Sisters in the Movement: An Analysis of Schooling, Culture, and Education from 1940-1970 in Three Black Women's Autobiographies

Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

The guiding purpose of this study was to explore and investigate the social, cultural, and educational worlds of Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis from 1940-1970. The autobiographies served as cultural artifacts and historical narratives of specific times, events, and aspects in the authors' lives. In choosing to conduct the study using a qualitative paradigm, I was not only able to examine how these three African-American women navigated and negotiated the worlds of race, class, and gender during the period of 1940-1970, but was also able to offer descriptive details of the multiple meanings of their lived experiences during the Educational Reform, Civil Rights, and Black Nationalists/Power movements that took place during the late 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. Utilizing the fields of educational anthropology, the politics of education, educational history, policy studies, the history of African American education and the qualitative research methods for education. This study examined the autobiographical works of Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis as sites: (1) to explore the dynamics and impact of racial and school segregation and efforts toward racial and school desegregation, (2) to describe and understand the Higher Education experiences of the writers, and (3) to examine the cultural and social lives of the three authors.

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1. D. Wheeler, co-author, T. King et al, "Andrea's Third Shift: The Invisible Work of African American Women in Higher Education, pp. 403-415". In This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation, Gloria Anzaldua and AnaLouise Keating, Eds. New York: Routledge 2002.

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PREFACE

Within my family there was one consistent and resounding message from my mother, "obtaining an education is your key to independence, opportunity, and freedom"[1]. My mother made the educational achievement and attainment of her children a top priority alongside our spiritual development, sense of family connectedness, and community responsibility. I attribute much of my achievement and determination to the continue guidance of my mother and the support of family members and church. At an early age, my mother would read to us all sorts of stories from fairy tales to autobiographies. In her mind, my mother was attempting to accomplish three very important tasks: (1) to provide us with a view of the world beyond our everyday environment; (2) to open our minds to the endless opportunities our futures could hold; and, (3) to introduce additional role models of individuals who have succeeded. By exposing her children to these new worlds through texts and drilling educational achievement into our heads, she hoped to foster a sense of exploration and direction to overcome our prescribed status of being Black[2] and female.

I have learned many lessons in the halls of social institutions referred to as schools, colleges, and universities. Additionally, I have acquired essential knowledge

attending "class sessions" within my family, neighborhood, church, as well as, by my own love of reading historical, fictional, and autobiographical literature.

My family and community schooling along with my formal educational training has afforded me an opportunity to possess a bi-cultural identity. A bi-cultural identity is familiar to many people of color[3]; experiencing a dual education throughout one's life is not uncommon (Wolcott, 1994; Gibson, 1982: Ogbu: 1987; and Fordam, 1999). There are some people of color who are socialized to exist in two worlds. The world of the dominate culture which typically has been defined as White Americans and the "Other" or "Outsider" world, which speaks to the ethnic and/or cultural background differences of an individual. In an effort "to become", one must navigate the terrain of both worlds with excellence and expertise. It is through continual cultural and educational processes that one masters their cultural hybridity (Bhabba, 1994). Education has served as an essential component in the development of my identity, culture, and knowledge of the world in which I operate. Education has provided a means of enlightenment to the history of my people; to worlds I have yet to physically explore; and to issues of power and knowledge I never knew existed.

As a beginning doctoral student in Cultural Studies in Education at The Ohio State University, I was exposed to various scholars who saw connections between the traditional study of education and theories and methods from sociology, anthropology, literature, critical theory, philosophy, and psychology. As a result of my program, I became interested in two areas of education and culture. Educational anthropology is the first area of interest in terms of: (1) how education and schooling transmit culture, (2) whose culture and knowledge is validated as part of curriculum and learning process, and

(3) issues of maintaining cultural identity among students of color. The other area of interest includes the educational history of African Americans, generally, and women in particular, especially during the era of educational reform for equity and excellence in education (1945-1975).

As a Black woman, I have benefited from the educational policies arising from the battles of the Civil Rights and Educational Reform movements. My earliest formal education took place in de facto segregated elementary schools in Ohio. My mother then moved our family to Arkansas in 1979 where I attended de facto segregated middle and high schools. Most of the more affluent white students attended the private school located up the hill just 4 miles from the public middle and high school. Due to my continued efforts to be a strong student in high school, I graduated in the top 10 percent of my class. My mother's continued investment in my educational achievement was paying off. In addition to my own spirit to excel, I knew obtaining a college degree was my ticket out of Arkansas and toward financial freedom. I was able to attend a predominantly white private liberal arts college for my undergraduate education, a win-lose experience. For instance, for the first time in my life I was a minority. I was immersed into the "white man's" world and much like Anne Moody, when she transferred to Tougaloo College, felt ill prepared to compete with my classmates in terms of political knowledge of the global world and academic skills within the classroom. . Nevertheless, thanks to the kindness of the older African American and African students, I found my place, my voice, and my comfort zone in this foreign environment. Like Angela Davis, I exposed myself to the political aspects of campus life. I joined The Black Student Association to aid in my political consciousness regarding issues

pertaining to people of color in America and abroad. I became a member of the Black Women's Organization for a sister circle and learned about issues of gender inequity within the Black race. Finally, I served as programming chair for the Student Activities Board to help me learn how to negotiate mainstream organizations and the political side of fundraising.

While there were many times that I struggled being a Black woman in a "foreign" environment, I won because of the exposure to academic and career opportunities I would not otherwise have had. I won because it was only when I attended college and took Black studies courses in history that I was further exposed to the concerns and triumphs of African Americans ongoing struggle for equality and justice. Still, while we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the *Brown vs. the Board of Education* decision of 1954, most urban city school district continue to be predominantly attended by African American or Latino/a students. This fact signifies that the past must inform the present and future. There is still much more to be done before reaching educational equity for children of color and the poor.

With these specifics in mind, I turned my attention to understanding my past as a Black woman. I particularly felt it my duty to create a study that would add to the scholarship pertaining to African American women's educational, social, and cultural experiences during the Civil Rights and Black Nationalist Movements. I decided to do so by analyzing the autobiographies of three Black women activists. The resulting dissertation, *Sisters in the Movement: An Analysis of Schooling, Culture, and Education from 1940-1970 in Three Black Women's Autobiographies* not only allowed for the examination of three courageous, spirited, and community-oriented women, but also

afforded me the opportunity to use autobiography as a primary source of data. In this manner, I was able to approach each text as an artifact and document of historical relevance to my study. The past informs the struggles of the present in terms of educational equity, gender education, identity development, human agency, and class based issues of privilege which surface whenever one seeks to examine and explore schooling opportunities.

In using autobiographies, the lives of these three women debunks the concept of a "monolithic" black culture or experience. Each author provides models of "sisterhood" as implied in the title of the study. "Sisterhood" for the purposes of this study is defined in a broad sense. It encompasses a communal bond, struggle, and envisions the end of oppression in any form. "Sisterhood" crosses boundaries of race, and class to focus on the gendered issues plaguing women in American society. "Sisterhood" includes all intersections of race, class, and gender in the day to day lives of women's existence.

In this study, I have chosen to focus on African American women and their struggle to maintain and model "sisterhood" within the turbulent times of Civil Rights, Educational Reform, and Black Nationalists movements. Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis serve as models of *Sisters in the Movement* committed to the pursuit of educational and civil liberties for African Americans. Their lives provide examples of growing up in the rural south and attending segregated elementary and secondary schools. There lives offer illustrations of the discrepancies that existed in schooling for Black children before and after the Brown vs. the Board of Education decision. Their lives represent the challenges and triumphs of attending institutions of higher education, whether historically black or predominantly white, in the 1960's. Their lives are models

for the goal of human agency[4] in how they critiqued their environment and world, ultimately becoming agents of change. Finally, their lives exhibit the various ways education, schooling and culture can determine who we become as individuals.

In this study, I attend to the particular experiences with schooling, education and culture of which these three authors write. These three Black women model how to overcome the inconsistencies of living and operating in two worlds and thus, become a force of strength.

CHAPTER 1

Origins of the Study: Toward an Interdisciplinary Approach

Autoethnographies can become a call to witness for both the author and the reader. The Witness offers testimony to a truth that is generally unrecognized or suppressed.
Andrew Sparkes, 2002

The words of Andrew Sparkes resonate with one of the goals of this research. As a researcher, I have embarked on an atypical educational study by conducting an alternative ethnographic study of schooling, culture, and education. According to Carol Ellis and Arthur Bochner (1996), there is a need for social scientists to develop more imaginative, diverse and multi-layered approaches to qualitative research. Autobiographies lend themselves to cultural work, which explores both past and present issues of a person, people, culture, time, and place. Education and schooling[1] are, both, contested terms that can be examined through the analytical lenses of autoethnography and autobiography.

According to Mwalimu J. Shujaa (1994), in "Education and Schooling: You Can Have One Without the Other," education and schooling can and do overlap. However, in a nation-state where multiple ethnicities and cultural identities are in conflict, the leadership of those in the dominant culture will prevail regarding what is socially valued in the schooling process (Shujaa, 1994). In an effort to sustain one's cultural knowledge

and identity, people of color continue to seek ways to equip their children with such characteristics even while in the midst of the dominant culture. In this instance, education and schooling can serve to better and/or betray the one seeking it. For instance, one schooled in the dominant culture (Anglo-Saxon) becomes knowledgeable of the practices and customs of that culture. However, one must continue to maintain connected to one's birth culture (African, Latino/a, Asian, Native American). Many times individuals of color are placed in a sort of cognitive dissonance, due to their schooling contradicting their family and/or cultural education. As a result, some people of color learn to be bicultural in an effort to blend the two and attempt to remain whole.

This study analyzes the autobiographies of three Black women who write of their experiences during the time frame of 1940-1970. The primary research goals are to: (1) to gain insight into their social and cultural worlds, and (2) to explore the role/purpose of schooling for the chosen authors, as well as, other African Americans during the same period of time, 1940-1970. In this chapter, I will address the following topics: (1) the origin and nature of my research questions; (2) the theoretical framework utilized; (3) the methodology and research design for the study; and (4) the review of literature.

Origins and Nature of the Study

Educational anthropologists seek to uncover the ideas of education and schooling as transmitters of culture as well as the politics surrounding the role and purpose of schooling. Similarly, educational historians explore policy reform and various periods in educational history to provide evidence of the numerous debates and arguments regarding how the power, purpose, and culture which education and/or schooling has served to create American culture as well as current policies (Karier, 1967, 1986; Pai, et. al., 1997,

Spindler, 1963). For the purposes of this study, I investigate the role of schooling as understood and perceived by Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis in their autobiographical narratives, which span from 1940-1970. Autobiography, as a research method, is often utilized in Literature and Humanities as a site of research and exploration. However, unlike a literary approach to the text, I treat these works as cultural artifacts rather than as works of fiction[2]. Through the use of autobiographies, I investigate a specific cultural time and place in educational and African-American history.

Many scholars of color, both past and present, have paid attention to various themes of education as a means to connecting. These themes have included, but are not limited to viewing the process of education as "uplifting the race," "ending oppression," "being the great equalizer," and "defending our name" (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1988; DuBois, 1909; Gray White 1999; Hine, 1998; Woodson, 1977). Education as a theme of liberation can be found within the works of many African American writers (Angelou, 1969; Bates, 1962; Davis, 1984; Pattillo Beal, 1994; Giddings, 1984; Hurston, 1942; Malcolm X 1965; Walker, 1976; Wright, 1945). Like these authors, Moody, Bates, and Davis speak to their education, schooling, and cultural worlds which aid in our understanding of who they are as Black women and Civil Rights activists. My interests include, but are not limited to, the social lives of Moody, Bates, and Davis as they discuss: (1) the role/purpose of schooling for Black women during segregation and desegregation of the public elementary and secondary schools from 1940-1960, (2) the involvement and impact of the authors' higher educational experiences on their

intellectual and social lives from 1960-1970, and (3) the social and cultural influences leading to living life as civil and human rights activists.

Through the historical legacy of literature, African-American writers comment on the world around them and re-imagine the world as they wish it could be. Black women, in particular, have utilized literature as a means to communicate their views about the world in which they live and operate. African-American women's literature serves as a vessel to explore the "lived experiences" of Black women in American society as well as a foundation upon which Black Feminist/Womanist Thought has been constructed (Alcoff, 1995; Scott, 1992; Christian, 1980; DuCille, 1996; Foster, 1985; and Collins, 1991). Through Black Feminist Thought and African-American women's literature, Black women have reclaimed their voice and told stories to a world where White women and Black men used race, class, privilege, and gender to exclude them.

> As a group, black women are in an unusual position in this society, for not only are we collectively at the bottom of the occupational ladder, but our overall social status is lower than that of any other group. White women and black men have it both ways. The can act as oppressor or be oppressed (hooks, 2000, pg. 144).

bell hooks provides a perspective on Black women's need to create their place in the feminist movement; more importantly, she also demonstrates the need for Black women to tell their own stories and recount history from their perspective. In the words of Anne DuCille (1996), this study seeks to reclaim Black women's writing and research as spoken in their own voice. This study focuses on the Civil Rights Movement[3] from 1941-1964 and the Black Nationalist/Power Movement[4] from 1965-1974. Although heavily

associated with male leadership and male voices, these eras were largely defined by the tenacity and activism of Black women.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the role/purpose of schooling, culture, and education as experienced and portrayed in the selected autobiographical narratives. I utilize an autoethnographical reading[5] of the three Black women writers, Anne Moody, Daisy Bates and Angela Davis to achieve this goal. Within the Black community, the Civil Rights era and the Black Nationalist/Power periods, 1940 – 1970, was a time when the concepts of community and unity were interchangeable; to speak of the Black community was to acknowledge its inherent sense of connectedness and collective determination. African Americans were unyielding in their battle to overcome oppression and the denial of their human rights in education, housing, job opportunities, and politics (Berube, 1994; Davis, 1981; Gibson, 1987; Hine, 1994; Karier, 1967, 1986; Williams, 1987; Crawford, et. al, 1990). The autobiographies of Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis provide vivid accounts of the perilous life and times of Black men and women from 1940-1970. Additionally, these authors provide first hand accounts of the people, places, and politics that surround the *Brown versus the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas 1954* decision, which ruled segregation of public schools unconstitutional and began the process of overturning years of the Plessy versus Ferguson's "separate-but-equal" manifesto.

(1) Statement of the Problem

In this study, I investigate the autobiographies of Anne Moody, *Coming of Age In Mississippi*; Daisy Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*; and Angela Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*. Each of these narratives provides a glimpse into the

educational, cultural, and social worlds of three Black women navigating and negotiating their lives during the time of 1940-1970. Each author using a different form of autobiography gives voice to the particular time, space and events of which the she writes.

In *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, Anne Moody sets forth a traditional autobiography that organizes her story covering the years chronologically from her childhood of growing up poor, female, and Black in the rural south of Mississippi in the mid-1940's to her early adulthood when she graduated from Tougaloo College in 1964. Daisy Bates' style of autobiography in *The Long Shadow of Little Rock* is somewhat more political and is more reflective of a documentary that covers the span of 1940 to 1960. While Moody's personal history is woven throughout her account, Bates only provides two chapters detailing her childhood as it was shaped and influenced by race and white privilege. Bates' account details her experience in the newspaper business as a Black woman with the bulk of her narrative recounting the turmoil surrounding the implementation of the *Brown decision of 1954* in Little Rock's Central High School. With a spirit of boldness, she documents the days surrounding the time when nine African-American students would integrate Central High, the community climate, and her role as mediator/protector of the children and their rights to attend Central High School.

Angela Davis: An Autobiography provides a distinctly political autobiography[6] which weaves her story within the political and emotional times of the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. Davis' autobiography, first engages the reader at the focal point of her politically charged activism with a detailed account of her hiding from the FBI, her subsequent capture and imprisonment. As a reader, one is not introduced to her

childhood and upbringing until chapter two, which, interestingly, is one of the shortest chapters in the book. In contrast to the autobiographies of Anne Moody and Daisy Bates, Davis writes herself between the lines of her work rather than as a headliner. Each author concentrates on the numerous political and historical events occurring during their lifetime. For example, Moody marks critical times in her life by the killing of Emmit Till, the assassination of Medgar Evans, and the Mississippi Freedom Summer; while for Davis critical historical markers were the bombing of the Baptist Church in Birmingham, and the Soledad Brothers' incarceration.

These three narratives allow for an investigation of the central question driving this study: How did Black girls and women navigate and negotiate the worlds of race, class, and gender in their efforts to seek civil and educational equity during the period of 1940-1970?

(2) Significance of the Study

Autoethnography is well suited for approaching the topic of making meaning out of an individual's or groups' social world or culture. The prefix "auto" comes from the Greek word meaning "self". "Ethno" means "people or race" and "graph" means "to write". Traditional ethnography is a written work on a cultural group of living people, which is conducted over at least one year of field observation and interviews. Cultural and educational anthropologists employ this method most often. My study is concerned with a specific historical time and three African American women who served pivotal roles within that time. Moody, Bates, and Davis' narratives were chosen for their particular attention to schooling, culture, and education in Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi from 1940-1970.

In using autoethnography as an alternative to traditional ethnographic work, I am able to produce a detailed reading and examination of these works that will provide a greater understanding of the cultural experiences of each author and their social worlds. Autoethnography is described in terms of "a genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural" (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, pg. 739). A more detailed explanation is provided in the review of literature and methods sections. The critical reading of autoethnographies involves a research method, which forces one to engage and feel or experience what it was like to "walk in the shoes" of the author. Traditionally, the use of autobiographies in education has served as an avenue of curriculum and classroom learning (Batteson, 1995; Alvine, 2001; Rousmaniere, 2000).

In this study, autobiography replaces the participants as the primary source of knowing and learning, and serves as a representation and first-hand account of their lived experience. The autobiographies constitute the primary source of data; they provide insight into the meanings, and connections Moody, Bates, and Davis made of their social worlds and schooling experiences. The autobiographies allow for an examination of how the past effects the present and possibly the future in the perspective of the authors. In using these narratives of African American women, this study adds to the scholarship that has begun addressing the role of Black women in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements and that locates Black women's lived experiences as the central unit of analysis. Additionally, this study provides varied accounts of African-American schooling experiences before and after the educational equity reform era. Therefore, this

work becomes an additional resource as we assess progress, or the lack thereof, during the 50 years following the *Brown versus the Board of Education* decision of 1954.

This study utilizes these three narratives as sites: (1) to explore the dynamics and impact of racial and school segregation and efforts toward racial and school desegregation, (2) to describe and understand the Higher Education experiences of the writers, and (3) to examine the cultural and social lives of the three authors. In accomplishing these goals, I contribute to the literature surrounding the discussions regarding the pros and the cons of segregated and desegregated schools, culturally relevant pedagogy, the hidden curriculum, as well as, educational equity and opportunities for Black women and people of color in general. Each narrative functions as a cultural artifact providing a highly personalized and individual account of the authors' understanding of their educational, social, and cultural life from 1940-1970. These autobiographies allow for, not only an interaction with the "lived experience and culture" of the authors', but, they also illustrate the authors' personal gains and losses due that resulted from the enactment of educational policy decisions pertaining to the segregation and desegregation of public schools.

In using the method of critical reading as autoethnography, I broaden the qualitative research approach for educational researchers seeking to explore "the Other." Feminist and ethnic studies have contributed greatly to this new found legitimacy of alternative methods of doing ethnography because of their emphasis on "voice" and the "lived experiences" of underrepresented groups (Collins, 1991, 1994; Scott, 1992, Ellis & Bochner, 2000). This study establishes my intention to becoming a contributor in the

scholarly areas of feminist and critical race theory in the exploration and investigation of "the Other".

Introduction to the Works Chosen

In providing a brief description of autobiographies and their relevance, I now turn to the texts chosen for this study. Author and civil rights activist Anne Moody wrote *Coming of Age in Mississippi* with a great deal of descriptive details and passionate prose. The 1968 versions' text cover displays a small white, wooden, beat up shack of a house--probably one room--with one window, and two steps leading to a single wooden door entrance. The home appears in front of a wooded area where there is little to no grass on the ground. The cover also has a small rectangular portrait photo of a young Anne Moody looking pensive, yet determined. Her eyes are staring slightly upward with a serious facial expression. The work was published in 1968, four years after Moody's graduation from college. The author makes use of her brutal honesty to discuss life in rural Mississippi for Blacks and her personal commentary and judgments regarding: (1) the community response and/or lack thereof to a segregated system of existence; (2) the violence and threats of violence; (3) the voter's registration drives; and (4) the struggles within the civil rights movement. I view this publication as a candid and brave work, not only because of the approach to the subject matter, but also because Anne Moody has risked much of her private self in this work in order to educate and enlighten others. *Coming of Age in Mississippi* provides the reader with one testimonial representation of the world for some African Americans living in rural Mississippi from 1945-1964.

Anne Moody grew up in a time where Blacks and other Americans were beginning to seek a change in behavior and policies concerning race and race relations.

However, she, and others like her who were living in the segregated South, suffered because of the past and present belief system regarding white supremacy. In keeping with the turmoil of the times, Anne Moody traces in *Coming of Age in Mississippi* a personal and historical journey of one woman's trials, tribulations, and triumphs toward becoming a whole person in a society and culture where one's worth is judged on the basis of race, class, and gender. Anne Moody has utilized the traditional style of autobiographical writing in that *Coming of Age in Mississippi* begins with a four-year-old Moody (1945) reliving her past and proceeding through her early adult years, ending at age twenty-three (1964) as she graduates from Tougaloo College.

Unlike the traditional autobiographical style employed by Anne Moody, Daisy Bates and Angela Davis lends to a more political style of writing. Daisy Bates in *The Long Shadow of Little Rock* provides us with another aspect of life for Blacks in Arkansas during segregation and traveling on the road to desegregation of the public school system. She details the social, political, economical, and cultural workings of life in Little Rock, Arkansas pre and post *Brown versus The Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* decision of 1954. Bates and her husband owned and published one of the first Black newspapers, the *State Press*, in Little Rock, Arkansas when they moved there in 1941 from Huttig, Arkansas. Her civil rights work, reporting for the *State Press* on the racial violence toward Black soldiers during World War II, and her background as President of the Arkansas State Conference for the NAACP in 1952 seemed to thrust her into the position of advocate and advisor for the "Little Rock Nine." Only briefly are we exposed to her childhood as it is described through her family interactions, as well as, through her dealing with the aspects of prejudice and hatred that result from race and

gender discrimination. The reader learns that Bates' courage came early in life when she discovers that her biological mother was raped and murdered. Bates presents an illustrative and powerful account of the children, parents of the children, the politicians, and community members, both Black and White, role in the initial battle to desegregate public schools in Arkansas. She speaks from the standpoint of seeking more equitable educational opportunities for Blacks in the South post "Brown". Readers are drawn to what Daisy Bates, her husband, and others like them sacrifice to change an unfair system, determined to prevail no matter what the federal government and courts have decided concerning steps toward desegregation. *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*, 1986 edition, has a plain black cover with no pictorial design. The title is written in white and brown ink with an outline as well as a shadow effect to the script. I interpret this effect as an illustration of the people involved and the contrasting views of the Black and some of the White community members toward efforts to implement "Brown" and desegregate the Southern public school systems.

Like Daisy Bates, the work *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* is clearly a political autobiography. The 1974 and 1988 cover displays Davis wearing her infamous Afro. She is looking away from the camera and seems to be in reflective thought. Unlike Daisy Bates, Angela Davis does more to help us understand her as a child and her childhood in terms of class, education, and southern Alabama codes of behavior. She provides us with the discrepancies found in the lifestyles of the Black poor and the Black middle class in Alabama. Acknowledging her privilege, Davis is driven to excel academically. She uses her success to help her less fortunate brothers and sisters and to create a better world for all Black people. Unlike Moody or Bates, Davis appears more politically savvy than the

other authors. This observation is exhibited in her writing and the meaning she makes of her world and social location. She details her interest and involvement in the Communist party and how, in her mind, this is the way for Black people to overcome our oppressors. Davis provides a personal perspective on education and schooling during the segregated educational experiences of her grade school years and after court mandated desegregation during her high school and college experiences. She takes control of her knowing and learning about the world in which she lives and operates. She utilizes the cultural capital,[7] which her privileged background affords her, to the benefit of herself and more importantly, to benefit all oppressed people. Angela Davis illustrates that racism still exists in American society, politics, economy, prisons, and educational institutions. Blacks for all their struggles still have not been free to pursue the "American Dream." While Davis provides deep insight into the Black liberation movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s and the prison systems, her work as well as Daisy Bates' and Anne Moody's were chosen because of their relevance to educational, social, and cultural experiences from 1940-1970 as well as their lives in Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi.

Theoretical Framework

I utilize Black feminist thought as a lens to interrogate the intersections of race, class, and gender within the three autobiographies. Knowledge production and lived experience are critical issues in the research field today when discussing the crisis of representation and interpretation (Andersen, 1993; Stanfield, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Fine, et.al., 2000; Kirsch, 1999). These interconnected issues of knowledge production and lived experience influence the production of scholarship through the use of narrative methods and other means of generating theory (Christian, 2000).

The following excerpt from the introductory chapter in Beverly Guy-Sheftall's *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Feminist Thought* attempts to dispel the myth of a monolithic Black experience and voice. Guy-Sheftall supplies a list of distinguishing features used to define Black feminist epistemology.

> While Black feminism is not a monolithic, static ideology, and there is considerable diversity among African American feminists, certain premises are constant: 1) Black women experience a special kind of oppression and suffering in this country which is racist, sexist, and classist because of their dual racial and gender identity and their limited access to economic resources; 2) This "triple jeopardy" has meant that the problems, concerns, and needs of Black women are different in many ways from those of both White women and Black men; 3) Black women must struggle for Black liberation and gender equality simultaneously; 4) There is no inherent contradiction in the struggle to eradicate sexism and racism as well as the other "isms" which plague the human community, such as classism and heterosexism; 5) Black women's commitment to the liberation of Blacks and women is profoundly rooted in lived experience (Guy-Sheftall, 1995, pg. 2).

This quote clearly illustrates how Black feminist thought/epistemology was born out of Black women's need to address their multiple identities and the intersections of race, class, and gender as it effects their status within a racist, sexist, and class based society (Collins, 2000, 1990; King, 1988; Lorde, 1984; Smith, [1989], 2000).

Valerie Smith discusses Black feminism in terms of theory and method. Smith articulates what makes Black feminist theory different from other theories. Her practical explanation for why Black feminist theory what I believe lays the best foundation for my examination of the three autobiographical texts:

> Black feminist theorists argue that the meaning of *Blackness* in this country shapes profoundly the experience of gender, just as the conditions of womanhood affect ineluctably the experience of race. Precisely because the conditions of the Black woman's oppression are thus specific and complex, Black feminist literary theorists seek particularized methodologies that might reveal the ways in which that oppression is represented in literary texts. These methods are necessarily flexible, holding in balance the three variables of race, gender, and class and destabilizing the centrality of any one (Smith, [1989], 2000, pg. 376).

Smith provides a concrete example for using this theory to investigate these works. Black feminist theory is one of the feminist theories that provides a context for "both/and". In other words, Black feminist theory utilizes the intersection of race, class, and gender as its theoretical framework along with its methods. For example, in exploring the issues of knowledge, Black feminist theory begins by problematizing what is accepted as legitimate knowledge. Barbara Christian (2000) in *The Race for Theory*, contends that "Black folks have always theorized, although it has not always conformed to some traditional and/or western forms of scholarship". In the narratives of Moody, Bates, and Davis, each author theorizes about various issues facing them as African American women from segregation and the Jim Crow laws to human rights. Christian

further maintains that, "I am inclined to say that our theorizing (and I use the verb rather than the noun) is often in narrative forms, in the stories we create, in riddles and proverbs, in the play with language, since dynamic rather than fixed ideas seem more to our liking" (Christian, 2000, pg. 12). Christian states that Black feminist theory validates all forms of knowledge and sees lived experience as an additional way of knowing.

Black feminist theory allows for the incorporation of knowledge and lived experience as overlapping components of knowing. In the field of qualitative methods, there is a growing debate surrounding the use of "experience" as legitimate "scientific knowledge" and/or scholarship (Alcoff, 1995; Kirsch, 1999; Scheurich & Young, 1997; Scott, 1992). Joan Scott provides us with an illuminating discussion regarding the use of "experience". Scott (1992) writes,

> What constitutes as experience is neither self-evident nor straightforward; it is always contested, always therefore political. The study of experience, therefore must call into question its original status in historical explanation. This will happen when historians take as their project not the reproduction and transmission of knowledge said to be arrived at through experience, but the analysis of the production of that knowledge itself (Scott, 1992, pg.37).

Scott challenges us to explore accepting new methods and ways of knowing to better understand our participants and provide a deeper meaning to our research. This study seeks to accept such a challenge in terms of topic and method.

In using Black feminist thought as my theoretical lens, I am able to interrogate the intersectionality of race, class, and gender in the power dynamics associated with the

construction and dissemination of knowledge. As a researcher, I am afforded the opportunity to investigate the social and historical locations of my participants. Black feminist methodology provides a collaborative and inclusive approach to studying the context of "both/and." This theory allows me to explore the multiple intersections of race, class, and gender in the social lives of these three Black women. Through their literature Black women writers have begun redefining the "traditional" canon of knowledge and power by asserting their "voices" and "lived experiences" (DuCille, 1996; Christian, 1980; Smith, [1989] 2000). Much like these Black women writers, I choose to use an epistemology that fits my social history and location. I want to begin rewriting the stories of Black women in education using their collective "voices" and "lived experiences" as a vehicle for legitimate knowledge production.

Methodology/Research Design

This section outlines the details involved in conducting a qualitative study which uses the three autobiographical works of Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis: (1) the use of reading autoethnographies as method; (2) the methods and rationale of data collection are described; and (3) the techniques used in data analysis are identified. I chose a qualitative approach to interrogate the three works as qualitative inquiry allows the emergence of additional themes and categories during the research process. I seek to illuminate the relevance of the social and cultural lives and the role/purpose of schooling as practiced within the authors' lives from 1940-1970.

(1) Autoethnographies as Method

Tedlock (2000) captures the benefits of a qualitative approach and more specifically an ethnographic approach to this study. "Experience is intersubjective and

embodied, not individual and fixed, but social and processual. The experience of being a woman, or being Black, or being Muslim, can never be singular" (Tedlock, 2000, pg. 470). In terms of this study, each author offers an intimate exposure to her social world coming of age during 1940-1970. Moody, Bates, and Davis recount an individual, but social narrative of their life as a Black woman and selected aspects of that experience. The labor of these authors is not only an ethnic autobiography, but also can be categorized within the criteria of another type of ethnography referred to as an "autoethnography."

Autoethnography is an alternative genre to the traditional ethnographic research (Ellis & Bochner, 1996). Unlike traditional ethnography, ethnic autobiography[8], autobiographical ethnography, narratives of the self, and autoethnographies[9] lend themselves to be written by members of the group and/or culture one is researching (Ellis & Bochner, 1996, 2000; Neumann, 1996; Sparkes, 1995, 2000; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Richardson, 2000). "Autobiographical accounts draw a relationship between experience and language, and the individual and culture. Autobiography should be read for its anthropological value rather than its position in the genres of literature" (Neumann, 1996; Gunn, 1982). According to Neumann and Gunn, autobiographical works read as autoethnographies can provide a greater understanding of culture and lived experience. Reading of autoethnographies allow for the investigation of the writers who write about culture and their engagement in the world through their own experience as both participant and observer (Brettel, 1997).

Mark Neumann (1996) provides some criteria for defining an autoethnography:

> Autoethnography historically originates as a discourse from the margins and identifies material, political, and transformative dimensions of representational politics. Autoethnography is a form of critique and resistance that can be found in diverse literatures such as ethnic autobiography, fiction, memoir, and texts that identify zones of contact, conquest, and the contested meanings of self and culture that accompanies the exercise of representational authority (Neumann, 1996, pg. 191).

Neumann offers a concrete definition as to what is or can be considered an autoethnography. The use of autoethnography allows the "Other" to recount and reflect on their historical and cultural understanding. It enables one to have a voice where their perspective has been previously silenced or omitted. Moody, Bates and Davis provide an extremely personalized and limited account of their experiences growing up and living in the South from 1940-1970 as Black women. These authors discuss their familial, educational, cultural, and political beliefs and how they interact in these dimensions of their lives.

How can educational researchers benefit from autoethnography as process and product? Educational researchers, like other social scientists, are dealing with "the crisis of representation" issues as brought about by the postmodern era questioning knowing and the production of knowledge (Clifford & Marcuse, 1986; hooks, 1989; Richarson, 2000). Language is key to our understanding of ourselves and others. In producing and reading autoethnographies, traditional educational research broadens its boundaries toward accepting nontraditional ways of knowing and experiencing the world. Another victory for "voice" and "lived experienced" is validated. Our policies and practices take

on a true "theory to practice" approach because we sat with the person or people effected by our decisions on policies, curriculum, etcetera and offered them the opportunity to tell their accounts of their world.

Autoethnographies are both process and product. As process, they are "a systematic method of introspection with an aim toward critiquing the practices of everyday life" (Neumann, 1996, pg. 192). The process and product interplay is one of exploring the borders of subjectivity and cultural experience, to produce a work that examines "personal experience in a world in which the lines between fact and fiction often seem confusing, unclear, and unreliable" (Neumann, 1996, pg. 192). Like many narratives of self (Richardson, 2000), autoethnographies evoke feelings and provide for a deeper understanding of the researcher and the researched. This is done through a series of evocative writing techniques that the author calls upon to tell the story. Richardson (2000) describes the techniques, "fiction-writing techniques as dramatic recall, strong imagery, fleshed-out characters, unusual phrasing, puns, subtexts, allusions, the flashbacks, the flash forward, tone shifts, synecdoche, dialogue, and interior monologue" (Richardson, 2000, pg. 11). These techniques aid in producing a plot that invites the reader to relive the experiences of the author. In choosing to read the works as autoethnographies, as a researcher I am exposed to the author's understanding of life during the time frame of 1940-1970. Moody, Bates, and Davis provide their interpretations of the role family and community members played in their pursuit of educational attainment/achievement, the role/purpose of schooling for African Americans in Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi, and their individual identity formation.

(2) Data Collection and Analysis

Conducting a qualitative study allows the researcher to describe and interpret human phenomenon. The use of the qualitative paradigm varies according to the research questions, methods, and assumptions. "Qualitative research is, by definition, stronger on long descriptive narratives than statistical tables" (Silverman, 2000, pg. 90). This fact allows the researcher to present a more contextual and reflective interpretation of the multiple meanings within the data. The purpose of qualitative research is to understand the meanings ascribed to the social lives, worlds, and everyday phenomena of the participants (Silverman, 2000). Language, cultural experiences and/or meanings, and social interactions, can be examined and investigated with better understanding (Silverman, 2000). In the Humanities, narratives, literature, and oral histories are all accepted works and viewed as reliable and valid sources for research and scholarship (Silverman, 2000; Janesick, 2000). Similarly, social scientists continue to explore the use of alternative locations for research and varied research methods (Janesick, 2000; Ellis and Bochner, 1997; Richardson, 1997). Within these genres, autobiographies of Black women aid in debunking racist imagery and myths, as well as, furnish personal accounts of history that may have been omitted.

Initially, six other African American women's autobiographies were chosen. However, in an attempt to appropriately represent the narratives and their meanings as well as time constraints, I heeded the advice to limit this initial study to the three autobiographical works of Anne Moody, Daisy Bates and Angela Davis. As a historian of African American and Women's education, I believe that the Civil Rights Movement

from 1941-1965; the Educational Equity Reform Movement[10] from 1957-1969; and the Black Power Movement from 1965-1974 are eras, which call for a greater explanation of the role of Black women in these movements. Additionally, this study provides a connection of how past events in educational history continue to effect the present circumstances of educational policy and issues. For instance, there continues to be debates regarding the educational equity afforded to children of color in public schools. Resources for these children and their schools are still at odds with the more affluent school districts.

Each work selected is reflective of the time frame between 1940-1970. All three of the women attended southern schools during the segregation era of the mid-late 1940s to the mid 1950s. Davis and Moody attended college during the period of 1960-1970. However, Bates supplies limited information concerning her higher educational journey. All three women were directly involved the implementation of educational, civil, and human rights for African Americans in the 1950s-1970s. These autobiographies allow for the exploration of education, culture and schooling and its meaning or understanding from the viewpoint of Moody, Bates, and Davis.

When using texts, cultural artifacts, and documents as a source of data, limiting one's data at the onset for the purpose of a more detailed analysis is the best approach (Silverman, 2000; Gee, 1999; Wood & Kroger, 2000). The reading of the texts was a continual process beginning with my initial exposure to each narrative in a classroom setting. I revisited the works for the purpose of this study. With my initial guiding question in mind (see page 6), I read the text to establish all if any reoccurring themes. This process yielded a free flowing list or codes of reoccurring themes as indicated by

Ryan and Bernard (2000, pg. 770) "investigators interpret the frequency of mention and the order in which items are mentioned in the lists as indicators of items salience"). Free lists are helpful in limiting data as well as identifying items of relevance. The initial coding served as tags that produced and limited the data for the three chapters of analysis. The following codes emerged in all three works: (1) family; (2) community; (3) role of schooling; (4) segregation; (5) desegregation; (6) general education issues; (7) academic performance; (8) academic achievement; (9) issues of race and power; (10) environment/facilities; (11) privilege; (12) violence or threat of violence; (13) work and finances; (14) self-determination and human agency; (15) gender; (16) discrimination; (17) activism; (18) class; (19) street smarts; and (20) leadership/organizations.

"Coding forces the researcher to make judgments about the meanings" (Ryan and Bernard, 2000, pg. 780). This coded data was then categorized according to its relevance to the study. I returned to each text extracting the data to be analyzed for the study. Using as my guide the analysis chapters, which concentrate on the following aspects of the author's lives: (1) the role/purpose of schooling for southern Blacks; (2) the higher educational experiences; and (3) how their cultural education leads them to the role of activist?

The selected autobiographical narratives are read as autoethnographies portraying the lives of three Black women at pivotal historical moments in relation to the history of American educational reforms as well as the Black community's struggle for equality and freedom. Through these texts, these authors demonstrate a deep understanding of their social worlds and the construction of human agency. William Sewell (1992) defines human agency as the actor's knowledge that he or she is the controller of his or her own

destiny: "texts are social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction" (Fairclough, 1995, pg. 6). Narrative analysis allows the researcher to concern his/herself with the meaning of experience, voice, and human qualities on personal or professional dimensions (Cortazzi, 2001). "Narrating is, after all, a major means of making sense of past experience and sharing it with others. Narrative analysis can be used for systematic interpretations of others' interpretations of events" (Cortazzi, 2001, pg. 384). Through this type of narrative analysis, it is my intention to examine the autobiographies with great detail given to the lives and experiences of my participants.

Limitations to the Study

Fundamentally, qualitative research relies on four methods for gathering data: (1) participation in a setting, (2) direct observations, (3) interviews, and (4) document/text reviews (Marshall, et. al. 1995). This study was concerned with historical implications and understandings of the authors' lived experiences. In using the autobiographies as primary sources of data collection, I also used census data and other accounts of the Civil Rights, Black Power, and Educational Equity Movements to provide credibility to the author's text. Interviews with the surviving authors may have provided triangulation[11] and a method of member checking of the researcher's interpretations. However, interviews were not conducted due to various constraints such as access to the surviving authors and financial limitations. Additionally, access to the archival data from Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi school districts, boards of education, and newspapers from 1940-1970 would have enhanced the historical context of the study. In future work on this study, I plan to retrace the lives of the authors and gain first hand

interaction with the archival documents of the time in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama.

Review of Literature

(1) The Use of Autobiography in Education

In the last decade, educational research, pedagogy, and curriculum have taken a postmodernist turn. A postmodernist turn can be defined as the following: "to invoke the importance of pedagogy is to raise questions not simply about how students learn but also how educators construct the ideological and political positions from which they speak (Giroux, 1997, pg. 128). More than ever before educators use the terms "reflection", "critical theory", and "crisis in representation/interpretation". African Americans and women have for years utilized the tradition of Autobiography, as a resource for knowing through personal experience. "The tradition of African American writing is thus one in which political commentary necessitates, invites, and assumes autobiography as its rhetorical forms" (Mosten, 1999, pg. 11). Through reading the autobiographical narratives of the other a transformative and evocative world of knowing and learning are open to all. In the field of education, researchers, teachers, and students are challenged to reflect, diversify, and expand their construction of knowing and learning. Leigh O'Brien and Martha Schillaci (2002) utilize autobiography as a way of helping pre-service and in-service teachers to explore their conception of the practices and purposes of education. "We believe in the power of stories; they create connections that enhance learning, and they give meaning to our unique lived experience through reconstructing the past and guiding future decisions" (O'Brien and Schillaci, 2002, pg. 27). Taking their cues from William Pinar (1981), these scholars and educators see autobiography as a way to

connect the past, present, and future experiences of their students and others. The use of autobiography is viewed as a progressive and transformative approach to knowing; a way of understanding the "self" as teacher. My research seeks to explore the lives of past African-American women as they served to solidify the educational and civil liberties of "the Other".

(2) Reading as Autoethnographies to Understand Cultural and Social Lives

In an effort to provide some explanation and background to the process of reading as autoethnography, the following topics are addressed: (1) the definition of autoethnography; (2) the criteria for considering a work an autoethnography and the criteria for reading/producing such a work; (3) the analysis of the three works in terms of the criteria and themes relevant to this study; and (4) the benefits to educational researchers in acknowledging autoethnography as a legitimate method and product.

In the last two decades, the term autoethnography has been utilized in various fields of social science research such as sociology, anthropology, communications, women's studies, ethnic studies, and cultural studies (Ellis & Bochner, 1996, 2000; Sparkes, 2000; Richardson, 2000; Banks, S & Banks, A, 2002). Generally speaking, autoethnography is defined as "narratives that tell about a culture through characters" (Richardson, pg. 6, 2000). This is a decidedly personalized text written to provide the author with ownership over their cultural understanding, their historical context, their world of operation, and their familial/community interactions; as the author felt, saw, thought about, and/or experienced it. As method, autoethnography grew out of the "crisis of representation" debates in cultural anthropology (Heider, 1975; Hayano, 1979; Derrida, 1978; Clifford & Marcus, 1986). The post-modernist climate gave birth to

various approaches that broadened perspectives concerning what was classified as the "traditional canon" of legitimate scholarship or science. In this new age of postmodernism, there is no privileging among the methods of research and writing of research: "the superiority of science over literature-or from another vantage point, literature over science-is challenged" (Richardson, pg. 8, 2000). Knowledge and the formation of knowledge are questioned. "Who can know, what is known, who has access to what is known or taught, and who can speak for whom?" became some of the dominant questions of the postmodern climate. Poststructuralism explores and examines language in terms of its meaning, social context, social organization, subjectivity, and power (Richardson, 2000).

In using autoethnographies as a method, a researcher, and an author is able to obtain two things because writing is validated as a method of knowing: "first, it directs us to understand ourselves reflexively as persons writing from particular positions at specific times, and second, it frees us from trying to write a single text in which everything is said at once to everyone" (Richardson, pg. 9, 2000). In other words, what emerges out of these actions are a process and product that afford the researcher, and author an evocative form of ethnography, an ethnography characterized by narrative, reflexive, and autobiographical prose written to invoke feelings, thoughts, and perceptions from the author's lived experience. "This joining of "*auto*" and "*ethno*", of self and culture, can critique the conditions of the culture in which the self is located" (Banks & Banks, 2002, pg. 253). As a reader of autoethnographies, one is transformed and transported into the author's worldview, social location, and lived experiences. It provides a case study that "contains many of the gratifications, irritations,

disillusionments, compromises, routines, ambitions, epiphanies, and tensions that we recognize as emblematic to the life" (Banks & Banks, 2002, pg. 235).

In terms of criteria to approaching these texts or any text as an autoethnography, one must present a set of flexible and credible criteria and/or characteristics to identify such works. While the term autoethnography has multiple meanings in the social science fields, I have chosen to utilize and fuse together the works of Laurel Richardson (2000), "New Writing Practices in Qualitative Research" and Andrew C. Sparkes (2002), "Autoethnography: Self-Indulgence or Something More?" Richardson and Sparkes offer criteria and characteristics for identifying and judging evocative ethnographies, such as narratives of self and autoethnographies. Richardson's criteria are as follows:

> ***Substantive contribution***. Does this piece contribute to our understanding of social life? Does the writer demonstrate a deeply grounded (if embedded) social-scientific perspective? How has this perspective informed the construction of the text?
>
> ***Reflexivity***. How did the author come to write this text? How was the information gathered? Are there ethical issues? How has the author's subjectivity been both a producer and a product of this text? Do the authors hold themselves accountable to the standards of knowing and telling of the people they have studied?
>
> ***Impactfulness***. Does this affect me emotionally and/or intellectually? Does it generate new questions, move me to write, move me to try new research practices, or move me to action?

> ***Expresses a reality***. Does this text embody a fleshed out sense of lived experience? Does it seem true-a credible account of a cultural, social, individual, or communal sense of the "real"?
>
> (Richardson, 2000, pg. 15-16)

Richardson uses these criteria to judge a work of evocative ethnography for publication. Similar to Richardson, Sparkes believes in many of the same aspects for possibly judging a work of autoethnography However, Sparkes takes us deeper with supplying characteristics of works being considered as an autoethnography:

> Characteristics of a "*heartful*" autoethnography (Ellis, 1997, 1999) include the following: the use of systematic symbolic introspection and emotional recall; the inclusion of the researcher's vulnerable selves, emotions, body, and spirit; the production of evocative stories that create the effect of reality; the celebration of concrete experience and intimate detail; the examination of how human experience is endowed with meaning; a concern with moral, ethical, and political consequences; an encouragement of compassion and empathy; a focus on helping us know how to live and cope; the featuring of multiple voices and the repositioning of readers and "subjects" as co-participants in dialogue; the seeking of a fusion between social science and literature; the connecting of the practices of social science with the living of life; and the representation of lived experience using a variety of genres—short stories, poetry, fiction, novels,

> photographic essays, personal essays, journals, fragmented and layered writing, and social science prose (Sparkes, 2002, pg. 210-211).

In my analysis, I borrow and amend the work of these authors to approach my texts for the purpose of this study. The lenses through which I read and analyzed the texts are in these areas:

> ***Authentic Voice*** - What aspects of this work contribute to our understanding of social life from 1940-1970? Does this text embody a fleshed out sense of lived experience? Does it seem true-a credible account of a cultural, social, individual, or communal sense of the "real"?
>
> ***Contemplation*** – What served as the motivation for the author to write this text? In what way, if any, do the authors hold themselves accountable to the standards of knowing and telling of the people they have interacted with/among?
>
> ***Influence*** - Does this piece affect me emotionally and/or intellectually? Does it generate new questions or theories, move me to write, move me to try new research practices, or move me to action?

In Chapter 5, I provide my reflection on each of these areas and how the works answer the above mentioned criteria. Even though the criteria (Richardson, 2000) and characteristics (Sparkes, 2002) have allowed for an understanding of how to identify and judge autoethnographic works, the question of what constitutes a text being considered an autoethnography needs more clarification. "Autoethnography, native ethnography, self-ethnography, memoir, autobiography, even fiction have become blurred genres. In many

cases, whether social science work is called an autoethnography or ethnography depends on the claims made by those who write and those who write about the work" (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, pg. 742). Social science autoethnographies usually contain some form of citations and theoretical discussions within the text. However, there are various literary critics that consider some autobiographies as an autoethnography. I contend that many, if not most, autobiographies can fall into the realm of autoethnographies. Reading and writing are political practices. In other words, one reads in a manner of socialization and training. My earlier reading of these works prior to my educational training in critical race feminism and Black Feminist Thought did not bring forth the themes and patterns of dominance, human agency, and social/cultural capital, which these authors exhibited. Reading these works with varied lenses in place offers a deeper meaning and representation of historical, gendered, class, and racialized issues.

Organization of the Document

This dissertation has been organized in the following manner: Chapter Two – Equitable Access: The Role/Purpose of Schooling for Southern Blacks from 1940-1960 in Elementary and Secondary Schools provides a contextual explanation of the social, political, and cultural events surrounding the quest for educational equity during the life span of the authors. Chapter Three – Schoolhouse Rock: Higher Education Challenges and Triumphs 1960-1970 serves to illuminate those higher educational influences and involvements which led to the authors' activism. Chapter Four – Sign of the Times: Cultural Education of a Transformer provides the explanation of the social and cultural worlds in the development of the authors' sense of human agency and civil/human

activism. Chapter Five – Epilogue discusses concluding themes and implications for teaching education and culture, as well as, areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Equitable Access: The Role/Purpose of Schooling for Southern Blacks from 1940-1960 in Elementary and Secondary Schools

> Schooling is the process intended to perpetuate and maintain the society's existing power relations and the institutional structures that support those arrangements.
>
> Shujaa, 1994, pg. 12

In *Education and Schooling: You Can Have One Without the Other*, Mwalimu J. Shujaa (1994) provides a historical and structural functionalist perspective[1] regarding the role and purpose of schooling the masses. Commenting on a long tradition of how the roles of schools in American society have been perceived, Shujaa's definition sets the initial tone of this chapter (Collins, 1971; Karabel & Halsey, 1977). The role of schools in the American social order, until the mid-1970s, was dominated by the structural functionalist view of the purpose of schools. The purpose of schools and education for this camp was to establish and maintain the balance in an assumed order that functionalist believed currently existed in any given society. "A fundamental assumption is that there is a generally fixed set of positions, whose various requirements the labor force must satisfy" (Collins, 1971, pg. 123). Schools played an important role in this process of preparing individuals for the "fixed positions" available. Therefore, early schools carried

out the function of creating and training a new labor force: "the technical-functional theory of education may be viewed as a subtype of this form of analysis, since it shares the premises that the occupational structure creates demands for particular kinds of performance and that training is one way of filling these demands" (Collins, 1971, pg. 120). During this time period schools operated in a factory model fashion. For instance, one's class, race, and family background were the preset standards by which one could and should be schooled. "Education may thus be regarded as a mark of membership in a particular group (possibly at times its defining characteristic), not a mark of technical skills or achievement" (Collins, 1971, pg. 125). In a time when schooling was determined on the basis of status and lineage many "Other" citizens would receive anything but equal access and opportunities.

The role of schooling as viewed by many African Americans and other people of color, both past and present, continues the fight for access to quality school environments, teachers, staff, materials, and an unbiased curriculum or testing. The intent of this chapter is three-fold: (1) to provide a brief overview of the historical occurrences surrounding African Americans' quest for educational equity as well as contextualize the political and cultural climate surrounding the schooling of southern Blacks from 1940-1970 in Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi; (2) to examine Anne Moody's, Daisy Bates', and Angela Davis' descriptions of their formal schooling experiences as well as the role/purpose schooling played in their lives as Black women of the south; and (3) to examine the results of policies and legislation regarding segregation and desegregation of schools by using the personal encounters of Moody's, Bates', and Davis' lived experience.

This chapter begins with illustrating the historical and political context of schooling for African Americans as a beginning point of reference. This is done in an effort to provide a backdrop by which to explain the logic surrounding the existence of the dual system of education in the South prior to the *1954 Brown vs. the Board of Education* decision, its implementation, and the civil rights movement of the early sixties. The chapter proceeds to illustrate from the selected lived experiences shared by each author what it was like for them growing up and operating in a segregated system of education in Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi. This section divides the schooling experiences into two sections: a.) Separate & Unequal 1940-1954: Primary Schooling, and b.) Borrowed Equity 1955-1960: Implementation of Desegregation. The authors interpretations of their familiarity with school facilities, environment, teachers, administration, classmates, academic performance/achievement, pursuing higher education, and extra-curricular activities proves to be one of mixed emotions, as well as, varied understandings.

Historical and Political Context of Schooling for Southern Blacks

In order to probe the authors' lived experiences, as they relate to the role/purpose of schooling for southern blacks, it is vital to comprehend the historical and political climate surrounding the development of the segregated educational system in the south. In 1859, Social Darwinism supplied a theoretical foundation for cultural, ethnic, and racial superiority arguments and fostered the birth of the subsequent Eugenics movement in the United States. Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner were both key contributors to Darwin's theories being applied to studies of racial, social, and economic differences (Jones-Wilson, et. al. 1996). Social Darwinism held that through a process of

natural selection, the strong would thrive, prosper, and reproduce while the weak would falter, fail, and die (Clark-Hine, et. al, 2003; Watkins, 2001, Jones-Wilson, et. al., 1996). This race theorizing allowed for judgments of the fit surviving and the weak falling by the way side. The theory of Social Darwinism was used to justify great discrepancies in the distribution of economic resources, political power, knowledge, and property ownership to name a few. (Watkins, 2001; Clark-Hine, et. al., 2003).

> Social Darwinism increasingly influenced the way most Protestant Americans perceived their society, leading them to believe that people could be ranked from superior to inferior based on their race, nationality, and ethnicity. Black people were invariably ranked at the bottom of this hierarchy, and the eastern and southern Europeans immigrants who were flooding the country only slightly above them. Black people were capable, so the reasoning went, of no more than a subordinate role in a complex and advanced society as it rushed into the twentieth century. And, if their position was biologically ordained, why should society devote substantial resources to their education? (Clark-Hine, et. al, 2003, pg. 336)

The scientific theories of racism provided the foundation for little to no resources for efforts to educate great numbers of illiterate Blacks recently freed from slavery. However, the American Missionary Association (AMA) did not operate under these beliefs; instead, the AMA was the first organization in 1859 to begin efforts to make available schooling opportunities for freed slaves. The efforts of the AMA were met with great opposition from white southerners for many felt the schooling offered to the Blacks

was better than the schooling afforded Southern whites. Many schools were burned and teachers became victims of racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) (Jones-Wilson, et. al. 1996). From the late 19th century, and well into the 20th century, "southern whites perceived African American education as a threat to their political dominance" (Jones-Wilson, et. al., 1996, pg 25).

Freedmen's Aid Societies provided a form of public education while the establishment of boarding and private schools were additional avenues for schooling and advanced learning for African-Americans (Clark-Hine, 2003; Jones-Wilson, et. al., 1996). However, public schooling for Blacks in the south continued to be the question to be addressed and answered..

How would Southern whites preserve their way of life? "Once the former Confederate states were readmitted to the Union, their "Redeemer" governments almost immediately curtailed educational expenditures and instituted school segregation legislation. Thus, it was during the period of 1870-1885 that segregated, dual systems of education were formally established in the former slaveholding states" (Jones-Wilson, et. al., 1996, pg. 146). Through political maneuvering and scientific racism new and improved forms of long-term unequal schooling disparities among the races began. "Scientific racism was a fundamental precept in the architecture of Black education. It was felt that the naturally inferior Black must always occupy a socially subservient position" (Watkins, 2001, pg. 40). Therefore, if Blacks were to be educated at all, an industrial education was viewed as the proper and most pragmatic approach in schooling African Americans. Through industrial/vocational schooling, Blacks would be prepared

for their "rightful place" in American society, as farm workers or domestics (Anderson, 1988; Watkins, 2001; Morris & Morris, 2002).

Northern philanthropy would serve as one of the tools for developing the proper schooling and curriculum for Blacks. The AMA and Freedmen's Societies primarily offered general elementary education. While, Blacks established and supported some of there own private boarding schools, Black religious organizations provided elementary, secondary and some college level training. "These schools served as feeder schools to the normal schools, seminaries, colleges, and universities operating under the auspices of these churches. Until the 1930's, numerous black colleges and universities maintained boarding schools on campus, as enrollment at these schools often ranged from upper elementary grades through the college and professional studies levels" (Jones-Wilson, et. al., 1996, pg. 55). These institutions had to be dealt with, as well as, the issue of schooling Blacks for their "proper stations". Northern Philanthropy would ensure the social engineering of Black education (Watkins, 2001).

> The "Negro problem" was among the most vexing and urgent of the time. Politics would be at the heart of using the philanthropies to guarantee an orderly South and a compliant Black population. Race philanthropy now became an important vehicle. Race philanthropy emerged by the 1880's as a major approach to policy making. It was quick, avoided the slow deliberative processes of law making, and could be expeditiously and unilaterally started or halted at will. The building and support of schools, the training of teachers, and very important, the construction of curriculum could be accomplished handily by corporate philanthropies. By World

> War I the industrial philanthropies had supplanted missionary societies as the leading influence in Black education. This adaptation, accommodationism, would dominate education, the curriculum, and social policy for decades (Watkins, 2001, pg. 19-20).

Watkins illustrates the political and economic climate surrounding the views and purposes of schooling for Blacks. The American education process in general was founded on the premise of Protestant ideology and capitalist values of work ethic; private property; self-reliance or individual process; and competition. "Between 1870 and 1920 there was a significant increase in immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia, and Central America" (Hollins, 1996, pg. 28) and formal schooling served as a vital part in the Americanization process for many immigrants as America grew into an industrial society (Hollis, 1996; Gutek, 1991). In this process one was subtly encouraged "to abandon their own culture in favor of that of the northern Europeans" (Hollins, 1996, pg. 19).

However, it is critical to note that African Americans were not treated as immigrants. In viewing the place of African Americans in this hierarchy of race and society, it must be clear that from the 1890's -1960's, African Americans were actively and overtly considered second-class citizens, especially in the South. Because of his belief, their schooling process had to take on a different function other than assimilation. The northern philanthropists were successful in promoting industrial education for Blacks. An industrial/vocational education was the way to accommodate and, hopefully, control the "New Negro" in her/his place in an advancing society.

Booker T. Washington, a key spokesman for the industrial education movement, in his well known speech at the Atlanta Exposition Address in 1895, " urged Blacks to improve themselves by seeking occupations in agriculture, mechanics, commerce, domestic service, and the professions" (Gutek, 1991, pg. 281; Washington, 1932). Some African Americans referred to Washington's address as the "Atlanta Compromise" and there was great disagreement within the Black community concerning some of his content, which they believed promoted "kowtowing" and acceptance of Blacks current status as second-class citizens[2]. W.E.B. DuBois, in his notable work *Souls of Black Folks* (1903), strongly disagreed in accepting "the status quo" assigned to Blacks from Whites. He argued for liberal education and classical training to move Blacks beyond their ascribed stations in life. DuBois was a strong advocate for higher education for Black people. These two men, with their seemingly conflicting views, were attributed with creating the agenda for Black education. However, it was not two individuals, but a nation of men and women, both White and Black, that constructed African American education.

The system of segregation was entrenched in the southern part of the United States. In the 1940's seventeen states operated a segregated education system; they were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. For the purposes of this study, Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi serve as the focal points.

Separate & Unequal 1940-1954: Primary Schooling

The mid-late 1940s served as a critical time in the educational and political history of America. On the educational front, there continued to exist a dual system of education for Blacks and Whites. In the mid-late 1940s and 1950s, the education of Blacks was unequal and inequitable to their white counterparts. Due to the dual system of education, the schooling of Black children was of little importance to white southerners because of the commonplace belief that "an educated negro was considered a dangerous negro".

School Facilities

In a "separate-but-equal" system, most Black school facilities were of a lower quality than their white counterparts. Individuals who taught in Black schools were usually paid less than those who taught in White schools (Berube, 1991; Anderson, 1988; Gutek, 1970, 1991). While there are a few exceptions to the rule, many Black schools and their facilities were not of the same standard as their white counterparts. Some of the recurring themes in all three works were the descriptions of schools/facilities, environment within schools, some indication of teachers and their opinion of teachers, as well as, depictions of limited curriculum. The following excerpt speaks to one example of the schooling facilities in Mississippi in the 1940's. In this passage Anne Moody describes her first formal school facility and teacher:

> I turned five years old and Mama started me at Mount Pleasant School. Now I had to walk four miles each day up and down that long rock road. Mount Pleasant was a big white stone church, the biggest Baptist church in the area. The school was a little one-room rotten building located right

> next to it. There were about fifteen of us who went there. We sat on big wooden benches just like the ones in the church, pulled up close to the heater. But we were cold all day. That little rotten building had big cracks in it, and the heater was just too small. Reverend Cason, the minister of the church, taught us in school. In church he preached loud and in school he talked loud (Moody, 1968, pg. 21).

This passage provides detailed description of the inferior nature of one black school facility in Centerville, Mississippi. Access to a quality education eluded most Blacks in the more rural southern areas[3]. Angela Davis provides an example of the disparities in the school facilities for Africans Americans and Whites in Alabama in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

> The road to school took us down Eleventh Court across the overpass above the railroad tracks, through the street dividing the Jewish Cemetery in half and three blocks up the last hill. Carrie A. Tuggle School was a cluster of old wooden frame houses, so dilapidated that they would have been instantly condemned had they not been located in the Black neighborhood. One would have thought that this was merely a shoddy collection of houses built on the side of a grassless hill if it had not been for the children milling around or the fenced-in grave out front, bearing a sign indicating that Carrie A. Tuggle, founder of the school, was buried there. Some of the houses were a motley whitewashed color. Others were covered with ugly brownish-black asphalt siding. That they were spread throughout an area of about three square blocks seemed to be proof of the

> way the white bureaucracy had gone about establishing a "school" for Black children. Evidently, they had selected a group of rundown houses and, after evicting the inhabitants, had declared them to be the school. These houses stood all along a steep incline; at the bottom of the hill, there was a large bowl-shaped formation in the earth, covered with the red clay that is peculiar to Alabama. This empty bowl had been designated the playground (Davis, 1974, 1986, pg. 87).
>
> Tuggle was all the shabbier when we compared it to the white school nearby. From the top of the hill we could see an elementary school for white children. Solidly built of red brick, the building was surrounded by a deep-green lawn. In our school, we depended on the potbellied coal stoves in winter, and when it rained outside, it rained inside (Davis, 1974, 1986, pg.90).

Davis and Moody paint a grim picture of the school facilities and grounds for Black youth in Alabama and Mississippi. Their tone is so matter of fact, as if they expected no better than what they received. Their experiences with poorer schools seemed to stem from public schools created and maintained by local or state representatives, who were more than likely, white. The theme of poor facilities and poor textbooks were two of the premises set forth in the Brown lawsuit (Orfield, 1996).

Many schools for African-Americans were classified and deemed substandard. Yet there were some exceptions such as Tuscumbia Colored Public Colored School (1889-1920) in Tuscumbia, Alabama later named Trenholm High School (1921-1966) and Caswell County Training School (1934-1969) in the Piedmont area of North

Carolina. These schools were still plagued with issues of resources, staffing, and up keep of facilities, as was the case for the schools attended by the authors. However, these schools, that were the exception, were financed and maintained by the African American community.

Like these schools, other African Americans began to take the schooling of Black youth into their hands. Anne Moody's principal, Willis, was one such person. Upon moving, a young Anne Moody expresses gratitude to walking only less than half a mile to school as well as having a sidewalk. Her story is one of survival against the odds:

> I was now six years old and in second grade. I was going to Willis High, the only Negro school in Centreville. It was named for Mr. C.H. Willis, its principal and founder, and had only been expanded into a high school the year before I started there. Before Mr. Willis came to town, the eighth grade had been the limit of schooling for Negro children in Centreville (Moody, 1968, pg. 32).

In limiting the schooling of many southern Blacks to eighth grade, an uneducated class of people emerges. Schooling of African Americans for their "rightful place" as farmers and domestics is obtained through minimal educational opportunities. Therefore, the schools role in enabling the status quo prevailed in southern dual systems of education.

Bates mentions her personal education experiences less frequently than Davis or Moody, her work concentrates mainly on the experiences of the Little Rock Nine and their role in integrating Central High School. However, she too recalls shabby facilities and provides a limited view of teachers, environment, and curriculum in Arkansas during her childhood.

> School opened. Nothing had changed. We had the same worn-out textbooks handed down to us from the white school. With the first frosts the teacher wrestled with the potbellied stove. Days drifted by as we tried to gain an education in these surroundings. Near Christmas, the weather got very cold. The potbellied stove at the school acted up. Most of the time we sat in class all day with our coats on (Bates, 1986, pg. 15 & 19).

Bates comments on the inadequate environmental conditions for learning. Outside of this brief description, she offers the reader very little on her life and educational experiences.

Teachers and Curricular Experiences

Unlike Davis and Moody, Daisy Bates does not give us more detail on her own schooling experiences. Anne Moody and Angela Davis provide vivid and informative accounts of their teachers and the curriculum.

> There were never enough textbooks to go around, and the ones that were available were old and torn, often with the most important pages missing. There was no gym for sports periods-only the "bowl". On rainy days when the bowl's red clay was a muddy mess, we were cooped up somewhere in one of the shacks (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 90).

This is no way for elementary school children to spend recess. Davis further informs us that "Tuggle" was administered and controlled as a section of the "Birmingham Negro Schools by an all white Board of Education" (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 90). Considering the apprehension of some whites to see blacks excel, this type of management system may have been a means of controlling blacks from breaking out of their ascribed status.

While school conditions were substandard in some schools, Black teachers and the community spirit to educate and celebrate Black culture and identity prevailed in many schools. Davis demonstrates her understanding of how she benefited from her Southern segregated schooling experience over Northern segregated schools, but at what cost she questions:

> Perhaps it was precisely these conditions that gave us a strong positive identification with our people and our history. We learned from some of our teachers all the traditional ingredients of "Negro History." From the first grade on, we all sang the "Negro National Anthem" by James Weldon Johnson when assemblies were convened-either along with or sometimes instead of "The Star Spangled Banner" or "My Country, Tis of Thee." Without a doubt, the children who attended the de jure segregated schools of the South had an advantage over those who attended the de facto segregated schools of the North. During my summer trips to New York, I found that many of the Black children there had never heard of Frederick Douglass or Harriet Tubman. At Carrie A. Tuggle Elementary School, Black identity was thrust upon us by the circumstances of oppression. We had been pushed into a totally Black universe: we were compelled to look to ourselves for spiritual nourishment. Yet while there were those clearly supportive aspects of Black Southern school, it should not be idealized. On the one hand, there was a strong tendency affirming our identity as Black people that ran through all the school activities. But on the other hand, many teachers tended to inculcate in us the official, racist

> explanation for our misery. And they encouraged an individualistic, competitive way out of this torment. We were told that the ultimate purpose of our education was to provide us with the skills and knowledge to lift ourselves singly and separately out of the muck and slime of poverty by "our own bootstraps" (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 92).

Davis offers many things in this passage. She corroborates the belief of some scholars who advocate for the use of culturally relevant pedagogy (Lasdon-Billings, 1994, Shujaa, 1994, Banks, 1990, 1995, 1998) for instilling cultural identity formation, cultural heritage knowledge, and higher self-esteem development for students of color. Davis states "black identity was thrust upon them." It has been set forth by some that much of this identity and cultural pride was lost once desegregation took place and is continues to be absent in many children of color who are schooled in the midst of de facto segregation of today.

While the curriculum offered Black pride and identity, it also reinforced oppressions and, in some terms, fostered divisiveness within the Black community; for example, Davis' annoyance with the Booker T. Washington rhetoric of the day that called for Blacks to be educated in terms of vocational or industrial forms of schooling. In her mind this way of thinking degraded Blacks and their talents and abilities. Additionally, it would promulgate his view of Black's lower class status, as labor workers, and allow for us remaining in our prescribed places versus aspiring to higher social control of our own fates (DuBois, 1903, Berube, 1994). Davis says, "The Booker T. Washington syndrome permeated every aspect of the education I received in Birmingham; work hard and you will be rewarded" (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 92). This seemed to disturb Davis, on both a

intellectual and communal level, because of the individualism it fostered among Black youth. She believed that African Americans could accomplish great things as a collective, but division within she believed would place further constraints on their efforts for community uplift. Davis' comparison of the schooling predicament of Southern and Northern Blacks gives voice to the concern that each group (Southern and Northern Blacks) possessed some form of a disadvantage in obtaining a quality education. Davis' writing gives testimony to deep insight and knowledge of her surroundings within a segregated system of schooling. Even though she valued learning about her cultural and ethnic identity, she could see beyond the rhetoric.

> When we graduated from Carrie A. Tuggle Elementary School, we had to enter the Parker Annex, several blocks away from the main building. This was a cluster of beaten-up wooden huts not so much different from what we had just left. When we arrived on the first day we discovered that the inside of these structures was even more dilapidated than the outside. My history classes were a farce. Farcical, not so much, because of the teachers' deficiency as the deficiency of the textbooks assigned by the Board of Education. In our American History book I discovered that the Civil War was the "War for Southern Independence" and that Black people much preferred to be slaves than to be free. After all, the books pointed out, the evidence of our ancestors' cheerful acceptance of their plight was the weekly Saturday night singing and dancing session. In elementary school, we had already been taught that many of the songs by slaves had a meaning understood only by them. "Swing Low, Sweet

> Chariot" for instance also referred to the journey toward freedom in this life (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 100).

Davis reflects on the inadequate and omitted historical representations in the textbooks provided by the school district. She questions and rejects this notion of Blacks as "happy slaves". Because of her elementary school training, Davis knows this is not factual or true. Angela Davis shows keen insight into the discrepancies in curriculum, poor facilities, and disparate preparation of Black young men and women in comparison to their White counterparts.

Unlike Angela Davis, Anne Moody describes very active middle and high school experiences that included extracurricular involvement with homecoming activities in 8th grade, the presentation of the Welcome Address for 8th grade graduation, and playing basketball. Her involvement in sports - basketball - will ultimately serve as her key to attending junior college. She also speaks fondly of two female teachers who positively influenced her, Mrs. Willis her 8th grade homeroom teacher and Mrs. Rice who introduced her to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

For both Davis and Moody, there appeared to be both a formal and informal curriculum. They both comment on their in-school training in terms of false information concerning Blacks and women, as well as, the development of a Black cultural identity which seems to elude today's students attending de facto segregated schools. Informally, these women learned that education took place in and out of the classroom. Moody, Bates, and Davis' exposure to violence and threats of violence and how they learned to handle being Black and female in the rural south was an additional educational process.

Political and Legal Context Leading to Brown

In terms of political history, America was recovering from the 1930s economic depression and regrouping from the aftermath of World War II:

> As the war came to a close that September of 1945, Americans looked back over the last half century with real measure of pride in their accomplishments. They had created the largest mass production, industrial system in the world, and with that system came a mass consumer-oriented society, with highly sophisticated news and information media and advertising and entertainment industry which cultivated the "desires," if not the "needs," of the American people. Complementing this vast social and economic system was the development of the largest and most complete public educational system (Karier, 1967, 1986, pg. 292).

Karier provides a brief, yet, thorough summary of the historical context for this period of American history. Leading educators sensed the change in the educational position[4] and therefore, requested the federal government to take on a national role in the form of providing federal aid for education (Berube, 1991).

America, in all its newfound growth and splendor, had yet to deal with the inherent problem of racism and racial segregation. Therefore, African Americans quality of life continued to suffer due to this system of legalized segregation in America, particularly those residing in the South. However, many returning Black veterans possessed a new mindset concerning their societal status having fought abroad in World War II; for them the idea of returning to the status of second-class citizenship was

unbearable (Gutek, 1970, 1991). Issues regarding equity, as well as, the quality of life for Blacks became a primary agenda item for many Black leaders and politicians. Additionally, what to do about "the Negro problem" (DuBois, 1903) remained a concern for philanthropists, politicians, policy makers, and educators alike. The migration of many Blacks, north to Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and New York, increased and with this came a sense of political power which in time led to the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (Carson, et al. 1991; Orfield, 1996; Berube, 1994).

Dismantling Segregation

In 1896, the infamous Plessy vs. Ferguson case ruled constitutional second-class citizenship to blacks thereby, continuing legalized segregation (Carson, et al., 1991; Jones-Wilson, et al., 1996; Berube, 1994; Butchart, 1988). Now in the 1940's and early 1950s, the key issue became finding a way to challenge and end "separate but equal" facilities for Black Americans. In an effort to disrupt and dismantle the racial injustices resulting from segregation, the NAACP began a series of legal strategies moving forward toward equality.

> During the 1930's the NAACP charted a legal strategy designed to end segregation in graduate and professional schools. After establishing a series of favorable legal precedents in higher education, NAACP attorneys planned an all-out attack against the separate-but-equal doctrine in primary and secondary schools (Carson, et al., 1991, pg. 61-62).

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) strengthened the campaign to end segregation of schools with the filing of lawsuits against institutions of higher learning for discriminatory admissions policies (Hornsby, 1973; Carson et. al., 1991; Davis, 1984; Marable & Mullings, 2000) as in the *Siquel* case which was led by Thurgood Marshall on behalf of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. (Hutchinson, 1979, 1992). In 1944, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the NAACP in the court case of *Smith vs. Allwright* (Karier, 1967, 1986) which stemmed from the fact that many Blacks in the deep South had been kept from voting during the Democratic primaries by means that were judged to be unconstitutional (Karier, 1967, 1986, pg. 328). While the NAACP continued its attack on segregation through the courts, the highest office in the country was beginning to make efforts towards debunking segregation laws and practices.

In 1946, President Harry S. Truman appointed a Presidential Committee on Civil Rights to research and make recommendations to the President and Congress regarding the needed legislation to remedy the racial segregation problem: "The Committee's report, *To Secure These Rights*, sought to educate Americans about racial discrimination in hiring practices, health care, voting rights, and education" (Gutek, 1970, 1991, pg. 283). The Committee condemned the practice of racially segregated schools and went further to state that this type of schooling is unfair to Black children: "Segregated schools attended by Blacks have lower per pupil expenditures and teachers' salaries and have less adequate physical facilities than schools attended by White children" (Gutek, 1970, 1991, pg. 283). The Committee's proposal did not pass. However, in 1948,

President Truman was able to accomplish ending racial segregation of the armed forces and prohibiting discrimination in federal agencies (Berube, 1991, Gutek, 1970, 1991).

The ending of World War II in 1945 and the establishment of the United Negro College Fund's campaigns would begin to end the old ideas surrounding the confinement of "Negro education to agricultural and vocational training" (Curtis & Nash, 1965; Noble, [1957], 1992). Soon thereafter, the doctrine of Plessy vs. Ferguson would be dismantled with the approval of *Brown*. During this time period, there were multiple legal victories[5] that set precedents that would benefit the *Brown* case.

> Between December 1952 and May 1954, the court heard many-sided arguments involving segregation in the public schools and rendered one of its most significant decisions of the century, Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. Quoting from the opinion of the lower court, the Supreme Court unanimously agreed that: "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children" (Karier, 1967, 1986, pg. 390).

The Court's decision to reverse the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of 1836 was founded solely on racial violations of the Fourteenth Amendment (Carson, et al., 1991; Jones-Wilson, et al., 1996; Orfield, 1996). Brown I[6] relied firmly on previous legal case precedents and the scholarly research data of social scientists (Carson, et al., 1991). Kenneth B. Clark, social psychologist, conducted research that confirmed "the adverse effects of prejudice and discrimination on personality development" (Carson, et al., 1991, pg. 62). Clark's findings demonstrated that the officially-sanctioned segregation by the state and local governments resulted in personality damage to both children white and

black (Barnett, 1989). According to Clark, "minority children became aware of their subordinate status and often reacted with feelings of inferiority and a sense of humiliation" (Barnett, 1989, pg. 37). Various educational theorists and social scientists used Clark's discoveries to argue and develop "the idea of a culture of poverty as it related to educational aspirations" (Barnett, 1989, pg. 37). In order for Black children to develop positive self esteem and self confidence segregation in education had to end.

"Black Monday. That was what southern segregationists came to call the day the Supreme Court ruled on Brown v. Board of Education" (Williams, 1987, pg. 38). The main opponents to the abolishment of segregation laws were the southern white males who were heavily involved in the Ku Klux Klan, the Citizens' Council and other groups whose mission it was to foster and save white supremacy. The Supreme Court decision gave rise to the formation of

> A new kind of white hate group composed of urban, middle class whites determined to fight desegregation. They called themselves the Citizen's Council. The Klan's members were generally poor, rural white men. Wearing white robes and hoods that covered their faces, they set crosses ablaze on the lawns of integrationist "troublemakers." If that tactic failed to intimidate, they resorted to beatings and murder. The Citizens' Council, which began to proliferate throughout the South, sought to control blacks more through economic reprisals than by violence. Their purpose was to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates

> desegregation to find and hold a job, get credit, or renew a mortgage (Williams, 1987, pg. 38-39).

In addition to the general public, there were certain politicians such as President Eisenhower and numerous state senators, as well as, governors who were against the ruling of the Supreme Court (Carson, et al., 1991; Williams, 1987; Mayer, 1986, 1992).

> Eisenhower harbored serious misgivings about the Court's ruling in Brown. Arthur Larson, Eisenhower's under Secretary of Labor, later wrote that the president unequivocally disagreed with the Court's decision. Similarly, Emmet John Hughes, a speechwriter, related a conversation in which the president said to him, "I am convinced that the Supreme Court decision set back progress in the South at least fifteen years . . . . We can't demand perfection in these moral questions. All we can do is keep working toward a goal and keep it high. And the fellow who tries to tell me that you can do these things by force is just plain nuts (Mayer, 1986, 1992, pg. 348).

Recognizing that the Supreme Court decision was only the beginning, many African-Americans in the South fortified themselves and began the long march toward integration.

Daisy Bates provides a first hand account of the days, weeks, and months to come as well as the implementation of desegregation of central High school. Bates initially begins with a tone of optimism.

> We had, of course, hailed the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school integration as a great forward step in achieving true equality for our race;

> and we felt the school board of Little Rock, while moving slowly, was determined to obey the law at least in token form and make a start on integration according to plans it had formulated and announced well in advance. The plans called for the entrance into Central High School of nine Negro pupils when school opened on September 4, 1957 (Bates, 1986, pg. 3).

She continues explaining how open she and other Blacks in the community were to the paper victory of *Brown I*. In retrospect, the legacy of the *Brown I* was a short-lived victory; it proved to mean nothing to the diehard separatist and segregationists of the south.

Borrowed Equity 1955-1962: Implementation of Desegregation

The 1954, *Brown versus the Board of Education* Supreme Court decision declared segregated schools unconstitutional and thus, illegal (Carson, et. al., 1991; Hine & Thompson, 1997; Eisenmann, 1998; Marable & Mullings, 2000). The initial victory of *Brown I* served as a bonfire to the Civil Rights Movement for African Americans. "The success of the civil rights leaders in securing change in education varied. They emphasized three broad avenues: desegregation of public schools, community control of schools and the installation of Afrocentric curriculums, and affirmative action policies that provided educational access to blacks and other minorities." (Berube, 1994, pg. 48) In the eyes of many white Americans in the 1950s, Blacks were still considered inferior to Whites. Whites felt they would be losing ground were they to integrate with Blacks. The push to integrate the races challenged many American' comfortable way of life (Carson, et al., 1991; Orfield, 1996; Cohen, 1990; Coleman, 1987).

One year after the *Brown* I decision, many southern states had failed to adhere to the Supreme Court decision. This was partially due to the fact that in the *Brown* I there were no guidelines set to mandate action initiate the desegregation process (Berube, 1994; Carson, et al., 1991; Orfield, 1996; Jones-Wilson, et al. 1996). Therefore, *Brown* II 1955 was the "first attempt to define how and when school desegregation would be achieved" (Orfield, 1996, pg. xxi). In many situations the courts and, at times, the federal government had to become involved to ensure desegregation of the schools.

The most notable cases of government involvement were "the intervention of the federal government and the deployment of the National Guard in the 1954 Little Rock crisis, and again in 1963 when enrollment of James Meredith desegregated the University of Mississippi" (Carson, et al, 1987, pg. 63).

The Integration of Central High School

Daisy Bates' The Long Shadow of Little Rock provides detailed information of the period prior to and during the implementation of Brown I and Brown II.

> Ten days after the Supreme Court decision was handed down, the Little Rock Board announced a complicated plan for desegregating the schools. Its plan was to be carried out in three phases.
>
> First phase: Integration should begin at the senior high school level (Grades 10-12).
>
> Second phase: Following successful integration at the senior high school level, it should then be started in the junior high schools (Grades 7-9).

Third phase: After successful integration in junior and senior high schools, it should be started in elementary schools (Grades 1-6).

Early in 1955 the Arkansas State Board of Education announced that its seven colleges would be open in the fall to Negro undergraduates (Bates, 1986, pg. 49).

The first phase was to begin in the school year of 1957-58. It is important to note that Orval Eugene Faubus was elected Governor of Arkansas and assumed office in January 1955. Faubus sealed his victory by declaring his opposition to the Supreme Court decision in his campaign. While the plan to desegregate called for phases among the elementary and secondary schools, "Negroes had been attending the Graduate School of the University of Arkansas since 1948" (Bates, 1986, pg. 50). Due to previous experience with Southern whites, many African Americans were uncertain about the desegregation plan being implemented in the Fall of 1957.

The word came from the Arkansas School Board in the spring of 1956 that "integration may start in 1957." The NAACP Defense team of Wiley Branton and U. Simpson Tate filed a lawsuit in the Federal Court against the Little Rock District requesting immediate integration on behalf of thirty-three African American parents (Bates, 1986). However, the judge ruled in favor of the school board. He stated that the school board acted in good faith. The NAACP's immediate response was to challenge this ruling:

The NAACP attorneys next appealed this decision to the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Court of Appeals upheld the lower court, but in

> doing so it handed down a further ruling which was to have far-reaching effects on the integration program and on Little Rock itself. For, in addition to ordering the school board to put its plan into effect as of September, 1957, it ruled that the District Federal Court retain jurisdiction of the case for the purpose of entering such further orders as might be necessary. Even though the NAACP attorneys failed in their attempt to get a court decision ordering immediate integration in all grades, the plaintiffs felt confident that the school board, now under court order, would surely have to integrate the schools of Little Rock (Bates, 1986, pg. 52-53).

However, in the spring of 1957, Governor Faubus, in a legislative session, introduced four bills that sided with the segregationists and served as further attempts to delay integration. House Bill No. 322 created the State Sovereignty Commission to protect the state and "gave the commission authority to resist the United States Supreme Court decision against segregation in public schools" (Bates, 1986, pg. 53). House Bill No. 323 did not enforce attendance in integrated schools and House Bill No. 324 targeted the NAACP and other supporting organizations requiring persons and organizations to register with the State and make annual reports of income and expenses (Bates, 1986). The final bill, House Bill No. 325, "allowed school boards to use school funds to hire lawyers for integration suits" (Bates, 1986, pg. 53). The African American families then had no recourse except for to accept the challenge and so utilized the NAACP defense group to further the battle for integration.

These were only the beginning of the many legal battles leading to the integration of Little Rock Central High School. However, the efforts to integrate Arkansas schools according to the earlier desegregation plan would begin with the high schools. On September 3, 1957, Little Rock Central was to begin its process of integration in spite of the legal and legislative hurdles. The nine African American students selected to attend were Carlotta Walls, Jefferson Thomas, Elizabeth Eckford, Thelma Mothershed, Melba Pattillo, Ernest Green, Terrance Roberts, Gloria Ray, and Minnijean Brown (Bates, 1986). These students were informed of the plan to integrate Central High School in the spring of 1956. Originally, fifteen students applied for transfers from Horace Mann High School (the all black school) to Central High School (the all white school). However, once many students heard they would be unable to participate in any extracurricular activities and could only attend school they began to drop out. Shortly after this announcement some of the black families received threats and they pulled their students out. On September 3, 1957, only nine students remained to integrate Central High School with the reluctant support of their parents.

Faubus and the other segregationist were not giving in easily. The night before the students were to attend Central High School, the news unexpectedly announced that Governor Faubus would address the Arkansas citizens that evening (Bates, 1986, pg. 60). Bates writes that at seven o'clock that evening a reporter showed up on her door requesting her to comment on the guards surrounding Central High School. She recounts that in a state of shock, she and her husband jumped in their car and drove to Central where they saw "brown Army trucks with canvas tops; men in full battle dress-helmets, boots, and bayonets-were piling out of the trucks and lining up in front of the school"

(Bates, 1986, pg. 60). Faubus and the segregationist had one last card to play and this would be it. In a televised address, Governor Faubus spoke to the state of Arkansas and set fire to the state and the nation. He explained that he called the National Guard troops out as a way to protect citizens from harm. Faubus claimed "he had received information that caravans of automobiles filled with white supremacists were heading toward Little Rock from all over the state" (Bates, 1986, pg. 61). Faubus declared Central High off limits to African Americans and Horace Mann off limits to Whites. "From the highest office of the State of Arkansas, Governor Orval Eugene Faubus delivered the infamous words, "blood will run in the streets" if Negro pupils should attempt to enter Central High School" (Bates, 1986, pg. 60). After the Governor's address, Bates, who served as the liaison to the parents of the nine students, received numerous calls from parents concerned for the safety of their children and the plan to implement desegregation of Central High School.

Superintendent Blossom was consulted to provide guidance and reassurance to the parents of the African-American children that they would be protected.

> At the meeting Superintendent Blossom instructed the parents not to accompany their children the next morning when they were scheduled to enter Central. "If violence breaks out," the Superintendent told them, "it will be easier to protect the children if the adults aren't there." Words began pouring from the young reporter. "Look Daisy," he said anxiously. "I know about the Superintendent's instructions. I know he said the children must go alone to Central in the morning. But let me tell you, this is murder! I heard those people today. I've never seen anything like it.

> People I've known all my life-they've gone mad. They're totally without reason. You must know you can't expect much protection-if any-from the city police. Besides, the city police are barred from the school grounds!" (Bates, 1986, pg. 64)

This passage provides a glimpse into the turmoil that was intentionally created by Governor Faubus and the diehard segregationist in their continued attempts to stall the implementation of desegregation in the state of Arkansas. If necessary, the people of Little Rock were willing to harm innocent children in order to preserve their way of life. Bates took her reporter friend's advice to heart. She decided to call the ministers of the area both White and African American requesting that they escort the children the following morning. With such a short time within to work, she gained the reluctant consent of four ministers - two white and two African Americans - to escort the students. Bates was up until three o'clock in the morning phoning the children and their parents letting them know the new plan of meeting (Bates, 1986, pg. 65). However, one student Elizabeth Eckford did not have a phone and Bates recounts forgetting to get word to her about the change in meeting place. As a result of this miscommunication, Eckford showing up to Central High alone, was attacked by the mob in front of Central High:

> Before I left home Mother called us into the living-room. She said we should have a word of prayer. Then I caught the bus and got off a block from the school. I saw a large crowd of people standing across the street from the soldiers guarding Central. As I walked on, the crowd suddenly got very quiet. Superintendent Blossom had told us to enter by the front door. I looked at all the people and thought, 'Maybe I will be safer if I

walk down the block to the front entrance behind the guards.“At the corner I tried to pass through the long line of guards around the school so as to enter the grounds behind them. One of the guards pointed across the street. So I pointed in the same direction and asked whether he meant for me to cross the street and walk down. He nodded ‘yes.’ So, I walked across the street conscious of the crowd that stood there, but they moved away from me. For a moment all I could hear was the shuffling of their feet. Then someone shouted, ‘Here she comes, get ready!’

“The crowd moved in closer and then began to follow me, calling me names. I still wasn’t afraid. Just a little bit nervous. Then my knees started to shake all of a sudden and I wondered whether I could make it to the center entrance a block away. It was the longest block I ever walked in my whole life. All the time I kept thinking the guards would protect me. When I got in front of the school, I went up to a guard again. But this time he just looked straight ahead and didn’t move to let me pass him. I didn’t know what to do. When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet and then the other guards closed in and they raised their bayonets. I turned around and the crowd came toward me. “They moved closer and closer. Somebody started yelling, “Lynch her! Lynch her! Someone hollered, “Drag her over to this tree! Let’s take care of the nigger.” Just then a white man sat down beside me, put his arm around me and patted my shoulder. He raised my chin and said, “don’t let them see you cry.’

> Then a white lady came over to me and put me on the bus (Bates, 1986, pg. 74-75).

Elizabeth Eckford suffered tremendous emotional and psychological damage from this ordeal and remained withdrawn and silent for many weeks to come. Daisy Bates carried a heavy burden of blame for what happened to Elizabeth Eckford, as well as, the violence experienced by all nine of the students. All attempts to integrate Little Rock Central High were called off until twenty days later; the second attempt to enter the school came on September 23, 1957:

> This time the students were allowed to enter and attend some classes, but they had to be rushed out of the building before the end of the school day when an angry mob of whites stormed the school grounds seeking to harm them (Jones-Wilson, et. al., 1996, pg. 266).

This continued resistance to the integration of the school violated federal law as prescribed by the Supreme Court decision. The city pf :Little Rock was astonished when President Eisenhower federalized all ten thousand men of the Arkansas National Guard. President Eisenhower "authorized the Secretary of Defense to send in regular US troops as he deemed necessary" (Bates, 1986, pg. 101) to enroll and ensure attendance at public schools in the Little Rock District. The students finally obtained entrance into Central High School on September 25, 1957 and the soldiers remained for several weeks. Bates recalls:

> At 9:22 AM the nine Negro pupils marched solemnly through the doors of Central High School, surrounded by twenty-two [Airborne troops] soldiers. An Army helicopter circled overhead. Around the massive brick

> schoolhouse 350 paratroopers stood grimly at attention. Scores of reporters, photographers, and TV cameramen made a mad dash for telephones, typewriters, and TV studios, and within minutes a world that had been holding its breath learned that the nine pupils, protected by the might of the United States military, had finally entered the "never-never land." When classes ended that afternoon, the troops escorted the pupils to my home. Here we held the first of many conferences that were to take place during the hectic months ahead (Bates, 1986, pg. 106).

For the moment, this was a great accomplishment for civil rights and educational equity. However, the day-to-day events of violence and threats did not cease. In the semester to follow, the students suffered numerous attacks on their personhood, physical, and psychological well-being. However, the after school conferences with Daisy Bates helped the students to process the events of the day. On May 27, 1958, Ernest Green, who entered Central High as a senior, became the first African American to graduate from Little Rock's Central High School. Through the publicized events in Little Rock, America became blatantly aware of the discrimination and violence that continued to threaten the lives of African Americans in the south in their efforts to pursue equality.

In conclusion, this chapter provides one historical interpretation of the battle for educational equity for African Americans. The patterns and purposes for schooling African Americans, especially southern African Americans, proved to be a highly contested and politicized arena. The arguments for educating African Americans stemmed out of various theories of inferiority and issues of their "rightful place" in a growing industrial society. Social Darwinism served as a major foundation for much of

the rationale of Negro inferiority, as well as, southern segregationists attempts to protect their "way of life." However, as African Americans became educated and exposed to life outside of a second-class status unrest grew within the African American community in the struggle to seek justice. The first victory in the pursuit of civil rights and liberties was the *1954 Brown versus the Board of Education* decision, which ruled separate facilities as unequal and demanded integration of public schools beginning with elementary and secondary schools. Yet, this initial decision became a hollow victory as many states did not implement the ruling for desegregation of the schools. It would take several more years before the south would become successfully and peacefully integrated.

The prospect of full integration has continued to be a battleground in education and schooling of African Americans, Hispanics and other children of color. In fact, now fifty years after the first Brown decision, if you were to poll various public schools and school districts you would find that 80-90% of students attending the poorer urban schools are of African American and Hispanic descent. How far have we really come from 1954? Is there anything to celebrate? How equitable is schooling for African American children and other children of color?

CHAPTER 3

Schoolhouse Rock: Higher Education Challenges and Triumphs 1960-1970

> Education is where we ask how we might engage, enlarge, and change our lives, and it is, then, where we confront our dreams and fight out notions of the good life, where we try to comprehend, apprehend, or possibly even change the world. Education is contested space, natural site of conflict-sometimes restrained, other times in full eruption-over questions of justice.
>
> William Ayers, 2001, pg..x

William Ayers offers a profound summary of the continual influence education has on one's life and worldview. The college/university environment served as an induction process and extended the socio-cultural schooling for the authors' role as activists. This chapter focuses on the higher education encounters of Anne Moody, Angela Davis, and Daisy Bates. It was through these situations, stemming from the authors' choice to attend college and the experiences within the higher education environments that these women became practicing civil right activists. Most of the discussion deals with the lived experiences of Angela Davis and Anne Moody. Daisy Bates provides little information regarding her post-secondary education, but offers knowledge about the Little Rock Nine students' aspirations and accomplishments after leaving or graduating from Central High School. The chapter addresses three subjects relevant to the authors' higher education: (1) the historical context of post-secondary educational opportunities for African American women from 1950-1970; (2) the major

influences and /or reasons the authors pursued college and/or university attendance; and (3) the various challenges and triumphs encountered while attending institutions of higher learning, as well as, the events leading to their roles as activists.

Post-Secondary Opportunities for African American Women 1950-1970

Thanks to the pioneering efforts of many Black women educators of the late 19th and early 20th century such as: Mary Jane Patterson, Ida B. Wells, Mary Church Terrell, Eva Beatrice Dykes, Frances Olivia Grant, Rose Butler Brown, Anna Julia Cooper, and Mary McLeod Bethune, contemporary Black women have been able to draw on the power of their history to shape their dreams and futures not only in education but also in the political and civil rights arenas. America was at the point in her history where disenfranchised citizens (Blacks and white women) were beginning to revolt against established practices of institutionalized racism and sexism (Hine & Thompson, 1997, Gray White, 1999). At this point in time, there existed critical political and social factors influencing education and Black women's desire to pursue higher education.

The end of World War II in 1945 and the establishment of the United Negro College Fund's campaigns would begin to end the old ideas surrounding the confinement of "Negro education to agricultural and vocational training" (Curtis & Nash, 1965; Noble, [1957], 1992). Additionally, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began its campaign to end segregation of schools with lawsuits targeting institutions of higher learning for discriminatory admissions policies (Hornsby, 1973; Carson et. al., 1991; Davis, 1984; Marable & Mullings, 2000) The Black freedom movement of 1955-1966 was a time of racial shifts in aspects of socioeconomic, cultural, and political American history from the end of the Second World War to the Vietnam

War (Marable & Mullings, 2000). The 1954, *Brown versus the Board of Education* Supreme Court decision declared segregated schools illegal (Carson, et. al., 1991; Hine & Thompson, 1997; Eisenmann, 1998; Marable & Mullings, 2000) set the stage for future victories in the civil rights struggle. Black women began to move from being local influences of change to becoming national change agents. Davis (1984) reports, "the rapid desegregation of formerly white colleges and universities and the passage of affirmative action legislation opened up new opportunities for Black women" (Davis, 1984, pg. 326). Angela Davis attended the formerly segregated institutions, while Anne Moody and Daisy Bates attended historically Black colleges and universities. Bates, born in 1914, was educated in the south, so therefore, attended segregated institutions of higher learning. However, Moody, born in 1940 was born only four years before Davis yet, the circumstances of family, socioeconomic status, region, and cultural upbringing prevented her from attending a predominantly white institution (PWI).

The enrollment of women in colleges and universities was spurred on by the economic and societal needs (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Davis, 1984; Hine & Thompson, 1997). "By the mid-1960's, the civil rights movement and the passage of equal employment legislation raised women's expectations concerning their participation in the workforce" (Glazer-Raymo, 1999, pg. 37). Black women and men, both, benefited from the revolutionary acts of the sixties. "The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Education Act of 1965 created new educational opportunities for Blacks. One of the earliest benefits of this legislation was the rapid entrance of Black students into previously segregated White colleges" (Noble, 1993, pg. 331). Even though African Americans were entering PWIs, they experienced varying degrees of alienation, hostility,

isolation, and depression. Many of these aspects became the source of research studies on the advantages and disadvantages of attending a PWI versus a HBCU (Historically Black College or University) in the 1980s and 1990s.

Influences for Pursuing Higher Education

Each author came to the decision to pursue postsecondary education from various influences. For Anne Moody, her choice to attend college came from community, as well as, family members. For her, the most prominent and earliest inspiration to attend college came from her employer Mrs. Claiborne who she met in 1950:

> When school started again things were still pretty rough, so Mrs. Johnson got one of her friends, Mrs. Claiborne, to give me a job. Mrs. Claiborne taught Home Economics at the white school. I worked for her every evening after school and all day Saturdays. Mrs. Claiborne's husband was a businessman. The only thing I knew about businessmen at the time was that they carried brief cases, smoked cigars, and wore suits every day (Moody, 1968, pg. 45).

Anne Moody began working at nine years of age. At ten, she began working for Mrs. Claiborne. The time spent with Mrs. Claiborne served to expose a young Moody to aspects of life she had never witnessed via her biological mother or family. I interpret her early exposure to the work force functioning as an initial predicator of her later desire to attend college. Moody's various interactions with her employers supplied her with the environment and community to develop social and cultural capital. George Morrison (2003) provides a working definition of social capital for educators and social scientists. Morrison defines social capital as:

> A concept from economics meaning socially valued goods and services that are exchanged in the social interactions of a family and community. For example, in a family, social capital can consist of the attention, nurturance, support, and help family members can provide children in their learning and development. When family members provide these things to children, social capital is strong. Low socioeconomic status and family problems-such as substance abuse, unemployment, lack of education, and the like-weaken social capital. The same can be applied to the community (Morrison, 2003, pg. 226).

In other words, social capital allows for the achievement and/or facilitation of certain social structures of relations and opportunities. The pursuit of higher education is considered an extension of one's social and cultural capital. One's success in college/university setting is believed to be connected to one's parents' level of education. Anne Moody learned the value of education and good grades from her family, but it was enforced and turned into social capital through her interactions with Mrs. Claiborne, her teachers, and her other employers. Cultural capital like social capital is primarily contingent upon the family unit. However, cultural capital can be "acquired to a varying extent, depending upon the society, one's social class, and one's educational attainment" (Bourdieu, 1997, pg. 88). Moody, unlike Davis, had to acquire her social and cultural capital from outside of her family network. For instance, Moody's social capital, such as social graces, material assets, class issues, success and aspirations, was obtained via her community connections. She developed little cultural capital until her post-secondary education and her involvement in the movement. Moody's exposure to leadership,

conflict-resolution, and community organization can all be considered examples of the embodied state of cultural capital. "The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation" (Bourdieu, 1997, pg. 48). Bourdieu asserts that cultural capital has various forms and can be obtained by investing in oneself and working to acquire self-improvement through education and schooling. Moody was educated in the movement on leadership, organization, political savvy, becoming a team player and collectivism. She was also schooled on how to write, speak, and conduct herself as an educated person. While, her biological family unit possessed little of either social or cultural capital, Mrs. Claiborne and her husband adored Moody; they were interested in her future and attempted to provide for her indirectly:

> One Saturday I was setting the table for them and he asked me to set up a place for myself. I sat down with them-the first white people I had ever eaten at the same table with. I was so nervous. We sat in silence eating. Dessert was served and then they started talking to me. "Essie, how do you like school?" Mr. Claiborne asked. "Oh, it's all right," I answered. "What kind of grades you make?" he asked. "I make A's in everything but arithmetic and I make B's in that," I said. "See, I told you she's very smart," Mrs. Claiborne said. "What would you like to do after you finish school, Essie?" he asked. "I don't know. Mamma say I could be a teacher like Mrs. Claiborne and Mrs. Johnson," I said. Mr. Claiborne just nodded his head. Mrs. Claiborne told me that Mr. Claiborne thought that I was very smart. She said that she didn't know many ten-year-old girls who

> worked to keep herself and her sister and brother in school. After that Saturday, I ate with them every time I was there for a meal. They started treating me like their own child. They would correct me when I spoke wrong, and Mrs. Claiborne would tell me about places she had traveled and people she met while traveling. I was learning so much from them (Moody, 1968, pg. 45-46).

This passage illustrates the Claibornes trying to educate Moody on proper etiquette, language, and foster a sense of life beyond her present condition; for example, correcting her when she spoke improper English, or trying to establish some sort of long term goals regarding career and educational attainment. They also reinforced her academic achievement and work ethic. Moody's relationship with Mrs. Claiborne was that of an "othermother". This term is derived from Patricia Hill Collins' (1990) work:

> In African American communities, fluid and changing boundaries often distinguish biological mothers from other women who care for children. Biological mothers, or bloodmothers, are expected to care for their children. But African and African-American communities have also recognized that vesting one person with full responsibility for mothering a child may not be wise or possible. As a result, othermothers-women who assist bloodmothers by sharing mothering responsibilities-traditionally have been central to the institution of Black motherhood (Collins, 1990, pg. 119).

Even though Mrs. Claiborne is not African American, Anne Moody gains a great deal from their relationship. For instance, she is able to develop a relationship based on mutual

respect, nurturance, and comfort, as well as, learning to aspire to higher goals in her life. I contend that just as "othermothers" are not biologically related they do not always need to be racially the same depending upon the needs of the child. Black women have had to be resourceful not only to save themselves, but also to save the Black race. In seeking out a guide or mentor, Moody exhibits this type of resourcefulness. She utilized the community as her source to develop beyond her mother's teaching or lack thereof.

Family Influences for Anne Moody

Momma Moody's main influence on Moody was twofold: (1) she pushed academic performance as a means of competition with her in-laws; and (2) she encouraged farming, as it was her passion:

> Mama thought she could somehow make the adults accept her through us. So she began to make us study our lessons at home twice as hard as before. I was still doing my homework alone, but every night now Raymond would drill Adline and Junior again and again over the same lessons. Mama started in on me. She was always telling me things like, "Y'all gotta do good in school. Y'all can't let Darlene and Cherie be smarter than y'all. They already think they is better than y'all 'cause they is yellow. Because my grades were going so well, I decided I could afford to go out for the junior high basketball team, the only extracurricular activity offered for sixth graders (Moody, 1968, pg. 52).

Anne Moody was a good student and she loved learning. Not only was she a good student, but also she was a strong athlete. Her athletic ability would serve her well in her future aspirations. Anne Moody was wise beyond her years and because of this was her

mother's least difficult child. Even though she felt bad for her mother, she knew her academic achievement would never buy her mother the acceptance she craved from Raymond's family. Raymond, Moody's stepfather, moved Anne Moody and her entire family into a house he built down the road from his mother. Raymond's family did not accept Momma Moody because of her dark skin and the fact that she had been previously married with three children. His mother never acknowledged Momma Moody even after she gave birth to two more children. This interaction made no sense to Anne Moody and made her despise Raymond for not forcing his family to accept them. Momma Moody was constantly trying to devise ways to gain her in-laws acceptance and respect.

Moody loved her mother in spite of her faults and hated that her mother had to struggle for their survival. In watching her mother work so hard the majority of her life with little to show for it, Moody noticed she was following the same path. Anne spent most of her early years as a domestic servant. However, her mother and step-father wanted her to know and love the joys of farming. After having failed at obtaining work in California, Raymond was determined to make a living through working the land. He would use Moody, her siblings, and all the children living around him as his labor force:

> School wasn't out yet and I was still working for Mrs. Claiborne. She was teaching me so much and she was so good to me that I didn't want to stop working for her. But I knew as soon as school was over, I'd have to work in the field all day. School ended and I sadly said good-bye to Mrs. Claiborne. Raymond had said that on Monday morning, my first week out of school, we would start chopping cotton. I didn't even know anything about chopping (Moody, 1968, pg. 81-83).

Moody cognizant of the benefits of her relationship with Mrs. Claiborne questions becoming a farmer. In her own turmoil she is probably asking herself: what could she gain from farming? Or how would this help her in the ways Mrs. Claiborne was able to help? However, at this young age family loyalty came before all else. This devotion and dedication would shift in priority as the threat of molestation, abuse, and loss of sanity crept into her adolescent/young adult world.

Farming was not the profession for Moody. She wanted out of the dead end life of her mother and so many other African Americans in rural Mississippi:

> Mama and Raymond had been hooked to the soil since they were children, and I got the feeling, especially from Mama, that they were now trying to hook me. The whole thing fascinated me-planting seeds, growing your own food, using the rain and the sun and the earth, and even the idea of making a living from it. But it was the hardest way I knew of making a living. So whenever Mama started one of her long lectures on the pleasures of farming, I would drown her out with my thoughts of Mrs. Claiborne and all the traveling she had done and the people she had met. Mrs. Claiborne had told me how smart I was and how much I could do if I just had a chance. I knew if I got involved in farming, I'd be just like Mama and the rest of them, and that I would never have that chance. After the cotton season was over I was surer than ever that I would never be a farmer. Out of all that work we had put into the cotton, we didn't even make enough money to buy school clothes (Moody, 1968, pg. 89).

In the eyes of a 12 year-old Moody, farming equaled poverty and "no chance at a life". While the thought of planting and growing may have fascinated Moody, she wanted more. She longed for the kind of "chance at life" Mrs. Claiborne and her husband had introduced her to; a life that included traveling, college, and seeing the world. All the hard work and the family's sheer existence for the months to come depended on the land's ability to produce. The crop yield was barley enough to help them survive the winter. If Momma Moody had not planted some vegetables and potatoes, they would have starved that winter. The family even had to pick up pecans for additional money.

Moody decided after this experience that farming was definitely not for her. A resourceful Anne Moody decided she would spend her future summers in New Orleans with relatives and earn money. She wrote to her uncle and requested to stay with him while she found work. She worked as a domestic, as dishwasher, and later as a waitress earned enough money to buy her own school clothes each year, as well as, be of assistance to her family. As Anne Moody began to develop into a young woman, she was plagued with unwanted advances from her stepfather. During her senior year in high school, she and Raymond had a blow up that led to her leaving home in Centerville to live with her estranged father in Woodville. After graduation she fled to New Orleans:

> Two days after graduation, I arrived in New Orleans hoping to earn enough money at Maple Hill so I could go to one of the inexpensive colleges there. I had spent all my little savings while living with my daddy. I was afraid to work for the whites in Woodville, so I just lived off my savings. It would take me a whole year at the restaurant to save enough money for college, and I was scared to take the chance of being

> out that long. In a panic I wrote Coach Dunbar. He had said that I had a good chance of getting a basketball scholarship to one of the junior colleges in Mississippi that had a girls' team. I hadn't even considered going to college in Mississippi and I was tired of playing basketball. But, now I had no other choice. I received a reply from Coach Dunbar about a week later, saying that the Natchez College coach, Mr. Lee, was considering me for a scholarship and would write me soon (Moody, 1968, pg. 217).

Attending college for many first generation students is not a right, but a privilege. As a first generation college student, Moody bore sole responsibility for the financial aspects of attending college. Likewise today, economic circumstances and issues continue to play a significant role in the educational attainment of students from varied racial and lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Without the basketball scholarship, it would have been much more difficult for Moody to attend college.

Family Influences for Angela Davis

Unlike Anne Moody, Angela Davis always knew she would attend college. Both parents had earned college degrees and, therefore, expected no less from their children. This serves as a good example of social, cultural, and human capital within the Davis family unit. Social capital exists in the relations among people. For example, the fact that Davis parents were both educated and employed shows their impact as social actors on their environment. Their educational background interplays with their children having access to cultural education, proper schooling and various social opportunities. Human

capital refers to "the parents' education and provides the potential for a cognitive environment for the child that aids learning" (Coleman, 1977, pg. 88). Therefore, Davis benefits from two educated parents who expect her to excel academically and socially in life. The following is an example of a young Angela Davis sharing her thought process about career aspirations:

> The people dressed in white fascinated me and I tried to spend more time at the hospital than at the nursery. I had made up my mind that I was going to be a doctor-a children's doctor (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 78).
>
> I had made up in my mind that I was going to prove to the world that I was just as good, just as intelligent, just as capable of achieving as any white person. At that time-and until my high school years in New York-I wanted to become a pediatrician. Never once did I doubt that I would be able to execute my plans-after elementary school, high school, then college and medical school. But I had a definite advantage: my parents would see to it that I attended college, and would help me survive until I could make it on my own. This was not something that could be said for the vast majority of my schoolmates (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 93).

Davis clearly understands her situation and advantage as an atypical Black southern family. Her social and cultural capital is strong because of her family's educational backgrounds and socioeconomic status. Davis' words reflect this insight in confidently asserting, "my parents would see to it I attended college." Her parents believed in the promises of educational attainment. Being born a person of color and living in America, especially the south, in the 1940s and 1950s was rough on one's self esteem. Because of

Davis' strong family ties and her own developed sense-of-self she was able to overcome the threats to her self-identity and self-esteem. "To find one's racial or ethnic identity, one must deal with negative stereotypes, resist internalizing negative self-perceptions, and affirm the meaning of ethnicity for oneself" (Tatum, 1997, pg. 165-166).

Davis' strong sense-of-self enabled her to more fully comprehend her options, both academically and socially. Angel Davis, at age fourteen, was entering her junior year in high school and was experiencing a metamorphosis of an intellectual and emotional nature:

> At fourteen, in my junior year, I felt restless and exceedingly limited. I discovered two avenues of escape: the early entrance program at Fisk University in Nashville and an experimental program developed by the American Friends Service Committee, through which Black students from the South could attend integrated high schools in the North. I applied for both and, after some months, learned that I had been accepted by both (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 103).

In contrast, at age fourteen, Anne Moody received an education in brutality and cruelty based on racial injustice for she had just turned fourteen when Emmett Till was murdered. Davis was extremely fortunate in her academic options and her ability to leave the south. Two exceptional academic opportunities awaited her and she possessed the luxury of choice regarding her educational trek. Her choice would enhance her long-term goals no matter which opportunity she chose. Her superior academic performance opened doors to elite higher education opportunities. In an effort to please her mother and not herself, she chose Fisk:

With medical school in mind, at first I had a strong inclination toward the Fisk alternative. Fisk would not only be an escape from the provincialism I detested, it would also mean that I could more easily pursue my plans to become a pediatrician; Meharry Medical School was right on its campus. Fisk was among the most academically prestigious Black universities in the country. But it was also the Black Bourgeoisie par excellence, and I could predict that my disinclination to become involved in purely social affairs would create enormous personal problems. Probably if I did not pledge a sorority, I would remain an outsider (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 104). I tried to think about the positive side of Fisk: In four years, I would be nineteen and could attend Meharry Medical School; a few years later I would be curing children. With my suitcases packed and my mind snapped shut, I was ready to go. One or two days before I was to leave, my father, my dear father, broke out of his normal reticence and asked me to tell him frankly what I wished to do. But before I could answer, he said he wanted to tell me about some of his own experiences during his brief stay at Fisk. (He had graduated from St. Augustine College in Raleigh, North Carolina, but had done some graduate work at Fisk.) It was a very good school, he said. But to accomplish anything there you had to enter the place with an unwavering conception of what you were going to do. I had to see both sides of Fisk, he said, its historical significance to Black people-and its problems as well (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 105).

In the above passage, Angela Davis exhibits her self-awareness. She knows that she may not fit into the social scene of Fisk. She is aware of what is important to her and being a socialite does not make her list. However, she planned to attend Fisk even though she really wanted to attend the integrated high school up north until her father in his wisdom intervened. Davis aids the reader in understanding her relationship with her father in this excerpt. Davis benefited greatly from a two-parent family that loved her and was there to help her to make good decisions. Her father helps her understand the pros and cons in attending Fisk. It appears this discussion would ultimately influence her future choices in postsecondary institutions. After providing sage advice, he puts his foot down about her choosing for the sake of her mother and Davis, freed by the love of her parents', matriculates to the integrated high school up north.

In the case of each author, the major influences contributing to their decisions and aspirations were the individuals' goals and plans for their life, their family, and their community, positively, as in the case with Mrs. Claiborne or negatively, as in the case of for Davis growing up amongst the turmoil in her neighborhood. While, Davis and Moody have extremely different motivators for their decision to pursue higher education, each made a conscious choice to better themselves, as well as, to prove something to the world at large. In the next section, the reader is introduced to their varied experiences while in college.

Challenges and Triumphs within Institutions of Higher Learning

Angela Davis and Anne Moody provide two divergent experiences of higher education. Moody attended a junior college and a historically Black college while Davis attended elite predominantly white institutions.

Davis' Higher Education

Davis became a first year student at the prestigious Brandies University in 1961:

> (September 1961) Brandies University was different. There were no roads leading outside. Its physical and spiritual isolation were mutually reinforcing. There was nothing in Waltham but a clock factory, and Cambridge and Boston were unreachable for those of us who couldn't afford a car. I searched the crowds of freshmen for others who were Black. Just knowing they were there would have made me feel a little more comfortable. But the full scholarship Brandies had bestowed upon me was apparently a guilt-motivated attempt to increase their Black freshmen population of two. We three were all female. I was glad that one of them, Alice, lived on the same floor as I.
>
> Although Alice and I struck up a friendship immediately, it did not essentially alter my attitude toward the college. I felt alienated, angry, alone, and would have left the campus if I had the courage and had known where to go. Since I was there-to stay, it seemed-I lived with this alienation and began to cultivate it in a romantic sort of way (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 118).

Beverly Daniel Tatum (1997), writes that predominantly white colleges need to concern themselves with not only attracting students of color, but also with retaining them. She believes that students of color need to think about the choice of attending a PWI. "Black students need to take seriously the psychological toll extracted from students of color in

inhospitable environments and the critical role that cultural space can play" (Tatum, 1997, pg. 80). Davis provides a vivid illustration of her early assessment of Brandeis:

> Only in the artificial surroundings of an isolated, virtually all-white college campus could I have allowed myself to cultivate this nihilistic attitude. It was as if in order to fight off the unreal quality of my environment, I leaped desperately into another equally unreal mode of living. During that first semester, I didn't study very much. I told myself that the courses I was compelled to take were irrelevant anyway (Davis, pg. 118).

Angela Davis did not enjoy the serene and sterile environment of Brandeis. Like most first year students of color, she needed to adjust to the new atmosphere and culture. However, in her second year, life was much more bearable because of her attitude change brought on by her summer abroad experience. "Meeting people all over the world had taught me how important it was to be able to tear down the superficial barriers which separated us. Language was one of those barriers which could be removed easily" (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 125). Davis decided to major in French. She spent her junior year in the Hamilton College Junior Year in France Program, which took her to Paris (Davis, 1974, 1988) and this is where she developed a love for philosophy. However, on September 16, 1963, there was devastating news:

> After class I asked the three or four students with whom I was walking to wait a moment while I bought a *Herald Tribune*. My attention divided between walking and listening to the conversation, just skimming the paper, I saw a headline about four girls and a church bombing. At first I

> was only vaguely aware of the words. Then it hit me! It came crashing down all around me. Birmingham. 16th Street Baptist Church. I closed my eyes, squeezing my lids into wrinkles as if I could squeeze what I had just read out my head (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 129)

Davis knew the victims and their families. She took the attack personally and became withdrawn from her classmates. Davis was devastated and ready to return home, her mother convinced her to delay her return.

While in Paris, Davis had developed her love for philosophy, however, she was very near completing her degree in French. Therefore, exhibiting her sense of agency, she decided to take her education and future academic career into her own hands:

> When I returned to Brandeis, the first semester of my senior year was so crowded with required French courses that I could not officially enroll in Marcuse's lecture series on European political thought since the French revolution. Nevertheless, I attended each session, rushing in to capture a seat in the front of the hall (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 133).
>
> One day, shortly after the semester began, I mustered up enough courage to put in a request for an interview with Marcuse. I had decided to ask him to help me draw up a bibliography on basic works in philosophy. Having assumed I would have to wait for weeks to see him, I was surprised when I was told he would be free that very afternoon. Trying to explain my reasons for the appointment, I told him that I intended to study philosophy in graduate school, perhaps at the university in Frankfurt, but that my independent reading in philosophy had been

> unsystematic-without regard for any national or historical relations. What I wanted from him-if it was not too much of an imposition-was a list of works in the sequence in which I ought to read them. And if he gave me permission, I wanted to enroll in his graduate seminar on Kant's Critique of Pure Reason (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 134).

Angela Davis exercised her right to knowledge. This excerpt is a clear example of Davis' human agency. She seized control of her academic trek and this inspired Marcuse to invest in her future.

> I had no idea that my little request would develop into stimulating weekly discussions on the philosophers he suggested, discussions which gave me a far more exciting and vivid picture of the history of philosophy than would have emerged from a dry introduction-to-philosophy course. During that last year at Brandeis, I made up my mind to apply for a scholarship to study philosophy at the university in Frankfurt. Marcuse confirmed my conviction that this was the best place to study, given my interest in Kant, Hegel, and Marx (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 135).

Davis graduated from Brandeis in 1964 and, subsequently, spent two years in Frankfurt, Germany working on a graduate degree in philosophy. After two years she became anxious to return to the States and help with the Black movement:

> While I was hidden away in West Germany the Black Liberation Movement was undergoing decisive metamorphoses. The slogan "Black Power" sprang out of a march in Mississippi. Organizations were being transfigured-The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a leading

> civil rights organization, was becoming the foremost advocate of "Black Power". There were young Black men in Oakland, California, who decided that they had to wield arms in order to protect the residents of Oakland's Black community from the indiscriminate police brutality ravaging the area. The name of the organization was the Black Panther Party. The more the struggles at home accelerated, the more frustrated I felt at being forced to experience it all vicariously (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 144).

Two years was enough for Davis. She made arrangements to finish her doctoral degree at the University of California at San Diego working with Marcuse. This would enable her to take an active role in the movement. In 1967 Angela Davis reluctantly joined the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panther Party. In 1968 she became involved with the American Communist Party and was granted her Master of Arts in Philosophy (Davis, 1974, 1988).

Moody's Higher Education

Davis and Moody were both active in the liberation movements of African Americans at different points due to age, campus environment, and regional issues. Anne Moody, according to her work, completed her bachelor's degree in 1964 the height of the Civil Rights Movement and the year of Freedom Summer in Mississippi. She initially attended Natchez College in 1961 and then later transferred to Tougaloo College as a junior. Moody's scholarship to initially attend college came from her basketball talent and high school coach's recommendation:

> I began thinking that maybe I was stuck in the restaurant and that I would probably never get to college. But finally late in August, a second letter came, telling me that I had gotten a scholarship, and that I was to report to school in two weeks. I ran to my cigar box and was surprised to find that I had saved nearly four hundred dollars. I still didn't know if I had gotten a full scholarship, so I was scared to spend any money. I bought only a few cheap clothes, and since I had always wanted a suitcase of my own, I splurged on a three-piece eighteen-dollar luggage set (Moody, 1968, pg. 218)

Once again the issue of class difference and finances plagued Moody's actions and thoughts. She was so excited about attending Natchez, however, this excitement soon turned to disappointment:

> "Is this Natchez College?" I asked as I sat there looking out of the cab at an old two-story red brick building, on which was engraved "Women's Auxiliary." "You never been here before?" the driver asked as he opened the door for me. "No, it's my first year. Is this all there is to the school?" As I stepped out of the cab, I could see only three little old brick buildings. "Sho' is!" he said, pointing to the red brick building. "This is where the women live." I felt like jumping right back in the cab and going back to New Orleans. I didn't want to get involved with this place (Moody, 1968, pg. 218-219).

Moody's dreams of attending an elaborate and fancy institution were dashed as she arrived on the small land Natchez College occupied. She had determined in her mind

what a "good" college should look like and how it should operate. Natchez would continue to disappoint her. Her first encounter with the cafeteria is a good example, as well as, the additional requirements for her scholarship:

> As soon as I took a look at the food I got an urge to take over the kitchen. I met the cook and told her about my restaurant experience. She asked me if I wanted to work in the kitchen and I told her I would love to. Later I found out that all the students on full scholarship had to work part-time. I was glad that I had found something to do that I really liked (Moody, 1968, pg. 220).

Angela Davis and Anne Moody are both proactive individuals and change agents. These women make every effort to get the most out of every experience.

Anne Moody began her activism, as did Davis, while in college. Two months before school ended in her last year at Natchez, Moody was instrumental in starting a student boycott of the cafeteria where she previously worked. Upon entering the dining hall, she is approached by classmates yelling and trying to show her maggots in the grits. When a former colleague from the cafeteria motioned for her, Moody followed her to the back room and the pantry where the grits and other food are kept. Moody noticed the shelves were filled with water coming from a leak in the ceiling from the bathrooms above. Anne Moody exchanged words with Ms. Harris the cafeteria supervisor and then began to inform the students of what she had witnessed. The following excerpt captures the scene:

> We were just outside the dining room door and a couple of guys stormed back inside, hollering, "Boycott! Boycott!" One of them started yelling, "Maggots in the grits, maggots in the grits! We ain't gonna eat this

> cooked-up shit!" Then students began to walk out, leaving their plates on the tables right where they were. Then we all gathered in front of the dorm. Some of the students were arguing. I could tell that a lot of them weren't too hot on boycotting. One of the guys came up to me. "Okay, Moody," he said so everyone could hear, 'You runnin' this shit! How we gonna eat? I don't have one penny in my pocket!" Several of the others joined in with him. "Yeah, Moody, what's your bright idea now? How we gonna come up with some money?" "Just 'cause you ain't got no money, you gonna go down there and eat that shit? I would starve first!" I shouted. There was mixed reaction of yells and boos. The same guy who had come up continued the debate. "O.K., so we don't go to the kitchen! You tell us how we're goin' to eat!" "I got some money," I said quickly, thinking of my ninety dollars. "Who else got some?" There was dead silence. "I got twenty bucks," Inez yelled out. "Ain't nobody else got some money?" I asked. "Fuck money, man!" one of the guys shouted. "Let's telegram Buck and tell him to come back here and take care of this shit." The crowd cheered. "O.K.," I said. "But in the meantime, stay outta that dining room!" (Moody, 1968, pg. 235-236)

Moody showed strong leadership and commitment. She gave up her last ninety dollars to help keep the boycott going. Upon the return of the President he met with Moody and promptly labeled her as a troublemaker, until she explained what had transpired after which he had the leak repaired; all the pantry food removed and made Ms. Harris wear a hair net. The President was so impressed with how Anne Moody conducted herself that

he contacted her about an academic opportunity. The offer which came at a low point for Moody could not have been better timed:

> At mid-semester when our averages were tallied, I had the highest average in the class. Soon after the averages were posted, I was called to President Buck's office. He asked me if I had any plans for going on to college next year. I didn't know what he had up his sleeve so I came on very cool with him in the beginning. But before our meeting was over I could tell that he really liked me in spite of all the disturbances I had caused on campus. So I broke down and admitted my worries about going to college. Then he told me that I could probably get a full scholarship with my high grades. He said that a test would be given in a week or so for scholarships to a couple of the colleges in Mississippi and that he wanted me to try for them. The following week, the registrar from Tougaloo College, the best senior college in the state for Negroes, came down. I took the test, and a week before school ended; I received notice that I had received a full-tuition scholarship (Moody, 1968, pg. 237-238).

Unlike her arrival on the Natchez College campus, Moody was very impressed with Tougaloo College. Even though she was extremely nervous about her academic ability in comparison to her classmates, she did well her first semester until becoming involved in the movement:

> One night, shortly after Dave and I broke up, I asked Trotter what kind of meetings she was always going to. She said, "I thought you knew. I'm secretary of the NAACP chapter here on campus." "I didn't even know

> they had a chapter here," I said. "Why don't you become a member? We're starting a voter registration drive in Hinds County and we need canvassers. I promised her that I would go to the next meeting. All that night I didn't sleep. Everything started coming back to me. I thought of Samuel O'Quinn. I thought of how he had been shot in the back with a shotgun because they suspected him of being a member. I thought of Reverend Dupree and his family who had been run out of Woodville when I was a senior in high school, and all he had done was to get up and mention NAACP in a sermon. The more I remembered the killings, beatings, and intimidations, the more I worried what might possibly happen to me or my family if I joined the NAACP. But I knew I was going to join, anyway. I had wanted to for a long time (Moody, 1968, pg. 248).

Like many college students at historically black college and universities, the movement took students away from their studies and their grades suffered. However, Tougaloo, a privately funded college, worked with its students unlike the state supported schools.

> That spring term I had really wanted to do well in all my subjects, but I had become so wrapped up in the Movement that by the time mid-semester grades came out, I had barely a one-point average. Other students who had gotten involved with the NAACP were actually flunking. I started concentrating more on my work-with little success. It seemed as though everything were going wrong. In addition to my academic problems, I was running out of money. In May I was so broke, I

> could not pay my last month's bill and was forced to write Mama and ask her to send me thirty dollars. A couple of weeks went by without a letter from her. Mama had written Adline and asked her to send me some money, because Raymond wouldn't let her send me any herself. Adline could only spare ten dollars, and she wrote me that she was sorry I had gone to Tougaloo when I knew I could not afford it. The letter made me so mad that I was sick all the next week. I decided to write Emma and ask her for the thirty dollars. She sent me forty right away and said that she and my daddy would have helped me more and that they wanted to, but my daddy had been bothered with his back and had not been working (Moody, 1968, pg. 250).

Moody's family was trapped and did not understand why she continued "rocking the boat". It disturbed her a great deal that her family seemed to betray her and the Black race by remaining silent and passive. It would take sometime for her to find peace with their disapproval. Nevertheless, Moody would become deeper and deeper involved within the civil rights movement. She was one of the Woolworth lunch counter sit in protesters and later would March on Washington, as well as, participate in the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964.

All three of these women are an inspiration and provide strong role models for positive self-esteem. In examining their post-secondary education experiences, one can ascertain the advantages and disadvantages of attending either institutional type, historically Black or predominantly White. Colleges and universities in the 1960s functioned as centers for social movement and incubators of talented academicians and

profound activists. Angela Davis's social and cultural capital situated her in the more elite institutions of higher education: Brandies, University at Frankfurt, and University of San Diego to complete graduate studies, while, Anne Moody struggled just to complete her schooling at Tougaloo College. Financial concerns and being engulfed in the civil rights movement, as well as, family tensions all plagued her ability to perform academically and stay focused. In spite of these hurdles, she completed her degree and made no mention of continuing on to graduate school.

While Moody discusses the people, events, and environment surrounding her postsecondary schooling, Davis provides more details regarding her studies and her approach to the academic choices she makes. These women come to the table with different utensils and dissimilar appetites. Angela Davis comes with the capital of culture, exposure to studies abroad, and intellectual savvy. Anne Moody comes with perseverance, fortitude, and a practical frame of reference. Though different each woman possesses focus, determination, and sense of collective responsibility beyond themselves. For both women, higher education provided an avenue leading to enrichment and a world of enlightenment. Enrichment came through the training in academic and intellectual skills that their respective institutions had to offer. Enlightenment came about through their participation in social movements that endowed Anne Moody and Angela Davis with access to power toward—power that would make a difference for years to come.

CHAPTER 4

Signs of the Time: Cultural Education of a Transformer

Culture structures our behavior, thoughts, perceptions, values, goals, morals,
and cognitive processes - - also usually without conscious thought.
Culture, Not Race, Explains Human Diversity, Mark Nathan Cohen

Education is our means of providing for the inter-generational transmission of values,
beliefs, traditions, customs, rituals, and sensibilities along with
the knowledge of why these things must be sustained.
Education and Schooling: You Can Have One Without the Other, Mwalimu J. Shujaa

In the epitaph, Mark Nathan Cohen supplies a clear-cut definition to culture. Cohen's portrayal of the transmission of culture into our lives, as conscious and unconscious, is similar to our acquisition of language. Both culture and language have rules that are group and/or membership specific. For example, how do we know to close our eyes and bow our heads when someone is praying? Or, why do children become excited when they begin to approach the age of attending school for the first time? There are rules that are taught and learned yet, many times these rules are transmitted without being spoken. Shujaa's quote explains how education serves as a general process of enculturation. "Schooling is only one of a number of enculturating agencies – in particular the family, the church, the peer group, and the mass media – each with its own values and purposes" serve to expose an individual to culture (Kneller, 1965, pg. 12). Employing anthropological methodology helps explain the many facets of enculturation

as they effect education and cultural knowledge. This chapter aims to accomplish three goals; (1) to define culture as it is used for the purposes of this study; (2) to provide an understanding of the social and cultural experiences of Moody, Bates, and Davis through the use of their lived experiences; and (3) to examine how these African American women's knowledge of their world enabled them to develop social and cultural capital which they utilized in their role as activists for civil rights and human liberties.

The Concept of Culture

Culture is one of those elusive terms that is key in the fields of humanities and social sciences. Culture, for anthropologists, is a heavily debated concept (Cole, 1988, Yon, 2000). For the purposes of this study, culture is defined in two ways: "as shared, learned patterns of and for behavior" (Cole, 1988, pg. 74). Culture is learned and acquired through observation and imitation:

> Stop and think about when and how you learned to eat an ice cream cone, to run for shelter when a sudden rain storm breaks while you are taking a stroll. It will also be instructive to try and remember if anyone individual or "teacher" instructed you on the "proper" roles and statuses of men and women; on "race relations," "democracy," "freedom," and a host of complex ideas (Cole, 1988, pg. 74).

Just as one comes to think and behave in one way, she or he can also come to think and behave differently. Therefore, racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism are all behaviors and attitudes of North American culture that have been learned through observation and/or imitation. In this definition of culture, just as one can learn to act or react to certain models of behavior, one can just as easily unlearn or create an alternative

way of acting or behaving. In the case of Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis, schools and other social institutions, as well as, circumstances served to catapult them into recreating their cultural and social environments. According to Sewell (1992), "agency arises from the actor's control of resources, which means the capacity to reinterpret or mobilize an array of resources in terms of schemas other than those that constituted the array" (Sewell, 1992, pg. 20). In other words, to possess human agency a person is capable of exerting some control over transforming their social relations and social lives. Through their sense of agency, these authors reinterpreted and re-envisioned their circumstances and available resources and became prominent civil rights activists. This chapter illuminates the actions of Moody, Bates and Davis' that signify their sense of shared culture and human agency.

Culture is shared "in the sense that it is a social process" (Cole, 1988, pg. 75). How is culture shared? Culture is shared through cultural transmissions. The object of cultural transmissions is to "teach young people how to think, act, and feel appropriately (Spindler, 1997). Educational functions are in place in each society depending upon what that society deems important to transmit culture to its youth. This process of transmission is carried out through various cultural systems such as family values, religion, moral values, schooling, gender roles, class status, community responsibility, and so forth. In using this perspective, a society which is comprised of a vast distribution of sub/partial versions of one culture (i.e. African Americans, Asian Americans, Latina/o Americans, Anglo Americans, women, men) offers a "complex pool of knowledge and patterns of and for behavior to which various gender, racial, economic, and other interest groups contribute" (Cole, 1988, pg. 76). This work serves to explore

the cultural transmissions and sense of human agency of Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis as shared in the selective aspects of their lives through the genre of autobiography.

A Glimpse of a Life

Each author expresses her sense of a lived experience, as well as, social and cultural understanding in a distinctly different voice. While each author's writing style and the organization of their respective autobiographies differ, these works are similar in what they have chosen to expose for public consumption in their autobiographical works: (1) domestic environments; (2) family and community influences; and (3) the intersections of race, class, and gender. Each author comments on the various cultural systems of transmission she encountered as a young Black woman coming of age in the south from 1940-1970. Each author supplies details describing the places, people, and points of insight involved in the development and understanding of their worlds. The authors' critique of their environments and the people involved within their world serve as indicators of the multiple sites of cultural transmission, which lead to their roles as activists.

Social Location/Environment

Moody, Bates, and Davis' description of their environment and social location provide insight into the social life of each author because it is an interpretation in the author's words regarding her worldview and experiences within that world. The reader, transported to the author's space in time, becomes transformed by the depth of the feelings expressed. Each author provides a vivid account of various environments and social situations and from these depictions, life for southern Black women from 1940-

1970 becomes apparent. Each writer seems to fully comprehend the importance of her surroundings and the hidden importance assigned to materials, goods, and facilities.

Anne Moody, unlike Daisy Bates and Angela Davis, grew up for the most part-in a single parent home. Anne's understanding of her world and cultural knowledge is filtered through a lens of poverty, longing for something or someplace better than rural Mississippi not only for herself but also for all "Black Folks". For example, she begins her narrative with a description of the house her family lived in at age four and continues to describe in detail each location, neighborhood, and new home as they move.

> I'm still haunted by dreams of the time we lived on Mr. Carter's plantation. Lots of Negroes lived on his place. Like Mama and Daddy they were all farmers. We all lived in rotten wood two-room shacks. But ours stood out from the others because it was up on the hill with Mr. Carter's big white house, overlooking the farms and the other shacks below. It looked just like the Carter's barn with a chimney and a porch, but Mama and Daddy did what they could to make it livable. Since we only had one big room and a kitchen, we all slept in the same room. It was like three rooms in one. Mama slept in one corner and I had my little bed in another corner next to one of the big wooden windows. Around the fireplace a rocking chair and a couple of straight chairs formed a sitting area. This big room had plain, dull-colored wallpaper tacked loosely to the walls with large thumbtacks. Under each tack was a piece of cardboard which had been taken from shoeboxes and cut into little squares to hold the paper and keep the tacks, the paper bulged in places. The

> kitchen didn't have any wallpaper and the only furniture in it was a wood stove, an old table and a safe (Moody, 1968, pg. 11).

Anne Moody immediately orients the reader to the extreme poverty she experienced growing up in rural Mississippi. She recreates her childhood surroundings in an effort to help the reader to understand the social and financial state of her family and other poor Black sharecroppers in the 1940s. The insight she gives into the meaning assigned to the location of her home as "up on the hill with Mr. Carter's big white house" is a clear indication of an astute child who understands life beyond her years. She intuitively provides the descriptive prose of a trained ethnographer to illustrate her family's social location and environment. To Anne Moody, it is important to provide the context of her journey as a poor Black woman growing up in Mississippi and the role her family and community played in her journey. The subtitle to the text is *The Classic Autobiography of Growing up Poor and Black in the Rural South*. Poverty serves as a strong recurring theme within her work. The family's concerns about the day-to-day struggle "to make ends meet" dominates the narrative and helps one appreciate Anne Moody's drive to make things better for her people. She was constantly plagued with financial concerns as a young child and as college student. Fear of a life of poverty was an additional motivator for her to excel academically and attend college.

The issues of day-to-day survival were escalated when her father abandoned the family after cheating on her mother. His gambling and adultery caused a riff between her parents that never mended. Without his financial assistance, however limited or erratic, her mother had to stop farming as a means to support the family. Anne's mother (Momma Moody) obtained the only career option available to many uneducated Black

women of the south as a domestic worker. Anne despised the amount of moving the family did in those early days to follow the sporadic domestic work. However, she became excited when it seemed her family was moving up in the world when they finally moved into a home with a toilet.

> This time we moved two miles up the same road. Our house, which was separated from the Johnson's' by a field of clover, was the best two-room house we had been in yet. It was made out of big new planks and it even had a new toilet. We were once again on paved streets. We were the only Negroes in that section, which seemed like some sort of honor (Moody, 1968, pg. 36).

Throughout her story, Moody focuses heavily on the financial hardships of her race, gender, and class status. She uses Momma Moody's life as a model not to follow. While she respects her mother, she does not want to follow in her footsteps of poverty, subservience, and fear. Unlike Bates and Davis, Moody cannot escape the issues of poverty and financial struggle. There are two key reasons for this: (1) Moody's primary socialization is from a single Black female, who possesses little to no social or cultural capital to pass on; (2) Moody was born poor, female, and Black in a time where socioeconomic status, gender, and race were viewed as a handicap. For Anne Moody, economic exploitation and poverty are facts that are demonstrated throughout her work as she recalls entering the work force at age nine and her inability to attend college without financial assistance.

Similar to Anne Moody, Daisy Bates provides significant details of her childhood hometown. She grew up in a small milling town in southern Arkansas. The following passage provides an overview of her childhood home:

> I was born Daisy Lee Gatson in the little sawmill town of Huttig, in southern Arkansas. The owners of the mill ruled the town. Huttig might have been called a sawmill plantation, for everyone worked for the mill, lived in houses owned by the mill, and traded at the general store run by the mill. The hard, red clay streets of the town were mostly unnamed. Main Street, the widest and longest street in town, and the muddiest after a rain, was the site of our business square. It consisted of four one-story buildings which housed a commissary and meat market, a post office, an ice cream parlor, and a movie house. Main Street also divided "White Town" and "Negra Town." However, the physical appearance of the two areas provided a more definite means of distinction (Bates, 1962, 1986, pg. 6-7).

Daisy Bates lists markers, places, and even weather as signifiers and cataloguing of her childhood community. She definitively describes the differences in the two towns. The Black citizens lived in rarely painted houses referred to as "shotgun" houses, "so named because one could stand in the front yard and look straight through the front and back doors into the back yard" (Bates, 1962, 1986, pg.7). She explains that the Negro community possessed two church buildings and a two-room schoolhouse with a potbellied stove, which never seemed to keep the children warm. Daisy contrasts this description with "the other side of Main Street where white bungalows, white steepled

churches and a white spacious school with a big lawn" displayed the differences among the races (Bates, 1962, 1986, pg. 7). Not only does Bates offer clarifications on the racial distinctions, but she also offers indicators of the various class differences among the two racial groups.

Each author illustrates details of their environments where they grew up. Their beginnings seem to give meaning to their current relationship with social and civil activism. Bates vivid descriptions allows for a glimpse of the socioeconomic power of the mill owners over the other community members, White or Black. Much like Anne Moody, Daisy Bates has a pulse on issues surrounding the social existence of the "have and have-nots". For instance, she defines Huttig as a divided town with two sections based on race and class privileges. Additionally, Bates establishes for her readers a clear contextual description of Little Rock, Arkansas and Little Rock's Central High School in terms of geography, community and racial relations before and after the implementation of school integration. The following passage makes clear the social environment and climate of Arkansas in the late 1940s and early 1950s:

> The city's hundred thousand citizens, Negroes and whites, took pride in the physical beauty of their own town and for many years had lived side by side with little surface friction. The city had a progressive Public Housing Authority that made it possible for low-income families-Negro and white- to move into well appointed, but segregated public housing. There were also good, but segregated, school systems with several modern educational plants of recent construction.

> The tragedy that placed Little Rock on the world stage centered around Central High School located in the heart of the city. The school was built in 1927 at a cost of $1,500,000. It is an impressive structure, rising from landscaped grounds like a small university in yellow-bricked grandeur. It accommodates possibly three thousand pupils in a hundred classrooms built on seven levels. For years it has enjoyed the highest academic rating given by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Two of its graduates have become Rhodes scholars.
>
> For many years prior to the unfolding of events I am about to describe, race relations in the city had been relatively calm and improving. By this I do not mean there had not been many incidents of police brutality toward Negroes, and that the vicious southern system of relegating the black population to the role of secondary citizen had not been maintained in full force. But a spirit of calm pervaded the atmosphere, and there was a notable lack of tension (Bates, 1962, 1986, pg. 2).

Bates writes in the prose of a seasoned cultural anthropologist. Her illustrative and interpretative presentation of her environment aids in setting the stage to establish meaning to and familiarity with the unknown people and cultural environment to which the reader is introduced. Through her words, readers discern the powerful influence racial tensions played in educational and community access issues, "segregated housing; good, but segregated school system, and a vicious southern system of relegating the black population to the role of secondary citizen" (Bates, 1962,1986, pg. 2). In these words, Bates gives personal meaning to the dual system of education and the quality of life for

African Americans in the late 1940s and early 1950s. While there was no "notable lack of tension", the African American citizens of Little Rock seem to know "their place". In other words, blacks and whites co-existed with an invisible boundary surrounding and separating them, where blacks stayed on their side and whites on theirs. For example, the existence of separate schools and housing attest to the existence of ironclad boundaries.

Similar to Anne Moody and Daisy Bates, Angela Davis presents another account by communicating social life through environmental descriptive cues. Davis provides detailed illustrations of the neighborhood in Birmingham, Alabama where she grew up. The Davis family served as one of the first black families to move out of the projects into an exclusively white community. Her family paved the way toward integration of this neighborhood (Davis, 1974, 1988). The following passage reveals her awareness of the differences where she and her family lived versus grandmother, who lived in the more rural part of Alabama:

> Our paternal grandmother and my Uncle Henry's family lived on the same land and in an ancient, unpainted weather-beaten cabin similar to the one in which my father and all his sisters and brothers had been born. A visit to the country was like a journey backward into history; it was a return to our origins. If there had been a mansion nearby, their cabin could have easily been the slave quarters of a century ago. The little house had two small bedrooms, a kitchen in the back and a common room where we children slept on pallets spread out on the floor. Instead of electricity, there were kerosene lanterns for the few hours of darkness before we went to bed. Instead of plumbing, there was a well outside where we drew

> water to drink and to heat over an open fire in the yard for our weekly baths in huge metal tubs. The outhouse frightened me when I was very young, so I urinated in a white enamel pot and would go into the brush to have a bowel movement rather than enter the putrid-smelling little house with the hole in the wooden plank where you could look down and see all the excrement floating around (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 80-81).

Angela Davis paints a vivid and personal picture of her family background and her experiences with class. This passage conveys the social differences between her grandmother and her parents. Davis' account exposes the class differences that existed between her and the other authors while growing up. For example, she speaks of plumbing and electricity. However, Moody speaks of heating water on a stove for baths in a huge metal tub. It appears that the portrayal of Moody's life more closely parallels that of Davis' experiences at her grandmother's farm.

It is important for Davis that the reader comprehends her heritage. Her parents have done better economically and socially than their parents. This seems a common cultural indicator of progress, to this day, within the African American community, as well as, many American families regardless of ethnicity. Davis seemed to be unaware of her class differences from other Blacks until the events of first grade:

> Until my experiences at school, I believed that everyone else lived the way we did. We always had three good meals a day. I had summer clothes and winter clothes, everyday dresses and a few "Sunday" dresses. When holes began to wear through the soles of my shoes, although I may have worn them with pasteboard for a short time, we eventually went

> downtown to select a new pair. The family income was earned by both my mother and my father. The combined salaries were nothing to boast about, yet enough to survive on, and much more than was earned by the typical Southern Black family (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 89).

While Anne Moody could have been one of Angela Davis' classmates plagued with financial worries, Davis comes to grips with her classmates' existence of poverty as an outsider within. Bates and Davis were atypical southern black families. Davis offers a view into her interpretation of her family and their class status as compared to many Blacks in the South. Although, she knew her family was not rich, she realized that they were not poor or typical either. Davis grew up in a two parent family with both parents possessing a college degree. However, Angela Davis' childhood and educational experiences help her to understand early on the disparity that existed within her world and even among her people.

All three of these women's writings offer constructed meaning and a sense of lived experience by means of their detailed emotional and personal depictions of people and places. Their feelings of passion and commitment are represented in their actions and understanding of human agency. This is depicted in their illustrations of their families and community. The Black family unit served as the second strongest and common theme in the writing of these authors. Through ardent portrayals of experiences of family comfort or chaos, each author supplies a view of her family's relevance in her life. In conjunction with the Black family unit, the authors' descriptions of community relations between Blacks and Whites as a system of cultural transmission were an

additional reoccurring theme. Moody, Bates, and Davis all provide varied examples of the impact of these two cultural systems, as they relate to their growth and development.

The Black Family Unit

In comparison to the traditional nuclear model of the American family, the Black family unit is composed of all family members. It is an extended family model that includes biological, as well, as non-biological ties. Such as mother and other mother figures, father and/or father figures, siblings, grandparents, cousin, aunts, uncles, second cousins, play cousins, etc. As Karenga expounds, "the Black family is unique and cannot be fitted into a white formula for analysis; it was not destroyed in slavery; it has proved its durability and adaptive vitality in the face of severe oppression (Karenga, 1993, pg. 281). In a critique of various studies studying the black family that espoused the adaptive-vitality school, Karenga asserts that the most damaging was the Moynihan Report of 1965, which followed in the steps of E. Franklin Frazier's 1939 study. The Moynihan Report alleged that "the Black community was plagued by pathological and pathogenic families marked by and conducive to matriarchy, broken and ineffective males, delinquency, economic dependency, poor academic performance, unwed motherhood, etc." (Karenga, 1993, pg. 281).

These family experiences depicted in these three autobiographical works were extremely different and provide examples of varied models of family that exist within the African American community. However, common to all is the fact that the survival of the entire family unit is a shared obligation among its members Anne Moody began her life with both parents until her father began gambling, drinking, and cheating on her mother after the death of his best friend. He soon left her mother, which resulted in

Anne, her sister Adline, her brother Junior and her mother all moving in with her Aunt and grandfather until her mother could save up enough money to move them into their own place (Moody, 1968). The following passage offers an example of not only the financial struggles of her family, but also the sacrifice of a young Anne Moody for the sake of the family's survival:

> Times got really hard at home. Mama was trying to buy clothes for the three of us, feed us, and keep us in school. She couldn't do it on five dollars a week. Food began to get scarcer. Mama discovered that the old white lady living in the big white two-story house on the hill sold clabber milk to Negroes for twenty-five cents a gallon. Mama started buying two or three gallons a week from her. Now we ate milk-and-bread all the time (milk with crumbled cornbread in it). Then Mrs. Johnson started giving her the dinner leftovers and we ate those. Things got so bad that Mama started crying again. And she cried until school was out. One Saturday I went to get some clabber milk and the old white lady asked me to sweep her porch and sidewalks. After I had finished she gave me a quarter and didn't take the quarter Mama had given me for the milk. When I got home and told Mama, she laughed until she cried. Then she sent me up there every day to see if the old lady wanted her porch swept. I was nine years old and I had my first job. I earned seventy-five cents and two gallons of milk a week (Moody, 1968, pg. 43).

There is a distinct difference in the family upbringing of Anne and the other two authors. For instance, Davis speaks of "always having three good meals a day" and Bates speaks

of "pork chops for dinner". Moody never mentioned eating meat until her association with the Claiborne's. The majority of her youth, Moody and her family struggled for food, clothing and decent housing.

In addition to exposure to the family's financial issues, Moody provides various examples throughout her narrative that describe her work ethic and her mother's work ethic for the sake of the family. "Black women make up a substantial percentage of the black working force, and this is true for the poorest black family as well as the so-called middle-class family" (Beale, 1995, pg.147). Frances Beale's theory is exhibited in all three authors' narrative; each author speaks of her mother as a vital supporter to the family income and survival. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) also addresses the theme of work, family, and Black women's oppression in her book Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment. According to Collins, Anne and her mother were doing what they could to allow their family to survive. As you read the passage you get the sense that Anne was overjoyed to help her mother and her family at this point in her life. She did not want her mother upset or hurt and the earnings from her job helped to reduce the overwhelming pressure that rested solely on her mother.

Religion and Politics

Both in the past and present, African-American females and mothers have carried the spiritual connection for the Black community. Even though religion is not a dominant theme in all three works; spirituality and religious affiliations are seen as the foundation of many Black families. While Angela Davis does not address her spiritual or religious affiliations, both Anne Moody and Daisy Bates acknowledge that religion and

church was a part of their youth and upbringing. During the Civil Rights Movement, the Black church played a crucial role in the organizing, mobilizing, and establishing a "voice", as well as, a safe place for Blacks. However, for Black youth today and in the time of Anne Moody and Daisy Bates, the Black church was also a means of socialization and discipline. For Anne Moody's mother, church participation was a way to show off her children and to try to gain acceptance from her in-laws:

> It seemed as though Mama had completely resigned herself to not being accepted, yet she was determined to make Raymond's people accept us, even in their church. Every Sunday now she made us study our Sunday school lesson just as hard as our regular homework for school each day. Within a month or so we were not only going to Sunday school but to the eleven o'clock church services and B.T.U. (Baptist Training Union).
>
> Later Mama was not satisfied with us just going to Centreville Baptist, but now at every church-celebrated holiday we had to say speeches or participate in every program offered for children and teenagers. It wasn't always "we" that took part in the programs but, it was always "me." Mama gave up on Adline and Junior in the church too. They were worse in church than in school. They were always given speeches but they never did learn them in time to say them. Within a few days after I received mine, I would know it by heart (Moody, 1968, pg. 66).

Anne's mother tried to prove her worth through her children, particularly Anne. The Black church was where many children first learned to speak without fear in front of a

large gathering of people. This involvement aided in developing public speaking skills and a strong self-esteem. In my own experience, I overcame my fear of speaking in front of people through my participation in Sunday school summaries, Christmas singing, and Easter speeches. Spirituality was a key cultural indicator of the African-American community in these times, if your child excelled in church and in school you were viewed as a good parent.

Unlike Moody's mother, Daisy Bates' mother used religion to teach morals and social standards for living. In the following passage, Daisy describes her mother's reaction and how she connects their everyday living to religion. Daisy was good at playing marbles. One day she was playing with one of the neighborhood kids and won all of his marbles. He, subsequently, told her mother and she was scolded and made to give back the boy's marbles:

> "You know you're not supposed to play for keeps! That's gambling and gambling is a sin! Now give him back his marble this instant!" Of course Daddy sinned every Saturday night with his stud-poker friends. The next morning at breakfast he'd hear Mother admonish, "If you must play that devil's game, the least you could do is go to church and ask the Lord to forgive you."
>
> Daddy always put his winnings on the dresser before going to bed, and Mother always took account of his financial rating before beginning her lecture. If he won, Daddy could be sure of God's and Mamma's forgiveness. But if he had lost, he would have a stern God and a sterner Mamma to contend with. One Sunday morning I said, "Daddy, why don't

> you go to church and ask God to forgive you for a whole month? Then you won't have to go to church every Sunday." Mother fanned my tail and sent me off to Sunday school. After that I left it to Mamma and God to worry about Daddy's sins (Bates, 1962, 1986, pg. 27).

Daisy Bates supplies a comical, yet accurate, account of some Black women's views on right and wrong in the eyes of God and the church. It is not unusual for some Black mothers to rely on the help of God and the church in rearing their children and providing role models for their family. As Bates' words suggest, her mother felt that her husband, as well as, her daughter needed a better relationship with God in order to have stronger moral convictions.

The varied dynamics between mothers and daughters differ for each author. Moody and her mother had a strained relationship. While Moody loved her mother a great deal, Momma Moody had very little of value and strength to pass on to Moody. Her mother's relationship with Raymond only served to drive them further apart as Anne progressed through adolescence. Momma Moody felt guilty that her oldest child had to begin working at so young an age and needed to continue to work in order for her family to "make ends meet". It seems that as soon as the opportunity for Anne Moody to quit working and become a "normal" child, her mother offered it to her:

> "We gonna be moving pretty soon," she said. I sat there stiff and didn't say anything. "The Johnsons probably asking her to move because she is too big to work," I thought. She kept rubbing my back. "Ray done built us a new house, "she said. "What!" I yelled, almost jumping out of the tub. "And you can quit working for Mrs. Claiborne soon as we move,"

> she said. "Mrs. Claiborne treat me good and I don't want to stop working for her," I said. "O.K., you can go on working for her if you want to. But Ray will be able to take care of us now," she said. I cried that night because I was so happy. I no longer hated Raymond for feeling Mama's belly. All night I lay awake thinking how Mama must be feeling to have someone build a house for her after she had been killing herself for more than seven years working on one job after another trying to feed us and keep us in school and all. We had moved six times since she and Daddy separated. Now she would have a place of her own. And we were going to be moving off white people's places probably for good (Moody, 1968, pg. 48).

This was a profound and significant moment in Moody's life. As the eldest child she was all too aware of the sacrifices her mother made and the pain she endured trying to keep the family together after her father's departure. Moody, at twelve years old, is very much aware of the relationship between her mother and Raymond, as well as, the resulting two pregnancies of their on and off affair. She seemed to identify with her mother's pain and felt much pain of her own because she could not make things better for her family. She felt her mother made bad decisions regarding men and jobs. However, Moody remained loyal to her mother in spite of her choices. Raymond's building the house seemed to prove that life was finally going to improve for them; Anne Moody and her mother's prayers were being answered. Struggling from day-to-day would soon be a thing of the past --they hoped. To young Anne, it appeared she would finally be able to be a kid and not a second Mom; now she would be able to concentrate on school and play.

Codes of Behavior

The above passage illustrates Moody's experiences with race, class and gender issues. An earlier childhood incident provided her first awareness of the racial divide of privilege. When Moody was seven years of age, she was confronted with her limitations as a person of color. Moody, her five-year old sister, Adline, and her three-year old brother Junior made friends with the first two children they ever had an opportunity to play with outside of family members. These children, who happened to be White, played together like peas in a pod without friction until one fateful day. Moody, her Mom, and her siblings were going to the movies. During the time of segregation Blacks sat in the balcony and Whites sat on the main floor of the theater. Upon arriving at the theater the children saw their White playmates and not, yet, understanding the racial and behavioral codes of the South, ran to sit together on the floor of the theater. While the parents of the White children were aghast, Momma Moody was so frightened and embarrassed that her children had put theirs and her lives in jeopardy, by not knowing the behavioral or social codes of the South, that she immediately scolded the children. In Momma Moody's attempt to prevent further harm, they immediately left the theater because of her fears that Whites might take action to put them in their place as "lowly Negroes" (37-38). Moody is duly educated on issues of race and privilege.

The following excerpt picks up on the savvy perceptions of a seven-year-old Moody that, now, is clearly able to acknowledge the differences in the quality of life for Blacks versus Whites in the South:

> After the movie incident, the white children stopped playing in front of our house. For about two weeks we didn't see them at all. Then one day

> they were there again and we started playing. But things were not the same. I had never really thought of them as white before. Now all of a sudden they were white, and their whiteness made them better than me. I now realized not only were they better than me because they were white, but everything they owned and everything connected with them was better than what was available to me. I hadn't realized before that downstairs in the movies was better than upstairs. But now I saw that it was. Their whiteness provided them with a pass to downstairs in that nice section and my blackness sent me to the balcony.
>
> Now that I was thinking about it, their schools, homes, and streets were better than mine. They had a large red brick school with nice sidewalks connecting the buildings. Their homes were large and beautiful with indoor toilets and every other convenience that I knew of at the time. Every house I had ever lived in was a one-or two-room shack with an outdoor toilet. It really bothered me that they had all these nice things and we had nothing. "There is a secret to it besides being white," I thought. Then my mind got all wrapped up in trying to uncover that secret (Moody, 1968, pg. 38-39).

Upon my first reading of this passage, it immediately called to mind many of the works in critical white studies and critical race theory, such as those authored by Richard Delgado (1997), Michelle Fine (1997), and Kimberle Crenshaw (1995). Anne Moody began theorizing about whiteness and blackness long before these scholars began publishing. This incident would serve for Anne, as the first of many of codes of the

south, as well as, provide critical guidance involving issues of privilege and difference. Moody attempts to critique and understand the discrepancies between Whites and Blacks in terms of facilities "better houses and schools", opportunities "whiteness providing a pass to the nice section of theater while blackness sent her to balcony", and the basic tale of difference based on one's skin color. The language she chooses foreshadows Moody's destiny to become an activist for a better world in which African Americans have a better quality of life. This passage, regarding injustice, is written with tremendous passion and clarity of tone. The cultural and social insight displayed here is astounding for one so young, yet, so extremely in tune with the inequality of her world. Moody gains a limited understanding of the critical dynamics of power, race, class, and privilege involved within her time; however, she does not succumb to the status that society would ascribe to her.

Like many individuals of her time, she viewed educational achievement as her way out to freedom. Because of Mrs. Claiborne and her continued praise for Anne's good grades, Moody came to believe that excelling in school and obtaining a college degree would be her ticket out of poverty and Mississippi. Throughout her autobiographical work, Moody expresses that school was her "retreat" and her "saving grace" in times of turmoil. Education as the great equalizer and as a means of "uplifting the race" has been the subject of many African-American scholars (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1988; DuBois, 1903, 1953, 1973; Woodson, 1977; Cooper, 1892, 1988). Moody's ongoing pursuit of good grades and persistence in gaining a college education illustrates her strong belief in and conviction that education is, indeed, the great equalizer.

Daisy Bates, much like Anne Moody, learned about issues of race, power, difference, and privilege at an early age. Daisy Bates and Angela Davis were fortunate to have parents who tried to teach them southern social and behavioral codes. Growing up Black in the South during the 1940s and 1950s, parents needed to educate and orient their children to behavior that implied the acceptance of second-class status in life. Many times young African American children failed to understand that their lives could be lost if they did not learn "their place" in relation to the privileges afforded their whites counterparts. For instance, when Daisy was seven years old her mother sent her on an errand to the general store to pick up some pork chops for dinner. She expresses in the narrative how excited she was to help her mother in this manner. She arrived at the store and there were some White adults ahead of her. Once the butcher finished with them additional white adults entered and instead of waiting on Daisy, the butcher aided the White customers. Daisy was somewhat annoyed, but figured it was because they were adults and she a child. However, soon another little girl, who was White, also stood waiting for service. Looking down at the two children, the butcher ignored Daisy and asked the white girl what she wanted. At this point Daisy was beside herself, she told the butcher she needed a "pound of center-cut pork chops" as her mother had told her. He refused to wait on her and waited on the other little girl.

> "Please may I have my meat?" I said, as the little girl left. The butcher took my dollar from the counter, reached into the showcase, got a handful of fat chops and wrapped them up. Thrusting the package at me, he said, "Niggers have to wait 'til I wait on the white people. Now take your meat

and get out of here!" I ran all the way home crying (Bates, 1962, 1986, pg. 8).

Upon her arrival at home she explained the entire ordeal to her mother who tried to calm Daisy and let her know that it was alright and the meat she received was fine, but Daisy insisted they return to the store for better meat and explain to the butcher how to treat people. Her mother instructed her to calm down and go outside and wait for her father. Bates remembers her mother's eyes filling with tears as she turned from her. When her father arrived Daisy was still crying and explained to him that they had to go back to the store. He told her they would talk after dinner:

> Dinner was distressingly silent. Afterward my parents went into the bedroom and talked. My mother came out and told me my father wanted to see me. I ran into the bedroom. Daddy sat there, looking at me for a long time. Several times he tried to speak, but words just wouldn't come. I stood there, looking at him wondering why he was acting so strangely. Finally he stood up and the words began tumbling from him. Much of what he said I did not understand. To my seven-year-old mind he explained as best he could that a Negro had no rights that a white man respected.
>
> He dropped to his knees in front of me, placed his hands on my shoulders, and began shaking me and shouting. "Can't you understand what I've been saying?" he demanded. "There's nothing I can do! If I went down to the market I would only cause trouble for my family." As I looked at my daddy sitting by me with tears in his eyes, I blurted out

> innocently, "Daddy, are you afraid?" He sprang to his feet in an anger I had never seen before. "Hell, no! I'm not afraid for myself, I'm not afraid to die. I could go down to that market and tear him limb from limb with my bare hands, but I'm afraid for you and your mother."
>
> That night when I knelt to pray, instead of my usual prayers, I found myself praying that the butcher would die. After that night we never mentioned him again (Bates, 1962, 1986, pg. 9).

Historically, Black women have never been viewed a threat. They are seen as tools for exploitation whether by sexual abuse, violence, or work. It is Black men who have been labeled violent and aggressive creatures that need to be tamed and subdued. The somber and hopeless tone of this interaction between Daisy Bates and her father is haunting. To watch your father, a strong and able man, rendered helpless and unable to protect your honor or his own is an all too familiar indicator of the psychological castration of Black men. Her ability to recall this event in such a vivid manner is also an indication of how traumatic and disturbing this was for Daisy Bates. To witness your parent humbled and unable to act is most unsettling. As a child, it is difficult to discover that your parents must suppress their natural inclination to protect because they are powerless. You see This same train of thought where one chooses inaction for the sake of living another day is prevalent in many of the slave narratives, historical as well as, neo-slave narratives. An excellent example is Bebe Moore Campbell's *Your Blues Ain't like Mine*, a work of historical fiction in which many characters, Black and White, find themselves having to hold back and resist their natural inclination to defend themselves and their children for the sake of peace and life. Campbell writes of the murder of an African-American youth

in the South because he failed to honor the racial and behavioral codes of the South that expressly prohibited any social interaction between Black males and White women.

Later on in Daisy's life she did not remain in her place of anger nor did she remain silent. On his death bed, her father left her a great lesson and powerful words of wisdom which money could not buy:

> "I haven't much to leave you, Daisy, so come close and listen and remember what I have to say to you." I drew my chair up close and placed my hand in his. "You're filled with hatred. Hate can destroy you, Daisy. Don't hate white people just because they're white. If you hate, make it count for something. Hate the humiliations we are living under in the South. Hate the discrimination that eats away at the soul of every black man and woman. Hate the insults hurled at us by white scum-and then try to do something about it, or your hate won't spell a thing." "I'm listening to every word you say, Daddy, and I'll try to do what you say. But you rest now."
>
> How I loved this strong man who all his life had not been able to use his strength in the way he wanted to. He was forced to suppress it and hold himself back, bow to the white yoke or be cut down. And now that his life was ebbing, he was trying to draw on that reservoir of unused strength to give me a lasting inheritance (Bates, 1962, 1986, pg. 29).

Daisy and her father had a very close relationship and she admired him for his honesty and commitment to his family. Through this commitment and love for family, he gave her a lasting inheritance. She benefited from his theories on overcoming the hurdle of

oppression and was able to take actions that he had not been able to take. She not only hated the humiliations, the discriminations, and the insults, but she also tried to recreate a better world for her people. Daisy Bates began doing something about the burdens placed on her people. She utilized the *State Press* as her forum to educate, enlighten, and critique the "white mans" brutality.

Her involvement with the *State Press* served as a vehicle for her to voice the humiliations, the discriminations, the insults, and the violence that in the recent past had been silenced. As state President for the Arkansas chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), her leadership aided in changing the quality of life for Blacks in the South. Daisy Bates took heed of her father's teachings and served as the anchor and shield for nine Black children thrust into the turbulence of desegregation at Little Rock's Central High School; the occasion of this being, without doubt, one of the pivotal accomplishments in the Civil Rights struggle.

Angela Davis, like Moody and Bates, was born with a spirit of activism and change. What these women contended with as children shaped and developed a spirit that sought out justice for their people. Davis describes her early introduction to racial tension at the young age of four when in 1948 her family moved from the projects of Alabama to a house on the Hill in the following passage:

> We were the first black family to move into that area, and the white people believed that we were in the vanguard of a mass invasion. At age four I was aware that people across the street were different-without yet being able to trace their alien nature to the color of their skin. What made them different from our neighbors in the projects was the frown on their faces,

> the way they stood a hundred feet away and glared at us, their refusal to speak when we said "Good afternoon."
>
> Almost immediately after we moved there the white people got together and decided on a borderline between them and us. Center Street became the line of demarcation. Provided that we stayed on "our" side of the line (the east side) they let it be known we would be left in peace. If we ever crossed over to their side, war would be declared. Guns were hidden in our house and vigilance was constant.
>
> Shortly after we moved to the hill, white people began moving out of the neighborhood and Black families were moving in, buying old houses and building new ones. A Black minister and his wife, the Deyaberts, crossed into white territory, buying the house right next to the Montees, the people with the hateful eyes (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 78-79).

Davis writes that shortly after the Deyaberts moved into their house it was bombed. No one was hurt, but this became a regular occurrence and form of protest from whites to bomb the homes of Blacks who moved into the borderline territory on the hill. Davis provides an example of "white flight" mentioned during this time. From this account, the reader sees that treatment of middle class Blacks was similar to that of poor Blacks. In the eyes of some whites, mainly separatists, no Black should be treated as equal or with respect. There appears to be some resentment on the part of some whites that Black people were improving their economic positions and status. Even though, change was beating down the door, many southern White Americans refused to answer the call.

Issues were also developing within the Black community around class and socio-economic differences that were the result of limited educational and business opportunities afforded to some African Americans. Early on an elementary school experience gave Angela a glimpse into the workings of a capitalistic society. as well as. the differences in the standards of life for Black people across the board:

> My mother, a primary school teacher herself, had already taught me how to read, write, and do simple arithmetic. The things I learned in the first grade were far more fundamental than school learning. I learned that just because one is hungry, one does not have the right to a good meal; or when one is cold to warm clothing, or when one is sick, to medical care. Many of the children could not even afford to buy a bag of potato chips for lunch. It was agonizing for me to see some of my closest friends waiting outside the lunchroom silently watching the other children eating. For a long time, I thought about those who ate and those who watched. Finally I decided to do something about it. I slipped into the kitchen and stole some of the coins. The next day I gave the money to my hungry friends. Their hunger pangs were more compelling than my pangs of conscience. I would just have to suffer the knowledge that I had stolen my father's money. It seemed to me that if there were hungry children, something was wrong and if I did nothing about it, I would be wrong too (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 88-89).

This passage demonstrates the human agency of a young Davis. She sees something wrong in her social world and within her social relations. She then proceeds to correct

this wrong by playing "Robin Hood" with her father's money. Additionally, this passage provides an example of her cultural education. For example, Davis articulates "the things I learned in the first grade were far more fundamental than school learning" (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg 88). She speaks of the discrepancies of economics and class. Her first grade experiences served as an education into the culture of "the haves and have-nots". In the prior passage, Angela Davis offers a glimpse of her destiny as an activist and avenger of the oppressed. She began, as did Moody and Bates, despising the injustices and social imbalances, which caused her people to suffer from lack of food, lack of shelter, lack of clothing, lack of protection, and lack of medical care. These women divulge with deep passion how the teachings from their families and community aided in developing their spirits of change and agency.

Davis makes little to no mention of any connection of her family or herself to the Black church or religious connections. In the case of Angela Davis, communism and the Black Liberation movement served as her vehicles to freedom. Her experiences at the New York private school where she completed her high school education introduced her to politics, which she believed could help her community and her people. A history class opened her eyes to many things one, being Communism:

> The Communist Manifesto hit me like a bolt of lightening. I read it avidly, finding in it answers to many of the seemingly unanswerable dilemmas which had plagued me. I read it over and over again, not completely understanding every passage or every idea, but enthralled nevertheless by the possibility of a communist revolution here. I began to see the problems of Black people within the context of a large working-

> class movement. My ideas about Black liberation were imprecise, and I could not find the right concepts to articulate them; still, I was acquiring some understanding about how capitalism could be abolished. Of course, the most powerful impact the Manifesto had on me-what moved me most-was the vision of a new society, without exploiters and exploited a society without classes, a society where no one would be permitted to own so much that he could use his possessions to exploit other human beings (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 110-111).

Angela Davis expresses, with passion and insight, the plight of her social world and the actors involved. As a young adult, she believes that society can be changed, but that it must be willing to change. She articulates the concept of the exploiters and the exploited with a great deal of clarity. Having witnessed Davis, as a child, coming to the aid of hungry children in her elementary school, it comes as no surprise that as an adult she is equally as determined to help the oppressed and seeks to correct injustices. One could easily surmise that Davis was destined to become an integral agent in the Black liberation movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Creation of a Transformer

Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis provide three distinct views on their social lives and their understanding of them, partially due to regional differences, as well as, because of the specific codes of behavior ascribed to African Americans living in Mississippi versus Arkansas versus Alabama versus New York, Europe, and California. The authors' own words point to the differences in their social realities; yet, they are similar in important ways. In the case of Anne Moody, we see the struggle for life and

existence. She offers examples of life amidst extreme poverty, but with strong extended family ties, and strong self-determination for herself and her people. Daisy Bates expresses great anger and hatred for her white counterparts in her youth. However, her father helps turn this hatred into constructive energy, a valuing of strong family ties, and a sense of taking action toward solving the ills of her people and the world in which they operate. Angela Davis presents herself as a woman with an enlightened sense of social and cultural capital the other two authors do not possess. Despite her middle class family background and two educated parents, from her early youth she has the spirit of a change agent and little tolerance for injustice. Each author explores and describes their social worlds in a credible and believable fashion. And, each shares similar characteristics: self-determination and strong identity development to aid themselves and, more importantly, their people to overcome oppression through their various modes of activism.

These autobiographical works serve as a guidepost and testimony of the life and times of "Black Folks" from 1940 –1970. In reading these and similar works, the audience gains first hand accounts of the triumphs, tribulations, and trials overcome. While these works provide a selective view of what each author has chosen to share, this genre of writing is a creative and engaging approach to foster understanding, as well as, encouraging learning about history and culture.

Each author provides detailed and balanced descriptions of the other actors involved in their lives. For instance, Anne Moody in her reflections of her childhood at age twelve contemplates the differences in adults and their treatment of her and her mother:

> Twelve dollars was more money that I had ever had at one time. When Mrs. Claiborne first gave it to me I felt like hugging and kissing her. The Claibornes and the Johnsons were the nicest white people I had ever known.
>
> All the way home I thought of how nice these people were to us. Mrs. Claiborne was white but she and Mr. Claiborne treated me like I was their own daughter. They were always giving me things and encouraging me to study hard and learn as much as I could. Mr. Johnson's mother, Miss Ola, had done the same. She taught me how to read when my own mother was unable to do it. Then I began to think about Miss Pearl and Raymond's people and how they hated Mama and for no reason at all other than the fact that she was a couple shades darker than other members of their family. Yet they were Negroes and we were also Negroes. I just didn't see Negroes hating each other so much (Moody 1968, pg. 60).

Anne Moody contemplates and theorizes about the issues of race relations between Blacks and whites, the self-hatred of Blacks, and the issues of division among Black people because of their "color complex". She does not completely understand, but is in tune to the fact that all whites are not bad and all Blacks are not good. She attempts to navigate through her identity development by trying to understand herself and others like her, as well as, trying to understand those unlike her. As she grows and develops into a woman, she confronts the racial injustices in her hometown and home state. She is appalled and confused by the fear and inaction of "Black folks" and their lack of response

to the violence and the racial intolerance perpetrated by some whites on Blacks seeking equal treatment:

> Not only did I enter high school with a new name, but also with a completely new insight into the life of Negroes in Mississippi. I was now working for one of the meanest white women in town, and a week before school started Emmett Till was killed. Up until his death, I had heard of Negroes found floating in a river or dead somewhere with their bodies riddled with bullets. But I didn't know the mystery behind these killings then.
>
> I was coming from school the evening I heard about Emmett Till's death. There was a whole group of us, girls and boys, walking down the road headed home. We were laughing and talking about something that had happened in school that day. However, the six boys in front of us weren't talking very loud. Usually they kept up so much noise. But today they were just walking and talking among themselves. All of a sudden they began to shout at each other.
>
> "Man, what in the hell do you mean?" "What I mean is these goddamned white folks is gonna' start some shit here you just watch!" "That boy wasn't but fourteen years old and they killed him. Now what kin a fourteen-year-old boy do with a white woman? What if he did whistle at her, he might have thought the whore was pretty." "Look at all these white men here that's fucking over our women. Everybody knows it too and what's done about that?"

> What they were saying shocked me. I knew all of those boys and I had never heard them talk like that. Questions about who was killed, where, and why started running through my mind. I walked up to one of the boys. "Eddie, what boy was killed?" "Moody, where've you been?" he asked me. "Everybody talking about that fourteen-year old boy who was killed in Greenwood by some white men. You don't know nothing that's going on besides what's in them books of yours, huh?" Standing there before the rest of the girls, I felt so stupid. It was then that I realized I really didn't know what was going on all around me. It wasn't that I was dumb. It was just that ever since I was nine, I'd had to work after school and do my lessons on lunch hour. I never had time to learn anything, to hang around people my own age. And you were never told anything by adults (Moody, 1968, pg. 122).

This event caused Moody to begin to question her world and the adults in it, both Black and White. Once again she was confronted with race issues and the violence, which plagued "Black Folks." In order to compensate for her racial ignorance, she attempted to ask her mother about the circumstances surrounding the death of Emmett Till. However, out of fear her mother quashed her attempts for knowledge and told her to dismiss what had happened. Rather than enlightening Moody, her mother warns her not to reveal to any White that she had this knowledge of the boy's murder. "You go on to work before you is late. And don't you let on like you know nothing about that boy being killed before Miss Burke and them. Just do your work like you don't know nothing," she said (Moody, 1968, pg. 123). Contrary, to the parents of Davis and Bates, Moody's mother

was unwilling to disclose the codes of social behavior and why. Instead, she reacts out of fear of retaliation believing that she knows far better than her daughter the lengths to which Whites in Mississippi will go to keep Blacks in their "so called place".

However, unlike Daisy Bates' father and mother, Anne Moody's mother does not explain the reason for her protocol of silence to her daughter. Therefore, Moody is left feeling fearful, confused, and still wanting answers. "Why is Mama acting so scared? I thought. And what if Mrs. Burke knew we knew? Why must I pretend I don't know? Why are these people killing Negroes?"(Moody, 1968, pg. 124). Moody represents her school companions, her mother and her self in the previous passages. She is also very aware of her employer and other white supremacists as shown in this passage:

> "Essie, did you hear about that fourteen-year-old boy who was killed in Greenwood?" she asked me, sitting down in one of the chairs opposite me. "No, I didn't hear that," I answered, almost choking on the food. "Do you know why he was killed?" she asked and I didn't answer. "He was killed because he got out of his place with a white woman. A boy from Mississippi would have known better than that. This boy was from Chicago. Negroes up North have no respect for people. They think they can get away with anything.
>
> "How old are you, Essie?" she asked me after a pause. "Fourteen. I will soon be fifteen though," I said. "See, that boy was just fourteen too. It's a shame he had to die so soon." She was so red in the face, she looked as if she was on fire. When she left the kitchen I sat there with my mouth open and my food untouched. I couldn't have eaten now if I were

> starving. "Just do your work like you don't know nothing' ran through my mind again and I began washing the dishes. I went home shaking like a leaf on a tree. For the first time out of all her trying, Mrs. Burke had made me feel like rotten garbage. Many times she had tried to instill fear within me and subdue me and had given up. But when she talked about Emmett Till there was something in her voice that sent chills and fear all over me (Moody, 1968, pg. 125).

Moody represents herself as a fearful teenager and her employer, Mrs. Burke, as a vindictive and superior acting white. Repeating Mrs. Burke's mere words, "he got out of his place" confirms her employer's beliefs regarding where Blacks and whites should reside. Mrs. Burke has finally found a way to break Moody and cause her to feel less than. In this one conversation, she evokes great fear in Moody while at the same time causes her to seek the knowledge concerning why the incident occurred and what it means. It is Moody's hope that this information will help her to make sense of her chaotic world and the violence within it. Anne finds a teacher at school, Mrs. Rice, who educates her about the ongoing psychological and financial war in the south and who also introduces Moody to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). For the moment Moody's fears were calmed. Knowing that African Americans were seeking options to their plight sparked a civil and political curiosity within Anne that would lie uncultivated for five years. The desire to become an active participamt in her future and the future of her people begins to develop.

Angela Davis: An Autobiography offers a view of the actors within her world with similar reflection and insight as Moody and Bates. She discusses the prisons that she was

in with a great deal of focus and clarity of their purpose and intent to break one's free will and mind. After her capture, Angela spent 20 months in three different prison systems. Initially, she was captured and jailed in New York in the Women's House of Detention. Davis writes about her assessment of the function of jails and prisons:

> Jails and prisons are designed to break human beings, to convert the population into specimens in a zoo-obedient to our keepers, but dangerous to each other. In response, imprisoned men and women will invent and continually invoke various and sundry defenses. Consequently, two layers of existence can be encountered within almost every jail or prison. The first layer consists of the routines and behavior prescribed by the governing penal hierarchy. The second layer is the prisoner culture itself: the rules and standards of behavior that come from and are defined by the captives in order to shield themselves from the open or covert terror designed to break their spirits (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 52).

In this passage, Davis offers an interesting theory about the function of jails and prisons. Her analysis incorporates the actors of the penal system. She seems to grasp the game that is being played on the staff, as well as, the prisoners. She equates both sets of actors as having a role to play in the process of oppression. Again her writing brings to mind a number of the themes found in the various slave narratives. For example, in describing the officers in the Women's House of Detention she recognizes that many of them did not want this job, but because of the pay and hours it was the best opportunity available. Davis provides us with her analysis of these staffers:

> In a way, these officers were prisoners themselves, and some of them were keenly aware that they were treading ambiguous waters. Like their predecessors, the Black overseers, they were guarding their sisters in exchange for a few bits of bread. And like the overseers, they too would discover that part of the payment for their work was their own oppression (Davis, 1974, 1988, pg. 43).

Angela Davis comes to these thoughts after spending much time chatting with these women officers, as well as, the prisoners. She does not make snap judgments or assessments on any of the character actors in her texts. It is as if she was in jail to gather a story instead of being sent there for her alleged crimes. Angela Davis' time in prison created an impact on her life, which caused her to continue to work with women in prison to this day.

It is evident that Moody, Bates, and Davis provide a detailed and analytic approach to writing about the cultural actors and events in their narratives. Each author attempts to offer a balanced and yet accurate portrayal of the communities, people, and places, which impacted their social worlds and led to their paths of human agency and civil rights activism. Each woman saw the injustices and discrepancies of their social world as a youth and became transformed in their adult lives seeking to change these inequities. The dynamics of the mother-daughter relationship serve as crucial points to understanding the race, class, and gendered lessons of social and cultural capital. These women serve as models of Deborah Kings' Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness (1995) faced by African American women, "the triple jeopardy of racism, sexism, and classism now widely accepted and used as the conceptualization of black woman's

status"(King, 1995, pg. 297). In other words, African American women's status and social worlds involve balancing the intersections of their race, gender, and class. The importance of one factor in helping to explain the circumstances of African-American women is dependent upon the other factors in her life at a particular point and time. During the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s race was of paramount importance. The African American community as a whole struggled for equal and fair treatment as American citizens. While the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s served to usher in the need to address gender as an issue, the importance of class has been and will continue to be a point which must be addressed within the African-American community.

CHAPTER 5

Epilogue

The guiding purpose of this study was to explore and investigate the social, cultural, and educational worlds of Anne Moody, Daisy Bates, and Angela Davis from 1940-1970. The autobiographies served as cultural artifacts and historical narratives of specific times, events, and aspects in the authors' lives. In choosing to conduct the study using a qualitative paradigm, I was not only able to examine how these three African-American women navigated and negotiated the worlds of race, class, and gender during the period of 1940-1970, but was also able to offer descriptive details of the multiple meanings of their lived experiences during the Educational Reform, Civil Rights, and Black Nationalists/Power movements that took place during the late 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s.

Through the use of these personalized autobiographies, Moody, Bates, and Davis teach on issues related to schooling, culture, and education. Narrative analysis and reading their autobiographies as autoethnography provided insight into the various educational and cultural themes that emerged from within the texts. For instance, the

reading of these texts through a lens of critical race theory and Black Feminist Thought supplied new perceptions and interpretations of meanings that would have evaded me without this lens. As a researcher, I was able to understand just how Moody, Bates, and Davis theorized about the power dynamics of their respective world and the social institutions therein. The critical analysis of these autobiographies provided insight into the lives of African-American women during the historical period of 1940-1970. Through these texts, the reader discovers the interplay of education, schooling, culture, and activism, as well as, the power that exists within African-American women and girls, both past and present.

Through the use of historical events as markers of time, emotional recall, intimate details, and exposing themselves as vulnerable (Sparkes, 2002), one is able to interact in the world of another without trespassing or judging. As a reader, one is shown selected aspects and events that helped to shape these women from childhood to adulthood into the PHENOMENAL Black women which they became. Through this study, the reader is provided with one perspective that emerges from the standpoints of Moody, Bates, and Davis. These narratives illustrate the criteria utilized to read and analyze the texts such as:

> ***Authentic Voice*** –What aspects of this work contribute to our understanding of social life from 1940-1970? Does this text embody a fleshed out sense of lived experience? Does it seem a true and credible account of cultural, social, individual, or communal sense of the "real"?
>
> ***Contemplation*** – What served as the motivation for the author to write this text? In what way, if any, do the authors hold themselves accountable to

the standards of knowing and telling of the people they have interacted with/among?

Influence – Does this piece affect me emotionally and/or intellectually? Does it generate new questions or theories, move me to write, move me to try new research practices, or move me toward action?

Each autobiography addresses the above mentioned criteria for reading as autoethnography. In terms of Authentic Voice, Moody, Bates, and Davis will be discussed individually, as well as, collectively. Anne Moody brings a sense of understanding to the life of African Americans in Centerville, Canton, and Jackson, Mississippi during 1944-1964. She supplies an account of one's perception, as a black woman, what is was like to be educated in segregated schools, living with threats of violence because of race relations, and living in poverty and the struggle to survive in a single parent home. Each of these aspects of her life presented in throughout her work offers a "sense of a lived experience and understanding of social life" and so much more. In reading Moody's work, the reader is exposed to issues concerning homosexuality, sexual abuse, and mental illness in a time when these issues were not openly discussed.

Daisy Bates offers a detailed description of the tumultuous events surrounding the integration of Little Rock's Central High School. Bates supplies minor aspects of her life to help the reader understand her background growing up in the time of Jim Crow and segregation, as well as, the historical climate in Arkansas regarding race relations before and after the *Brown versus the Board of Education* decision and its contested implementation.

Angela Davis provides an awareness of race relations in Birmingham, Alabama during a time of residential integration through her depiction of "white flight" and other strategies employed by whites to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods. By describing some of her classmates' poverty, she details the disparity that existed even within the black community, in terms of food, clothing, and economic resources. In this, Davis speaks to the differences in the socioeconomic status of African Americans both past and present.

All three authors present a "true and credible account" that is marked by historical events such as the murder of Emmit Till, the assassination of Medgar Evers, and the death of the four little girls who were killed in an Alabama church bombing. Additional historical events include: the Mississippi Lunch Counter Sit-Ins; the Montgomery Bus Boycott; the *Brown versus the Board of Education* decisions of 1954; the integration of Little Rock's Central High School; and the imprisonment and release of Angela Davis, just to name a few. These events have been widely documented and can be proven through newspaper archives and other historical documents.

While the criteria for an ***Authentic Voice*** has been established, ***Contemplation*** is the next aspect to be documented. The motivation for each author seemed to deal with providing "a voice to the voiceless". They "honored strategic silences and people" through excluding various names or changing names of participants to which they wrote about. Moody's purpose of writing seemed to be to help her explore and reflect on her involvement in the Civil Rights Movement. Additionally, it seemed to provide a much needed sense of catharsis that was necessary to very likely ward off a nervous breakdown. Her writing appears to be extremely therapeutic for her and for others who

read it. Bates writes to provide a perspective that is not found in the historical accounts regarding the *Brown versus the Board of Education* decision of 1954, as well as, to honor the African American pursuit for educational equity. She imparts to the reader an informative and thoughtful account of whites and blacks involved in the pursuit of equality and freedom. Much like Moody and Bates, Davis' motivation comes from her political agenda that bestows a critical account of the struggle, with all of its triumphs, as well as, its many challenges. Davis uses her work as a political intervention informing the populace of the many issues that surround gender and activism; a call to recognize the multifaceted nature of oppression. The motivation of these three African-American women authors served to help both the individual writer and the public-at-large.

Influence is concerned with affect of the emotional or intellectual sense. The ***Influence*** of this study has bearing on curriculum concerning the teaching of educational, African American and Women's history. *Sisters in the Movement* involves the following curriculum themes: (1) to understand how education transmits culture; (2) to comprehend the interrelatedness of education and activism; and (3) to discuss the implications for teaching education and culture using cultural artifacts such as autobiography.

The concern of some educational and cultural anthropologists is how education transmits culture. If the process of schooling is to maintain existing societal power dynamics, then one must be certain that the practices and purpose of schools serves the dominant society. "Schools serve the purpose of the society for which they have been constructed and social and in turn political forces shape the practice and purpose of schooling" (Hollis, 1996, pg. 17). This fact is portrayed in the initial educational philosophy stemming from Protestant ideology. For both past and present, individualism,

competition, and success are the most prevalent views taught in schools. Schooling and the educational process transmit culture through embedded political beliefs and values, language, norms of behavior, the framing of the curriculum, formal learning, socialization, and preferred approaches to instruction. In the works of Moody, Bates, and Davis, there are various examples of education transmitting culture. Each author relates distinctly different experiences due to her geographical location, class, socioeconomic status, parental influence, and type of schooling. However, for the purpose of this study, I am primarily concerned with the similarities in their experiences as it relates to education transmitting culture.

In terms of school learning and political beliefs and values, Moody, Bates, and Davis concur that prior to the implementation of the *Brown versus the Board of Education* decision of 1954, the schooling of African Americans existed with school facilities and textbooks that were, more often than not, of substandard quality. Each author describes examples of school buildings that were dilapidated, of poor structure, and lacked heat or resistance to rain. They further commented that many of their textbooks were outdated, missing pages, worn out or torn, and many times there were not enough for the entire class. In these examples, the primary message relayed is of the lack of importance of a quality educational experience for African-American school children, as well as, the inherent process of socializing these children to expect lower standards. The reality that many African Americans could not receive schooling past the 8th grade is anonther indicator of the dominant culture's political beliefs regarding the schooling of African Americans. Schooling for Blacks was to prepare them for their subservient

stations in life. This was the train of thought among many southern whites, therefore, why did Blacks have a need for schooling past the 8th grade?

Education transmits culture through a subtle process of dominance and access. The dual system of education allowed most African Americans to experience an inferior education and limited access to higher educational opportunities. Through the autobiographical works of Moody, Bates, and Davis, the reader can see that white southern politicians were able to control and predict access to schooling and educational opportunities for African Americans even after the *Brown versus the Board of Education* decision of 1954. This same fact is evident in today's schooling concerns, which for many urban and rural areas means, outdated materials, poor facilities, standards-based education, stemming from funding inequities within many states'school districts.

Even though the elementary and secondary experiences of schooling were designed to instill a second-class status within the authors, each one approached their education as a site of resistance and instead utilized their schooling and education as a means to emerge as civil and human rights. Each author came to activism through various educational markers and guides that were specific to her own lived experience. Anne Moody, traumatized as a teenager by violence and threats of violence to herself and members of her community, sought guidance, peace, and direction from a teacher when no one else would entertain her questions. Thanks to Mrs. Rice, she obtained peace of mind and an awareness of African-Americans efforts and organizations whose purpose was to ameliorate the plight of Blacks. However, Moody would not take up the charge until her arrival at Tougaloo College. After growing up in a town where whites were feared and activism was punishable by death, college life allowed Moody the freedom to

set aside her fear, take up her torch and become part of the solution. Daisy Bates became an activist through her role as a newspaper woman. She initially began writing about the race riots and other racial incidents in Arkansas bringing to the forefront the turbulent times in which the southern African-American community existed. She later became the president of the NAACP chapter in her area and it was this role, her demeanor, and her educational background that positioned her as the ideal candidate to serve as mediator, protector and facilitator for the parents and children who were to integrate Central High School.

Unlike Moody and Bates, Angela Davis came to her activism through her family and her schooling. She belonged to a family of educated parents who provided her early on with an orientation to the reality of the many issues that existed between blacks and whites, particularly in the south. Davis was first introduced to the Communist Manifesto in high school, which changed her entire perspective on life and gave her an idea of how to resist and dismantle oppression. Her elite post-secondary schooling, that included studying with leading intellectuals in Paris and Germany, served to further establish her as a public intellectual and activist.

While each author came to her activism through various lessons of their respective lives, some of these lessons were formal and took place within the traditional school settings. Davis' early exposure in elementary school to poverty and hunger among children and others were cultural lessons that later she was able to deconstruct for herself. Similarly, Bates' father instilled within her not to hate the people, but, rather the humiliation and charged her to become an agent for change. Likewise, Moody's lessons about hard work and survival at age nine instilled within her a level of insight for a level

that later equipped her to uncover the "secret of whiteness" as it related to black and white relations in terms of access and privilege.

In examining how one's education transmits culture and connects to activism, this study offers a new way to teach gender and education, educational history, and education as cultural transmitter. When I consider how I could use this study and aspects of it to inform my teaching about education or culture, I am immediately drawn to designing courses in educational history and theory that address the intersection of race, class, gender, as well as, courses in African American studies that focus on African-American women's accounts of the Civil Rights and Black Nationalist Movements. I envision utilizing various pedagogical techniques that would allow me and the class to individually and collectively address issues of: (1) what can autobiographies offer in terms of historical understanding and interpretation of education and culture; (2) in what ways do schools transmit culture; (3) how do the roles of race, class, and gender effect one's life in terms of educational opportunities; and (4) how is identity effected by one's education, social location, class, culture, and social codes of behavior. It is my desire to teach classes that allow for the exploration of politics that surround education, schooling, and culture.

It has been established through this work that education and schooling as entities are separate, yet they are also collective and interactive. Culture has been shown to be both taught, as well as, caught. In this sense it is the learned behaviors and patterns of operating as a member of one's particular group. In this study in which I have framed autobiography as autoethnography, these codes of behavior have been given one interpretation. However, as the act of reading and writing is political, no two persons will

interpret these texts in the same manner. A class utilizing autobiographies, films, theory, poetry, and other texts would serve to provide students with a more varied and personal interpretation of history, gender, education, and class. For example, a lesson that did not emerge from my analysis is how these works address identity development and culture. The authors use language such as "circumstances of oppression", "if I just had a chance, "farming equaled poverty and no chance at life", and "I was just as good, just as intelligent, just as capable as achieving as any white person." These women were bombarded with messages in their cultural upbringing that helped to establish their identity formation. For Anne Moody, it was poverty, violence, "country mentality", abandonment, and the thought of something better that motivated much of her development and growth. For Daisy Bates, childhood teasing served to begin her trek of finding out her true identity and parentage. However painful this journey may have been, she ultimately overcame her devastation and became a bridge for others. For Angela Davis, the family moving to a hostile environment provided her with an introduction to difference and stupidity. She and her playmates would create self-affirmations to counter the negative impact of her neighbors' hate speech and crimes that were committed against them. Because of her parents social and cultural capital, she grew up knowing there were few limits that could be placed on her academic aspirations; in fact, only those she herself placed on it. Throughout the texts there are numerous lessons and commentary on identity formation and development.

For educators, exposure to autobiographies provides an opportunity to establish a relationship between history and a person's lived experience. It offers a more vibrant approach to studying time and place and the effects of policies on the lives of real people.

This can be done through a comparison of the past events regarding educational policies and reform as they relate to the same issues of the present day. For instance, educational equity is as much a problem today as it was 50 years ago. The development of standards based education calls for educators and historians to revisit the discrepancies in educational funding per district, as well as, textbooks and test preparedness. If an African-American child is attending a school where he or she is learning from outdated texts, but given the same exam as a student with current textbooks, how can this be considered fair and/or equitable? Not only can autobiographies aid in historical context, but they can also offer an alternate view of educational, African-American, and women's history. Autobiographies allow a reader to view an additional perspective concerning how the past effects the present, as well as, giving voice to possibly omitted viewpoints of history.

In the future, it is my intent to obtain access to the archival census, school boards, and school districts data from Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi. I want to further explore issues concerning the discrepancies of funding resources, Black teachers' hiring and firing, and records of student enrollments and graduations before and after the *Brown* decision of 1954. Additionally, I seek to examine the newspapers of the time and the papers/memoirs of Daisy Bates in a effort to further explore historical connections between segregation, desegregation, and resegregation of today. In an effort to turn this work into a book, I want to add personal structured interviews with Anne Moody and Angela Davis, which will focus on their understanding of the specifics of schooling and education.

ENDNOTES

PREFACE ENDNOTES

[1] Mary Louise Wheeler recited mantra to her children to instill success and motivation.

[2] The descriptors of Black, African American, and Negro are used throughout the document interchangeably.

[3] I use this term to refer to African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino/a Americans, and Native Americans.

[4] William Sewell (1992) *A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation* provide a detailed explanation of the sociological concept of human agency. This is defined later in the dissertation.

CHAPTER 1 ENDNOTES

[1] For the purposes of this study, education is defined as a deliberate form of learning one's own culture. One is educated about one's cultural orientations (where do I come from and/or belong, what do I value/believe). Schooling describes the formal process of enculturation, which perpetuates, teaches, and maintains the society's existing power relations and the institutional structures that support those arrangements (Shujaa, 1994, pg. 15).

[2] Leigh Gilmore (1994) argues that much of the criticism about autobiography is between autobiography as a factual document or fiction, and their relation to "truth" in conjunction with the premises of "truthful" and "authentic" subject position. See *Autobiographies: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-Representation* for a more detailed discussion.

[3] In southern law, and in northern and western practice, under "American apartheid" black and white citizens were forbidden to commingle publicly, and citizens of African descent were barred from restaurants, hotels, theaters, schools, railroad cars, and other public accommodations reserved for whites only. The system of legal or Jim Crow segregation was implemented to keep blacks and whites separated from cradle to grave. The Civil Rights movement, which began

unofficially in 1941, was the legal and nonviolent efforts of African Americans to end segregation. The 1954 Brown versus the Board of Education and the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott were central catalysts in the movement gaining momentum (Collier-Thomas, et. al., 1999, xii).

[4] An outgrowth of the Civil Rights movement, the Black Power movement was the logical response to America's continued recalcitrance and oppression of African Americans despite a protracted and well-orchestrated campaign of nonviolent protest. As an older generation gave way to a newly energized, idealistic, and decidedly impatient younger one, the call for civil rights that marked the mid-1950s through the early 1960's was rapidly eclipsed by the more militant call for Black Power (Perkins, 2000, pg. xi).

[5] The process of autoethnographical reading is an alternative method of ethnography. The definition and method are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter (see methodology and review of literature).

[6] Margo Perkins (2000) supplies criteria for using the term political autobiography. They include the following: (1) that the autobiographer will emphasize the story of the struggle over her own personal ordeals; (2) that she will use her own story both to document a history of the struggle and to further its political agenda; (3) that she will provide a voice for the voiceless; (4) that she will honor strategic silences in order to protect the integrity of the struggle, as well as, the welfare of other activists; (5) that she will expose oppressive conditions and the repressive tactics of the state; and (6) that she will use the autobiography as a form of political intervention, to educate as broad an audience as possible to the situation and issues at stake (Perkins, 2000, pg. 7).

[7] Pierre Bourdieu (1997) in his article *Forms of Capital* provides a detailed explanation of the various forms of capital and how they relate to success in our society. Cultural capital explains the how the cultural experiences in the home facilitate children's adjustment to school and academic achievement. The cultural resources of family and community are transformed into cultural capital, which is transferred into intellectual and economic success.

[8] Holte (1982) defines ethnic and immigrant autobiographies as a means to impose order on an experience that was both disruptive and confusing.

[9] Richardson (1994) and Sparkes (2000) define autobiographical ethnography, narratives of self, and autoethnographies as a form of evocative writing that produces highly personalized and revealing texts in which authors tell stories about their own lived experiences.

[10] The Civil Rights struggle emphasized three broad avenues for educational reform: (1) desegregation of public schools; (2) community control of schools and the installation of Afrocentric curriculums; and (3) affirmative action policies that provided educational access to blacks and other minorities. Additionally, the black struggle triggered a larger educational reform movement, which involved key concerns in regards to poverty and the need for social mobility through the schools. (Berube, 1994)

[11] A tool of multiple methods such as: (1) data triangulation: the use of a variety of data sources in a study (i.e. documents, interviews, and observations), (2) theory triangulation: the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data, and (3) methodological triangulation: the use of multiple methods to study a single problem (Marshall, et. al., 1995).

CHAPTER 2 ENDNOTES

[1] This perspective defined "education as a means of motivating individuals to behave in ways appropriate to maintain the society in a state of equilibrium" dominated the explanation and research interests in the sociology of education (Karabel & Halsey, 1977, pg. 3).

[2] See William H. Watkins (2001). The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954, pp. 1-6 and Darlene Clark Hine, et. al. (2003). The African American Odyssey: Combined Volume 2nd Edition, pp.369-371.

[3] See James D. Anderson (1988), The Education of Blacks on the South, 1860-1935 serves as a pivotal work aiding in understanding the quality of schooling facilities and opportunities. Robert A. Margo (1990), Race and Schooling in the South, 1880-1950, pp.68-86.

[4] Maurice R. Berube (1991), *American Presidents and Education*, pp 34-39 provide descriptions of the varying educational positions from the Presidential office to the Congress.

[5] See Faustine C. Jones-Wilson, et. al. (1996), Encyclopedia of African-American Education, pp. 65-66 and Juan Williams (1987), Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years 1954-1965, pp. 2-35.

[6] *Brown versus the Board of Education* decision of 1954 is referred to as *Brown I*. It was the initial decision of the Supreme Court that ruled school segregation unequal. In 1955, *Brown II* was decided by the courts to neither mandate an immediate end to nor set a time table for eradicating school segregation.

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