.

After checking the records for accuracy and focusing on the fairness of the representation of the study, I certify that the conclusions of the study are justified.

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A feedback session was held at the completion of the audit.

After checking the records for accuracy and focusing on the fairness of the representation of the study, I certify that the conclusions of the study are justified.

Sincerely,

Charles Francis
Board Member of
Lynani Kuumba College