The HBCU Black Woman Professor

and the

US Academic Prestige Hierarchy

Tiffany Rodrika Holloman

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

The dissertation examines Black women professors who are current faculty members of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States. Specifically, it analysed their historic position within the Academic Prestige Hierarchy (APH) from the birth of the HBCUs to the present. Historical analysis and Black feminist theory were utilized to examine the HBCU Black woman professors' existence, thereby illuminating the exclusionary strategies implemented by differing groups to relegate these women scholars in higher education institutions where they teach, mentor, and advocate for their students. The study highlighted the patriarchal administrative policies, restrictive career guidance, as well as, competitive male and female colleagues served to inhibit the scholastic growth of the Black women professors in efforts to maintain the predominantly white institutional status within academic system. The narratives of the study participants challenged the defamation of Black women scholars and the slander of Black institutions. By sharing their deft navigation of highly sexist and racist academic environments, the HBCU Black women professors honoured their predecessors and offered solutions for the Black students today.

Keywords:

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Black women scholars; APH; Black Feminist Theory; intersectionality; human agency

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION ONE—INTRODUCTION

SECTION TWO—LITERATURE REVIEW

SECTION ONE--INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1—Background to the Work

1.1 Three Black Women

As of 2019, many institutions of higher education systems have been operating for well over one hundred years. Within the US there are many Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) that are over a century old as well. Institutions lasting for over one hundred years is not outrightly exceptional, but there were Black women of the early twentieth century who were exceptional. They occupied essential positions within the HBCUs as administrators, faculty, and counsellors. Some Black women dared to establish their own schools that are still in operation today. Beyond their tireless work as founders, they continue to serve as models for Black women scholars who accept the responsibilities of nurturing, educating, and preparing generations of students to uplift themselves, their families, the nation and the world. Three of these early scholars were Elizabeth Wright, Artemisia Bowden, and Mary McLeod Bethune.

1.1.1 Elizabeth E. Wright

Image courtesy of Voorhees College

Voorhees College is located in Denmark, South Carolina, US. It is a small HCBCU with a current enrolment of nearly five-hundred students, including international students (Voorhees.edu, 2019). The college began its journey in 1897 when a Black woman named Elizabeth E. Wright (1872-1906) decided to open a school for the industrial arts, a curriculum that emphasised the 'study of people . . . the main subdivisions [regarding the production of] food, clothing and shelter' (Foster, 1995, p. 17). Wright was a graduate of an HBCU now known as Tuskegee University and an admirer of the university's founder, Booker T. Washington. Wright modelled her school from the industrial education framework she encountered at Tuskegee. As a Black woman of just thirty years old, she procured a donation from a northern philanthropist in the amount of five thousand dollars ($146,425 or £113,896 in 2018), enabling her to erect the first building of her school in 1902 (Voorhees.edu, 2019). In his book about Tuskegee and the Black educational community, Booker T. Washington spoke highly of Wright, the principal of the only Black school in her section of South Carolina:

> Miss Wright . . . founded [Voorhees College] on faith. She is a delightfully spiritual woman and was at first greatly opposed in her efforts by both the black and white people of this section . . . her work here has been but little short of marvellous. Voorhees is one of the sixteen larger "offshoots". . . manned and controlled by Tuskegee graduates (Washington, 1905, pp. 159–160).

Today, Voorhees College is an accredited four-year college which confers conferring

undergraduate qualifications in a range of liberal arts disciplines.

1.1.2 Artemisia Bowden

Image courtesy of R. A. Marini

In 2017, St. Philip's College of San Antonio, Texas, enrolled over twelve

thousand students, (College, 2017) a great change from the six black young girls

who were the first pupils of the school (Alamo.edu, 2019). Although the school

opened its door in 1898 with generous support from the Episcopalian Church,

'had Bowden, the daughter of slaves, never come to what now is known as St.

Philip's College, the school would not exist,' stated the current college president

(Marini, 2018). Bowden was born in 1879 in Georgia. Her parents were active

Episcopalians and their local parish allowed Bowden to attend primary and

secondary school. She earned an undergraduate qualification at St. Augustine

University, an HBCU, located in Raleigh, North Carolina, allowing Bowden to then

teach in a few NC common schools (Gates Jr. and Higginbotham, 2008). In 1902

Artemisia took over the school and was asked to turn it into primary school for

Blacks the local area, however, 'it was her determination, [and] commitment to education' that turned school into a college, even when the Episcopalian pulled their funding and funded only the white schools under their diocese (Marini, 2018). To that end, Bowden increased her travels to promote, recruit and fundraise the necessary resources. The *New York Amsterdam News*, now a century-old Black newspaper, reported that during a visit to the city:

> '. . . interest of [Bowden's] work at St. Philip's Junior College in San Antonia, Texas, of which she is president. Miss Artemisia Bowden ... has already addressed the Women's Auxiliary of the National Council and she will visit Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington on behalf of the school ..'(New York Amsterdam News, 1938)

It must be noted that whilst Bowden, a single Black woman, assumed great personal risk to travel throughout the US, increasing her exposure racial discrimination in the hospitality industry and threat of physical danger, she believed her sacrifice was necessary for her goals (Bates, 2018).

Like others of her day, Black community members served in a variety of capacities. In addition to her duties at the college, Bowden was active in racial equality agencies, as noted in the *Directory of Agencies in Race Relations, National, State, and Local*:

> Bexar County [in which San Antonia resides] Committee for Interracial Cooperation: Miss Artemisia Bowden, Chairman, Executive Committee. [The]

Purpose: The Committee is a loosely knit organization of whites and Negroes which was set up to meet a situation caused by actual and potential instances of racial friction and reports of increasing estrangement between the two groups. Membership is open to all interested persons. Activities: Monthly meetings are held at St. Philip's Junior College, a Negro public school. Favourable instances of interracial cooperation are reported, and danger points are discussed. Unfortunate incidents in bus travel in the city receive attention, and fair educational and recreational opportunities for Negroes are considered. Latin Americans are included on the Committee (Fund, 1945).

In the twenty-first century, St. Philip's College continues to promote Bowden's desire for equal educational access as it serves an increasingly diverse surrounding community. Today, it is the only college in the United States that is both an HBCU and Historically Hispanic institution.

1.1.3 Mary McLeod Bethune

Although Daytona Beach, Florida is known for its beautiful beaches and wide range of outdoor activities, numerous Black students focused on their studies and have found Bethune-Cookman University to be an institution of hope. The university motto, 'Enter to learn, depart to serve' is a core component of the campus creed to prepare students for a useful professional life and the faculty continue this mission of the university founder, Dr. Bethune (www.cookman.edu, 2019).

Unlike the two previously mentioned trailblazers whose lives and dedication to Black higher education are not widely noted, the works of Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune for graduate and postgraduate education, as well as, for women and minority civil rights, have been extensively documented. As recorded in childhood reports, her parents and older siblings were enslaved. However, in 1875, Bethune, the last of seventeen children, was the first and only child born into the freedom of her family home in Mayesville, South Carolina. Knowledge was of great importance to the young Bethune, but, like many states in the South, limited government funding for education for Black children was chronicled by Black scholars and observed by the youngster herself:

'On market days, when my father let me walk to town with him, I noticed the contrast between the lives of the masters and their servants. I looked at the white people around me who were living in homes with real glass windows. Their little girls wore white silk dresses and soft shoes, and rode in carriages,

with piles of books on the seats beside them. I glanced down at my own

brogue shoes, with brass tips, and my neat but tattered clothes. I had no

books. I could not even read'(Bethune, 1941, p. 2).

According to a government report printed in 1889, her home state of South Carolina

only provided two schools for Blacks during the reconstruction period, one located

in Saint Helena and the other in Beaufort—both of these schools over 140 miles

from the Bethune residence in Mayesville (Meriweather, 1889, p. 123).

The young Bethune's intense urge to be formally educated was finally

fulfilled when a missionary visited the family and persuaded Patsy and Samuel

McLeod to allow their youngest child to attend newly established primary school.

Mary walked ten miles roundtrip to school each day, carrying a pail of milk and

bread. '…I walked always on winged feet,' Bethune remembered, as SC white

supremacists were some of the most violent in the US (Bethune, 1941). Until the age

of fifteen, Bethune attended that school, taking all courses offered. Although she

attributed her good fortune to her faith, undoubtedly, her ambition and work ethic

were significant factors in receiving the funding she needed to continue her studies

at Scotia Seminary in North Carolina.

At the Seminary, Bethune obtained the teaching skills necessary to become

both a missionary and teacher at schools throughout the south. Because of her

childhood experiences with educational disparities due to racism, Bethune

conceived an idea to erect a school of her own. She found space for the school in

Daytona Beach.

The school was born in a four-room cottage, however, Bethune soon realised that she needed a bigger space:

'Nearby was a field, popularly called Hell's Hole, which was used as a dumping ground. I approached the owner, determined to buy it. The price was 250 [dollars]. In a daze, he finally agreed to take five dollars down, and the balance in two years. I promised to be back in a few days with the initial payment. He never knew it, but I didn't have five dollars. I raised this sum selling ice cream and sweet-potato pies to the workmen on construction jobs, and I took the owner his money in small change wrapped in my handkerchief. That's how the Bethune-Cookman college campus started' (Bethune, 1941).

This fundraising narrative revealed the charisma and charm possessed by Bethune, skills developed by a necessity that would never cease during her lifetime; with disparate financial appropriation for Black schools, the college would continue to rely on constant donations from supporters.

The early board members of her school included both Black and white men, including the widely known James N. Gamble, the Irish industrialist and co-founder of Procter and Gamble; John D. Rockefeller, a US oil magnate; and White Sewing Machine owner, Samuel White (McCluskey, 2014, p. 65). Expectedly, not all whites were not as beneficent:

'[Bethune] encouraged blacks to vote in county elections, which precipitated a 1920 visit from the Ku Klux Klan [a white supremacist vigilante group]. The Klan attempted to silence Bethune and to intimidate potential black voters by marching onto campus in full regalia. In response, she met them at the front of the campus, "with arms folded and head held high"'(McCluskey, 2014).

Dr. Bethune, a woman who obtained a position similar to African royalty amongst the Black community, actioned on her beliefs that all Blacks should have access and obtain higher education in a world of discrimination. Bethune-Cookman University, one of three HBCUs still located in Florida, boasts alumni who have honoured the school motto in a variety of ways—A. Philip Randolph, labour rights activist; Harry T. Moore, civil rights martyr; Yvonne Scarlett-Golden, educator and politician; and a host of graduates who excel in business, entertainment, and major league athletics.

The Struggle for a Voice

The works of Wright, Bowden and Bethune were exceptional as there were widespread political, economic, and social restrictions on Black people and women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries society. White supremacist laughter, scorn, disbelief, disgust, dismissal and blind rage were typical responses to attempts by Black people, especially Black women, to 'better' and 'uplift' themselves during the Progressive Era. Black women consistently challenged oppressive ideologies and structures of the dominant class which Black women found that this was no easy task.

The lives of women who ventured to the "New World" from Europe and those who were forcibly brought from Africa lived extremely restricted lives. Integral to the understanding of the treatment of Black women in the US is the intersectionality of their identity,(Crenshaw, 1991) an understanding that was rooted in early invisibility of Black women in scholarship. For instance, in her study of the 'theoretical parallels' between racial and gender discrimination, Sandra Rierson, tellingly, was only to compare white women with Black men; the legal status of Black women was *below* these two oppressed groups (Rierson, 1994, p. 89). Under the coverture laws, white married women were forbidden from participating in legal, economic, and political aspects of the world; their property and wages belonged to their husbands. Even widowed and single women property owners faced constraints on their political activities. This legal inferior status continued until late in the twentieth century, though evidence such as the gender pay gap illustrate inequities experienced today. In the pecking order, white women were wives, mothers, and household supervisors, with Black women occupying the lowest positions (Glenn, 1992). As a result of the subordination, the voices of women were rarely heard in arenas outside of their own households until they created equal rights organisations and reform movements during the nineteenth century.

Conflicts intensified in the US during the nineteenth century. Black and white women protested for the end of slavery and their equal rights. In the predominantly Christian nation, moral arguments about slavery polarised the citizens. Slavery was thought to be 'ungodly', 'sinful' and an abomination for abolitionists; their religious

opponents believed servitude to be the 'natural' position for the lowly, 'ungodly' Blacks. Ultimately, the divisive issue of slavery revolved around the stakes of power—politics and economics. When in 1865, the costly five-year US Civil War between the northern and southern states ended, business, political and religious leaders warily joined forces to focus on the unification of the nation; the establishment of a concerted economy; and the repair of social relations. During this period, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the US constitution—collectively known as the Reconstruction Amendments—abolished slavery; extended citizenship and legal protections to former slaves; and guaranteed enfranchisement to free Black men, respectively. By 1890, further legislation, such as, the Second Morrill Act, provided federal funding for segregated Black primary, secondary, and postsecondary education. Black people were hopeful that the actions of the government representatives meant they had opportunities for career development, civic participation and social mobility.

Despite the new freedom, rights, and funding, the Black community rapidly discovered that progressive legislation did not change the attitudes and interactions with the dominant society members. In fact, white southerners, who were blistered from the shame of military defeat, loss of financial assets, and challenges to social supremacy, immediately crafted *de jure* and *de facto* practices that severely constricted the opportunities of the freed people. These Jim Crow laws and violent physical attacks re-established the hierarchal social relations of the antebellum era in the New South.

Outside of the south, leaders imagined the US as a leading nation amongst powerful nations around the globe. This goal required the healing nation to prioritize education. An educated workforce, they believed, was necessary for the extremely lucrative industrial revolution. In line with the prevailing belief of Black intellectual inferiority, only the most basic of education and the most limited of curriculum was considered adequate for the Black population. The expectation that Black people could make substantial contributions to the quest of making the US a world power was held mainly by the members of the Black community.

Not surprisingly, the investment in educational institutions reflected the belief in the finite abilities of Blacks. Black primary and secondary school children received pennies on the funding dollars compared to white children. Likewise, the HBCUs struggled with inferior facilities and poor faculty salaries that barely provided subsistence. The major government and private investments were reserved for the predominantly white institutions (PWIs). According to the investors, these colleges and universities represented the best and brightest of society—administrators, faculty, and students. The creation of the academic prestige hierarchy (APH) reproduced the racial and class social ranking of citizens.

Jim Crow laws placed many Black lives at risk. Black women risked their lives during the turbulent times, more women joined the fight for creative, intellectual, and material freedom. Educator and activist Charlotte Hawkins Brown shared:

'As for me, a Negro woman, I feel so intently the insults that are heaped upon me . . . that I am willing to become a martyr for Negro womanhood in this instance and give up my chance of holding, as friends, people who would withdraw because of my attitude . . . A few of us must be sacrificed perhaps in order to step further' (Brown, 1972, p. 376).

1.2 The Problem

The stakeholders in higher education—parents, students, business owners, and citizens—have suffered a disservice at the hands of researchers of higher education. Those invested in the success of the US university system and rely on the generations of graduates to manage corporations, expand the arts, medically attend to the elderly, design infrastructure, or cooperate with government officials around the world, sadly, do not have all the information they need regarding US higher education. Missing in higher education research are opportunities to learn a great deal about those of the university student and staff populations who are constantly overcoming obstacles, nurturing students, or searching for safe spaces. Specifically, educational scholarship suffered from the loss of the knowledges, skills and aptitudes of HBCUs, and particularly HBCU Black women professors. HBCU Black women professors have over a century's worth of association with US higher education implicitly, and the HBCUs explicitly. US citizens have few clues about the importance of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities to the political, economic or social realms of the nation. Black women and other women of colour have long met the challenge of diversifying norms, as often our presence alone disrupts the norm(Ahmed, 2018). HBCU Black women professors were and are available to provide insight into the understanding of US higher education—they only need to be asked.

1.3 The Research Goals

The purpose of this research is to examine the relationship between HBCU Black women professors and the APH in the United States. In that very little has been written on the HBCU Black woman professor or the APH, it was necessary to examine racialised U.S. higher education in order to provide context to the APH. A breakdown of U.S. higher education and an expansion on previous literature of the APH will precede a qualitative inquiry through interviews with twelve Black women professors. Data was captured to reveal the experiences of these women as students and then figures within the US APH.

1.4 The research questions

The central research question is: What are the historical and contemporary influences of the U.S. academic hierarchy on the HBCU Black woman professor? This question can be broken down into two questions: What constitutes the APH? And secondly, where has the HBCU Black women professors fit in this hierarchy historically and where does she fit today? Extracted from the literature review surrounding Black women college and university faculty members and HBCUs, secondary questions include:

1. Who is the HBCU Black woman professor?
2. How do HBCU Black women professors define themselves?
3. How do these professors define their institutions of work in general and within the American APH?

The centre of my research considers the extent to which Black woman professors of HCBUs owe their position in higher education to the APH? It also seeks to hear how they would define academic prestige being that the APH appears arbitrary. In other words, I want to compare the connection between the APH and the HBCU Black women professors during the genesis of most HBCUs, the late nineteenth century, and the hierarchy itself, against the current position of HBCU Black women professors in U.S. higher education. Is their position as HBCU professors a choice or a product of the hierarchy?

The US APH at first thought may seem to be a complex system. However, one of the best descriptions can explicate how simple it actually is:

> The status of faculty members is determined not only by the quality of their research, but by the prestige of the institutions by which they are employed. Undergraduate institutional prestige is based on the "quality" of applicants and students attracted to the institution. The quality of applicants and students, in turn, is determined by the prestige ratings of the students' social backgrounds, the quality of the secondary schools they attended, and their rankings on certain indicators of intellectual aptitude, ability, and achievement. For graduate and professional schools as well as for individual graduate departments, prestige is determined not only by the students' scores on admissions tests, but also by undergraduate grades and perhaps, most importantly, the quality (prestige ranking) and selectivity of the undergraduate degree-granting institution (Epps, 1998).

The action of ranking institutions is the essence of the APH. As Epps eluded to above, institutional rank is one of the most important factors as to which students goes where and which professor teaches where. In the United States where

demographics are rapidly changing, and the cost of higher education overall is

increasing, the purpose for the system of ranking institutions and creating labels of

academic prestige apparently is layered. To ensure that the US is economically and

educationally growing, educational attainment appears to be on the top discussions

of priorities, yet as of 2015 census data nearly sixty percent of US citizens do not

hold at least an Associate's degree (Ryan and Bauman, 2016).

1.5 Limitations

This research started probably as most PhDs with some grand scheme in

mind, however, being the first of anyone in my family to take such an undertaking

and therefore not fully aware of what lay ahead, I was a bit naïve, especially

concerning funding. The capability to visit the archives of Harvard, Yale, as well as

travels to the 100+ HBCUs in search for participants could not be afforded during

this examination. And whilst due diligence was practiced, grand generalisations

cannot be made without further research.

The lack of funding and the absence of profiles available on many HBCU

websites affected the number of professors interviewed. The grand vision of

traveling up and down the Midwest, Northeast and Southeast United States,

interviewing dozens of HBCU Black women professors did not come into fruition.

The information provided by the sample is invaluable to all who intend to research

US higher education and its many avenues because there is a severe

need to harness the data from Black, Indigenous, and Hispanic professors

throughout the US. There is a massive net of governmental and diplomatic

placement, via collegiate affiliation rather than merit, that casts itself over the

United States. The goal of this research was to introduce the beginnings of this web

in lieu of race management in higher education. The expansion of the web in detail

is something this text did not have the time to explicate. It would be appreciated by

me if those seeking to expand the knowledge available on U.S. meritocracy and the

interworking of higher education and politics would take this on.

1.6 Delimitations

The purpose behind the focus on HBCU black women professors rather than men

stems a noticeable gap in scholarship from and about their population considering

the recent controversial fact that African American women are of the most educated

populations in the United States (NCES, 2019). 'Black women intellectuals are central

to Black feminist though…Experiences as African-American women provide us with a

unique angle of vision concerning Black womanhood unavailable to other groups

(Collins, 2000a, chap. 39). HBCU Black women professors are not only oppressed as

Black women but, these women are employed at colleges and universities whose

purpose for existing was to oppress African Americans who aspired for higher

education in the midst of U.S. white supremacy. It is known from Black women

professors in predominately white institutions that Black women are faced with

discrimination and competency questions, does these factors play in the HBCUs also

(Edwards, Beverly and Alexander-snow, 2011; Borum and Walker, 2012; Wilder,

Jones and Osborne-Lampkin, 2013)?

1.7 **The Theoretical Framework**

Historically Black Colleges and Universities and their faculty members have historically fostered the growth of U.S. non-whites. As demographics in the United States are expected to interchange by 2044, meaning non-Hispanic whites are going to be one of the minority populations, there is an urgency to ensure that higher education faculty in United States can meet the needs of its continuously diverse student body (Colby and Ortman, 2014). Studies that have investigated the correlation between student success of Black and Hispanic learners and the representation of faculty who share their same ethnicity (Allen, 1992; Laird *et al.*, 2007) has proven that representation matters. Furthermore, the incline of women obtaining higher education degrees over men in the U.S. will likely produce more women professors as time progresses (Garibaldi, 1997; Ryan and Bauman, 2016). Representation of ethnically diverse professors will directly affect the development or grievously, the underdevelopment of U.S. society (Hurtado *et al.*, 1999).

In keeping in line with the decolonial framework of this research, a Black

feminist approach, which will be explained later in this chapter, is the cornerstone of

this research. To gain insight into the experience of current HBCU Black women

professors within the APH, as both students and academics, the voice of the Black

women is crucial. Black women intellectuals are the substance of this research.

Black feminist standpoint theory is best suited to interpret the theoretical and

methodological considerations as comprehension of discourse by and for Black

women is a mechanism against colonial thought and oppression (Collins, 1998, chap.

2).

This chapter will guide the reader as to why Black Feminist theory and is

appropriate for this research. Black feminist theory embraces the capability to

access new knowledge from Black women as a collective who often time face

systematic and compounding aggression in U.S. society. Core objectives of the is

research is to explore the experience of HBCU Black women professors through their

'outsider-within' (Collins, 1986) privilege; as academics the participants are *insiders*,

but as HBCU Black women professors, they are *outsiders*. This research will intersect

the US APH with the HBCU Black woman professor in an attempt to obtain how they

have chronologically influenced each other since the late nineteenth century,

therefore it was imperative to interrogate the hierarchy via historical sociology. The

next section of this chapter takes the reader through the collection of data.

Understanding the relationship between the researcher and participant, more

specifically, between the elite and non-elite, will be explicated. This section will also include techniques used to solicit participants and rapport building. There were unforeseen barriers that must be taken into account as well ethical concerns. Interviews were conducted via Skype telephone, as such, all positive and prohibitive experiences of the digital data collection apparatus will be discussed. The final section of this chapter is about the data gathered and the analysis of that data. Recurring themes were deciphered from the transcript of the professors' interviews and then grouped into categories that best illustrated collective thoughts. The discourse of what was said as well as what was missing combined to create some very powerful points of inquiry for future research. The chapter will close with of summary and bridge into the U.S. university system.

Examination of a contemporary social fact, such as the APH, involves peering through secondary sources and organizational histories examining people who participated in the creation of academic hierarchies in U.S. higher education. The analysis then grows from the more intricate details to one of explicating political structures and social systems that created this contemporary phenomenon. In order to do this analysis one of the first questions to be answered is, "how has this structure actioned over time?" (Abrams, 1982). Historical sociology, as a method, is capable of answering such a question because of its concern with mainly three components: how systems are developed over time, the status of certain people who are affected by the system being analysed by the researcher, and to find the

distinction between a population's self-determinism and any structural constraints

surrounding that population (Abrams, 1982; Banks, 1989; Picard, 2009). Also, the

population in the research, 'who are affected by the system being analysed', is the

HBCU Black woman professor which presents us with a way to analyse her not just

as part of historical sociology but in her own right through the use of Black feminist

standpoint methodology. HBCU Black women professors were sought because of

their long history has higher education faculty members in the U.S. and HBCU Black

women professors are 'outsiders-within' (Collins, 1986) which is the crux of Black

feminist standpoint theory. HBCU Black women professors are not men, they are

not white women, they are not academic employees of what is the generalised

norm of U.S. higher education; they are Black women professors at Historically Black

Colleges and Universities, yet they are held to every regulatory and educational

standard as the mainstream, mostly predominately white schools. Black feminist

standpoint theory and its dedication to the expansion of social structures through

the voices of Black women is considered the best method to explain the data

received from those Black women scholars (Collins, 1990).

1.7.1 Historical Sociology

To properly analyse the APH's structure against the HBCU Black women professors I

believe a historical sociological framework is best. The problem of analysing the APH

and those within in it is the problem of structural analysis. At the core of history and

sociology as disciplines is the examination of structure (Abrams, 1982). Just as Karl Marx studied the structure of capitalism and Emile Durkheim researched the structure of labor, a historical analysis will bring 'relational politics' to the American APH. The US APH is much like the state, in that it implements its legitimacy through legislation. Although the hierarchy does not necessarily govern nations, its operatives control what is considered ideological thought, who produces ideological thoughts, and which institutions are best for expressing ideological thought. The creators of the US APH have formed something tangible and it has flourished in our modern society; the transformation of the hierarchy from its genesis in the early twentieth century to the HBCU Black women professors within it today, is something I consider a prime candidate for historical sociological research (Delanty and Isin, 2003).

The historical examination of the HBCU Black women professors will stand up against the APH but furthermore, the understanding of their current position in the hierarchy will help expand on the truth. What this research interrogates is the comparison between the APH, which envelopes the all U.S. higher education institutions against those who are historically discriminated against in U.S. higher education. Has the hierarchy helped HBCU Black women professors and does it help them now? The first question was answered with a historical analysis, the second— by the professors themselves via Black feminist standpoint epistemology.

1.7.2 Black Feminist Theory

The HBCU Black woman professor is at the centre of this research. Part of presenting quality research is implementing a proper guide to ensure that the answer(s) to the research question is not just answered but can be replicated in some form. The research design follows along the Black feminist standpoint approach which, at its core, recognizes the unique *outsider within* position which Black women in the U.S. have held starting with their positions as house mistresses in their white owner's homes during the North American enslavement of African people(Collins, 1986) . As a major producer of counter-narrative scholarship, Black feminist standpoint theory uses qualitative inquiry because Black feminist research attempts to understand the essence of the participants' existence. Thus, a mere survey, heavily used in quantitative approaches, will not suffice is unlocking the complexity of being an *outsider within*. Furthermore, the participants are Black women, positioned in an industry where they make up nearly three percent of its employees, housed in institutions that possess an *outsider within* location in regards to American higher education system making a Black feminist standpoint framework highly appropriate for this research (Wilder, Jones and Osborne-Lampkin, 2013).

The value in clustering methodologies and frameworks around the Black woman is the belief that researchers, and perhaps society one day, will understand the dynamics of the Black female and her political environment; 'centering work on the experiences of U.S. Black women can provide new angles of vision not just on

the African American experience but on the basic concepts used to describe that

experience'(Collins, 2000b, p. 44). Black feminist epistemology has its roots set the

feminist standpoint theory that took shape in the 1970s (Ardener, 1975, 1978) and

the activism of Black women such as Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Frances J. Coppin, and Ella

Baker who were vocal about the standpoint of Black women in the United States

(Collins, 1986, 2000b; Zerai and Salime, 2006). Black feminist standpoint theory uses

the Black woman's race, class, and gender to intersect the webs of systematic

oppression throughout the different societies that have Black women in them. It is a

counter-narrative of the white-male 'standards' of theory, epistemologies, and

actions. In the case of the HBCU Black women professors, their position within the

U.S. APH will provide their truths about the system and will provide a more accurate

picture of the hierarchy.

The core of Feminist Standpoint Theory is that a woman's analysis of

situations is typically undervalued, ignored, and silenced. The originality and

authority of Feminist Standpoint Theory lies not in analysing different stories of

women in general but of groups that have collectively been oppressed and

dominated by males; 'a standpoint is an achievement, something for which

oppressed groups must struggle, something that requires both science and politics…'

(Harding, 2004, p. 8).

The female professors of the HBCUs have experiences within their

institutions revolving around more than gender but also race. To elaborate on this

fundamental aspect of their experience, I draw upon Black Feminist Standpoint

Theory, an evolution from the Feminist Standpoint Theory. The theory was

developed by Patricia Hill Collins, based on her personal experiences from childhood

where her own voice was encouraged, embraced and seemingly free. The older she

became, the more aware she was of her gender, ethnicity, working position and

overall constriction (Collins, 2000a). As Collins stated, '…by placing African-American

women's ideas in the center of analysis, I not only privilege those ideas but

encourage White feminists, African-American men, and all others to investigate the

similarities and differences among their own standpoints and those of African-

American women (Collins 2000, p.vii).

An implementation of the two subsections above is as follows:

- Traverse late nineteenth century newspapers in search of information about U.S. college/university rankings. [Search terms such as "university ranks", "college ranking", academic ranking" and "university prestige" will be used].
- Analyse what the findings above uncovered. For instance, how were the terms used? Which mediums used those terms the most? Which institutions were connected to those terms?
- Research the HBCUs during the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries and discover which institutions had female educators. This will involve yearbooks, registrations booklets, curriculum guides and possibly newspapers also.
- Locate and elaborate on Black women who were involved with the creation of HBCUs.
- Examine the data about the HBCU Black women professors' lives, such as, affiliated organizations.
- Compare the findings surrounding the academic hierarchy with those encompassing the HBCU Black woman professor. Tease out any connections and interactions. Make note of any disconnects and why that occurred.

1.7.3 Documentary Research

To examine the American APH historically and being that it has become palpable in contemporary American society, requires an analyzation of how the hierarchy formed in modern society. Using a historical sociological framework is best because of its concern with the genesis and evolution of modernity notwithstanding structures within it (Abrams, 1982; Delanty and Isin, 2003; Adams, S. and Orloff, 2005). Furthermore, in much the same way Robert L. Allen's historical sociological work *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (1969) examined the emergence of neo-colonialism through organizations, such as the Ford Company's hiring of Black professionals, this research, although not analysing internal neo-colonialism, will be researching organizations, newspapers, and journals to locate the earliest expressions of 'academic prestige and rank' in American higher education (Allen, 1969, 2010). To collect historical data on the APH requires moving the hierarchy from an abstract action to a concrete organization, then eventually to the human beings controlling the organizations. Data gathered from historical sources, specifically newspapers advertisements, helped to demonstrate how the phenomena of academic prestige was advertised to the public.

1.8 The Thesis Flow

The intense love of education, desire to uplift the Black people, persistence in providing opportunities to Black students, and activism to empower the Black community were the driving motivations for Elizabeth Wright, Artemisia Bowden,

and Mary McLeod Bethune, the exceptional scholars. Their works have inspired this

research, and as they have revealed in their narratives, the contemporary efforts in

the education, uplift, and activism of students today by the focus of this study—the

Black women professors of the HBCUs.

SECTION TWO—LITERATURE REVIEW

Prestige--Iillusion, conjuring trick' and hence 'deception.' Its current favourable
meaning of 'reputation derived from status or achievements' formed in the 19
century—the link being the element of magic common to both meanings. It is still
pronounced pres-**teezh** in an only partly anglicized way; the OED (1909)
recorded an anglicized form (**pres**-tij) but this has not survived (2015).

The undercurrent of this research argues that prestige, as it was originally

defined, is a major tenant in the underdevelopment of society. On the surface this

research considers that the academic 'prestige' hierarchy in the United States have

forgone their missions of teaching, research, and community services intrinsically

(Neave, 2000, chap.5) and given way to maintaining top billing in arbitrary ranking

systems—to the perceived detriment of society at large. Higher education in the

U.S., its prominence or decline, lay in the human capital theory. Human capital

theory promotes belief that government and the market economy dictate the flow

of higher education as a business. 'Higher education expands more or less in step

with growing demands for graduate knowledge, skills, and certified professional

competences' (Trow, 2016, p. 31). The graduates are then ready to help develop a

productive society, thereby refining the whole country. Despite the continued

selling point of education based on human capital theory, this text will argue that

bureaucrats positioned in government and organisations possess hefty stakes in

maintaining one's place in U.S. society which is steeped in the manipulation of

higher education. But more broadly speaking (being that the U.S. is considered a

great symbol of Western civilisation), in order for the West to maintain its position

as a so-called superior civilisation, elites from the U.K to Europe rely on 'prestige'

whilst quickly on guard to explicate the 'Other', categorise the 'other', and subjugate

the 'other'. This same tactic was used by the British's creation of the word *caste*

when describing Indian society. As the concept of *caste* morphed from definition to

a tangible realisation, the Indians were 'denied a history of their own, with the

beginning of their narrative starting with colonisation (Sharma, 1999, p. 9)

How can one possibly examine massive system of Western higher education

and its role in academic apartheid? The subject of higher education may be

fashionable in politics and government, however, a true recognition and

understanding of the APH seems absent from the discourse. Neal Gross credited the

amount of interest available on a subject to that subject's fashionability or

'unfashionability' (Gross, 1959, p. 128), in which the study of academic prestige

must be quite unfashionable for the lack of literature and, apparently, job security.

Dr. Lee Harvey, former head of the U.K.'s Higher Education Academy (HEA) stated

that:

'the NSS[National Student Survey] serves no purpose other than to rank

programmes and institutions, which it was supposed not to do….The ranking

is also meaningless, as the vast majority of institutions fall within a narrow

range that is covered by sampling error…Yet there are ridiculous claims of

top ranking on this or that interpretation of the tables, either for whole

institutions or on a subject basis….the rankings are so silly that they deserve

no further analysis' (Harvey, 2008)[1].

Harvey's analysis is not too far from the truth. A close examination into one of the

ranking systems, the QS ranking system, has discovered how little weigh these

statistics should be received by institutions in higher education. For instance, the

founder and current CEO of QS World Ranking stated not only that he feels

universities and governments are using his ranking system incorrectly, but also,

'Ranks should not be primary driver of university mission statements and visions'

(Sharma, 2010). Yet, QS is the third largest college and university ranking system in

the world.

The absence of examinations into the APH is quite a paradox given the

historical way in which colleges and universities 'talk'. This 'talk' is in reference to

how institutions of higher education speak to the public. This concept has been

overlooked as a tool for examining schools, particularly in the late nineteenth and

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[1] Lee Harvey wrote a letter on March 6th, 2008 concerning what he considered, the arbitrary NSS Survey and Rankings. Within three months of this letter he was suspended and then fired from his position.

early twentieth century as newspapers were the most efficient way colleges and

universities 'talked' their possible pupils. The loudest octaves that could be heard, or

perhaps read, were from the 'Ivy League' colleges and universities in the United

States. Which has contemporary connections being that the owners of several of

the most widespread newspapers in the US graduated from Tufts, Oxford, and

Princeton.

The United States is currently the economic powerhouse of the globe, the

epitome of the so-called West, and within its borders lay several highly coveted

'prestigious' academic institutions. Students from all over the world beams in on

the state of California and states within the Northeastern region of the United States

to affiliate themselves with the 'prestige' of UCLA, Harvard, Yale, John Hopkins,

Columbia, Stanford, and a few others. These 'Ivy League' institutions are considered

some of the best of the West, and many within academia itself have, knowingly or

unknowingly, continued to cement the narrative of natural institutional superiority

upon generation to generation of students the world over.

Nevertheless, a change is coming, and the change is a power shift which, as it

so happens, ignited part of this research into the hierarchy. The U.S. as a

powerhouse is losing a battle against China. Political analyst and scholars are very

vocal and agree on the rise of China, Brazil, Nigeria, India, and Russia as the top

economic markets, maybe except Peter Zeihan (Ikenberry, 2015). As students from

these emerging economies increasingly decide to attend colleges and universities within

their own borders, a question emerges as to what change will this have on society at

large and the APH (Pitman, 2016; Saul, 2017)? To theorize on the decline of West in the

realm of higher education, it seems rather apparent that taking a glance at the

beginnings of the APH should be a perfect starting point. However, this is a historical-

sociological quest, yet not focused on the perspective of the Ivies. Rather from the

standpoint of institutions that, I argue, helped to legitimate the academic

hierarchies' existence in the United States, the Historically Black Colleges and

Universities. There is a history, or perhaps a historical voice, from these institutions

that need to be heard maybe some new truths about US higher education will come

from listening. '…The past is not just the womb of the present but the only raw

material out of which the present can be constructed' (Abrams, 1982) and it appears

a well-known fact, at least for many of us who were brought up in western

philosophies, that great knowledges and creators of knowledge effectively, and with

natural cultivation, matriculate from the likes Yale, UCLA, Harvard, John Hopkins,

Stanford, etc. Many academics reify the assumption of Ivy League greatness

disregarding the colleges, universities, professors, etc., which nurtured them (as the

truth is that most academics do not attend the Ivies. Perhaps they have not yet

learned the lesson or, very possibly, ignored the lesson of their fellow westerner

Mary Wollstonecraft, a philosopher who railed against defending institutions

because of their inherited histories. Nevertheless, it may once again be a woman

who will shake up the schools of thought that have become synonymous with

prestige. It may take her, the HBCU Black woman professor, along with her unmuted voice and her examination of higher education in the United States for others around the globe to confront the veil of the APH.

What follows is a development of the HBCUs through the APH in the United States. How has it come to fruition and how have others defined it. The boom of US higher education coincided with the end of the Civil War as the nation started to rebuild and develop. And as the slaves of African descent were legally free, the problem of their education became the nation's problem. This chapter starts with the education of those slaves and the transition of how higher education for from slaves may have possibly solidified the creation of the Ivy League.

Chapter 2—A Taste for Education

At the close of the [Civil] war, my husband and I returned to Savannah, a number of the comrades returning at the same time. A new life was before us now, all of the old life left behind. After getting settled, I opened a school at my home on South Broad Street, now called Oglethorpe Avenue, as there was not any public school for negro children. I had twenty children at my school and received one dollar a month for each pupil. I also had a few older ones who came at night. There were several other private schools besides mine. Mrs. Lucinda Jackson had one on the same street I loved on.
~Susie King Taylor, 1902~

2.1 Introduction

Since the removal, genocide, and desecrations of the Indigenous tribes of North America by the Europeans, the system on which the nation was built incorporated and solidified ethnic discrimination—it is part of the United States' foundation.

> The history of the United States is a history of settler colonialism—the founding of a state based on the ideology of white supremacy, the widespread practice of African slavery, and a policy of genocide and land theft. Those who seek history with an upbeat ending, a history of redemption and reconciliation, may look around and observe that such a conclusion is not visible, not even in utopian dreams of a better society (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. 2).

White supremacist ideologies were housed and developed in some of the earliest institutions during settler colonialism throughout what would become the United States. The legal system, above anything else, codified white supremacy in various ways and through diverse structures. Supposedly free Blacks, in which there were 59,000 in 1790, were often restricted from moving to certain states—sometimes

even moving to another county (Franklin and Moss Jr., 1988, pp. 137–9).

Furthermore, freed Blacks with skills could find themselves without work as licenses

became a new necessary credential—rendering Blacks in a precarious situation as

walking around unemployed could very well lead one back to the plantation, even

with freedom papers (Franklin and Moss Jr., 1988). 'All Southern states required

them [freed Blacks] to have passes; and if one was caught without a certificate of

freedom, he was presumed to be a slave'—it is quite a similar story through the

history of certain oppressed groups to face these types of the threats as many

Mexican and Central Americans are facing this in the US today (Franklin and Moss

Jr., 1988). Many public offices, industries, and educational institutions, through law

or de facto law, set up barriers which in the twenty-first century still affect the lives

of thousands of Indigenous Americans, African Americans, and Mexican Americans

to this day.

This chapter will focus on the racialisation of the US education system

regarding the first non-European students, the Indigenous tribes, who were plopped

into a boarding school-type system of forced assimilation. The chapter will then

focus on the next set of non-Europeans in the US, the Africans, and their massive

denial of education. Beginning with the Atlantic slave trade and moving to literacy

and criminality, rogue colonial Black writers, and finally scholastic dreams, these

sections provide an important detailed analysis of the conditions of Black education

for two hundred years. The chapter will end with the changes industrialisation and

migration, brought to the education system, especially the production mass primary

education and the polarisation of higher education. As the totality of this

dissertation has a specific focus on the HBCUs as an institution and the

institutionalisation of the US APH, a detailed examination of why the HBCUs exists

and the importance of the APH in race management will be deduced through the

reading of this chapter before concluding with a paradoxical connection education

and underdevelopment.

2.2 Indigenous Tribes Education

Before colonialization in the US began in the fifteen century, North America

was populated with people known now known collectively today as Native

Americans. Arriving to the country thousands of years ago via the Bering Strait, a

narrow separation of modern-day Russia and the US of only fifty-one miles, the

beginning populations were mostly nomadic but soon changed to more stationary

communities the further south they migrated. Just as the populations of other

continents, perhaps except Antarctica, were involved with the trading of

commodities, territory squabbles, and organised religion, the Indigenous tribes of

North America and South America. The Pueblos where located in the southwestern

region of the United States mined turquoise and trade extensively with the Aztecs.

The little known city-state of Cahokia, which was located in the modern day state of

Illinois, was a massive cultural hub with a population in the tens of thousands—

larger than London during the same period in mid-thirteenth century(Dunbar-Ortiz,

2014) However, the isolation of the Americas geographically, relegated the

Indigenous peoples with a different development of communities than that of

Europe, North Africa, and Asia whose development sustained various non-migratory

communities through the early domestication and plants and animals in the Fertile

Crescent. As such, '…Nomads and tribespeople occasionally defeat organized

government and religions, the trend over the past 13,000 years has been for the nomads and tribespeople to lose'(Diamond, 2005, p. 255).

In precolonial North America, what is called the Midwest section of the US today, was home to several nomadic tribes. Their positioning of that area included the plains region as well as the Rocky Mountains; the arid summers and the snowy winters caused the inhabitants to move, especially as the animals in which they hunted migrated. The tribes in the area were various but included the Sioux, Chippewa, and Ottawa (Wildlife, 2017). In the eastern region of North American lived the Cherokee, Seminole, Muskogee, Iroquois, Algonquin, Tuscarora and others. In the west and southwest portions of North America lived the Pueblo, Navajos, Apaches tribes. North and South America were not a 'wilderness' as rhetoric and colonialised diaries claimed it to be but, as mentioned above, an inhabited land of different peoples, economic systems, education, religion, and culture. European colonisation would destroy most of the Indigenous peoples' way of life, but the more brutal offense was the European's genocide enacted upon the tribal peoples through germs and murder.

European colonisation did not first begin in North and South America. And by colonisation this text is not referring to colonialism as an extension of imperialism[2], but as a system within itself. Elleke Boehmer defines colonialism as

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[2] Several scholars promote colonisation as an arm of imperialism. This view can be witnessed in the works of Benita Parry, Peter Childs and Patrick Williams, and Harvester Wheatsheaf.

'settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied lands' (Boehmer, 2005, p. 13). There are many examples in history where certain kingdoms, for example, the Songhai, Romans, Huns, Turks, etc., have created a colony which extended the kingdom's borders, exploited resources, and governed the indigenous populations. The difference between those civilisations and European colonialism of the African continent, Caribbean, South Pacific, India, parts of Asia, and South and North America is the extent in which capitalism enabled colonialism to morph from physical subjugation over a few decades, to cultural annihilation in that same time. The indigenous tribes that inhabited North America during the arrival of the European colonisers witnessed this annihilation and it all began with "education".

The "civilising" of native populations was a common term used by Europeans immigrants to justify their mostly ill treatment of Indigenous peoples. Many of the discrimination synonymous with Black-white relations were first experienced in North American by the Indigenous Peoples—voting rights, interracial marriage, employment disparities, and derogatory labels such as 'timber/prairie nigger'(Berger, 2009). In 1784 Benjamin Franklin quoted an interaction between commissioners of Virginia and their offer to educate Indian boys of the Six Nations[3] at a school in Williamsburg. The excerpt tells the story of Indigenous chiefs who just

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[3] The Six Nations are comprised of the six Indigenous tribes of the Mohawk, Onodaga, Oneida, Cayuga, Seneca, and the Tuscarora peoples.

recently had young men in their community return from one of the European

"boarding schools". The chiefs informed them men of Virginia that the skills the

young men received were of no use as they could not survive without knowledge of

hunting, building, and other necessary techniques. To rectify, what the chiefs saw as

a flawed system, they offered the commissioners the opportunity to send their sons

to the Six Nations in order to properly learn to endure life in the eastern portions of

North America; 'We are however not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we

decline accepting it: And to show our grateful sense of it, if the Gentlemen of

Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education,

instruct them in all we know, and make men of them' (1784, pp. 26–29). And just as

the sell or employment of African slaves built several of the early colleges and

universities in the United States (Wilder, 2013), special funds were set aside for

white men, through "Christianity" or assimilation, to bring the Indigenous tribes to a

European-styled life. An example of this system of educational exploitation is

Dartmouth College, whose beginning started with the funds from a Mohegan tribe

member, Samson Occom (Reyhner, 1994, p. 34; Wilder, 2013).

The use of education for assimilation purposes was not only practiced in the

United States but in Canada and Australia, typically in the form of boarding schools

where Indigenous children were separated from the parents [forced assimilation].

The Bagot Commission Report and the Davin Report concerning Indigenous peoples

in Canada during British colonialism promoted intense assimilation practices. '...To

be integrated into the emerging nation, Aboriginal children had to be separated

from their parents and "civilised" through a program of education that would make

them talk, think and act like British Canadians ... Residential education for Aboriginal

children in Canada was modelled after the system of boarding schools in the United

States (Kirmayer, Simpson and Cargo, 2003, p. S17). The 'final solution' problem in

dealing with Indigenous peoples in Canada was solidified in 1874 when the

government put their full support behind the 'boarding schools' that had been in

operation since the 1600s(Cassidy, 2006, p. 140). In Australia the practice of

removing Indigenous children from their parents and placing them in assimilation

schools began later than in the US and Canada; around the beginning of the

twentieth century. Another difference between the Australian and North American

systems were that children in Australia who were half Aboriginal and half white,

took precedent over full blooded Aboriginal children

The trauma experienced by the children who were products of racialised

boarding schools cannot be imagined and deserves more study. Gregg (2017) found

in his analysis of the long-term effects of Indigenous children being separated from

their families not only affected their ability to function in reservation life but,

furthered the distrust between natives and the European colonists. Gregg and also

(Feir, 2016), mentioned long-term benefits of the boarding schools such as an

increase in high school diploma rates, children's removal from reservation life

hostilities, and the decrease in racist attacks by the students who attended boarding

schools over public schools. Despite these perceived benefits, overwhelming

documentation through a collective of qualitative research and longitudinal studies

have illustrated that the plight of Indigenous/Aboriginal peoples in the US, Canada,

and Australia has been more regressive than progressive.[4] Education attainment

which is boasted as a way to lift oneself from the bowels of despair and socio-

economic hardship, has not been as productive to the Indigenous Peoples of the US

as to the Euro American population. Perhaps the rejection of colonial higher

education for Indigenous Peoples were the socialising goals of institutions such as

William and Mary University and Harvard University who used Christianity to turn

what they deemed savages into civilians. In actually these institutions overlooked

the cultures and religions of Indigenous Peoples who had empires, crop cultivation,

different languages, and domesticated and mastered European animals in a matter

of decades (Diamond, 2005; Fish and Syed, 2018, p. 387). Further still, in 1932 less

than 400 Indigenous people were enrolled in college in the United States and by the

mid-nineteen sixties only one percent of the Indigenous population was enrolled

(Fish and Syed, 2018). Today 'Native Americans are currently the most

underrepresented population in higher education, constituting 0.9% of

undergraduates and 0.5% of graduate students….Native Americans also have the

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[4] For information into the accounts of Indigenous/Aboriginal peoples who were harmed by the policies of state and federal governments in Australia and Canada, refer to the first footnote in Julie Cassidy's 2006 article, "The Stolen Generations – Canada and Australia: The Legacy of Assimilation". Early reports on the effects of US Indigenous peoples' boarding schools can be found in the 1928 Lewis Meriam work, "The Problem of Indian Administration" and the 1969 Ted Kennedy report, "Indian Education: A National Tragedy".

lowest college enrolment rates among 18-to-24-year-olds and the lowest graduation rates with 13% of Native Americans who are 25 years of age and older having completed a bachelor's degree or higher' (Fish and Syed, 2018). These statistics are not present in the Gregg article as well as how many of the tribes are struggling today with extinction of culture, language, land, and bodies as effects of this assimilation system. Physical abuse, internalised racism, suicide, language loss, income disparities, and even sexual abuse are some of the long-term effects of heavy assimilation practices.

Currently in US society, companies employed and chaired by mostly whites, are *still* engaged in acts of exploitation of the Indigenous Peoples and their land. Although there appears to be a global push for green technology, gas pipeline and drilling companies are expanding, especially as certain state governments in the US continue to endorse provisions to allow fracking. The Standing Rock Nation, located inside of the state of North Dakota, is in an ongoing fight against the Dakota Access Pipeline (Indigenous Environmental Network). The Standing Rock peoples are trying to halt the building of a gas pipeline from Canada through their protected territory. The pinnacle of the protest took place in 2016, tagged as #NoDAPL, and continues today as the current president of the United States, Donald Trump, issued executive order to have the pipeline continue after the protest stopped progress on the pipeline in 2016. As of 2018, the governments of Canada and Australia have apologised for their participation in forced child removals and the documented

elongated effects on the Indigenous and Aboriginal peoples, the United States has

yet to do so and as a matter of fact are currently reneging on past treaties. The

apologies are nice but the long-term effects of child separation and assimilation

through education is something all governments have yet to remedy.

Despite centuries of European/US colonisation of the Indigenous Peoples

and lands in the US, there are many tribes that remain. Twelve regions across the

United States are designated as Indigenous nations residing inside of the United

States but with its own set of laws. Each of the twelve regions have a number of

federally recognised tribes within them: the Eastern Region has thirty-five; Eastern

Oklahoma Region has twenty; Southern Plains Region has twenty-four; Southwest

Region has twenty-five; Navajo Region has one; Western Region has forty-two;

Pacific Region has one hundred and four; Alaska Region has two hundred and

twenty-seven; Northwest Region has forty-five; Rocky Mountain Region has eight;

Great Plains Region has sixteen; and the Midwest Region has thirty (*Indian Affairs |

Tribal Leaders Directory Map*, 2018). Unfortunately, the Standing Rock nation is not

the only one fighting to protect their lands as gas pipeline placements and the

selling of previous "protected" lands (Trump, 2017) are devastating issues in today's

decrease of Indigenous lands. The positive, however, is that social media has

increased awareness and support of the plight of indigenous populations. The US

2016 presidential candidate Jill Stein, actor Mark Ruffalo, but most importantly,

Indigenous peoples the world over who understood all too well the predicament of

the Standing Rock Nation, marched, donated, and spoke out against the continued

shrinkage of native lands, the unintended consequence of mostly white-

represented corporations.

As of 2018 there are scores of Indigenous Peoples running for local, state,

and federal offices all across the United States (Trahant, 2018b). The primary

elections for nearly every state in the US occur in November 2018. For the first time

in the history of the United States over 100 Indigenous People are running for

elected office. Twelve candidates for US House and one candidate for US Senate are

vying for seats. Seven Indigenous candidates for state-wide offices such as Attorney

General and Governor are in the race. Eighty-three Indigenous candidates for state

legislatures are on the ballots, and out of all the candidates, in parallel with the

#MeToo era, forty-five Indigenous women are competing for seats in all branches of

government (Trahant, 2018a). It appears that a new narrative is coming forth

where Indigenous Peoples' histories and current existence is penetrating academic

classrooms, scholastic research, and people's consciousness; uprooting the old

adage that 'Christopher Columbus discovered America' to make room for the

Indigenous Peoples Day that is celebrated by four states, fifty-three cities, and three

universities (Calfas, 2017). These small battles have sparked an increase of US

citizens assisting Indigenous populations with the preservation of the land and

languages— respecting their lives rather than co-opting their culture.

The Indigenous People of the North and South America were among the first group of people in the world to bear the brunt of European settler colonialism. Not only did the European germs nearly desecrate the natives of the continents, but the ripping of children from their parents, placement in boarding schools, and outright slaughter of tribe people have subjected them to some of the harshest lived experiences on this earth. Fortunately, the Indigenous population is surviving; other populations who were victims of European colonisation are still rebuilding but are faring (McQuade, 2017). Due to their survival and refusal to be silenced, the world and its history books are finally receiving a more accurate picture of what the colonisation of the Americas really meant, and what Indigenous Peoples actually had to do to ensure their own survival.

The Indigenous Peoples did have one aspect of relief. Their subjugation would be a practice run for the next set of people coming to the Americas who were to be massively oppressed, the Africans. Whilst the Indigenous Peoples lived in harsh times, the toil of the enslaved African in the Americas would soon question just how much more of a savage the European would become to humans they considered 'uncivilised'.

2.3 Africans in the US

During the colonisation period in the Americas the Indigenous tribes, whilst susceptible to European diseases, were also combative which made it hard for the Europeans to exploit their knowledge of the land and their labour. Tribes fought

back as much as possible, but the diseases of the Europeans wiped out many

Indigenous folks even before Europeans came in constant physical contact with

them. The lack of labour was an immediate issue for the nations that came upon the

Americas, specifically the Dutch, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Danish, and British.

Europeans and Africans, by the time of colonisation, already had trade relationships.

Even still, Africans were not used or seen as slaves, collectively, as many were

servants and confidants of Europeans who travelled with them an even fought

Indigenous populations on the Europeans' behalf. When the Portuguese arrived in

the territory known as Benin, they witnessed sophisticated governments and power.

During the fifteenth century the authority of the Benin kingdoms expanded an

area approximately double the size of England and Wales (Atmore and Stacey, 1979,

chap. The Kingdoms of the South). A shift in the Europeans' visualisation and use of

the Africans, especially the numerous clans in the western region of the continent

coincided with the 'explorations' abroad and the Commercial Revolution taking

shape within Europe. The expeditions to see new places were sometimes financed

by the government, however, more and more the formal feudal lords were ready to

see what the new lands offered regarding trade and settlement. This meant that

money was needed, not only for gentry to finance voyages, ship building, and the

trading of goods, but also the crowns of Europe. Banking houses, such as the City of

London, became the mechanism of a 'gentlemen' type of capitalism that actually

preceded the Industrial Revolution's more tycoon-like capitalism (Cain and Hopkins,

1986) starting in the seventeenth century. 'The great businesses of the City [of London]-private and merchant banking, insurance, broking and acceptance, the activities of the Stock Exchange-generated fortunes which were much greater than those acquired in industry before the twentieth century'(Cain and Hopkins, 1986). These fortunes were not primarily driven upon rentiers on the continent, nor the few minerals, such as coal that were extracted from the bowels of the British Isles or Europe, but it was the commerce of human bodies, in other words the Atlantic Slave Trade, that drove the Commercial Revolution. Recognising the ability to cultivate the Americas, European nations turned to the peoples of Africa, many who were already thoroughly skilled in agriculture we used, to till the soil, sow crops, plantation maintenance, and harvest various vegetation for global markets—even before cotton. Within Africa itself, there was already domestication of rice, yams, palm oil, kola nut, and coffee. The continent of Africa housed the birth of the world—the only continent resting in both hemispheres. Its vast geography was matched by the numerous cultures within, not to mention the thousands of languages spoken before the intrusion of the Germanic and Latin languages. Kingdoms of Mali, Songhai, Egypt, and Ghana influenced peoples from the sub-Saharan Africa to pupils of Medieval Europe. Nevertheless, neither the god of Islam, the religion of many in northern Africa, nor the ancestral goddess/gods that are revered in most of Africa, could prepare them for the degradation they were about to face in the wake of European colonisation. The removal of the feudal system in

the European countries and the potential of underlings to own their own land in North America created a need for peoples knowledgeable of farming and grazing, yet able to ward off European diseases in the midst of unrelenting hard labour.

2.4 The Middle Passage

The Portuguese were the first to exploit the work ethic of African peoples *en masse* by way of the Middle Passage to cultivate sugarcane in current day South America. The Portuguese apparently were renowned for their ability to capture Africans as Kossula, a former slave recalls his chief telling a young person who was causing a disturbance, 'Where is dat Portugee man…I swap you for tobacco (Hurston, 2018, p. 23)! And from there emerged the 'raping' of the entire continent! Everything from people to precious metals were pulled from the massive continent to feed the boom in international commerce and mass production. Not many stories exist from the victims of the slave trade. However, one of the most famous is 'The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, The African (1789)', however a very recent, and soon to be infamous work by Zora Neal Hurston called, 'Barracoon: The Story of The Last Slave (2018)' has come forth to provide more insight to those terrible times. The story of the Middle Passage is well distributed, and as some the descendants of those captured are the focal point of this research, below is a brief description of a slaves' experience to inform the reader of something they would probably have called the monumental plundering:

Soon we git in de ship dey make us lay down in de dark. We stay dere thirteen days. Dey doan give us much to eat. Me so thirst! Dey give us a little bit of water twice a day. Oh Lor', Lor', we so thirst! De water taste sour…We lookee and lookee and lookee and lookee and we doan see nothin' but water. 48here we come from we doan know. Where we goin, we doan know…De boat we on called de Clotilde. Cudjo suffer so in dat ship. Oh Lor'! I so skeered on de sea! (Hurston, 2018).

The experience of Kossula or Cudjo (his American name) can almost be replicated a million times over as an estimated 10 million Africans landed in the Americas. The climate and soil of the Caribbean and American destinations were conducive for sugarcane, but various other vegetables and fruits not known back across the Atlantic Ocean. However, one of the most important crops, although it wasn't for digestion, came to be tobacco.

The increase in commerce, expanded the presence of both gentleman and industrial capitalism. The catalyst for capitalism is consumerism and beginning in the fifteenth century, spices were the dominant products of capitalism and by the eighteenth century, it became textiles (Riello, 2010). And as the Europeans seemed to poised to join the 'world's stage', the various tribes and kingdoms of mostly West Africa would be removed from their land, whipped, raped, beaten, and killed all in the name of European capitalism with cotton, sugar, rice, various fruits, vegetables, and minerals that could not cultivated in Europe and quicker routes than travelling to Asia, as the hot commodities.

Different countries had different ways of managing their colonies, although they were all brutal. However, it was the British who set the tone for the slave trade

as they not only possessed more colonies, but developed a systematic mechanism for capturing slaves, bringing them to the markets in Britain, Caribbean, and Americas, then the dreaded sorting and purchasing of them to various parties, mostly white men.

As commerce reaped huge benefits for capitalists, governments, and large plantation owners, it the enslaved Africans of North America were needed in greater numbers to meet the world's demand for various productions and the growing territory, mostly stolen from Indigenous populations. In the Caribbean the Dutch, French, and Spanish were not concerned mostly with the removal of native languages, even some practices, as long as they kept working. This was gruesome as the geographic positioning of the islands allowed for long hours of work. Slave ships always had buyers in the Caribbean because the lifespan of the enslaved was so short due to labour.

The British colonies in North America managed their enslaved population differently to avoid mutinies, rebellions, and death which often occurred in the Caribbean. To minimise the risk of a raid against the whites, governments, both local, territorial, and state-wide (as some places were not officially 'states') created laws which made reading and writing illegal for the enslaved populous. Furthermore, the inability to marry, the force separation of families, and forced breeding were used as processes to break the human spirit. The forced retardation

by whites against the enslaved Africans, and the Indigenous tribes too, has had long-term, generational effects.

2.5 Literacy and Criminality

As early as the seventeenth century, laws were put into place by the colonies of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Maryland, to restrict or completely prohibit the literacy of the enslaved Africans. These Slave Codes were generally brought on by fear from stories of Blacks rebelling the Caribbean. What prompted the fear into legislation, however, were the number of Africans being imported into the colonies. 'In 1625 there were only 23 in the colony [Virginia]….With the chartering of the Royal African Company in 1672 the shipment of slaves into the colony was accelerated….By the end of the century they were being brought in at the rate of more than 1,000 per year'(Franklin and Moss Jr., 1988). The pattern of every increasing African people into the colonies were being reflected in other states, even Georgia, a state that came into being under a charter that it would not be a slave-state.

The Slave Codes grew more extensive as time moved on. Early statues punished enslaved Africans for stealing food, for walking around without proper papers, or for running away. As rebellions such as the 1720 rebellion near Charleston, South Carolina where plotting slaves were burned alive or the infamous

Stono Rebellion (1739) where the enslaved Africans killed over thirty whites over a period of several days.

After the Stono rebellion of 1739 in called South Carolina, colonists started restricting literacy for the slaves, but it was after Nat Turner's rebellion (1831) in Southampton County, Virginia, where approximately sixty white people were killed, that the newly formed states reinforced the issue of slaves not being allowed to read and write, and prohibited whites to teach them via state legislation (Tang, 1997). For instance, in the state of Virginia, the punishment for a Black person being instructed in reading and writing, including the instructor also, was to be 'fined, whipped, and imprisoned, depending on the color of the offender' (Tang, 1997). However, Blacks persisted to obtain an education. Just as Frederick Douglass conned poor white boys through games to increase his literacy, Blacks and a few white, broke the law and demanded some sort of an education.

King Charles II of England preferred educated colonial representatives and natives, thus he prompted Anglican missionaries to provide education to the Africans, both in the Caribbean and in the Americas. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), documented evidence of their efforts to Christianise and disrupt potential insurrection amongst the enslaved masses. In such effort led to the establishment of a school in Charlestown (now Charleston), South Carolina; the missionary teachers led the young Black pupils. A sister school existed in Barbados and promoted the same mission.

Although the SPG members supported the directives of King Charles and worked to fulfil their religious mission, they found no clash of ideologies with the ownership of slaves. Still, the missionaries sought male Africans, with aptitudes for scripture learning, to use as teachers to the younger students.

The SPG members were quite successful in educating the natives for years. However, the financial interests of the colonial representatives and slavers took priority over education. The frequent and swift transport of enslaved inhabitants disallowed the time necessary for school.

Therefore, by the nineteenth century there were millions of enslaved Africans in the United States and most of them illiterate. Even some states made is against the law from freed people and whites to even read to the enslaved populace. Whilst there were always law breakers, and cunning ways to learn such as the way Frederick Douglass pick up practice, majority of the Africans had no tongue; their mother tongue disappearing, and their slave tongue singed. The fight to read, the fight to write, was deeply intertwined with the fight for freedom. The clandestine schoolhouses, the meetings after Sunday church, the publishing of Odulah Equiano's autobiography, were just as strong acts of defiance as was the raid on Harpers Ferry. Equiano's story, whilst one of the most widely read stories at the time, was not the only one that may have touch upon the enslaved and encourage their dreams of freedom and returning home. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whilst the commerce of slave trading was enriching the lives

of many whites in the southern regions of the United States, the more industrial and

diplomatic population of the northern regions were concerned with a) their freedom

from the British Crown which, b) make them aware of the parallels of their fight and

the enslaved African's fight. Along with a circulation of anti-slavery pamphlets and

speeches from Benjamin Franklin and Quakers, also was the horrific stories by the

main victims. During pre and post US independence were the stories of Abraham of

the Mandingo nation; Ashy of the Fantee tribe of the Gold Coast; Abu Bakr of

Timbuktu and educated in Arabic; Belinda Royall of the Gold Coast who fought for

freedom in the government halls of Massachusetts; James Bradley who doesn't

remember his origin; Ottobah Cugoano of the Fante clan of Agimaque of the coast of

Fantin, Gold Coast.[5] These works were not just a symbol of the desire for freedom

and the will to live, but examples that reading and writing is attainable and may

soon be in reach.

2.6 Civil War and Scholastic Dreams

Less than 100 years after declaring independence against Britain, the United

States was dealing with succession and various problems of its own. 'The black

quest for schooled knowledge flowered brilliantly at the very dawn of freedom. Even

before formal emancipation, and at an accelerated pace after Emancipation, the

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[5] For a summary of their experiences, including a reference to their entire stories, read J. S. Handler's, 'Survivors of the Middle Passage: Life Histories of Enslaved Africans in British America' (2002).

freed people built schools, recruited teachers from among the literate in their own communities, welcomed anyone else willing to teach them, and filled the schools to overflowing.2 Bits and pieces of the struggle for education before the Civil War are just as scattered as the unmarked graves of slaves during that time. The option for a higher education must have felt like being able to walk on water, however the Civil War's end and the dawn of Reconstruction finally gave the freedman, *en masse*, the chance at higher education.

If the decade of the 1860s proved anything, it proved that black learners did not need equal schools or special instruction to thrive educationally. The following years of Reconstruction witnessed Black communities, mostly in the southern United States, delving hard and deep therefore sacrificing time, energy, and what little funds available to ensure some form of education for Black pupils. Yet for all the hard work, many Black children would remain illiterate, just as some relatives of mine had to quit schooling during their primary years to help on the farm. Enrolment increased in the twentieth century but in trickles rather than a steady stream which caused Black students to constantly underperform as compared with white children or the newly free generation of Black children in northern cities. The Black educational experience pre and post-Civil War times established that the new 'Negro' welcomed and appreciated access to the annals of written language and that knowledge appeared to them, and still do today, as an essential key to freedom (Butchart, 2010).

The end of slavery was not an intention by President Lincoln. Still, the Radical Reconstruction scheme for the newly freed Blacks involved investment in the schools and colleges legislated by the federal government leaders. Yet, neither the Northern sympathisers nor the Populist party could thwart the Southern elites' demand for the Blacks (and poor whites) to remain socially controlled (Lomax, 1963, chap. 3).

2.7 Industrialisation and Education

The Industrial Revolution may have started in England, but it went into overdrive in the United States. The increasing population, the confiscation of Indigenous lands and those of Mexico, prompted an influx of trains, homebuilding for settlements, lumber distribution, crop domestication, trading posts, which in turn, led to more commerce. Not to mention the Ford's Model T automobile which allowed the movement of people and things a lot further and a lot faster than the horse and buggy. Included in this great expansion was the need for skill workers, people who could read and write, a population of doctors, lawyers, accountants, and most of all teachers. The US federal and states finally finalised plans for cohesive school systems for children in order to produce a more socialised population. Mass primary education was a tool to curve vagrancy, lawlessness, and many of the ills of society ills that plagued urban areas. For the Black population, the same goals were

imbued just with fewer teachers, school buildings, books, yet, more administrative scrutiny.

Most states, towards the end of the nineteenth century, had legislation in place to have some sort of public education system in place for the young generations. Many northern states already had schools, even integrated primary schools, because of its history of anti-slavery laws, and the capability of freed Blacks to obtain jobs that made whites feel as if they were not so much a burden on society. In W.E.B. Dubois' 'The Soul of Black Folks', he talks about his experience at one of these northern primary schools; coincidentally it is also where he discovers he is not white. These primary schools then prepared the students for high school which was also expanding during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is no miracle that because of the education level of the north eastern US population, that most of the colleges and universities were also housed there.

From the mid-Atlantic region on down to the Deep South, the schooling of children was not as regimented nor was it as widespread. There was still rebuilding from the Civil War and the Reconstruction period appeared to be more of a political exercise than a physical one. What is meant by that is the Federal governmental policies that ended slavery, gave Blacks citizenship, gave Black men the right to vote and hold office—the removal and/or restriction of these gains were the main focus of the white population of the southeast, much more than industry.

Therefore, education was used as a tool to acquire votes, rather than as a promotion of necessity. After all, the southeast was known for its agricultural productions and farming was seen by many, both Black and white, as an honest way of living. Children helping with the farming was often seen as a better way to spend time than in some school. And as it was noted earlier, the opportunity for southern Democrats to regain power was more important than making it easy for children to have access to schools.

The Midwest region and western territories had even less access to schools. The boom and bust economies of oiling, mining, and herding, left many ghosts town dispersed across the area, some that even still exists today. More than schools in those regions, were the importance of railroads, hotels, homes, and saloons. A school would commence once several industries flourished but that could take years, if not decades. The Indigenous populations who used to live in the Midwest had their own education systems but those were long gone and the removal of the surviving Indigenous populations into reservation, after their genocide, typically didn't allow for their children to attend primary schools that did existed near them. A few exceptions can be made as San Francisco, Albuquerque, New Mexico, certain cities in Texas, Oklahoma, St. Louis, Missouri, and Chicago were thriving and adapted the primary school education model. However, it would be years before most counties had more than one primary school as well as colleges and universities.

Despite all the booming that the Industrial Revolution created for United States, the Black population could only benefit from it to a certain degree. Many Blacks moved from the south to the northern states and some even to the west but in all directions, they were resistance. For example, plantation owners and former plantation owners hired ex-confederate soldiers to round up Blacks seeking land and opportunity out west. The gangs would travel as far as Colorado to thwart Blacks from settling down, and even killing many as an example to those who sought to move for the chance at a better life. Those that moved to the northern states were typically able to find jobs in the various factories that sprang up as a part of the Industrial Revolution, yet they were barred from various labour unions, attacked by insecure whites and European immigrants who saw their arrival as a threat to their existence, and at many times barred from employment all together; 'They are not slave indeed, but they are pariahs, debarred form every fellowship save with their own despised race…All hands are extended to thrust them out, all fingers point at their dusky skin, all tongues….have learned to turn the very name of their race into an insult and a reproach'(Franklin and Moss Jr., 1988). Nevertheless, Blacks were able to procure primary education for many of their youth in these areas, typically relying on each other as local, state, and federal governmental resources stagnated in the face of Black youth [Provide examples].

Just as the colonies in the United States fought against 'taxation without representation' in lieu of the various acts (Sugar, Tea, Navigation) that came out of

Britain to affect the colonialists negatively, the Black populations of the Gilded Age,

began filing grievances against governments for not providing them with the same

educational opportunities as the whites as they had to pay taxes too. Blacks

reached out to the community and to freed Blacks that had established reputations

to procure funds from philanthropic whites to assist in this feat. 'Most schools

established for freed-people arose from the efforts of teachers from the North.

These schools were not the first, however. Freed-people had already established a

network of grassroots schools for themselves and their children. Those who had

acquired some degree of literacy in secrecy during enslavement served as teachers,

and those denied an education became their pupils. None were too young or old to

learn. They built, furnished, and maintained these schools, and most paid tuition. In

Mississippi, these self-supporting schools flourished throughout the state and

repeatedly flabbergasted northerners when they discovered them' (Chamberlain,

2007). Churches played a huge role as they had before reconstruction, in providing

school services for children. The idea of Sunday school, a regular part of thousands

of churches across the US today, was started in the nineteenth century to help with

illiteracy. The drive for education pushed Blacks collectively to find ways to educate

themselves. African Americans in that era attended school in greater numbers than

ever before. From 1870-1885, their attendance rates were equal to, if not greater

than, whites. And by 1900, the illiteracy rate among African Americans

under the age of 40 was virtually non-existent (Chamberlain, 2007). The push for

public school education encouraged the push for Blacks in higher education.

Noting that there was no stopping the Black population from having some

form of education, governments passed many statues to reduce to influx of literate

Blacks. School books, that were paid for via tax funds, were often outdated. Most

of the time, there were not even enough textbooks for all of the children to have a

book to themselves. Schoolhouses for Blacks were substandard if not downright

hazardous at best—patched roofs, dilapidated flooring, inadequate heating, and

even no indoor bathrooms.

Many whites did not want blacks to become educated, fearing they would

challenge white supremacy and not be content with jobs working in the fields or in

domestic service. In 1837, white vigilantes whipped a free Negro named Alphonso

Sumner nearly to death and exiled him from Nashville [Tennessee] for operating a

school in the back of his barbershop' (Lovett, 2015, p. 4). Black schools therefore

received far less financial support than did white schools. Ramshackle, segregated

schools marked black Virginians with a stigma of inferiority and the status of second-

class citizenship that they would have to endure throughout their lives (Virginia

Museum of History & Culture, 2018).

The reasoning behind the segregated funds from governments, and thus, the

segregated schools was infamous court case, Plessy versus Ferguson. In 1892

Homer Plessey, who was mixed race, boarded a train in Louisiana in the white car.

Although he had more European lineage than African, the law in the state still

classified him as Black. The railroad company was aware that a group of citizens

were going to challenge the segregated rail system and waited for Plessy to take his

place in the, 'whites only' car. Soon after he sat, he was asked to move to the Black

car in which he refused. What ensued was litigation which expanded from local

governance all the way up to the US Supreme Court. On 18 May 1896 the Supreme

Court decided in favour of the 'Separate but Equal' doctrine concerning public

facilities, benefiting Louisiana state and similar policies in other states. This detailed

explanation of this policy was necessary as it continues to have a massive impact on

public school education in the United States to this day. Even after Brown versus

Board of education, which will be elaborated on in a later chapter, public schools

remain in *de facto* segregation including public universities and other public

facilities. In a report by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Schools, located in the

capital city of North Carolina, they reported, in the years 2016-2017, 'For all grade

spans, low-poverty schools were composed of mostly white students,' (District,

2018). Perhaps not surprisingly, Plessy versus Ferguson has never been officially

overruled. According to Dubois, this lag that always seem to drag the Black

community behind, is not accidental, nor is it likely to go away. '…The second class

of Negro problems, and they rest, as has been said, on the widespread conviction

among Americans that no persons of Negro descent should become constituent

members of the social body. This feeling gives rise to economic problems, to

educational problems, and nice questions of social morality; it makes it more

difficult for black men to earn a living or spend their earnings as they will; it gives

them poorer school facilities and restricted contact with cultured classes; and it

becomes, throughout the land, a cause and excuse for discontent, lawlessness,

laziness and injustice' (Du Bois, 1898, p. 8). A larger issue of the lag in progress of

Black students was viewed as a collective problem throughout the US. Within a

decade before the twenty-first century, research was done on secondary institutions

in the US and in Europe. The US secondary education was found lacking due to the

goal of preparing all students for college or university compared to schools in

Europe and the UK. However, Britain's college bound population is approximately

fourteen percent, about twenty-five percent in France, whilst the US figure is around

fifty percent (Trow Martin A. and Nybom, 1991).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter detailed the education system in the United States and how it

was racialised from the colonial period until today. Indigenous peoples across the

US have suffered greatly from the removal of children by the colonial governments

to 'train' Indigenous youth to be European. The supposed benefits of Indigenous

boarding school were to trickle down through the generations creating a peaceful

coexistence between the Indigenous and the European intruders. The coexistence

has yet to exists, partly because of genocide, but mostly because most of the

Indigenous nations were forced onto isolated reservations throughout the US,

separating them from society even further.

The enslaved Africans, like the Indigenous peoples, had their own methods

of learning, cultivating, and living. Also, like the Indigenous peoples, many African

lives were greatly interrupted by the arrival of Europeans. First as traders, the as

missionaries, the governments of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, France, Germany, the

Dutch, and Britain used the idea of the heathen to sponsor trips to the African

continent to convert and then to subjugate a mass amount of people for the newest

territorial holdings in the Caribbean and the Americas. Millions upon millions of

women, men, and children, were stolen from their cities and villages to assist in the

commerce of crop cultivation. Death was the relief of so many, the lash was feared

by even more, and yet the greatest pain of all was the memories of their homeland

which could not be erased.

From the onset, the Middle Passage, which began in the 1600s, was met with

rebellions and abolitionist efforts, but the tide of wealth was too strong for a change

until the mid to late nineteenth century. The British ceased the slave trade in their

colonies in 1807, though practice continued until 1833 Abolition of Slavery Act. The

enslaved Africans and native Blacks of the United States were freed by the

ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. The Amendment states in

section one that 'all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to

the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein

they reside and further states within the same section that the State shall not

deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny

to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protections of the laws' (Drexler,

2018).

Immediately the Black community demanded mass education. Besides

efforts made by churches, freed Blacks, philanthropists, and the new citizens

themselves, it would take a few decades after the Civil War before all young Blacks

were able to have a primary school education and even longer for secondary and

higher education.

Blacks students in all levels of education today face generally the same issues

of the Blacks who lived during the late nineteenth century and during the turn of the

twentieth century. Those issues are segregation, unequal governmental funding,

and *de facto* policies which impede academic progress. The greatest triumph,

however, must be the resiliency to continue to fight for life, liberty, and equality.

Chapter 3—The Historically Black Colleges and Universities

3.1--Introduction

Historically Black Colleges and Universities of the United States are noble

institutions. There are currently one hundred and two accredited colleges and

universities under the HBCU category as of 2018 (National Center for Education

Statistics, 2018). While most campuses are on the eastern region of the United

States, there are several colleges in the Midwest, Upper Midwest, and Puerto Rico.

The geographic location of the HBCUs expands from Texas and Oklahoma to the far

edge of the East Coast, from then north eastern state of Delaware down to the

Florida peninsula. The colleges and universities range in academic offerings, degrees

conferred, and public or private status. Some of the universities are two-year

community colleges conferring the associate degrees and certifications. Most,

however, are traditional four-year institutions which confer undergraduate

qualifications, medical degrees, as well as, offer postgraduate programmes.

The location of these institutions was specifically designated by white

political, business, and social leaders during the Mohonk Conference of 1890. The

majority of HBCUs lie in the south-eastern region of the US due to the location of

millions of Black residents in those areas. However, if the grip of discrimination was

practiced less in the Northern states, it would seem very plausible for most of the

Black colleges and universities to be built there. It also seems logical that

Northerners would have a better practice of accountability to ensure that education

facilities in their region were more equalized as Black people were paying taxes too.

This separation contained the HBCUs to a harsh environment in proximity to an

overtly discriminate politic and in a region that actively favoured race management

over societal development. Nevertheless, the money flowed from the North to the

south and the majority white board members of the HBCUs and the students,

faculty, and local Black citizens often took it upon themselves to build, furnish, and

upkeep their schools.

3.2—HBCU research

When it comes to early research on the higher education system in the

United States, Abraham Flexner (1866-1959) is the start of critical analysis. He

graduated from John Hopkins University with a BA in Classics which, according to

Howard University, includes literature, language, art, philosophy, history based in

the North African, Roman, Greek settings (Howard University, 2008). Flexner

attended universities in England and Germany, without obtaining a degree. He used

his higher education experience in US, Germany, and England higher education to

gain traction as an expert, of sorts, on higher education; authoring works that were

eventually used to prompt change in the higher education system in the United

States (Flexner, 1908, 1930). In regards to HBCUs, Flexner wrote on them in his

report (1910) that is a seminal work on the study of medical education in the United

States.

His report included the evaluation of the seven Black medical schools that were open in the United States during the years of his study. Using the medical school John Hopkins University, a predominately white college in Maryland, as the guide to which all other schools should be measured, alongside Flexner's own prejudice against Black medicinal capabilities, most of the Black medical schools received a scathing report (Hunt, 1993, pp. 151–152). Below is an excerpt from the report where Flexner is promoting that Black students should be 'sanitarians':

> The pioneer work in educating the race to know and to practise fundamental hygienic principles must be done largely by the negro doctor and the negro nurse. It is important that they both be sensibly and effectively trained at the level at which their services are now important. The negro is perhaps more easily "taken in" than the white; and as his means of extricating himself from a blunder are limited, it is all the more cruel to abuse his ignorance through any sort of pretense. A well-taught negro sanitarian will be immensely useful; an essentially untrained negro wearing an M.D. degree is dangerous'(Flexner, 1910).

His report is categorised by states that had schools specialising in educating students in medicine. Although many white medical college reports were searing, protentional white medical students had a plethora of options for their education, with some states having more than one school; whilst the Blacks had seven to available to them—three located in the state of Tennessee alone. Thus, already bogged down with institutional racism, underdeveloped public schools, de facto discriminatory laws, and crippling economic hardship, a Black student who wanted to obtain a medical degree living in anywhere other than Washington, D.C.; New Orleans, LA;

Raleigh, NC; the state of Tennessee; and Louisville, KY, had a very, very, hard row to

hoe.

Within the same decade as the Flexner Report, another report that was

commissioned by the US government was produced specifically about the higher

education of the Black population. In 1917 the published findings of the Graduate

School and Harvard University entitled, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and*

Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States.

In this expansive study of over two years, Harvard students were given the

tasks of going to visit public and private Black schools several times throughout

twenty-four months. There were eight categories which were examined over 791

institutions[7]:

1. Characterization of the school.
2. Ownership and control.
3. Attendance.
4. Teachers and workers.
5. Organization.
6. Financial.
7. Plant [Grounds].
8. Recommendations.

It is quite apparent that this study was a massive undertaking and well-funded as the

data collected was not on the schools alone but also included the statistics of the

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[7] In the Outline section (p. 5-6) of the study, there is a detailed definition of the eight categories
mentioned and the concepts used in order to collect data.

cities in which the schools were set, population statistics via race, and county

statistics with attention on teachers' salaries.

The multiple visits by researchers and data collected portrays notable and

regimented practices which have led to what appears to be a very sound overview

of Black education in the early twentieth century. The information available about

the schools, including the colleges and universities is detailed, yet there is a critical

component missing from the overall report—the documentation of massive

discrimination against Blacks. According to the report Mobile, the capital of

Alabama, had a population of approximately 50,000 people; nearly fifty percent

Black and white (1917, pp. 72–3). The public schools numbered ten for the whites

and four for the Blacks. Although Black families paid taxes just as the whites and

comprised half the population, the report does not explain the disparities in their

statistics. John Hope Franklin wrote (1961, p. 108) 'It is difficult to exaggerate the

eagerness of Negroes at the close of the war to secure an education. The several

Negro conventions held in 1865 drew up resolutions requesting the states to

provide educational facilities for Negroes. Most of the states turned a deaf ear.' But

according to the summary of the report, 'one important divergency in the

appropriations for white and colored schools' is the taxable property of southern

states as compared to the US as a whole; again, not discrimination (Interior, 1917).

Despite their lack of critique of discriminatory practices against Blacks in

general and against the education of Blacks in particular, the report is unique in that

a report focusing solely on Black educations of the magnitude has not produced in 100 years. In 1910 the universities of Tuskegee and Howard were of high regard according to the report as well as Meharry Medical College. Many other institutions have lived on, still graduating nearly thirty-two percent of all Black college students from bachelors to doctorates in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). What is troublesome however is that an entire century has passed with a plethora of scholarship on higher education in the United States nevertheless, little attention paid has been paid to such integral set of institutions—how much knowledge has been ignored? And whose knowledge has been the narrative?

Although these institutions have existed since before Civil War and most of them before the year 1900, more Americans are probably aware the company UPS (started in 1907) than they are the HBCUs. The reason for their hidden existence is most likely an estuary of different reasons but not because its alumni are shy. Being an alumnus of one of these institutions and knowing countless others, most boast their HBCU alma maters over any other degree-granting institution they graduated from; no matter the degree obtained! This goes for many of the participants, in this research also. As these colleges are part of a much larger critique of America's underdevelopment, much attention will be given to them in this section; their births, location, growing pains; mishaps, benefits, numeric decline, and perseverance.

3.3 What are HBCUs?

I went to A&T because Gee's sister had a yearbook…as a little girl the book was amazing! Jesse Jackson, Sit-ins, Civil Rights, Air Force, Willie Grimes…it was exciting.   ~Maxine R. Jackson, North Carolina A&T State University, 1981

There are a group of institutions located mostly in the eastern half of the United States that were created for the sole purpose of Black higher education. Most of these colleges and universities are not known outside of the eastern half of the US, let alone internationally, although most of them have been around for over one-hundred years--approximately the same time as companies like Wells-Fargo or the United Parcel Service (UPS). This is not to say that their impact is not known as many of the graduates of these colleges and universities are global figures such as, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Oprah Winfrey, President Kwame Nkrumah, Thurgood Marshall, Toni Morrison, Reverend Jessie Jackson, Alice Walker and very many others.

The Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)of the United States are higher education institutions that opened their doors before the 1960s for the purposes of having a place where African Americans could receive, as a group, higher education. The institutions are as far north as the state of Delaware and far south as the Virgin Islands. From the east they extend from the coast of North Carolina to the plains of Oklahoma and Texas. There are currently 101 accredited HBCUs, with ninety-nine housed inside of the continental US and two located on the

Virgin Islands (Statistics, 2019). The map in Appendix A provides an illustration of where

the institutions are housed in the US.

One of the most in depth examinations of the HBCUs was finally presented in a

book by Julian B. Roebuck and Kaomanduri S.Murty (Roebuck and Murty, 1993) in

which the set out to explain the HBCUs. At the time of their publication there were

109 HBCUs and the authors attempted to explain why the HBCUs existed within US

higher education as the US does not have any shortage of available higher

educational institutions. However, they noted that HBCUs '…were founded and

developed in an environment unlike that surrounding other colleges'(1993, p. 3) and

by that statement they were referencing the system of legalised segregation based

on race. Racial segregation prompted the construction of the HBCUs and the

continuance of discrimination during the early twentieth century saw their

expansion. But, as Roebuck and Murty also addressed, there is always a question as

to if the HBCUs should continue to exist, especially with the middle-class boom of

the nineties underway. By introducing some of the HBCUs to their readers their

seminal work started a discourse about the HBCUs, not as an asterisk at the end of

the label 'US Colleges and Universities' but as an integral part of American higher

education.

Today, the United States has been referenced as a post-racial society (Fan,

2011; Bonilla-Silva, 2015), especially after the election of President Barack Obama

and there is a belief still, that the HBCUs should merge with nearby PWIs or close

their doors especially because many are struggling to survive. Even amongst the continued struggles, many HBCUs in recent years have experienced record-breaking enrolment, Kentucky State University, Alcorn State University, Elizabeth City State University and others (Carter, 2017).

Continuing on the work of Roebuck and Murty, whose text include a brief profile of several HBCUs, Brooks and Starks (2011), focussed on the HBCUs and their historical importance by creating a reference guide. The book lists HBCUs, even ones that have closed. Whilst the text does not supply statistics of student enrolments and faculty make-up, it is the first compilation of HBCUs that provides an accurate context of just how divided society was during the genesis of these colleges and universities.

Going a step further in HBCU scholarship, Bobby Lovett's (2015) research is one of the most critical analysis of HBCUs overall. Specifically examining the years between 1837, when the first HBCU opened until 2009, the text is detailed in the rise of the HBCUs, the decline and closure of several HBCUs, contemporary issues plaguing certain institutions, and disparities that are still wreaking havoc. Startling figures in his work include the four HBCUs that now actually enrol majority white students, Bluefield State College, West Virginia State University, Kentucky State University, and Lincoln University of Missouri. Furthermore, 27.8 percent of white faculty that are employed at HBCUs versus the six percent of average of Black professors at PWIs (Lovett, 2015). What Lovett's text brings to light, over previous HBCU research, are the conditions, in detail, that led to the closure of several HBCUs. Noting that accreditation laws have changed so that government funding for the school and students are intertwined the accreditation:

'Between 1994 and 2009, 224 American colleges and universities closed their doors, and among them were several HBCUs. The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), the accrediting agency for most HBCUs, wanted to see three consistent years of financial solvency. Since the 1965 Higher Education Act, accrediting agencies had acted as gatekeepers for issuance of federal higher-education funds. The loss of accreditation denied federal funds to the institutions and its students....Eight private HBCUs lost accreditation...By 2002-2004, the new list of HBCUs that lost accreditation included Knoxville College Barber-Scotia College, and Morris Brown College'(Lovett, 2015).

As of 2019, Bennett College is in the middle of a legal accreditation battle with SACSCOS, which has temporarily reversed Bennett's loss of accreditation in February. St. Paul's College, located in Virginia, lost is accreditation and cease its operation on 30th June, 2013 after 125 years (Hawkins, 2013).

The purpose of this chapter is to expand on the works mention above providing current information on the facts and truths surrounding the existence of the HBCUs but to also illustrate their importance to US higher education. Previous works that argue for or against the continued existence for HBCUs often examine the migration of Black students into PWIs and the financial issues of the HBCUs, no matter the causes. This research will take into account the continued racialised culture of the United States and how that culture informs the mechanics for the APH. In other words, until the United States is no longer a racialised society, as it has been since colonisation, then the HBCUs are necessary, both as a respite for Black

students and faculty yet also a tool used by the PWIs to increase their place within the APH.

3.4 Early Attempts of Black students in PWIs

3.4.1 Oberlin College

Oberlin College opened in Ohio in 1833. The state of Ohio became part of the union that made up the United States in 1803. A man named John Frederick Oberlin, from France, soon carved out a city that would house Oberlin College. Unlike a lot of institutions of learning during the early nineteenth century, Oberlin was coeducational. Furthermore, being supported by abolitionist thought, the college started enrolling Black students in 1835—Rev. John Keep, a trustee and abolitionist casted the deciding vote (www.oberlin.edu, 2019). 'It is the only college in the United States where females enjoy the privileges of males in acquiring an education, where degrees are conferred on ladies; and this peculiar feature of the instruction has proved highly useful'(Howe, 1854, p. 316).

The first Black woman to receive a degree from Oberlin was Mary Jane Patterson in 1862 (Guy-Sheftall, 1982). Oberlin College was the first college to admit women and African Americans. Two of its Black female alumnus, Mary Church Terrell and Fanny Jackson Coppin, wrote memoirs about their experiences at Oberlin. In both of their autobiographies the women spoke highly of their time at Oberlin:

I had been so long in Oberlin that I had forgotten about my color, but I was sharply reminded of it when, in a storm of rain, a Philadelphia street car conductor forbid my entering a car that did not have on it "for colored people," so I had to wait in the storm until one came in which colored people could ride. This was my first unpleasant experience in Philadelphia. Visiting Oberlin not long after my work began in Philadelphia, President Finney asked me how I was growing in grace; I told him that I was growing as fast as the American people would let me. When told of some of the conditions which were meeting me, he seemed to think it unspeakable (Jackson-Coppin, 1913, p. 14).

Outward manifestation of prejudice against color students would not have been tolerated for one minute by those in authority at that time. Occasionally, a colored girl would complain about something which she considered a "slight," but, as a rule, it was either because she was looking for trouble or because she imagined something disagreeable which was not intended. Later on, however, conditions affecting colored students changed considerably (Terrell, 1940, p. 39).

One of the reasons Black women were allowed to be educated, besides becoming teachers, was the existing moral code. It was believed that Black women were promiscuous and certain white men were wayward, so colleges like Oberlin were used to help "tame" these women. Nevertheless, Oberlin appeared to be ahead of its time—a college of high morals and piousness, waiting for others in the United States to catch up. This is premature—as the racial culture of the US society soon inculcated throughout the halls of Oberlin—the Civil War had a huge impact on the upcoming changes of the institution. Oberlin had students, both Black and white to join the Union Army. The victory of the Northern states seemed to promise fulfilled for many abolitionists, including those affiliated with Oberlin. Yet, the realisation of

free Blacks obtaining jobs, homes, voting rights—the promises the US government

has granted to all citizens was too much for white American, both northerners and

southerners. Less than twenty years after the end of the Civil War, white students

were complaining about dining with Blacks, and integrated arrangement in the

dorms were prohibited by faculty, even as the students protested(Horton, 1985, p.

489). Even Mary Church Terrell's praise of Oberlin was negated by the experience of

her children whom she had sent to Oberlin when she learned of new discriminatory

policies. Writing to the college's president Terrell claimed, 'If Colored students are

to be segregated at Oberlin with such a wonderful record as it once made for itself

even in the dark days of slavery, it seems to me it would be wiser and kinder to

exclude them altogether' (Terrell, 1914, p. 209).

3.4.2 Berea College

Just below the state of Ohio where Oberlin is located, the state of Kentucky,

in 1855, opened Berea College. It was supported by abolitionists, one in which was

an Oberlin professor named E. Henry Fairchild. The college opened its doors

committed to integrated education and remained so until October 1859—the month

of John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry. John Brown, a staunch abolitionist, wanted to

create a new state without slavery and drafted a new constitution. Brown and

others led raided a federal armoury in the hopes to provide abolitionist and slaves

with weapons to start a revolution. The men were terribly outnumbered as not only

the US Marines were called in, but everyday white men gleefully joined the search.

Within days the men were either killed or captured and on 2nd December 1859, he

was hanged—the first man in the US to ever be convicted of treason. The raid

happened in a part of Virginia that is now West Virginia and smack on the

Kentucky/West Virginia border line. 'Negrophobia swept across the South, and pro-

slavery sympathizers drove the school's faculty out of the county'(Lovett, 2015). A

speech by Berea College's founder, John G. Fee had been twisted by pro-slavery

newspapers throughout the area. Fee's speech had a line which stated, 'We want

more John Browns; not in manner of action, but in spirit of consecration; not go with

carnal weapons, but with spiritual men...with Bibles in their hands, and tears in their

eyes...'(Fee, 1891, pp. 146–7). The line was used to the media to create a frenzy

that Fee and Berea College was headquarters of organisations to disrupt slavery.

Before Fee could return from New York, where he delivered the speech, he fled to

Ohio and remained a fugitive, and the college dormant, until the end of the Civil

War. The college reopened after the end of the Civil War and graduated its first

Black student, A. A. Burleigh in 1875 (Day *et al.*, 2013). The backlash of a Union

victory would plague the college's administration and the presence of Blacks

became more and more offensive. White students would sometimes leave in protest

of having a Black students taking their same curriculum; Black students protested to

have the college hire Black faculty, but even with animosity occurring the school's

faculty could take 'pride in requiring Berea's Latin students (half of whom were

Black) to pass the same test required of Harvard students'(Day *et al.*, 2013).

However, Berea could not bear the weight of whiteness and in 1904 the state of

Kentucky passed the 'Day Law' which prohibited Blacks and whites from attending

school together, including colleges. Berea College took on the law in 1908 in the

case Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky but to no avail and by 1909 no

more Black students were allowed to attend the college. The famed Black historian,

Carter G. Woodson, was a victim of the Day Law (Mays, 1981).

3.4.3 Maryville College

Maryville College was formed in Tennessee in 1819 and in that year, the first

Black student, George Erskine, was admitted; he would later answer a call to the

ministry. Tennessee was a demographically divided state as most of the plantations,

and thus enslaved Blacks, were located in the western portion of the state whilst the

east is a mountainous region. Tennessee's western region dominated the state's

politics and it voted to succeed from the United States and Maryville College closed

its doors from 1861-1866. Just like Berea, Maryville reopened still dedicated to

integrated higher education as exclaimed by the Synod of Tennessee, ''that no

person having the requisite moral and literary qualifications for admission to the

privileges of Maryville College shall be excluded by reason of race or color'

(Merriam, 1893, p. 239). The Freedman's Bureau and philanthropists, William Thaw

and John C. Baldwin, helped with funding the college(Lovett, 2015).

As the state of Kentucky sits rights on top of Tennessee, the Day Law of 1908

that segregated Berea College greatly affected Maryville College and they also

segregated. The law strengthened the precedent for all states and new territories to justify school segregation. Maryville College circumvented the law by funding Blacks at Swift Memorial College. Swift Memorial College was an HBCU located in Rogersville, Tennessee. It was founded by Maryville College graduate, William Henderson Franklin who became the college's president. At the behest of the Freedman's Bureau, Franklin named the college in honour of Rev. Elijah Swift who was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania and on the Board of Mission(Wynn, no date) The Board of Mission pulled its support for the college in 1952 and although alumni and other supporters kept the college running as best they could, the college officially closed in 1955.

3.4.4 Franklin College

Franklin College was located in Nashville, Tennessee and opened for the purpose of a Christian education, alongside working with the hands in 1842. Unlike the other colleges mentioned above, Franklin College was cofounded by a women Charlotte Fall—she along with her husband Tolbert Fanning. The college closed in 1862 but not before admitting three Black students including Samuel R. Lowery who went on to be the fifth Black person to pass the bar examine, the first Black person to argue in front of the Supreme Court and cofounded the Tennessee Manual Labor University 1867.

The efforts of the institutions above to education Blacks during a time when that was widely considered as breaking the law is very commendable. The fact that all these schools were made to segregate, either from student protest or governmental legalities, was a symptom of the disease which resided in the host—a country cannot be created out of genocide, inhumanity, savagery, and racial superiority without constantly having a demarcation of that 'superior race'. Nevertheless, attempts to fight off the disease carried on and one such fight was the battle for the existence of HBCUs within the US APH.

3.5 Embedded Racial Practices in Higher Education

Why was there a need for the second Morrill Act? As noted in the first chapter, the Morrill Act of 1890 was the driving force behind the creation of many HBCUs. If the first Morrill Act was to provide government funding for higher education throughout the United States, what stopped it from igniting the creation of HBCUs?

Justin S. Morrill was a member of the Whig party when he became a US Representative for the state of Vermont in 1855.[9] He was considered a moral diplomat and was good friends with Pennsylvania Congressman, Thaddeus Stevens.

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[9] The Whig Party was former political party in the United States which evolved as an opposition to Andrew Jackson and his "Jacksonian" politics of Indian Removal; poor white-male suffrage; territorial expansion; term-limited government; and commodity-backed currency. The Whigs believed in government programs for national transportation and education; central banks; city growth; and minority protections.

Morrill sponsored a bill that would allow states, non-rebellious states, a grant of

land of 30,000 acres per representative and congressperson of the said state to go

towards to building or the betterment of higher education institutions teaching

agriculture, military tactics, and mechanics(37th Congress of the United States of

America, 1862). The bill was sent to both the Senate and House representatives for

ratification before Abraham Lincoln's presidency, however, the southern states

representatives, along with the presidents of Princeton and Harvard, were staunchly

against public funding for colleges. After the southern states seceded from the

United States and created their Confederacy, the northern representatives now had

the ability to pass their agenda with less friction, most concern now stemming from

the newer states of the west. The government representative for the western states

felt that the Morrill Act would diminish the availability of 'Homestead' public lands,

something poor whites were desperately counting on to finally become

landowners—the occupation of this land by the Indigenous Peoples was of no major

concern(Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). Abraham Lincoln signed the Morrill Act in July 1862

and states began work on creating what is now known as 'Land-grant Institutions'.

3.6 Second Morrill Act Necessity

The predominate issue with the first Morrill Act and the African American

population was the segregation policies enacted throughout the US. The passage of

the 1862 Morrill Act did little to help the Black citizens who wanted to obtain higher

education as policy makers did not consider Black education important. Perhaps the lack of their inclusion of Black higher education is because of the high rates of illiteracy the plagued the population or perhaps, in the spirit of US development they believed colleges would fling open their doors to the formerly enslaved—on both accounts, they were wrong. Black people were fierce in the fight to obtain literacy, as DuBois stated, 'The very feeling of inferiority which slavery forced upon them [enslaved Africans] fathered an intense desire to rise out of their condition by means of education…. Of the 488,070 free Negroes in the United States in 1860 32,629 were attending school…'. However, whites, quite massively, closed the halls of higher education to the Black population.

Two Black colleges were designated land-grant institutions under the 1862 Morrill Act; University of the District of Columbia in Washington, D.C. and University of the Virgin Islands. Out of the nearly fifty non-Black, land-grant colleges and universities which opened as a result of the 1862 Morrill Act, this research has found that only eight of those institutions graduated a Black person who had been admitted before the 1890 Morrill Act. Below is a list of the eight institutions and the name of their first Black graduate along with the year the graduated.

1. University of Wisconsin—William Noland Smith (1875)
2. University of Minnesota—Andrew F. Hilyer (1882)
3. University of Vermont—George W. Henderson (1877)

4. University of Delaware—Isaiah G. DeGrasse[10]
5. Massachusetts Institute of Technology—Robert Robinson Taylor (1892)
6. Rutgers University—James Dickson Carr (1829)
7. Cornell University—Charles Chauveau Cook; Jane Eleanor Datcher; and George Washington Fields (1890)
8. Ohio State University—Fred D. Patterson (1892)

Those eight colleges mentioned above, along with the other forty, are public colleges and through the taxes of US citizens these universities should have been available to any and all taxpayers who could afford the tuition. The disparities in funding for higher education during the turn of the twentieth century of the public education system on all levels exploited a fracture in US meritocracy, even before the 'separate but equal' legislation of Plessy v. Ferguson.[11] The second Morrill Act of 1890 was a heavy component in the exacerbation of the fracture, as the bill states:

> '...No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory for the support and maintenance of a college where a distinction of race or color is made in the admission of students, but the establishment and maintenance of such colleges separately for white and colored students shall be held to be a compliance with the provisions of this act if the funds received in such State or Territory be equitably divided as hereinafter set for'(Morrill, 1890).

In other words, although it was supposed to be illegal to deny higher education based on race, the law allowed for the creation of separate institutions to be built based on race. The funding disparity received its stamp of approval and is well documented. For example, when a predominately white university in the state of

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[10] Before becoming a land-grant institution, University of Delaware was called NewArk College and began granting degrees in 1834. In 1836, Isaiah G. DeGrasse was the first Black graduate (www.udel.edu, 2019).
[11] For detailed information of the struggle for Blacks to

Louisiana asked the state legislature for more of the designated land-grant funds,

Louisiana staved off for two years before changing the policy to be based upon the

population of the school rather than equal shares—this policy still rules today

(Seals, 1986, p. 223). Alcorn State University, a HBCU in Mississippi, faced the same

decrease in funding when white farmers pushed for land-grant status to be given to

Mississippi State University. Alcorn was receiving $50,000 but after the opening of

the PWI, they were receiving $11,000 (Seals, 1986).

Two other laws which heavily discriminated against Blacks in higher

education, and their community at large was the 1887 Hatch Act and the 1914

Smith-Lever Act. Both pieces of legislation extended the capabilities of the land-

grant colleges by allowing the universities and colleges provisions to have an

agricultural centre and to establish cooperatives with the community to help them

with their agricultural pursuits. The states were given the rights as how the funds

were to be disbursed which ultimately amounted to Black colleges and universities

receiving little or no funds at all. The creator of the Smith-Lever Act, Senator Smith

of Georgia clearly debated that no Black land-grant institution in his state would get

any funds (Seals, 1986). Carmen Harris (2008) found in her research that the

important backers of the acts were proponents of Black inferiority—a concept that

people of African descent who were 'inferior human beings whose predicament

was three parts their own making and two parts the consequence of misguided

white philanthropy' (Lewis, 1993, p. 276). Legislators used the Black populations of

their states to gain as much funding as they could from the acts. The totality of this

type of discriminatory progressivism has yet to be calculated. But a longitudinal

example can be found when considering that during Reconstruction thousands of

southern farm owners were Black—in 1930s-1950s Mississippi, there were more

Black farm owners than white(Seals, 1986), yet race management through

legislations has led to current figures where only 1.3% of farms in the United States

are produced by African Americans whilst 95% of farms are produced by whites (US

Department of Agriculture, 2017).

One of the most recent legislations regarding the disparities between

funding of higher education and its racial undergirding was the 1992 case *US v*

Fordice. This case which started in the state of Mississippi and worked its way up to

the US Supreme Court, has many HBCUs on edge as the decision gave the state of

Mississippi the power to close what they deemed "redundant" programs at their any

of their public institutions in order to diversity the racial make-up at the public

PWIs. As noted in Boston College's legal journal, '…the closure of historically black

institutions that continue to serve a vital function in the education of Mississippi's

citizen will have the ironic consequence of forcing those citizens who have been hurt

most by the segregated system to pay the price of the remedy'(Fienberg, 1993, p.

850). Mississippi hatched a plan to close one HBCU, Mississippi Valley State

University, and merge another HBCU, Alcorn University, with one of the state's

PWIs. Other states began, and still are, looking at similar proposals for their HBCUs

in an attempt to diversify their PWIs and remove redundant programs. A

contemporary example of another state's disdain in providing funds for HBCUs is

mentioned in Chapter 7 where a professor was informed by a state official that the

university should be happy they are receiving funds at all. Ironically, the HBCUs have never barred other ethnicities from attendance or teaching on its campuses, as such, they have historically equipped their graduates with the skills and proper grounding necessary to live and manoeuvre in the real world as opposed to a 'white' world.

Funding disparities were not the only reason for the second Morrill Act as there was also an issue with Blacks attending white universities. After the Civil War, employed Blacks paid taxes to their local, state and federal governments. The payments of taxes alone should have afforded Black citizens the right to enter public higher education institutions, but it did not. Blacks entering a train car full of whites was a risk of life, let alone a Black student requesting permission to attend the 'sacred' halls a white college. The nearly thirty years between the first and second Morrill Acts saw the end of Black enslavement but also the rise of Jim Crow. There has not been anything written in detail about the pushback Black students received when trying to attending white colleges during the twenty-eight year gap between the Morrill Acts, but the spread of racial segregation in education, travel, burials, textbook possession, marriages, billiards, etc.(2012) in nearly every state in the United States during the late nineteenth century infers that few Blacks had any opportunities at white higher education institutions. Several laws by the US Supreme Court helped to embolden white supremacy but none greater than *The Civil Rights Cases* (US Supreme Court, 1883). In 1883 five cases were brought to the US Supreme Court in which the Justices deemed similar and merged the cases together—four of the cases revolved around Blacks being denied entrance into theatres and hotels, whilst the fifth suit was filed by Mrs. Sallie Robinson who was

denied a seat in the Ladies car of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad because she

was of African descent(Lado, 1995, p. 1125). The US Supreme Court decided that the

Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the 1875 Civil Rights Acts were

unconstitutional and therefore the federal court had no right to interfere with

State's rights of its citizens. This came as a shock to many Blacks and was thought by

some to be hypocritical of the 1857 US Supreme Court *Dred Scott* decision where

the, '…Court had upheld Congressional power to protect and enforce the property

rights of slave-owning citizens, 34 in the Civil Rights Cases, the Court denied

Congress the power to protect the rights of citizenship and referred African

Americans to the states for redress' (Lado, 1995).

3.7 Conclusion

With a nearly all-white government at the local, state, and federal levels,

Black students in pursuit of higher education before the second Morrill Act were

provided few avenues in which to pursue their goals. Justin Morrill was aware of the

gap and, it appears, did the best thing he could to secure higher education for Blacks

whilst appeasing white supremacists and their need for Jim Crow. The second

Morrill Act funded the opening of nineteen HBCUs (Association of Public and Land-

Grant Universities, 2019) all of which have an ongoing commitment to the land-

grant mission and most appear to continue their intended mission of educating Black students who seek higher education.[12] Nevertheless, Jim Crow laws were legally obliterated with the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decisions as well as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which would lead to higher rates of integrated colleges and universities. And yet, as the examples below demonstrate, Black students not only faced hostile white campuses during the Civil Rights period, they still face them today—racialised higher education cannot be separated from the racialised US society.

The *Brown v Board* decision in 1954 may have prompted Black citizens to attend traditionally white colleges that once shut them out and the decision has also led to a decline in Blacks attending HBCUs. Despite the negative effects desegregation had on the HBCUs, they are still integral in the higher education of Black citizens. The second Morrill Act not only did African Americans a service by funding the 1890 HBCU Land-grant colleges but perhaps knowingly, or unknowingly, provided historically white colleges with a class of schools they would feel they were better than—if all else failed, at least they were not an HBCU.

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[12] Two of the nineteen 1890 Land-Grant HBCUs, West Virginia State University and Lincoln University of Missouri, no longer have a majority Black student body (Collins, 2015). This research has also found that the majority of faculty working at West Virginia State University are also white.

Chapter 4—Origin of the Academic Prestige Hierarchy

4.1 Introduction

The colonial world is a world divided into compartments. It is probably unnecessary to recall the existence of native quarters and European quarters, of schools for natives and schools for Europeans…. Yet, if we examine closely this system of compartments, we will at least be able to reveal the lines of force it implies. ~Franz Fanon, 1963

In the sixteenth century Spanish South Americans established higher education institutions. In British America, students were able to earn higher education qualification since the seventeenth century. These early colleges and universities were primarily built with the approval of either the Roman Catholic Church or the Church of England. Many of the first pupils and graduates, were sons of plantation owners, diplomatic heirs of colonial empires, or sons of those involved in commerce (shippers, merchants, bankers). The early colleges of the Americas, the sons and daughters of American and Caribbean commerce, the clergy, and the plantation class, were all the by-product of the colonial Atlantic human slave trade. The existence of higher education institutions and the children that would fill their walls, all owe their multi-generational wealth to the Atlantic human-bondage market of African men, women, and children. Yet, these by-products did not remain incidental as commercial by-products tend to be. Instead these offspring created a web of well-connected businessmen and politicians in the colonies through marriages, partnerships, mergers, and nepotism—a web that happily exists today. Ensuring that no matter one's lack of skill or talent, your place in the web exists from opportunity rather than merit. This strategic web has led to an ongoing cycle in the US of certain families having, and others, not having—a type of caste. The 'web

of privilege' has led to the prominence of educational institutions (Wilder, 2013) and

corporations (Randall, 2020) who thrive because of enslaved Africans; a fact that is

scarcely known by its pupils. Most horrifically, the connection between capitalism

and education has led to mostly white students at these institutions being privileged

with moulding and affecting masses of US citizens generationally without knowing

African Americans, and sometimes, even hating them. Plainly, the hierarchy of

prestige in US higher education is a multi-generational sifter; blocking some,

containing others, all in the supposed name of *Veritas(truth)* [Harvard's motto] …but

the question is whose truth?

The Academic Prestige Hierarchy (APH) is defined within the context of the

United States. Defining the APH is not difficult. It is not difficult as the true meaning

of the word prestige, *illusion*, can be substituted into the phrase making the

definition quite plain. The 'academic illusion hierarchy'--one that has turned

university rankings systems into a global box office events; tuition rates into housing

down payments (if not fully paid homes); and the search for truth into hashtags of

resistance (#WhyIsMyCurriculumWhite, #DecolonisingTheUniversity). The APH is

the belief that attending 'prestigious' institutions will give you a better education

than others, and the knowledge produced and skills gained by its graduates will lead

to a well-develop society. Possessing credentials from one, or more, of these

institutions on a CV, is to indicate that the bearer is the best of the best when

being considered for a position. The schools listed at the top are supposedly noble,

pillars of academia, and espouse knowledge in a way to tackle the problems

plaguing society.

The paradox, which is discussed in the chapter, is that these institutions, and

many of their graduates are not working for the betterment of society. In fact, the

only way for the APH to exist is that these 'prestigious' institutions work for

themselves. Many of the considered top universities are in the business of

diplomacy, which consist of mostly, wealthy whites; all others (women, Blacks,

Indians, Hispanics, Indigenous peoples, etc.) are trickled in (which is quite troubling

considering the increase in persons of colour in the US and contemporary migration

patterns globally). For the US, the connection between wealth, whiteness, and self-

preservation is not a new characteristic of these institutions but germinated in the

racial terrorism in which the country was created. And instead of correcting the

wrongs of their infancies, Harvard, North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and others defend

statues of immoral figures, create 'prestigious' scholarships in honour of racist

imperialist, have nearly a homogenous faculty make-up of Euro-Americans, whilst

espousing legacy and historical greatness—plainly, historical Euro-American

greatness. Nevertheless, potential university students all over the world are pining

for the waitlists of these webbed institutions. The chapter begins by delving into the

creation of the illusion of 'prestigious colleges. Then the text examines the

symbolisation of the hierarchy by examining the college ranking system in the US.

The chapter concludes with the illumination of a portion of the 'web of illusions' through showing how it has contributed to the underdevelopment of the United States.

4.2 US University Early Ranking System

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the ranking system of US college and universities started out a very arbitrary system. The United States, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was still involved in continental colonisation which consisted of the further displacement of Indigenous peoples and their homes. Thousands of Indigenous people were affected by the statehoods of Alaska and Hawaii; Hawaii's Queen Lili'uokalani was forced to give up her kingdom in the late 1890s and today the natives are still struggling to regain their nationhood and lands (Kualapai, 2005). When these lands were taken over, and after populations began to sustain themselves, more schools and then colleges were erected. The growing economy spurred expansion, yet the masses were still poor. Railroad workers, including porters; sharecroppers; ranch hands; factory workers; teachers; and those in construction remained living in mostly unsanitary conditions with hardly any funds to spare; if the worker was Black, their toil was harder for less pay, (if they weren't already working for free as 'prisoners' via vague loitering laws).

Arguably some historical sociologists such as Karl Marx or Max Weber, believe that the growth of any society has within it, hierarchies. These hierarchies, if

studied, will lead one to understand the way in which a particular society develops, even a seriously flawed one. While this may be true, the global imperialists of the United States were the first to intensify racial hierarchies. Racial hierarchies permeated every aspect of US culture so forcefully that in contemporary times any person of visual African descent will be subject to several methods of discrimination, knowingly and unknowingly, worldwide, even in on the continent of Africa as US culture is a global enterprise. This focus on race found its way into the hierarchies of US higher education institutions as noted in chapter three.

The rise of American universities took off in the nineteenth century. The bustling economy and the booming population were huge factors. The college and universities in the United States most fierce competitor were the college s and universities of Europe. Long established for several centuries and producing some of the most prominent scholars of the age, many college-bound pupils form the US turned to Europe for their higher education, especially advanced degrees. Perplexingly, some of the oldest universities in the world, housed within the African continent, where medieval Europeans would study, were not flocked to by the US students.

Many of the institutions of higher education were not the multi-disciplined structures of today but much more specialized. There were finishing schools, mainly for young women. These schools were the pre-cursor to boarding schools in the US. Also known as "charm school" were based of the British models. For women to be productive members of society, certain skills who believed in church-based

seminars, women became teachers to teach young "ladies a 'moral, literary, and domestic education (Madigan, 2009; p.12).

Alongside the finishing schools were the business and secretary schools. One of the first business schools was started by William J. Tucker in 1900. He was the president of Dartmouth College with a keen awareness of the industrial clime and with a hefty donation from his former roommate at Dartmouth, Edward Tuck, opened a business school issuing MBA degrees (Daniel, 1998, p. 15). These schools held allotments for recent high school graduates to matriculate into the growing fields of white-collar careers. As capitalism spread, so did the manufacturing sector. Office clerks, executive assistants, secretaries, data entry clerics, etc. were needed in booming cities. Meanwhile, as new towns and cities gained charters, town clerks, treasurers, and vast other public servants were needed to categorise and record these new spaces. Those people with typing and business etiquette were deemed pertinent to business decorum, and if a candidate could produce a certification or degree in these capabilities, they had a better chance of getting the job.

Unfortunately, many of the specialised schools were typically limited to whites only. This use of race management not only ensured that white had access to these skills, but blocked others out of the white-collar sector. If a Black man in 1890 was to obtain a business certification, where was he able to get a job or better yet, start in on his career? As a matter of fact, the demographic placement for Black males during the nineteenth century worked in mills. Everything from sawmills,

furniture factories, to sharecroppers and train porters were the jobs reserved for the Black male (Jones, 2000).

The silver lining for the Black population was the Black boarding schools. Dotted across the US there were as many as ninety that existed at their pinnacle. Only four currently exists in the US. The eldest of the four is the Laurinburg Institute. The creators of the institute were Emmanuel and Tinny McDuffie. They walked from Alabama to North Carolina and purchased a piece of swamp land (*About Us¦ Laurinburg Institute*) in hopes to make it a school with the insistence of Booker T. Washington. In 1904 the school opened with one room and fifteen cents in the treasury. Since 1954, eighty-three percent of its students have college degrees or post-secondary certificates.

The other early twentieth century Black boarding schools that still exists is called the Piney Woods Country Life School. It is currently the largest historically Black boarding school in the United States built in 1909 in the state of Mississippi and housed in an old sheep shed. Today the school is placed on more the 2,000 acres of land with a student-led agricultural farm and five lakes.

Whilst these four institutions are still in existence to prep young, Black college-bound students, most prep schools were and are majority white and number is the hundreds across the country. Back in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these specialised schools began to be the competitions of the four-year university academies. Many jobs did not require a college degree as the entire US

population was working to pull itself out of a mostly agricultural society which didn't have a prerequisite of literacy. What the rise of specialised schools also did was pump the job market with skilled people typically quicker than colleges and universities. The fast production of graduates from the more specialised schools is likely to have swayed many young people towards their schools as they could begin to acquire a home, an automobile, and other luxuries they would have to push off if they were still in college. Even still, another major driver for young adults to attend the training schools would be familial obligations. It was not out of the norm to have multiple generations living in a single space. Often when a young member of the family began working, they would send funds back home to help with bills and the raising of younger siblings. The job was many times not voluntary but pushed by parents who felt the child was now old enough to help.

The other major competitor, a mentioned, were the college universities in Europe and the UK. Entire schools of thought found their origination or western development in Europe. Voltaire, Thomas Hobbes, Emile Durkheim, and others attained higher education from institutions abroad and their philosophies were, and still are, used as guides in both scientific and sociological research. Families made wealthy through slave trading favouring a continental education sometimes sent their children, typically their sons, to attend European colleges, sometimes even boarding schools. The movement of potential students was a disruption to the now

two or three century-old colleges and universities housed within the US such as Yale and Columbia which were trying to attract elite pupils of their own.

No matter whether students went to a specialised finishing school, US college, or one in Europe, the results meant that higher-skilled people, and a more specialised workforce became part of the US population. The jobs one could obtain with these skills usually paid better salaries than mills, factories, and farming. Twentieth century development was followed by a development in education. However, all educational facilities are not created equal and, in a game, where your commodities are voluntary, i.e. potential students, investments and politics become pertinent to ensuring the existence of some instructions over others and the creation of regulations to minimise or fully obliterate competition. The ranking of higher education institution was started to do just this. Accreditations, facility management, and even race were put into play to create a hierarchy of academic prestige. And while on the surface, regulations of colleges and universities, especially those sponsored by government, would be seen as a good policy, the inner workings of who made up committees, who were part of the seemingly reputable ranking associations, and the racial context of the US during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, bring a much more accurate picture of academic prestige and how the illusion of it became concrete (until now).

'Throughout history, patterns of privilege have been justified by elaborate facades. Dominant classes seeking a stable social order have consistently nurtured and underwritten these ideological facades and, insofar as their power permitted, blocked the emergence of alternatives'(Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Solomon explores the natural hierarchical pattern of centralised organisations including US school systems. 'Because of the abundance of rules, the variety of sources from which the rules originate, the difficulty in changing them, and their inevitable use and abuse, school systems are as subject to bureaucratic malaise as organizations in any other field'(Solomon, 1961).

'The mood has swung from the almost euphoric conception of education as the Great Equalizer to that of education as the Great Sieve that sorts and certifies people for their slots in society'(Husén, 1976).

One hypothesis pertaining to the structure of secondary education which was tested in a series of surveys evaluating national systems of education (the so-called lEA- project), was stated in popular language: more means worse (Husen, 1967). Put less succinctly, will the level of achievement of the elite - say, the top 5-10 per cent of the students - be lower in systems with a higher enrolment ratio than in those with a low enrolment ratio? The comparison between upper-secondary school leavers from some 20 countries, conducted in subjects such as mathematics and science, showed, as one might expect, that the average performance of all students was much lower in countries with an almost universal secondary education than in those where the system was still an academically-oriented one catering to an elite.

Thus, high-school seniors in the United States were far below their agemates in the French lycée, the German gymnasium and the sixth form of the English grammar school'(Husén, 1976).

Prestige hierarchies are not relegated to academic institutions. In research by Darwin Sawyer he examined a possible correlation between career mobility of institutional stratification. Sawyer notes that there have been studies surrounding the merit-based system of institutional goals and has noted that a person's academic origins influence recruitment opportunities more than what they've done. 'In repeated studies...the distribution of recruitment opportunities has been shown to depend on one's academic origins, independent of research productivity and related measures of professional worth'(Sawyer, 1981, p. 85).

Proponents of the APH suggest that stratification is necessary, even though they also criticise college rankings (Schmotter, 1989; Carey, 2008; Myers and Robe, 2009) . This position is based off the belief that academia is meritocratic and competition breeds quality. Meritocracy in academia is not pure! Drawing on the conclusions of Husén and others(B. Clark, 1962 Education the Expert Society), this research has found that the academic prestige hierarchy is inefficient as it does not use the whole gamut of intellect running through the US population, thus, as this research argues, leading to massive underdevelopment as compared to the technologies and geographies available.

'Reputational surveys of American universities conducted in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s revealed an academic pecking order of remarkable stability ... In

the competition for top-twenty rankings, rarely was there a new institutional

face... The American universities most frequently acknowledged as international

leaders--the Ivy League elite schools, and the great state flagships of the Midwest

and the West Coast--were the same institutions found at the top of the reputational

surveys of faculty and graduate education' (Graham and Diamond, 1997). Graham

and Diamond also recognised a correlation between World War II and research.

Many of the 'prestigious' universities received massive research funding dollars for

'defense needs, the baby boom, and unprecedented institutional

expansion'(Graham and Diamond, 1997).

A study by Caplan and McGee in 1958 'argued that personal contacts greatly

influence who a department is likely to interview and recruit and that this informal

referral process gives graduations of more prominent institutions an inside track

into higher status job positions'(Sawyer, 1981).

4.3 The Academic Prestige Hierarchy Effects

The status of faculty members is determined not only by the quality of their

research, but by the prestige of the institutions by which they are employed.

Undergraduate institutional prestige is based on the "quality" of applicants and

[*758] students attracted to the institution. The quality of applicants and students,

in turn, is determined by the prestige

ratings of the students' social backgrounds, the quality of the secondary schools

they attended, and their rankings on certain indicators of intellectual aptitude,

ability, and achievement. For graduate and professional schools as well as for

individual graduate departments, prestige is determined not only by the students'

scores on admissions tests, but also by undergraduate grades and perhaps, most

importantly, the quality (prestige ranking) and selectivity of the undergraduate

degree-granting institution (Epps, 1998).

Burton R. Clark has described the great variation in American education as

follows: Major research universities (especially Ivy League schools and similar

institutions) are at the top of the academic hierarchy, followed by selective liberal

arts colleges, lesser universities, public and private colleges that offer degrees as far

as the master's, non-selective four-year colleges, and community colleges. The most

prestigious institutions have a competitive advantage in the academic marketplace

because they can rely on an "old boys' network" to supply them with candidates for

faculty positions who meet all of the formal and informal selection criteria (having

attended the right schools, worked with the right

scholars, and conducted the right kind of research) (Epps, 1998).

4.4 Abraham Flexner and Andrew Carnegie

The American college is deficient, and unnecessarily deficient, alike in earnestness and in pedagogical intelligence; that in consequence our college students are, and for the most part, emerge, flighty, superficial and immature, lacking, as a class, concentration, seriousness and thoroughness' (Flexner, 1908).

Flexner states that the culture of the United States is a very strong wave and this wave encompasses higher education so much that educational institutions 'cannot tear themselves loose from the general march of culture' (Flexner, 1908). In context, Flexner was speaking of the strong ties the US public has to athleticism and how that has progressed into American football programs as a key feature of colleges and universities. What Flexner fails to observe is how other components of culture is swept onto the campuses of higher ed institutions. Students who attend colleges that serve both whites and non-whites prove troublesome for the non-whites as the culture of the United States was created by the genocide and degradation of non-whites. Blacks, Indigenous Peoples, Hispanics, or a mixture thereof, have always had negative experiences within higher education and as Flexner was a part of the racists culture, he could not see or did not care to see how it affected the shaping of institutional histories, faculty and staff, and the pupils milling about in an inherently racists academic hierarchy.

In a more detailed examination of American universities, Flexner found that a "curve" was given to entering freshman at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale from 1903-1905. What Flexner stated that most pupils were not able to pass the entrance exam in all subjects and therefore must rely on "conditions" to gain entrance in which the school allows. His heaviest critiques of the 'prestigious' colleges lay in their commercialisation and reliance on athletics. Flexner believe that both of these

activities took away from the mission of research and knowledge. Flexner is

emphasizing the incompatibility of a truthfully successful college and ties to the

market. 'It (the college/university) cannot put loyalty, tradition, athletics to the fore

and then, when the clans gather, subject them to stringent tests of scholarly

character'(Flexner, 1908). Supposedly the Carnegie foundation was 'seeking to bring

about in American education some fair conception of unity', is truthfully a biased

statement (Flexner, 1910).

　　　With special thanks owed to the second Morrill Act of 1890, many HBCUs

came into existence via land grants. By 1900 close to 4,000 Black were enrolled in

higher education institutions and by 1935 that number grew to over 29,000 (Allen

and Jewell, 2007, p. 268). The Morrill Act of 1890 did not only ignite states to

provide higher education to their Black population, it also increased anxiety from

whites about having to share federal funds with those colleges and universities. Still

trying to cement their place in higher education globally, the United States and its

institutions were infants compared to countries throughout Europe. Flexner himself

wrote in 1908 that '...The American college is deficient, and unnecessarily deficient,

alike in earnestness and in pedagogical intelligence; that in consequence our college

students are, and for the most part, emerge, flighty, superficial and immature,

lacking, as a class, concentration, seriousness and thoroughness' (Flexner, 1908).　　It

seems quite perchance that within two years Flexner would be hired by the Carnegie

Institute to critique colleges and universities again, but this time, include Black

schools.

However, something else Flexner found peculiar at colleges and universities

in the United States was their endorsements in sports. It was not just the

participation but the importance of athletics to school spirit, admission policies, and

prestige. The college or university cannot label itself as ardently scholastic while

actively more involved with tradition, athletics, and loyalty (Flexner, 1908), however,

many of the early concepts tied to college and university rank are because of the

school's athletic programs. Therefore, early evidence of college and university

prestige was intertwined with athletics, mainly American football. On this subject,

little has been researched. As a matter of fact, college and university rank,

according to this research was quite arbitrary as can be found from the clippings

highlighted in a later chapter. By the mid-twentieth century, academic prestige, as a

concept does find its way into scholarship…with an early focus on the professor.

4.5 Post WWII and Academic Prestige Normalisation

After the tragedies and triumphs of WWII, came the dawn of mass

consumerism in the United States. Homes, cars, appliances, vacations…were

branded as part of the 'American Dream'. Alongside those items came along the

possibility of families to their children off to college, and thus, having enough

savings to do so. Even cartoons such as *The Flintstones* from the 1960s participated

in what seemed to be a new quest inside the 'American Dream'. It was during this era of dreams where the APH really gained steam—benefiting from a rolling economy, the mechanisation of marketing, and more students entering in higher education.

There were several factors that played into the bustling economy of the United States after World War II—global economic expansion, population growth, and an adoption of Keynesian policies. The Marshall Plan went into effect in 1948 to assist countries across Europe with rebuilding their personal economies. This allowed businesses in the US to make a profit as they financed factories to supply war-torn countries with everything from food to cars. The agricultural sector in the US, although in a slow decline after the war, exported at least half the world's crops and the southern region of the US produced half of the world's cotton (Issel, 1985, pp. 3–4). During this time of expansion, the US economy tripled as compared to pre-war times.

Expansion inside the continental US also fed the economy. The US added two new territories (colonised is more truthful)—the states of Hawaii and Alaska. The return of troops from battle spurred a baby boom. The baby boom increased the population greatly, so much so that it was not until 1965 when yearly births finally numbered less than four million. The births were not only coming from US citizens, but immigrants. Germans, Italians, Japanese, Irish, Puerto Ricans, British, and others expanded the population immensely. The increase in jobs in cities

spurred the demographic makeup as in 1945 there was approximately seven million

companies in operation, that number slightly more than doubled by 1977 (Issel,

1985) igniting the rise of internal migration and international conglomerates. As a

matter of fact, the continental migration of Blacks and many Puerto Ricans was so

massive that the 1960s was the first time in US history where more Blacks lived in

areas outside of the South.

Now that the US had a population of consumerists it became an imperative

for the US to be in the habit of running businesses. To assist with the 'business of

America' the federal government took steps in helping businesses thrive. As

government spending increased, whether for roads or military operations, business

owner was called upon to carry out tasks and provide insight into new "projects".

And, as mention earlier in the chapter, when it came to government-sponsored

research, the diploma tics would tap the shoulders of their 'good ole boys'. A major

piece of government-sponsored research which would later effect US fiscal policy

was influenced by Alvin Hansen. Hansen was professor at Harvard who President

Franklin Roosevelt (graduate of Harvard) would choose to sit on various political

committees and

One of the earliest sightings of the 'APH' was in a chapter by Neal Gross in

Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects Volume One (Gross, 1959). In this chapter

Gross advocates for an expansion of scholarship in sociology of education. As he

displayed the grounds for why the discipline is not growing, one of the factors he

stated is related to 'the environment in which sociologists of education usually

work…. Those who devote their major energies to this field usually maintain close

relationships with or are employed by departments or schools of education. And in

most institutions of higher learning, the education faculty ranks at or near the

bottom of the APH'(Gross, 1959). The notion of the APH was based on the faculty of

a particular department. In other words, the notoriety of a college or university may

go unnoticed to the mass public, but one department within an institution, boasting

great thinkers or community-changing research was something magnificent. Gross

shows immense concern for the neglected data that can be obtained by observing

schools and dynamics. Interactions between teachers and students, starting from

primary levels, and the impacts of population growth, desegregation, school boards,

and other factors, if studied, would help create better policies in the long term to

benefit both the student and teachers, perhaps leading to better community

immersion. While Gross focuses on the primary and secondary education, his earlier

mention of the APH shows that he recognised the important faculty analysis in the

examination of schooling systems. If Gross had researched the hierarchy rather than

theorising what educational sociologists overlooked, he may have found practises of

inefficient school policies and scholarship underdevelopment.

Neal Gross was not the only person to use the APH as concept pertinent to

school systems and their function. Benjamin Solomon (1961) presented an article

concerning natural hierarchies in schools. Actually, quoting Gross himself, Solomon

believes that research on school systems should be grounded in teachers'

experiences (Solomon, 1961). Solomon hits on two important themes in academic

prestige, although his research is concerned with primary and secondary schools;

education as an intangible product and the use of faculty experience as a guide to

organisation within an institution. If a so-called Ivy League college or university is

thus labelled, the perspective is that the faculty has autonomy and the institution is

well-organised. However, research on the APH and information from faculty, may

prove to be a more accurate method of analysing higher education institutions.

Solomon hints at this below:

> A crucial characteristic of school systems is the lack of consumer control. The
> absence of such control stems from the intangibility of the product of the
> school system: education or learning. The recipients of the educational
> service, students (or their parents), are not able to properly evaluate the
> educational process. Teachers could do so, but the influence they exert on
> standards may be slight because of their position as subordinate employees
> and the character of their group morale. Intangibility of product thus
> provides the opportunity for administrators to pursue bureaucratic goals at
> the cost of the educational process (Solomon, 1961).

Even in Aurand and Blackburn's (1973) research involving the APH and college and

university music faculty, led to an interesting find. In their quantitative study with

over sixteen hundred music faculty members from colleges and universities across

the United States, they found that when participants were asked to rank in

importance a future job, out of the eighteen categories, the twelfth line of

importance was the 'prestige of the institution'; with 'administration' and 'competency of colleagues' considered more important than academic prestige.

As the phrase 'APH' was examined and debated and as sociologists critique education organizations, the phrase became a concept; something to be studied in educational studies, especially in higher education. The automatic positions of universities and colleges such as Stanford, MIT, and Yale are being examined not as producers of great knowledge, but as receivers of heavy government sponsorship (Geiger, 1990) and it is this questioning of the effectiveness of the "Ivy League" institutions in society that help guide this research. 'The mood has swung from the almost euphoric conception of education as the Great Equalizer to that of education as the Great Sieve that sorts and certifies people for their slots in society' (Husén, 1976, p. 411).

Dwight Lang produced some important research on the subject of academic prestige in his article 'Education, Stratification, and the Academic Hierarchy' (Lang, 1984). His research examined student's academic paths in relation to class, merit, gender, and race in the United States. Based on quantitative data, and focussing on the years 1969 and 1975, Lang sent out questionnaires to almost 360 institutions (Lang, 1984). Admittedly, the research had too low responses from Native Americans, Blacks, and private institutions, yet the results are quite implicative of issues of vulnerable groups in their academic paths. In the end Lang suggested an academic hierarchy based on merit.

Despite increased enrolments and expanded participation of previously underrepresented groups, an image of status inequality does emerge to

partially question meritocratic conditions often assumed to be the only

identifying factors of the academic hierarchy. A strict meritocratic argument

is further weakened when high- achieving working-class students and some

high-achieving women are apparently unable to attend highly ranked

graduate schools (Lang, 1984).

Lang continued his research on the academic hierarchy, in regards to student

placement (Lang, 1987) drawing on researchers who began analysing data about the

intersections of race, gender, class in American student's academic careers. In this

research Lang gathered data from the Carnegie Institute as well as surveys. The

increase in government policies for inclusion, yet the continuous stratification of

social mobility of students led Lang to suggest that the academic hierarchy is a

"status valve" manipulating mobility in society (Lang, 1987).

But what of the education legislation that passed during the mid-twentieth

century in the United States to increase diversity? There was absolutely an increase

in women and non-whites in college and university attendance during the Civil

Rights era. In 1899 there were less than 2,400 Black college graduates in the United

States (Du Bois, 1903) and nearly all of those student attended a Historically Black

College or University, but by 1964 the number of African Americans enrolled in

colleges and universities were approximately 300,000 (2002, chaps 4; Teddle and

Freeman's Desegregtion: Five Eras). In the case of women, across all level of higher

education, there has been a significant increase in representation. According to the

NCES, twenty percent of women aged 25-29 had a least four years of college

compared to twenty-seven percent of men. By 1992, women earned more associates, bachelor's, and master's degrees than men (1995, p. 12).

The US Census Bureau started collecting data on educational attainment in 1940. At that time only five percent of adults held a degree of at least a bachelor. As of 2015, thirty-three percent of the population fit into that category (Ryan and Bauman, 2016, p. 4). Furthermore, the percentage of women with a bachelor's degree is slightly higher than men at 32.7% and men at 32.3%. Asian American earning bachelor degrees are almost fifty-four percent, over doubled that of Black Americans at twenty-two. Meanwhile white Americans possessing a bachelor's degree is thirty-six percent, over double of Hispanic Americans (Ryan and Bauman, 2016). These examples are only a snippet of the strides taken by women and non-whites in the goals of education attainment in the United States. However, major barriers still exist and the academic prestige hierarchy appears to play a more important role than ever. Regarding the 'status valve' mentioned by Lang, Black women professors are available for hire in far greater numbers than in the mid-twentieth century, yet their representation in PWIs are still at the percentage levels of the 1980. The consistent low levels of representation of Black women scholars in 'prestigious' institutions is seemingly not indicative of their merit, but a reflection of the low value historically forced upon Black women in US society.

4.6 Tuition and Inflation

Higher education became a gateway for the professions. More and more jobs in the post WWII era started to require degrees, some vocational, others professional. The US government funded the expansion of the US middle class

citizenry with grants and loans being offered so families could send their children to college. Even higher education institutions themselves grew in number; as 1,851 colleges in 1950 became 3,535 by 1990 (Lazerson, 1998, p. 66). The growth of college choices matched the pace in which school leavers were committed to entering the hallowed halls of higher education. Approximately 2.5 million students were enrolled in college in 1949-1950. Within twenty years, that number would nearly triple and by the last decade of the twentieth century that number would be 13.54 million (Lazerson, 1998).

Unfortunately, like most of sectors in the US which seemingly possessed a never-ending stream of consumers, higher education became commodified. Marvin Lazerson (Lazerson, 1998) did a fantastic analysis of US post WWII higher education. The thirty years following WWII, jobs were increasing, consumers were increasing, and incomes were increasing. As competition for jobs grew, so did the mandate that employees have a college degree or at least some college experience. The 'Red Scare' and student protests during the 1960s had politicians and parents concerned about what students were really learning at these higher education institutions. The students' social disruptions did not stop the dream of obtaining middle class security, nor did the mathematics, at that time, which illustrated that earning a degree would lead to more income…now it is quite the opposite.

The plateau and eventual decline of the middle class came because of higher education's rising costs versus income and opportunity (adjusted for inflation) (Leicht and Fitzgerald, 2014). Very much like the automotive industry who knew most US citizens had no choice but to rely on a vehicle for local mobility, colleges and universities knew that citizens

needed a degree for social mobility. Therefore, tuitions increase steadily which, up

until the 1970s, was still under the national GDP. The shift in affordability occurred

when CEOs shipped their manufacturing jobs overseas, small business crumbled

under conglomerates, and oil became a matter of foreign diplomacy—international

affairs caused a shortage of supply. The rising costs of tuition was more than

families could afford; fees were exceeding inflation rates by two percent or more,

and high unemployment affected everyone, including those who held degrees. 'In

1971, male college graduates aged 25 to 34 earned 22 percent more, on average,

than male high school graduates of the same age. In 1979, the earnings differential

had shrunk to 13 percent. For women aged 25 to 34, the changes were similar, with

the earnings premium associated with college education declining from 41 percent

in 1971 to 23 percent in 1979' (Lazerson, 1998).

Even with the decline in enrolments, the tuitions still increased as

manoeuvres were used by colleges and economists to help the public see that there

was a continued benefit in obtaining a college degree. The high school educated

worker was nearly shutout of the job market by the end of the 1980s. To increase

their prospects of more income, non-traditional students aged twenty-two or more

began going to college, part-time. From the late 1970s to the late 1980s the

percentage of students over twenty-five years old almost doubled. From the

economist's point of view, the logic of degree attainment shifted from the

guarantee of upward mobility, to the ability to possess more options towards the

chance of upward mobility, something the high school diploma could no longer offer for the masses. This same defensive view of higher education is still what feeds the industry today. The twenty-first century has not seen much change in the steadily growing gap between college tuition costs and income. As a matter of fact, the average college graduate has more of guarantee that they will have debt rather than a job in their field! Chenge and You (2016) concluded in their study of tuition rates during the first decade of the twenty-first century, found that overall tuition rates increased. The 2003 Iraqi War and the 2008 Financial Crisis caused a sharp increase tuition for both public and private universities across the US as it was suggested that those issues caused monies to be diverted away from higher education to more pressing concerns (Chenge and You, 2016).

The rising costs of higher education weighed heavily on families but also in colleges and universities. Those institutions with incredible endowments, extensive government/corporate collaborations, and students whose parents could afford to pay for college had less fear of closing their doors than those who have mostly low-income students, few government grants, and have historically been scrutinized by governments rather than uplifted. This is not to say that incidents of mismanagement and irresponsibility does not occur in colleges and universities that seek to elevate the working-poor of society. It is a fact, however, that misconduct of these types of schools are more widely voiced, more vicious, and thus add to the vulnerability the possibility of accreditation loss or institutional closure. The

lack of colleges available to Blacks and other disenfranchised groups would

seemingly play a huge part in their ability to escape poverty…maybe?

4.7 The US Economy and Educational Hierarchy

There is an assumption that the United States is a meritocratic country. The

belief in equal opportunity has been a catalyst for thousands of people immigrating

to the US for a chance at this opportunity. Their stories constantly being told of

children of immigrants who 'came from nothing' and are living their wildest dreams.

What is not noted from this utopian façade is the millions of people who will never

live their wildest dreams. This realistic disappointment, according to some, is not

due directly because of educational level nor lack of hard work, but the hierarchy of

the US capitalistic economy, which exploits both the racial hierarchy and the

academic hierarchy in the US.

In their work on US economic effects on schooling, Bowles and Gintis

(Bowles and Gintis, 1976) examined the effect on opportunity within the capitalistic

system. They vowed that the nature of the capitalistic US economy is the blame for

a stoppage in equality and human development. In the US capitalist hierarchy, the

crux of the entire system lay with the 'sanctioned powers of the directors of an

enterprise to organize production, to determine the rules that regulate workers'

productive activities, and to hire and fire accordingly' (Bowles and Gintis, 1976) and

this very framework can be applied to the APH as well. Contemporary research in

higher education, along with examples found earlier in this chapter, has elucidated

ways in which the "Ivy League" institutions solidified their top positions within the

APH whilst funding and funnelling resources to discredit competition. An

implication can be made that during the colonial era of the US when Adam Smith's

thoughts had a seemingly continental playground to use as a test site, elites

concentrated at the top of government, possessed concentrated wealth, whilst

decrying all are created equal yet excluded most people, applied that same

contradiction to higher education—which again they were connected. Thus, the

mission touted by the US Department of Education which is currently to 'promote

student achievement and preparation for global

competitiveness by fostering educational excellence and ensuring equal access'

(*Home | US Department of Education*), cannot fundamentally exists within the

confines of the current economic system just as equality of US citizens cannot exists

under the United States' version of democracy.

The inequalities of US higher education directly impact the campus

workforce. Characteristics such as dress, sex, ethnicity, and even weight, has been

found to greatly affect a person's progress in US society(Cooper, 2018). The unequal

development of US workers can be directly linked to the educational system as US

history has shown that people who aren't citizens, of non-white ethnicities, are not

hetero-normative, and even of non-Protestant beliefs have been sorted through to

the wage-labour complex and likely to end up at the bottom. 'Each [group] has

tended to be, at first, a group which is superexploited and socially branded, but with

the passage of time, with political organization and representation, and with the

appearance of another wave of new wage laborers to fill the lowest occupational

slots, each has secured a foothold in particular spheres and levels of

production'(Bowles and Gintis, 1976). In other words, the environment surrounding

one's birth plays a greater impact in one's pursuit of happiness, than merit. The

relegation of most Black women professors to work within the halls of HBCUs, may

not be hinged totally upon their choice to be in the HBCU family, but have been

guided by the invisible white hand to 'stay in their place' inside of the wage-labour

system.

4.8 Critiques of University Rankings

Moving towards the twenty-first century, research concerning academic

prestige morphed into examining the hierarchy itself. The 1980s and 1990s opened

an era of hindsight allowing researchers to question just how certain colleges and

universities gained and remain prominent in the US and globally. Reasons for a

review into the APH stem from several events; the end of the Cold War which

paved the way for students from Eastern Europe and Asia. Restrictions on

government spending during the Ronald Reagan years contracted resources for

colleges and universities making competition for dollars stiff. Perhaps the greatest

change was the internet, a mechanism that allowed a student sitting at home in

Alabama the glimpse of the Grand Canyon that situated near the University of

Arizona. The varied analysis of the APH seemingly came to one consensus; money

from students trump quality of education (Myers and Robe, 2009). It

was not too long before new researchers became astutely aware of just how the claim for prestige was more about tradition than anything else.

Diamond and Graham (1997) wrote an important text about the APH in research universities in the US. Building on the work of those Gross and Lang, the authors went a step further by attempting to formulate a way to test institutional achievement. 'Studies of reputational rankings have found systematic bias toward large institutions….By magnifying the authority of academic "starts" such rankings create a "halo effect: that elevates the status of other individuals and programs within an institution' (Graham and Diamond, 1997). Seven principles were implemented by the authors in their study; the universities' creation of new knowledge; historical analysis from 1945-1995; faculty research performance; specifically weighing institutions wholly rather than departmental or by selected colleges; purposeful avoidance of equalising quantity and quality; researching performance via scholarly creativity; and the inclusion of medical institutions as research institutions as they have historically been listed under a separate category.

Using the seven factors mentioned above for critiquing university rank, Diamond and Graham's ranking lists is very similar to those of previous studies. The names of Stanford, Harvard, Yale, and others were listed under the private sphere whilst the University of California system, UNC-Chapel Hill, the universities of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, the University of Texas-Austin and a couple of others represented the public sphere (Graham and Diamond, 1997). The reason is not

because of prestige but resources—the main resource being money. The authors

did not necessarily find fault with the government contracts, political earmarking,

and cycle of exclusivity in the private sector as they produced excellent work. The

commended the rising public institutions that climbed out of obscurity, but also

recognised the growing roar of complaints.

> 'The growing world acclaim for the research prowess of American
> universities has been accompanied by increasing attacks by social and
> academic critics…the sins of which the universities have been accused
> included frivolous courses and research, grade inflation, student cheating,
> faculty sinecures, corruption in intercollegiate athletics, fraternity hazing,
> animal abuse in research, student abuse of alcohol and drugs, scientific
> fraud, and bloated administrations' (Graham and Diamond, 1997).

The authors concluded that these issues along with 'curricular attacks on Western

Civilization' and the lack of studies of 'other' Americans were second to the issues of

teaching roles and quality student life. It is apparent that the authors missed an

opportunity to look further into the lesser complaints led by what seems to be the

most vulnerable groups within the institutions reviewed. The temporal framework

used for their study was one of great turmoil in US history. But that turmoil allowed

voices that had been silenced, histories that had been overlooked, and insights

deemed unimportant to not only have a place at the rally but on the campus.

Minimizing the demand of scholars for department specifically for Native American,

Black or queer studies, weakens the critique the authors make against 'prestige' as

the authors had to rely on complaints from surveys rather than qualitative data.

Furthermore, recent research on academic prestige by J. Fredericks Volkwein and

Kyle V. Sweitzer (2006), based on very widely publicised and distributed university ranking reports on research institutions found there to be only three main factors in deciphering rank: total enrolment, the average full professors' salary, and the school's graduation rate (Sweitzer, Volkwein and V., 2006). Yet again, however, their study is limited in that they only looked a top-ranked institution and the data was very quantitative.

4.9 Summary

> *Throughout history, patterns of privilege have been justified by elaborate facades. Dominant classes seeking a stable social order have consistently nurtured and underwritten these ideological facades and, insofar as their power permitted, blocked the emergence of alternatives.* (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p. 104)

Despite all the biases within various ranking systems, potential undergraduates and graduate/postgraduate students are using their search engines to find the ranking of their choice of schools or highly ranked programs from their field of choice. During the past two centuries factors such as location, funding, and comradery, made a huge impact on where school-leavers decided to get their higher education credentials. And while it is seemingly a good idea to be able to go to school in different countries and work with experts in their respected fields, the change that has occurred within university life is often leaving students feeling more anxious, foreign students more isolated, all students in more debt, and colleges and

universities in a permanent position of caretakers to avoid the collapse of academic elitism.

The analysis in the previous sections subtly acknowledges problems of researching the APH. The critique of the hierarchy, from the departmental subdivision to massive institutional ranking systems, never questioned the creation of the hierarchy. In their analysis of the Gourman Report, the National Research Council, the Carnegie Foundation, etc., the researchers took for granted that the main biases lie in the mechanisms of which institutions were included in the hierarchy as compared to the roots of the hierarchical dissection…observing who is being neglected. Therefore, a perpetual flow of skewed analysis has not only help to cement the hierarchy by basically saying, "Your participants are perfect, you just need to modify your analysis," rather than the challenge of "Why have these been left out?" "Who are you to judge these institutions?" and "What is your justification?"—questions that are the basis for all critical research?

Research on Historically Black College and Universities is categorically thin; are HBCUs still relevant, difficulties of HBCUs, or what are HBCUs? An understanding of them does appear to have gained traction since the late twentieth century (Gurin, 1975; Roebuck and Murty, 1993; Hoffman, 1996). The spike in students attending higher education institutions and the complex problem of seemingly segregated institutions have led to more recent scholarship on HBCUs as a whole (Perna, 2001; Allen and Jewell, 2002; Minor, 2005; Gasman, 2008; Ii, 2011; Lovett, 2015). But as Minor (2004) implicates in his introductory glance into governance at HBCUs, there

is so much unknown, un-researched, and thus, misunderstood about HBCUs,

notwithstanding the nearly two centuries of knowledge and existence in the US

higher education industry.

Today we have perceived authorities on higher education publicising ranking

of colleges and universities in the United States to those interested in embarking on

a collegiate journey. And how many students are researching the metrics behind

the rankings? Well, my wife who teaches sociology, asked her pupils why they chose

the university and quickly half of the class stated, "Because of its rankings!" Yet,

when questioned further about exactly what the rankings were; what the Russell

Group meant, in what subjects was the university highly ranked; they could not

answer their questions. How are we to explicate the importance of analysation of

various subject matter in our grand institutions, when the students themselves do

not even know why they are there? It is apparent, to me at least, that historical

research in US higher education should have been more inclusive and honest.

Perhaps ranking should be based heavily from students' experience, especially those

most marginalised.

This research proposes that we commence on a journey back to late

nineteenth, early twentieth century United States when legislation was put forth

that expanded and created many of today's colleges and universities—The Morrill

Acts. However, rather than focussing on the institutions that are known the world over on a grand scale, we focus on the hidden gems of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities. In an attempt to understand the HBCUs scepticism in government structures that has constantly discriminated against them and the Black people they were built to teach, we may discover some of the facts and figures behind the APH. Alongside the emendation, a proper contextual framework about the creation of Black scholars will accompany the data which should initiate some interesting questions as to the trust academics, especially non-white, non-Christians, female, LGBT, disabled, and other vulnerable groups have in the 'meritocracy' of the APH. To prompt an interrogation of the subject, one of the most marginalized group of academics in the United States were sought to provide some insight into the hierarchy—Black women professors at Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

It is the hope that through this research, before global demographic shifts create more restriction movements and drastic xenophobic vernaculars and policies breakdown the walls of Western colleges and universities, we repair analysis, we listen to the silenced, and become the incubators of rational societal development over the itch of prestigious poison ivy.

Chapter 5—The HBCU Black Woman Professor

5.1 Introduction

It is widely taught and widely known that after the US Civil War the southern region of the United States was devasted. The South needed rebuilding and it so happened to have free Blacks to help it to do so. The business of slave labour and the politics of mass illiteracy plagued both the freed Blacks and the poor whites as most people in the South did not benefit from public education, a common practice in the northern states. That is not to say that the South was not prosperous in business, it was just that liberal education was not of high regard as the path to generational wealth lay in agribusiness rather than schooling. However, the global shift from agrarian societies to commercialisation, led to a value being placed on literacy, articulate speech, and the education of business. The Industrial Revolution spurred various jobs, which required various skills and as the global population increased, so did the need for skilled labour.

After the end of the Civil War nearly two hundred years had passed since the original Africans were snatched from their homelands. Their offspring were born in the new nation. After the passage of the Reconstruction Acts, generations of Blacks were legal citizens. Blacks then, they believed, had a fair chance for carving lives for themselves Nevertheless, an immediacy rose upon the freed people to obtain an education. What had been illegal for a century in certain states, and longer in others, was not available in its full abundance provided the resources were available. The earliest federal government

effort to supply educational facilities for the Black demand was done by the

Freedmen's Bureau.

The Freedman's Bureau was founded in 1865 by the current President of the

US, Abraham Lincoln, to help Blacks and poor whites in various ways during the

aftermath of the Civil War. Many of the agents representing the Freedman's Bureau

were officers in the Union Army and as they attended to matters relating to

violence, vagrancy, and uprising, they were left to use all the help they could find

concerning the education for the former enslaved. The call to education the Blacks

were answered by many religious organisations, northern philanthropist, and most

widely, Black women.

5.2 Normal Colleges and the Production of Black Women Teachers

The normal institutes and seminaries of the United States during the mid to

late 1800s worked tirelessly to send teachers to educate the pupils of the United

States. The first normal institute in the United States was started in 1823 by Samuel

Read Hall in Vermont and he also opened normal schools in Massachusetts and New

Hampshire. Normal institutions were considered higher education compared to

common schools that typically used less qualified teachers. Many universities in the

US started as normal schools such as, Cheyney University, Central Connecticut State

University, University of California, Los Angeles; Bowie State University, and many

others. Many of the people who started out as teachers were the free Blacks already living up North before the Civil War and who benefited from the region's more ardent devotion to education. To be sure, the northern states also believe in segregation. The genesis of 'separate but equal' institutions, which although is illegal in the US, remains a *de facto* statue, did not begin with Plessy vs. Ferguson—as widely thought. Rather, forty-six years earlier in 1850 the state of Massachusetts upheld the decision for one of their schools to deny, for the fourth time, the admission of five-year old Sarah Baker, a Black resident of Boston. It was argued on behalf of Sarah's father, Benjamin Roberts, that under Massachusetts constitution, all people born in the US had a right to equality and whilst the courts confirmed that belief in their ruling judge sided with the school on the grounds that Sarah Baker attended school (it was far from her home though) and that the authority of the school's committee should not be legally questioned on matters of complexion(Baltimore and Williams, 1986). School segregation and its justification, alongside the distrust of white teachers, lead to an entourage of Black people seeing it as their duty to take up the cause for Black education. Although there were higher education institutions for Blacks, such as the Ashmun Institute in Pennsylvania and the Institute of Colored Youth, the early days consisted of only male students but that quickly changed because of the jobs offered via the Industrial Revolution and women, such as Catharine Beecher, who advocated for women teachers due to their natural ability to nurture the young.

The Black teachers that were available to the rare freed Black population before the Civil War very likely matriculated from one of six institutions; several mentioned in chapter three: Oberlin College, Berea College, Maryville College, Franklin College, Cheyney College, and Lincoln University of Pennsylvania. Oberlin College, which is located in Oberlin, Ohio, was founded in 1833. Within two years of opening their doors, it began accepting Black students. One Black woman, Fanny Jackson Coppin, graduated from Oberlin and because of her international devotion to Black education there is an HBCU in Maryland, Coppin University, which bears her name. Today Oberlin College has a Black student population around four percent.

Just below the state of Ohio where Oberlin is located, the state of Kentucky, in 1855, opened Berea College. It was founded by abolitionists, one in which was an Oberlin professor named E. Henry Fairchild. The college opened its doors committed to integrated education and remained so until October 1859. John Brown, a staunch abolitionist, wanted to create a new state without slavery and drafted a new constitution. Brown and others led raided a federal armoury in the hopes to provide abolitionist and slaves with weapons to start a revolution. The men were terribly outnumbered as not only the US Marines were called in, but everyday white men gleefully joined the search. Within days the men were either killed or captured; on 2 December 1859, he was hanged—the first man in the US to ever be convicted of treason. The raid happened in a part of Virginia that is now West Virginia and smack on the Kentucky/West Virginia border line. Once news of the raid reached Berea

College, the school ceased operations. 'Negrophobia swept across the South, and pro-slavery sympathizers drove the school's faculty out of the county'(Lovett, 2015, p. 9). And although the college reopened after the end of the Civil War the backlash of a Union victory would plague the college's administration and the presence of Blacks became more and more offensive. In 1904 the state of Kentucky passed the 'Day Law' which prohibited Blacks and whites from attending school together, including colleges. Berea College took on the law in 1908 in the case *Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky* but to no avail and by 1909 no more Black students were allowed to attend the college. The famed Black historian, Carter G. Woodson, was a victim of the Day Law (Mays, 1981).

Maryville College was formed in Tennessee in 1819 and in that year, the first Black student, George Erskine, was admitted; he would later answer the call of ministry. Tennessee was a demographically divided state as most of the plantations, and thus enslaved Blacks, were located in the western portion of the state whilst the east is a mountainous region. Tennessee's western region dominated the state's politics and it voted to succeed from the United States and Maryville College closed its doors from 1861-1866. Just like Berea, Maryville reopened still dedicated to integrated higher education, but as the state of Kentucky sits rights on top of Tennessee, the Day Law of 1908 the segregated Berea it did the same for Maryville College as the law strengthened the precedent for all states and new territories to justify school segregation.

Franklin College, located in Nashville, Tennessee, opened for the purpose of a Christian and industrial education in 1842. Unlike the other colleges mentioned above, Franklin College was cofounded by a women Charlotte Fall—she along with her husband Tolbert Fanning. The college closed in 1862 but not before admitting three Black students including Samuel R. Lowery who went on to be the fifth Black person to pass the bar examine, the first Black person to argue in front of the Supreme Court and cofounded the Tennessee Manual Labor University 1867.

Cheyney College is the first higher education institution dedicated only for the Black population. Before being named Cheyney College, on behalf of one its most profound benefactors, the college was called the Institute for Colored Youth and it is here where the rise of the Black women in higher education gained their momentum. A Quaker by the name of Richard Humphrey started the college and George Cheyney provided farmland near Philadelphia. The college trained teachers which were desperately needed and therefore many of the Black women educators and founders of higher education institutions themselves started here which will be discussed later. As of 2019, Cheyney University of Pennsylvania continues to have its doors open although a massive decline in enrolment is drastically affecting the university's legacy as the oldest historically Black college.

The state of Pennsylvania gave birth to another higher education institution that would partake in the rise of Black women in higher education, Lincoln University of Pennsylvania. Lincoln was started by the Presbyterians and it was

called the Ashumn Institute in 1854. In the beginning, it only catered to Black men,

By the turn of the century the institute was producing the highest numbers of Black

university graduates, more than any other institution, Black or white. Lincoln

University was not only the first degree-granting HBCU, but home to Lucy Craft

Laney, a Black woman who opened her own institution of higher education, Haines

Normal and Industrial Institute.

5.3 Black Women Educators

There is a saying today that goes, 'Necessity is the mother of all inventions',

and for Black women in higher education this phrase could not be any truer. Lacking

money, lacking profound state and federal support, and often facing the pain of

death, the plight of providing higher education for Blacks in the US was not a task for

the faint hearted. The lack of human resources therefore made early professors out

of Black women. Furthermore, no woman, Black or white, had the right to vote in

the United States until the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920 which

ultimately meant that Black women were impressing upon multitudes the

importance of democracy and unalienable rights without them having a voice to

represent themselves democratically.

Hidden in the history of university canons is a little-known fact that one of the first women professors in the United States was an African American born during the early nineteenth century in Kentucky. Whilst there may be some debate about the academic training and qualifications of Sarah Jane Woodson Early, there is no question that she is one of the first.

SECTION THREE—METHODOLOGY

Chapter 6—Research Design

6.1 Introduction

Starting with a review of the research question this chapter will explicate the

rationale for the participants selected; the data gathered; ethical considerations

regarding the participants; the research design; how the interviews were conducted

and lastly, how the data was analysed. This research has depth, which is to say that

the HBCU Black female professor's connection to the US APH—from its genesis to

contemporary times, will encompass a great amount of detail. Thus, the

methodology must be capable of accepting, historical artefacts, secondary sources

of the main subjects, participant observations, and counter-narratives.

6.2 Sampling

The sample consists of twelve Black women professors. The sampling criteria

includes full-time professors that work at Historically Black Colleges and Universities

in the US. The ranking of their positions spans from associate professor to full

professor; from early career researchers to experts in their field. All the professors

were once students at HBCUs themselves and this is important to note because this

hits at the heart of the APH and how a student's undergraduate and postgraduate

institutions play into their professional *prestige*.

The professors represent a range of academic disciplines: Education & Diversity; Mass Communications; Social History; Educational Studies; English; Physiology; Communication & Information; African American History; Biochemistry; Educational Leadership; US History; and Accounting and Finance. The youngest professor interviewed is thirty-six whilst the oldest is sixty-one; with the age of fifty defined as the medium. All of the professors identify as Black or African American. As there are fifty public HBCUs and fifty-one private HBCUs, the sample will include both sectors with six from public and five from the private institutions.

There are currently 105 Historically Black Colleges and Universities and of the 100 accredited institutions, two are located outside the continental states in Puerto Rico. To obtain an adequate sample size who would represent the HBCU Black female professor population varied in previous studies on HBCU professors. Taking the fluidity of sample size into account, Patton's interpretation of sampling was of great importance. Regarding quality inquiry Patton states, "...There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources" (Patton, 2002, pp. 242–3).

Still, random sampling is does not appear to be a legitimate route to obtain good collective data from a group of professionals. Although this study has various limitations it is still the first of its kind and in order for it to be expanded upon a structure must be in place when choosing the sample for later researchers to follow. Looking at other studies by researchers who interviewed Black professors, I found the range from two professors to sixteen professors at both HBCUs and PWIs (Warde 2009; Edwards et al. 2011; Hooker & Johnson 2011). In line with previous

research methodologies but also anticipating the interviews to represent a portion

of the participants' life history; this study contained a sample size of twelve

professors, seven of which are employed at public HBCUs and five at private HBCUs

(Bertaux, 1981, p. 35).

In order to gain a historical and a contemporary understanding of the HBCU

Black female professors' standpoint, early career, assistant, associate, and full

professors were sought. As gender, race, and tenure, employed institution type

determined who would be participants it became apparent that snowball sampling

through an initial contact was the best way to obtain participants of depth and

interest. '...Snowball sampling...can generate a unique type of social knowledge—

knowledge which is emergent, political and interactional'. Additionally, the

participants who express more of a voluntary interest, allow for the additional

considerations, such as, an extension of interview times, interview recording, and

publication of findings (Moustakas, 1994; Noy, 2008, p. 327)

6.3 Recruitment

Recruitment started with an informal email to my top contact briefly asking is

she would be interested in being a participant and to pass the inquiry forward to any

other possible recruits. [Being vigilant, I also emailed possible participants using

their institution's directory profile]. Another method of recruitment involved

networking with a new acquaintance who is working on her PhD at an HBCU. She

confirmed her interest and passed my request on to her supervisor, a Black HBCU

woman professor, and then branched out from there. Our communications were

via email but included social media.

Most participants were approached through their contact information

present on their institutions website and also snowballing. Others who have

researched professors have also found snowballing to be quite successful and, in

continuing with that success, this research commenced on a scholastic footing

(Schulze, 2005; Edwards, Beverly and Alexander-snow, 2011; Griffin *et al.*, 2011).

The total number of professors emailed was 210 representing fifty-four HBCUs.

Initially, twenty-one professors responded with twelve participating in the

research.

6.4 Ethical Consideration

It is important to note that although the professors have conducted their

own research, it is still imperative that they were informed about their rights as

research participants. To respect and protect the perceived vulnerable positions of

the female professors—some of whom may still be currently employed—the data

will be anonymised per the participant request. This anonymization, if necessary,

will include the professor and the HBCU they are or were affiliated. A discussion of

the risk factors will be addressed in communications before the interviews are to be

conducted. Included in these initial communications will be an explanation of the

professors' rights to decline responses to any or all questions and/or to end the

interview at any time. Immediately prior to the interview, the participants will be asked to sign an informed consent form; a scanned copy will be emailed to the professor per request.

6.5 Researcher Positionality

When I stepped into the classes of my undergraduate university, I was not familiar with any of the professors who appeared before me. Whilst representing many disciplines, the professors all had one thing in common—incredible pride in themselves, their scholarship, and the institutions they served. The professors commanded respect from students and insisted that we develop this spiritual principle within ourselves. Unlike the experiences of many who will read this text, the majority of my professors were Black. Yes, Black women and Black men who strove to instil in me knowledge in topics ranging from Organic Chemistry to Ella Baker, yet, most importantly, the place of Black people in global history.

Now that I am nearing the end of my postgraduate tutelage, I find myself on the opposite end of spectrum—most of the professors surrounding me are white. The first retort may be, 'You're in England; what did you expect?' The truth is that my current scenario is arguably the same for most students pursuing higher education around the world despite the diverse population of students. So, as one of the HBCU graduates inspired, challenged, and loved by my HBCU professors, what happens to me? Should I continue the legacy of the HBCUs on their campuses and

amongst the people who made me feel as if I could handle anything the world presented? Do I attempt to be a beacon for the few Black and Brown faces that pass through the doors of predominately white institutions because I know that a familiar face increases the chances of BAME students obtaining a graduate level education (Croom and Patton, 2011; Borum and Walker, 2012)? Will I be exceptional because I am among the few Black professors or will I achieve exceptional goals? Though I sought the answers to these personal questions from the Black women participants in this study, the entirety of this work is not about my quest but the historical and contemporary quests of Black women professors in the HBCUs.

One of the underlying catalysts for engaging in research is the passion one has for understanding their topic of interest. When it comes to HBCUs and their continued importance, this research is considered of deep importance. HBCUs are a unique set of institutions that have, from their inception, fought for survival—not only survival from economic downturns, obsolete curriculums, and/or competition. HBCUs fought and continue to fight, unequal funding, racial discriminatory practices, institutional profiling (considering HBCUs of having lesser educational qualifications because their educators and students are mostly non-white except for two that are anomalies). I am protective of their walls and the stories residing in them, but I believe that I should not be the only one privileged to know these women professors.

In recognizing my connection with HBCUs I am acknowledging that total

objectivity is not the sole purpose of this research, yet parameters are in place. In

Ochukpue's (2004) research on African-immigrant HBCU professors, she notes her

shared ethnicity, spirituality, educational values, etc., with her participants however

she believes her object is to limit her bias, not eliminate bias (Ochukpue, 2004). As a

member of the HBCU 'family' and possessing a personal attached to the topic,

reflexivity was often practised, to keep biases in check—not to eliminate them but

to contain the on the periphery of the researches' core.

6.6 Interview Structure

In the case of my research, geographic and financial limitations permitted my

interviews to be conducted via the telephone. The conversations are audio-

recorded. This was not planned, as initially face-to-face interviews were sought,

captured both auditory and visually. However, the telephone interviews are not a

step down from face-to-face interviews for they have their own benefits. In a

comparison of face-to-face versus telephone interviews Sturges and Hanrahan

(2004) found that there was not much difference in quality, nature, and depth of

responses of both collection modes. Furthermore, when asked if they were happy

with telephone interviews and if they feel free to express themselves, the

participants of their study all states, 'yes' (Sturges and Hanrahan, 2004). In a

different outcome, telephone interviews were known to vary greatly between racial

sub-divisions in their study and they had problems obtaining vital statistical data (Jordan, Marcus and Reeder, 1980; Aquilino, 1991).

In this study, the telephone interviews will be semi-structured. This format has been known to yield in-depth responses in telephone interviews. Also, it is a pattern for some (Miller, 1995; Sykes and Hoinville, 1985) telephone interviews to flow quicker due to the lack of personal contact, which the semi-structured process will help to combat.

The overall benefit of telephone interviews across disciplines and topics is cost-benefit. Not being able to have the funds to drive to campuses from the east coast to the Midwest, telephone interviews are not only cost effective but help to ensure I have the sample size the research suggests (Miller, 1995; Sturges and Hanrahan, 2004; Cachia and Millward, 2011).

The interviews are taking place via the telephone at a time of the participants choosing. The interviews will be audio recorded on a digital voice recorder. With there being at least fifteen participants, I estimate that it will take two months for them to be completed. To ensure researcher attentiveness, I don't foresee any notetaking during the interviews, but a guide will be available for me to refer to in order to make sure that the time is not wasted.

The interviews will be transcribed within forty-eight hours of their capture and then removed from the hard drive of my laptop to a more secure digital device. Each interview should last from one hour to an hour and a half.

6.7 Interviewing Elites

According to Richards (1996), organisational elites are 'a group of [influential] individuals, who hold, or have held, a privileged position in society' (Richards, 1996). By this definition, the Black female professors in this study will be considered elites. Despite the stratification of the professors at the lower level of the faculty rank in terms of career opportunities and salary, the women still hold an elite status on the university campuses and in the African American community because of their advanced education and position (Roebuck and Murty, 1993).

The position of the researcher is also a consideration. Mikecz (2012, p. 483) discusses how, typically, in non-elite studies, the researcher is an "expert". However, this position changes in the elite interview as the professors will be "in the know". As such, Mikecz suggests that a thorough background knowledge of the topic is necessary in order to gain trust of the study participants.

In addition to the positionality of the professor and the researcher, Mikecz speaks of the challenges of gaining access to the 'visible' elites who can use their power to 'purposefully erect barriers', 'manipulate information', as well as, 'deny access to it', a consideration most important to this study. Bonner observed 'reluctan[ce]' in the Black female faculty and administrators who participated in her 1992 quantitative study of the workplace environment, mentoring systems, career opportunities, and professional development at the institution; one participant reported fear of discovery as her reason for not 'tell[ing] much more' regarding her

experiences at the HBCU (Bonner, 2001). Of note, whilst the university sites were

anonymised for publication, researchers of Black male professors did not report the

same type of reluctance in their studies although the participants were currently

employed in the university system at the time of the interviews (Warde, 2008;

Hooker and Johnson, 2011) are will be asked (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984, p. 77).

Interviews are to be conducted on the campuses of where the professors work(ed),

allowing for an observation of their workplace environment. Furthermore, the

recordings will be used as tools for future researchers, as the data will be deposited

into the U.K. Data Archive, for other academics to examine and expand upon.

6.8 Thematic Analysis

Based on the transcription guidance from the UK Data Service, the interviews

will be transcribed, verbatim, including all non-lexical utterances, hesitations, and

physical gestures that were recorded in the notes during the interviews. After the

transcription of the interviews, the data collected from the professors will be coded,

then grouped into themes. Thematic analysis allows the interviewer to identify

common themes in the interviews, remove those themes for further analysis and

then to define the themes (Benner, 1985). 'Themes are identified by bringing

together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are

meaningless when viewed alone' (Aronson, 1994, p. 4). Based on the literature

review, I expect find certain themes when interviews with the professors such as

tenure mobility, patriarchal intimidation, institutional perception and self-definition;

they all play a part in the APH, but I expect them to be a part of the professors' lived

experiences as well. '...It is impossible to separate the structure and thematic

content of thought from the historical and material conditions shaping the lives of

its producers' and the preliminary themes mentioned above will likely be shared by

all Black women within a particular group--the HBCU Black female professors

(Collins, 1986).

6.9 Data Management

A data management plan is necessary for the protection and longevity of

research and scientific knowledge. One of the goals of the research is to produce

valuable data to add to the University of Leeds data archive. This goal requires that

security of all digital files, audio recordings and electronic emails on password-

protected storage devices such as portable hard drives and SD cards and the

university's secure "M" drive. These devices will be stored in locked areas.

Following in line with the recommendations of the UK Data Service, research data

life cycle processes of planning, collection, processing, and analysis will be carefully

documented according to international standards (Corti *et al.*, 2014).

The data, once transcribed, will be indexed in a matrix of sorts. Because the

data is not expected to be too vast according to the desired sample size and the

things that will be said, organization is crucial—only then can themes and concepts

be teased out properly. 'In order to construct this thematic framework…the analyst must first gain an overview of the data coverage and become thoroughly familiar with the data set' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, pp. 221; Ritchie, Spencer, O'Conner Chapter 9). Following their indexing system, a list of overarching themes emerged from the process of transcribing the interviews. Numbers will correspond to the overarching theme and sub-themes. The themes were cross-referenced, illuminating convergences and anomalies. This cross-referencing can lead to new theoretical junctures for further exploration (Silverman, 1997; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

6.10 Reliability and Validity

As Ochukpue practiced in her research interviews with African-immigrant HBCU professors, the beginning of the data collection will start with a mock interview using someone of a similar profile to my participants. This provides the researcher with a way to adjust the questions, devices, and technique used to make the interview as efficient as possible (Denzin *et al.*, 2000).

To confirm that the interpretive narratives and themes were the true 'voices' of the participants, follow-up email were sent, offering additional comments. Only one participant responded; she requested a transcript.

SECTION FOUR—FINDINGS

Chapter 7—'You've Got To Be Kidding Me': Gender, Race, and Rigor

7.1 Introduction

Patricia Hill Collins noted that, '…The primary responsibility for defining one's own reality lies with the people who live that reality, who actually have those experiences'(2000a, p. 39). With that in mind, it must be reiterated that this research explored the impacts of the US academic prestige hierarchy on HBCU Black woman professors—both as students and as academics, for no one can be an HBCU Black woman professor except a Black woman professor. This chapter explicates themes from the interviews with the twelve HBCU Black women professors and discusses inferences which were made from their experiences. An examination of how the dynamics of gender and race affected the professors' experience in higher education is documented. Throughout their navigation of higher education other themes emerged such as, perceptions of rigidity between HBCUs and PWIs; the activism of being a Black woman professor; and what institutional values are most important in US colleges and universities.

Through the knowledge introduced by the participants it is hoped that their insights will inform college and university board members, administrators, and others with decision-making responsibilities of the importance of Black women professors, not only in HBCUs but in PWIs as well. It is also hoped that other

members of faculty will acknowledge the value of their Black women cohorts,

opening the channels for a more rewarding academic experience for all.

7.2 Gender and Race

Black women always find themselves at an intersection, asking themselves,

'Which attribute is being challenged today, my gender, race, age, physicality, or

ability?' Although discrimination against Black women is sometimes difficult to

dissect (Crenshaw, 1991) the professors who participated in this research were able

to articulate distinct incidences where specific constructs about their identity were

being contested. Even though these women teach at HBCUs often time white faculty

members were also employed.

Furthermore, Black women academics, and other academics of colour, are

constantly compelled to justify their place in academia—exhaustingly invalidating

stereotypes (hooks, 1989; Bertrand Jones, Wilder and Osborne-Lampkin, 2013)

which only helps to keep the percentage of Black women faculty in the US below

four percent (NCES, 2019b). Even with all the disadvantages (such as the continuous

gender pay gap) and triple oppression (Davis, 1984), Black women continue to seek

higher education with enormous fortitude.

7.3 Discrimination as Students

A variety of factors typically come into play when a learner decides they are

going to obtain a degree in higher education. For African American women the

desire for higher education has not wavered as they currently enrol in college at a

rate of forty percent (NCES, 2019a). However, there is struggle for Black female

college students to remain in college as only twenty-one percent of Black women

over the age of twenty-five hold a bachelor's degree as compared to nearly thirty-

two percent for white women or even the nearly fifty percent of Asian American

women(Winkle-Wagner, 2015, p. 170). A sizable component of that plays into the

retention of African American women students is the racial makeup of the

institution and their relationship with campus faculty as noted in Love et. al (2010)

study of Black students on both HBCU and PWI campuses. One participant below

remembers how she felt during her undergraduate years.

> *'I don't remember having any [discriminatory] issues, not from the students [at my undergraduate PWI]. But I do remember chemistry class because the professor…was sort of racists. They [the white professors] wouldn't take time with you and had teaching assistants who were sort of rude and they didn't make you feel comfortable coming to see them.'* **Dr. Davis, S.O.S. College, Age 59**

When asked if she had any Black professors or Black students to help navigate her

undergraduate experience at the mid-Atlantic PWI she attended, Dr. Davis

mentioned that she did not remember any Black professors on campus during her

time there but there two other Black women, one being a relative, that she was

close to. Although she often times felt isolated, she stated that she was 'driven' and

'wanted to succeed' because 'if you could get a degree from [my undergraduate

PWI], you can get a job anywhere… [it was] like a ticket if you could make it through

the school.' The participant's comments parallel findings by Feagin (1994) when one

participant he questioned stated that the reason she chose not to go an Ivy League

school was the information she received when speaking with the few Black students

around the campus during a visit. The students proclaimed that they were

miserable but remained because the institution was deemed 'Ivy League' (1994,

p. 94). A participant who went to a prominent southern PWI echoed the misery

mentioned in the above study.

> *'I remember when I was at [my postgraduate PWI]—I remember the first day of class...the instructor...a conservative asshole from Utah,...was just walking around class and talking to everybody and I had a Sankofa carved in the back of my head....He was walking around talking to different people and then he stood. I heard him stand behind me and then he just stopped talking and stared. I felt, heard, and saw him through the back of my head with that Sankofa. And he eventually starts talking. So, fast-forward a few weeks later and everyone [in class] is sort of doing okay but he has problems with me. I made a "B" in his class when I'm doing "A's" in every other class.... He tells me everything I'm saying and everything I'm doing is wrong, wrong, wrong. And he actually told me, "Why don't you consider being in a program where you fit in more"? I told my director, then I went home and pulled the covers over my head and stayed there for two days.'* **Dr. Shakur, Delfonics State University, Age 45**

The emotional toll that Dr. Shakur experienced has been reverberated in several

studies on the Black student experience at predominately white universities (Feagin,

1992; Davis *et al.*, 2004; Grant and Simmons, 2008; Chambers, 2011; Winkle-

Wagner, 2015). And the rise in mental health concerns (Caesar-Richardson, 2012;

Watkins, 2012) for Black students who attend PWIs is something these institutions

need to take in consideration. In fact, in a 2011 study of the perception of Black

women students on PWIs campus by their white peers, the data concluded that

many white students viewed Black women as strong/domineering (Donovan, 2011).

The 'strong Black woman' persona is then a double-edge sword as Black women

students are viewed as capable of handling stressors such race and gender biases.

Another quagmire that Black women face how they have historically called to

action other Black women to represent the Black race. 'Lifting as we Climb,' the

motto the National Association of Colored Women, was a call to action for Black

women to represent the Black race well and to bring it up at the same time. Dr. Lou

Hammer elaborates on this ideology when she was a student:

> *'When I was at [my PWI for my BA and MA degrees], anytime there was a situation that dealt with ethnicity or racial issues they would always look to me to respond or look to me to be the voice to speak—ask if I had the answers for every Black person or that I had the answers for everything'* **Dr. Lou-Hammer**

On the surface it may be asked if these sorts of situations are discriminatory against

Dr. Lou-Hammer or a Black student in general, but when she further discloses that at

her postgraduate HBCU, 'No one looked at me to have all the answers; it was more

of dialogue for everyone and we all were involved in the conversation.' It must be

noted that constantly singling a student out because their race is tied to a situation

cannot be healthy for that student nor the academic environment.

7.4 Discrimination as Black Women in Authority

Black women in a position of power often find their authority attacked by

subordinates. Black women make up just of fifty-five percent of full-time Black

professors at U.S. colleges and universities (Wilder, Jones and Osborne-Lampkin,

2013, p. 27). On the other hand, of tenured faculty, only one percent of Black

women professors are faculty members at PWIs (2013, p. 29) meaning that most

Black women professors are either adjunct and/or most likely to receive tenure at

HBCUs, Hispanic, or Indigenous institutions of higher education. Black women

professors who teach but are also administrators, as deans or department chairs,

report having experienced attacks against them quite often:

> *'Right now I'm an administrator and most of my faculty are white or international, although I don't get this from my international faculty. Most of the white people are always questioning [my] decisions. 'Well is this based on data?'; 'Is this based on XYZ?' So there is a certain amount of forbearance you have to put up with because, unless you want to have a heart attack or stroke, a lot of the crap that you are going to have to deal with from people who were colleagues two months ago but now are your subordinates always question…the legitimacy of your decisions. [Well, do you think that was because you are a woman or your ethnicity?] I think it is…because of race…because [although] I work at an HBCU, most of the faculty is white and they would prefer to be in the position of authority'.* **Dr. Evers, EWF University, Age 56**

One participant noted how she specifically chose to teach at an HBCU, especially

after working at a nearby PWI and the ill treatment she received. However, she was

shocked by the sexist environment.

> *'Why I came to S.O.S. College is because I would be around…African American people for the most part, but the thing about S.O.S. College was a more sexist environment. The men wanted to rule over the women. And I was like, okay,*

now I don't have to deal with racism, now I have to deal with sexism. The chairman of my department was really hard on me when I first came-- I was getting ready to leave S.O.S College, but then he obtained the dean[ship] and moved out of the position and they put another professor in the position. He [the new chairperson] graduated from [the same postgraduate HBCU] too, so he was more supportive of me, but [that] other professor, he was a sexist. He was really hard on his graduate students—his female graduate students.'
Dr. Davis

Collins (2000a, pp. 168–170) noted that social constraints on Black men in the US can often time impact their interactions with Black women, more in the home than in the corporate world. However, as Black men continue to hold higher positions than Black women in higher education, Black women faculty, and as mentioned above, Black women students, are treated badly, maybe even emotionally abused.

Another professor recalled her experience as a teaching assistant a her postgraduate PWI and her handling of dealing with a discriminate white student.

'My first class…I walked in there and this young white guy, maybe eighteen or nineteen, was like, "Hell no!" He gets up and leaves. I walked to the front and asked, "Does anybody want to go with him, because I'm not going anywhere!" That was one experience. Then I had this one young lady … [who] figured that because the professor was standing at the front of the class, he was actually the person that was giving her the grades, which he wasn't, I was. He did the lectures and I was the grad teaching assistant. She went crying to the professor—this young, white, and blond [woman]. Me and this older guy…we were…having a conference with him [the professor] and we are talking about the next test and he [the professor] calls this young lady's name and says, "Why do I know that name?" And I'm thinking you can play those games…as if you are dumb but I'm not taking the bait, so I just sit there. And then he says, "Ms. Evers I authorised her to transfer into the other section." She didn't want to be in my section. And I said, "That is because she had taken one or two exams and failed them because she was a poor student." So she went into the other section and [later in the term] I'm sitting in the back and talking to my other colleague, the older white guy, and we are

talking about the lecture and life and general and he says, "Oh, by the way the young lady is in my section…you are right, she's dumb as a box of rocks." And I said, "And now she's your problem."' **Dr. Evers**

Black women in authoritative positions often have their intelligence being measured, even by those whom they are deemed their pupils. The pupils from the above excerpt have drawn their questions of Black aptitude from the science of 'genesis' that became prominent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In George Fredrickson's *The Black Image in the White Mind*, (1971), particularly chapter three, Fredrickson probes the works of early US scientist who pushed the origins of human beings from monogenesis to polygenesis—with many believing that whites are genetically superior to Blacks. Black women professors three centuries later, no matter their credentials, still often have to over-validate their position of authority (Schulze, 2005; Gasman, 2007).

7.5 'Ivory Tower' Meaning

The prominence of scientific racism, understood to mean that people of African descent were biologically inferior to whites, was used as a tactic of captivity during the Atlantic slave trade. This mode of thinking permeated into the unique racism that exists in the US which affected everything from the creation of institutions to government. The HBCUs, whose creation was solely to prevent Blacks from being schooled with whites, were collectively viewed as inferior and often

times as a means to an end as Blacks would never be able to achieve the level of it

takes to be someone other than servants and tedious labourers. Below, the

professors speak on how the continued belief of Black inferiority was dispelled by

their experiences between both PWIs and HBCUs.

> *'There was a transition for me. I probably didn't appreciate how supportive Ellington and Fitzgerald State University had been of me until I was at [my graduate PWI]. I then realised that the education at an HBCU was just different. I never doubted that the faculty and staff at Ellington and Fitzgerald was doing what they were doing for my benefit. Even when my classes were difficult and challenging, I never doubted that one, they respected me and two, the challenges that I was going through were for my benefit. I didn't feel the same about that at [my graduate PWI] all of the time. I felt that sometimes we were, and when I say we I mean all of the students there, were being a little manipulated--thrown into the ring to see who was going to survive and who wasn't....I knew that they were trying to eliminate some of us from the program. I never had that feeling at Ellington and Fitzgerald, if anything, they wanted to do whatever they could to graduate all of us.'* **Dr. Murray**

The 'prestige' that comes with certain PWIs has ironically called into question the

ethics of higher education in the US. When discussing US higher education Warner

et al. (1946), '…One aspect of selectivity operates to preserve the status system,

and the other aspect operates to help some children secure the reward of climbing

within the status system (1946, p. 56). In other words, the goal of higher education

is not to develop society as it is best fitted to divide society. Nevertheless, the

'prestige' emblem is strong enough to create lawbreaking parents who bribe officials

to get their children into these colleges (Medina, Benner and Taylor, 2019).

Dr. Bates remembers her shock when she attended an Ivy League university.

> *'The bubble ['prestige'] was burst for me when I went to [my 'prestigious' undergraduate PWI] and then I went to an [Ivy League University] for summer and I said, 'You've got to be kidding me.' I thought, first of all, that I'm in this community with our supposed greatest thinkers and wherever a prestigious university is I'm thinking that the community around it should benefit from that. When I went to this [Ivy League University] I was faced with homelessness on the doorsteps, and I'm looking around and trying to figure out how all of this is going on in the midst of this prestigious university. Then I realise what 'Ivory Tower' meant—you were closed off from society and that to me is not a prestigious university.'* **Dr. Bates**

7.5 Undervalued Experiences

If perseverance and merit were held to the highest esteem when considering college faculty members, on paper it would appear that Black women professors should be recognised as exceptional. The U.S. is a highly racialised society and those who hold power in higher education should be well aware by now that Black women's rise to the professoriate is met with more challenges than most—cognitive dissonance and the manoeuvres of ignorance (McGoey, 2014, chap. 1) are no longer an excuse of the unfair representation and treatment of Black women as students or professors.

In her description of being a HBCU Black women professor, Dr. Blackmore describes the various ways in which she is undervalued—be in because of gender in comparison to Black male professors or competition with other Black women in her department.

'[Are you undervalued?] EV-VERY-DAY! Black males are valued more than Black women at HBCUs. I can be in a meeting…and say, "You know, the sky is blue." And a [male] colleague may come behind me and say, "The sky is blue" and everyone's like "Yes!!" …And I'm like I just said that ten minutes ago. We [HBCU Black women professors] are just treated badly. And with women, and I hate this because this is not how I operate, [but] we elevate men over women. The new head of the doctoral program [a male], was hired because the woman administrator appointing the position hated me…she knew I would challenge her about decisions that were unethical…and when I would say something to her she was like, "You are supposed to agree with me."' **Dr. Blackmore, Isley State University, Age 53**

Another participant reproduced the frustrations of Dr. Blackmore above but was a

bit more agitated.

We [Black women professors] are just mocked and overlooked in every aspect, in every field. It's not just as a faculty member[s], it is across disciplines, its…just…that's…we have to fight harder, we have to present more, we have to work harder for everything, even as faculty and I don't think this is going to change other than we continue to prove ourselves as very capable and qualified. But it becomes overwhelming at times. It's like, even with my team that I have now, in my office…I have two men, professional men that report to me…they can say the same thing that I say and sometimes my team of people and other people in the office will listen to what they say and then come back and say, "Well Mr. So and So said so and so", and I say, "Isn't that what I just told you, yesterday?" And…its irritating and then we when we start responding it seems like we're emotional or we're bitches or whatever. We get labelled. So [when] we become very aggressive and state what we want…they are like, "Oh…you're pulling the gender card now" or "You're pulling the Black card now"…[and I say] I'm pulling the Dr. Walker card now!' **Dr. Walker, Aretha State University, Age 56**

In her proclamation of 'I'm pulling the Dr. Walker card now!' the participant was

using her identity politics (Smith, 1983, sec. Combahee River Collective Statement),

her Black feminism, to recognise that it is not a segment of her that is being oppressed, but her entire self—Dr. Walker—was being denounced.

In a section entitled, 'Strong Female Leads,' Brittany Cooper (2018) explains her awakening of sexism on the HBCU campus of Howard University. After losing the election as the Howard University Student Association, Cooper learned that her femininity wasn't feminine enough and that her 'opinionated, outspoken, and far too serious' (2018, p. 66) Black femininity was not receptive—it's like that old adage, *I can't win for losing*.

Chapter 8—'Don't Fail Them': Family, Accountability, and Nobility

'My soul stood on tiptoe and stretched up to take in all that it meant. So I was careful to do my class-work and be worthy to stand there under the shadow of the hovering spirit of Howard [University]. I felt the ladder under my feet'
Zora Neale Hurston writing on her experience at the HBCU, Howard University, 1942

8.1 Familial Ties and Higher Education

Parental influence was a huge factor in educational attainment of these Black women. Studies (Horn and West, 1992; Garibaldi, 1997) have shown that parents play a major role in their child's entrance into higher education. When asked about their early motivations for entering college, one participant stated:

> *'I was always told that I had to go to college, …my schooling didn't stop at the twelfth grade. And in my family [higher education] has been the narrative. That is what you were supposed to do'.* **Dr. Blackmore, Isley State University, Age 53**

> *'Well, when I was in high school I graduated third in my class and I…originally wanted to go to medical school…I wanted to be a medical doctor [because] my mother was a nurse'.* **Dr. Bates, Delfonics State University, Age 61**

The US owns the largest military in the world, so there has always been the option for Black adolescents to opt for the armed forces rather than pursue higher education. African American women make up nearly twenty percent (Reynolds and Shendruk, 2018) of the armed forces although that figure has declined slightly since

the 2000s(Population Reference Bureau, 2005). One participant apparently

considered the military but was thwarted by her parents.

> *'My [parents]stated, "You are not going into the military,…you are going to*
> *college"'.*
>
> **Dr. Hawkins-Brown, Harold Melvin State University, Age 47**

In Wilson and Allen's research (1987) they noted that family, school, and

society directly affected the educational attainment outcome of U.S. young adults.

Although segregation in the U.S. was declared illegal in 1954, many schools still

practiced segregation. As ninety percent of the participants in this research grew up

in the southern region of the U.S. and most of them being born in the 1960s, they

remember attending segregated schools. They also were aware of social-structural

factors, (race, colourism, gender) that meant they *had to work twice as hard* in life

to achieve what White citizens took for granted. Therefore, the influence of the

family was extremely important in their capability to even believe that they could

attend college. One participant recalls what it was like navigating her integrated

high school:

> *'My high school experience was I think what really made me want to focus on*
> *HBCUs. Up until the seventh grade I went to a segregated school. After*
> *seventh grade the mandate came down to the town I was living in [stating]*
> *that the schools had to be integrated. What I noticed was that the students*
> *who came from the segregated were well prepared—our teachers were very,*
> *very good. I think our class was shocking to that White [high] school because*
> *we [Black students] were on top. But then after a couple of years I started*
> *noticing the 'tracking' started to take place. They started putting [Black*
> *students] in these vocational classes and special education [mentally*

challenged] classes, but I always told them [that] I'm on a college track. But I noticed how they were manipulating this so-called integration.'

Dr. Bates

8.2 Undergraduate Institution Choices

Different factors come into play when learners decide they are going to pursue higher education. It is typical, however, for learners to attend college as undergraduates in the state in which they grew up as the tuition is cheaper. For Black students entering college affordability is a huge factor, more than their White counterparts, but race was, and still is, another deciding factor on which college to attend.

> 'I chose Bennett College [HBCU] in Greensboro because the other women [students] looked like me and I felt very comfortable and as a first-time college student in my family I didn't have any other references and my family was happy with my choice'. **Dr. Parks**

> 'The reason I chose a Black college was my mother; she attended a Black college…. And that was the narrative for me and my siblings….' **Dr. Blackmore**

Whilst some participants chose HBCUs for their undergraduate experience as a sense of pride and comradery, one participant was steered away from considering an HBCU at the undergraduate level through the negative stigma that HBCUs are 'second-class' institutions.

> 'My high school class visited the University of Virginia and I fell in love with the campus…. So, it was a dream to go to the University of Virginia. We had

a cousin going to Virginia State [HBCU] and…mom said that that's like going to a community college and she wanted us to be challenged more and so we ended up going to the University of Virginia.' **Dr. Davis**

Immediate family is a strong determinant in the initiation of adolescents' ambition to go to college, but family location is not often thought of as being a factor. Black students who hail from rural locations typically are disadvantaged as small counties have low budgets and educational facilities and programs are impoverished. Lee (1984) noted in their study of Black rural adolescents that families with who enforce rules, had open communication with their children, and families who made their eldest children role models, tended to produce young Black students who demanded higher education. Below is a detailed account of the one participants' struggle of navigating rural heritage and academic aspirations.

'There was seven of us…My family couldn't afford for all of us to be at school [college] at the same time; they couldn't afford to pay for us to go to school. One of my teachers told me when I was in the eighth grade that good grades could pay for school, so I made straight A's the entire time I was in high school. I had scholarship offers from several universities, most of them were in business; there was only one or two that were in engineering and those schools were so far away from Virginia that I wouldn't have been able to come home to see my family during the year. So, I went to visit… four of the five schools that I had actually applied [and was] accepted to and the [HBCU in North Carolina] was one of the schools that I visited. I visited with my mother and my sister. Dean C and the chairman of the accounting department Dr. K had already offered me a partial scholarship. My sisters had a co-worker was a graduate of [that HBCU] and he was a very active alumni and he encouraged me to apply for the alumni scholarship and made sure that I received that. So…school was going to be paid for. When we came to the campus Dr. K and Dean C told my sister that if I came to school and did what I was supposed to do then I would have my choice in jobs when I got ready to graduate and I would have internships every summer…(one

*thing that bothered my sister the most was that it took her a while to find the position when she first graduated from college and so she wanted to make sure that the rest of us who were in school [college] didn't just have degrees, but we had jobs). They told her that they could guarantee me a career [therefore] that kind of won her over. I took math and chemistry for engineering majors but I took the rest of the business school curriculum and when I finished my freshman year I had all A's but the engineering department wouldn't offer me a scholarship so I stayed in business because that is the only way I was going to be able to pay for my education.' **Dr. Murray**

Often, Black women in the U.S. who decide to pursue higher education enrol in programs under the arts, humanities, and social sciences. Although there is slight increase in the representation of Black women in Sciences, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) programmes (Borum and Walker, 2012), it is a challenge for Black women leave college with a STEM degree. In fact, only seven percent of degrees awarded in 2015 where bestowed upon Black students (Morton and Parsons, 2018). The low graduation rate of Black women in stem has been attributed to not only social structures such as racism and sexism, but also Black women's relationship with faculty. As noted in the above excerpt, having faculty members that genuinely understand a student's background and their needs is very helpful in retention.

8.3 Nurturing as Mentoring

Professors that completed their undergraduate degrees at HBCUs often had a professor or advisor which pushed them to move forward. They spoke of

becoming inspired by the appearance of professors, deans, and even university

presidents who made it their mission to know students and to guarantee them the

skills to thrive in a world that discriminates heavily against the Black populace.

> *At [my undergraduate HBCU] …I started off in allied health sciences...I initially wanted to be a respiratory therapist and [that HBCU] was one of the few institutions that had a respiratory therapy program. That is what initially attracted me to my HBCU but…once I got there my career path changed because I had an awesome, fantastic history professor who really challenged me to think and…gave some direction to that cultural thing that was just always in me. So I felt like everybody needed to know the types of things that he was teaching and that's when I made the decision to carry on the torch and do what he's doing and I can't depend on other people to do it so I must prepare myself to then teach it--and so, here I am.'* **Dr. Brown**

Another participant noted her mentoring seem to come from the idea that after she

graduated, she needed to be prepared for any and all opportunities.

> *'I love [my postgraduate HBCU]…[it] was HBCU part II [her second HBCU] and I don't want to make it seem like it was a party school because it wasn't. But the same mentoring…at [my undergraduate HBCU] I [received] ten times better at [my postgraduate HBCU]. Because they did understand that this is last stop, educationally, that you are going to get [the best] from us before we release you out into the real world. They were really hard on us and really strict on us. They did a really good job—they did a good job.'* **Dr. Moody**

Studies have noted that Black students who attend HBCUs are more inspired to

move pursue a career in academia, as a matter of fact, HBCUs help to not only

produce faculty within Black colleges but fifty percent of Black professors at non-

HBCUs graduated from an HBCU (Thurgood Marshall College Fund, 2019). The

participation rates in students' activities at HBCUs have been attributed to a

certain

confidence students receive from their interactions with HBCU faculty (Constantine, 1995). Also, the 'cultural thing' in which the above participant referenced was her cultural ties to the African American experience. African American culture is the unique way Blacks presents themselves—through literature, film, epistemology, art, lyric, language, and love to the world. HBCUs are known for providing a cultural legitimacy and understanding (James Earl Davis, Freeman, 1998, chap. 10) through education and through their graduates.

Some of the participants attended PWIs as undergraduates and they found it difficult as they not only were isolated often as students, but they did not have the support of Black faculty to help them through their experience. Isolation based on race has been noted as a reason for many Black students to drop out of PWIs (Feagin and Sikes, 1994, chap. 3) as microaggressions, a lack of race understanding, and blatant racism detracts the student away from focussing on success(Patterson-Stephens and Hernández, 2018). Nevertheless, one of the professors' reflection on being Black undergraduate at a PWI showed that some White faculty members more encouraging than discouraging.

> *'[During] my freshman year…my counsellor saw that I was getting high marks in the humanities and that is when I changed my major to history. [In class] the way he [White professor] taught U.S. history—I never experienced that. He suggested that I should do a PhD and teach at the college level. I told him I wanted to do my PhD in African and African American studies, but he wasn't happy with that because he felt like that wouldn't be marketable, but I told him that I felt it was.' I told him I would apply at an HBCU because I didn't want my dissertation to be so controlled by White people [but]…he knew that if I had chosen to go to an HBCU my ability to get financial aid and teaching*

fellowships would be limited as opposed to a PWI...but I chose [my graduate HBCU] because I didn't want the politics [of race] involved with my dissertation writing.' **Dr. Bates**

8.4 Extended Family

A recurring theme amongst the participants was the feeling of family whilst attending HBCUs. Educational institutions are designed to reflect what is important to culture, politics, and history in which it has been rooted (Allen and Jewell, 2007). The HBCUs arises from a culture of Black uplift, community, perseverance, and transformation. For generations the HBCUs have opened their arms to Black students, many who a first generation, promising to provide a home for them and nurture them and to impart upon them the skills to become productive members of society.

One participant elaborates on the link between the relative family and the HBCU family:

'There is a type of responsibility to our students that you probably won't find at a larger school in terms of looking at the students the way that you would look at your own children. I have teenage children that are making their way to college within the next year; in two months actually. So, you come into this thinking like these are someone's kids. They have specifically chosen to allow their child to come to us at this HBCU because they believe there is going to be a level of discipline, care, and concern for their child.' **Dr. Hawkins-Brown**

Another participant reflects how wisdom passed down to her from postgraduate HBCU family, forges her interactions as a HBCU professor:

'As I was preparing to leave [my postgraduate HBCU] the chair and other committee members took me out to eat. One thing that Dr. T [one of the members] said to me was, "I'm going to tell you exactly what my chair said to me when I graduated with my doctorate and went [to teach] at an HBCU…DO NOT GO THERE FAILING THOSE STUDENTS." That has resonated with me and stayed with me throughout my career at Delfonics State University. I go a little extra for students. I try to get to know their families in order to know what is going on with them because when you're going to an HBCU, it is a more family-oriented concept.' **Dr. Lou-Hammer**

Factors that divert Black students away from PWIs and towards HBCUs include tuition rates, hostility on PWI campuses, and a sense of community exclusion. On the other hand, a students' success includes elements such as belongingness, community membership, social inclusion, and representation (Boyer, 1984; Kraft, 1991). The 'extended family' core of many HBCUs enhance academic achievement by their, 'informal contact with faculty, strong academic values, administration and faculty beliefs that every individual can and will succeed, diverse curricular and extra-curricular options, and attention to remedying poor high school preparation…Thus although not all black colleges are the same, they seem more likely to provide a supportive institutional climate for black students than do White colleges' (Fleming, 1983, pp. 44–5). It appears that HBCU faculty members inform their students with the knowledge that racial discrimination in the work, academia, wages, is still prevalent in the U.S. as is was in reconstruction. Thus, the phrase, 'Don't fail them,' not only relates to the skills Black students need to be successful in their desired fields, but the awareness that although their reality is likely to be

plagued with challenges due to your race/gender and other factors, their endurance is a way of fighting back.

8.5 Organisational Outlets

Black women have a long past of sharing each other's burdens. During the period of US African enslavement many women took care of children that were not biologically their own. As the law and labour landscapes in the US changed, the caring practices of Black women branched out, typically starting within the church (Collins, 2000a, p. 65). As coping mechanisms, ways to empower themselves, or perhaps because of religious belief, several participants tapped the shoulders of organisations to help them in their collegiate and academic career.

> *'I had huge financial assistance from my church actually, even applied for scholarships through the church. So my church ended up paying for one year and the second year was paid for by [my graduate HBCU].'* ***Dr. Hawkins-Brown***

When asked if she was a part of any other organisations as she obtained whilst going through college, she mentioned that her time was limited as she as a caregiver for her mother. In contrast to the Moynihan report (1965, p. 29) which infers that strong Black women 'retards' US society, the participant used her study of the traits of strong women find ways to cope with her work/family dynamics. She explains that:

'I was learning and looking at the differences in how female leadership played out in the academic environment as opposed to how it played out in the corporate environment. I am a part of professional organisations now and a few leadership organisations. I am a part of professional organisations in my field so again that exposes me to other mentors and other women who were pioneers…' **Dr. Hawkins Brown**

8.6 Accountability

As the participants reflected on their positions as HBCU faculty members they collectively used the term, accountability. Teaching at an HBCU was used as a way to challenge the various disparities; socioeconomic, political, educational, barriers that Blacks continue to face. Although the participants may not have labelled their actions as activism, their dedication to Black education is a movement—an ongoing movement. As Williams (2005, p. 96) stated, 'Teaching amounted to a political act for African Americans in the emancipation period….And it was an act of courage….Entering the classroom to teach other black people was an open challenge to slavery's insistence on illiteracy…'.

Whilst all the participants found HBCUs as important institutions in US higher education, they all mentioned certain aspects in which they consider imperative in order for an institution to remain relevant and productive—some attributes which certain HBCUs may find challenging. For instance, one professor stated:

So, first of all, you have to look at the money. You have look at endowments. You have to look at the alumni support and that they are bringing in big dollars or are people giving us big dollars to be able to some great things. Because when you have those big dollars you can bring in fellows and faculty that have notoriety in their respective disciplines. **Dr. Hawkins-Brown**

One of the main drawbacks of attending HBCUs is their lack of funding. When the

university has problems in financing, it is hard to offer scholarships, fellowships, and

competitive salaries. Being 'strapped for cash' has a trickle-down effect which is

especially hard on HBCUs and their students whose parents are more likely to be

working class and rely on grants, loans, and scholarships to cover tuition and fees.

Waymer and Street (2016) reported how the financial hardships of HBCUs are often

perceived by a widely known educational journal and how it can affect potential

students.

One of the participants who was familiar with the affect her state

government had on the HBCU where she worked, had a passionate conversation

about educational politics.

> *If you compare EWF University in which I work for to all the rest of other
> public [PWI] higher education institutions in this state and start looking at
> how much money the rest of these universities are getting as opposed to the
> funding we are getting, it is not the same. [A prominent PWI] in our state is a
> 1862 land-grant school…[thus] the federal government gave them land and
> now the federal government gives them money for their land-grant mission.
> As a part of giving them money for the land-grant mission, the state…is
> supposed to match what the federal government gives. The [prominent PWI
> in my state] is matched and then it is over-matched. EWF University which is
> a 1890 land-grant institution…is not only not matched but the federal
> government is only giving us seven million [yet the state government
> provides] five-hundred thousand out of seven million. Then, the government
> of [the state] acts like, "Hey, you better be glad you got that". And in reality,
> this is very true. They don't have any intention of matching it; they don't care
> if they match it. But hey, we have to jump through the same hoops as
> everybody else…yes, we do.'* **Dr. Evers**

Highlighted in the literature review, many of the HBCUs, and various other

colleges in the US, branched from a sect of organised religion. The African

Methodist Episcopal Church (AME)[27] had a tremendous impact on the generation

and upkeep of several HBCUs. Reminisce of the connection between HBCUs and the

AME church can still be witnessed on such as can be found at Wilberforce University

in Ohio. However, just as Dubois found the ties between church and education

repugnant (Dubois, 1940, p. 564), one professor found the connection to be a cause

of underdevelopment.

'W*hen you compare PWIs to HBCUs, at PWIs they tend to highlight the
faculty. They sell the business of education in scholarship. You might not even ever
know who the president is; you may not even see him because he is off campus
somewhere generating money—every once in a while he may pop up at events just
to show support of the students, but it is not about him or her. At HBCUs, it is all
about the administration. Some HBCUs, not all, seem to be like a little Black church,
with this mystical reverence of the president and the provost and I feel like they do
not do a good job selling the business of education.* **Dr. Moody**

8.7 Findings Conclusion

Although the university administrators may not be in tune with pulse of the

HBCUs, clearly, these participants, the Black women professors, care and hold

themselves accountable. Whilst these women forged their path through the

racialised academy of the US, sometimes with amour, and at other times with tears,

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[27] The African Methodist Episcopal Church was established out of the Free African Society in
Pennsylvania the late eighteenth century. The insistence of racial segregation within the Methodist
Episcopal Church spurred the creation of the AME (Dickerson, 2019).

they never questioned the value of the education they received at their HBCUs—a

compliment to US higher education. Most of these HBCU Black women professors

felt undervalued, perhaps mirroring the devalued existence of Black women in the

broader society. Disheartening as that may be, they will continue to administer,

teach, write, shape, and agitate the whole of academia to create spaces for their

faces and voices.

SECTION FIVE—CONCLUSION

Chapter 9—Moving Onward

9.1 Clarity in the Studies of Higher Education

The concept of higher education being used for the benefit of most within one's society seems not to be the reality. This research has only wedged the shovel in the dirt in one area of research, the HBCU Black women professors, and has dug only one scoop of earth, following another, concerning the research on the academic prestige hierarchy in the United States. The connection between societal underdevelopment and the academic prestige hierarchy needs further development.

9.2 HBCU Support and Promotion

There are not many books on the HBCUs, let alone the individual colleges and universities that make up that label. Considering the academic prestige hierarchy, most analysis of U.S. higher education are flawed—they either did not care to diligently examine the HBCUs or ignored them. Today there stands maybe four text that collectively define the HBCUs notwithstanding their presence within U.S. higher education for over a century. Meanwhile, there are countless texts on Yale, Yale professors, Yale architecture, etc. This type of discrepancy in the realm of social research stands to be corrected. Especially accounting for the push for colleges and universities to globalise their student body because despite the

vernacular use of 'minority' to constitute non-whites, it is those same people who populate most of the globe. Thus, it would be a great importance for us to look at the institutions where these 'minorities' flourish—not just in the U.S. as South Africa also has its versions of HBCUs as well.

In very recent times the academic prestige hierarchy has come under scrutiny through the U.S. college admission scams. This practice is not new, but the media coverage has increased the public commentary.

The U.K. recently had media coverage on a battle of academic hierarchies when Tory MP Jacob Rees-Mogg, who went to Eton College, taunted fellow party members who went to a public college. Rees-Mogg chose to scold his colleague in the heat of a Brexit debate.

Both skirmishes spark commentary about the remaining mystery of how the prestigious graduates who assume the positions in the highest levels of government, industry and society have not managed to find or create solutions to the issues they designed. Perhaps the public battles of those at the supposed top of the academic hierarchy will finally encourage the masses and the scholars to start looking at eerie, homogenous top consisting of mostly wealth, white males rather than the constant barrage of 'others' for the ways in which their societies are decaying.

9.3 Further Research of HBCU Faculty

As 'outsiders-within' college faculty, as professors of colleges and universities

whose institutions are outsiders (HBCU) within the US academic prestige hierarchy,

the Black women of this study shared a unique and valuable take on what a

successful academy of higher education encompass. What better way to critique an

institution except by those it most ostracises? Their halls of academe are to possess:

excellent faculty scholarship; superb student satisfaction; tangible race and gender

inclusivity; nurture; mission to develop their local communities (with the hopes of

expanding development further); alumni success; selective admissions; faculty

satisfaction; high graduation rates; endowments; accreditation; and course

flexibility. How to go about looking for such institutions may seem either daunting or

quite simple—with the availability of ranking mechanism. However, it can most

surely be implied that that those statistic are not coming from those the student and

faculty most discriminate against.

9.4 HBCU Gifts to the World

If there is a key ingredient that the HBCUs as a collective can pass on the

colleges and universities across the globe it would be: IMPACT. The 100+ colleges

and universities which constitute the HBCUs, produce and are still producing some

of the most progressive human beings—using their existence as a type of activism

for a more developed neighbourhood, town, city, and world. In a world of

differences, stress, loneliness, discrimination, and frustrations—the essence of the

HBCUs remain: You Will Always Have a Place to Call Home[coming].
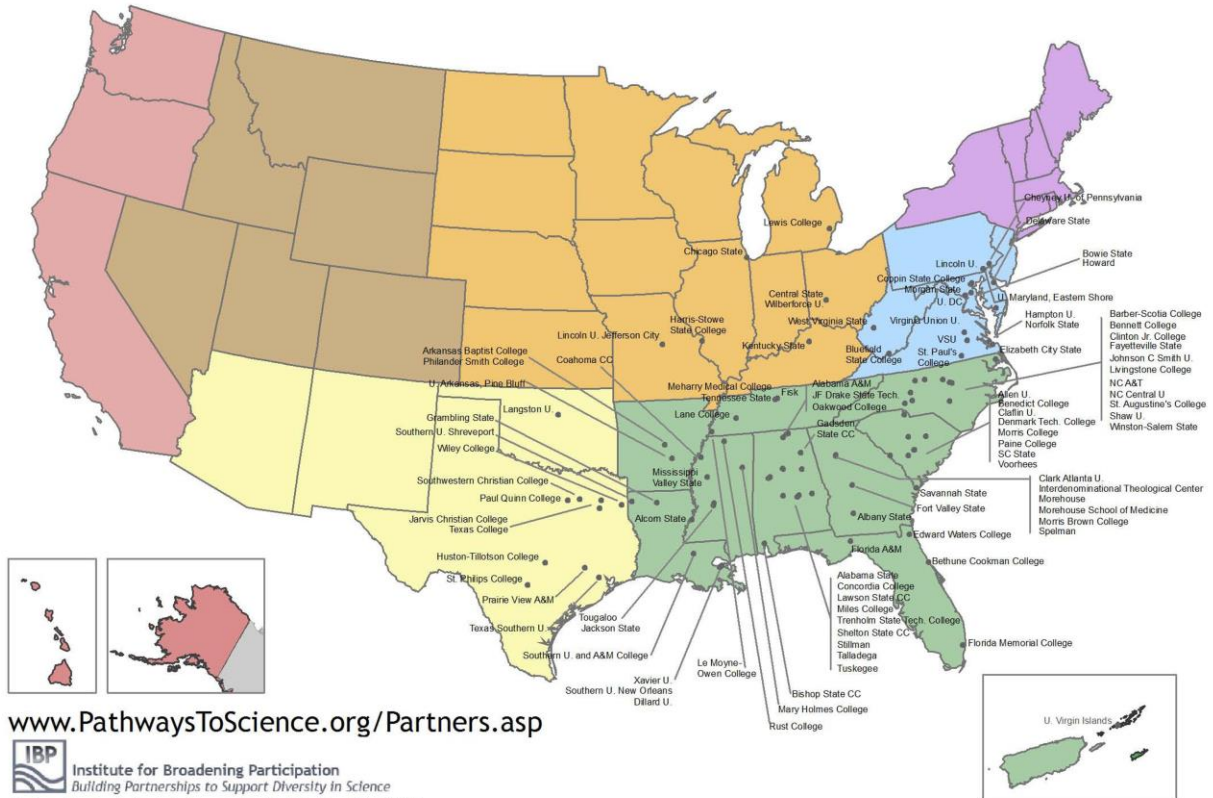
*Illustration 3.1 Map of HBCUs in the United States(Stassun, Burger and Lange, 2011)

Appendix B

Participant Information Sheet

Dear Professor,

I, Tiffany R. Holloman, am inviting you to participate in an interview for

Undervalued: The HBCU Black Woman Professor and the U.S. Academic Prestige

Hierarchy on behalf of the University of Leeds, UK where I am currently a PhD

student.

The purpose of my research study is to investigate the professional careers of Black

women professors at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the

United States who graduated from an HBCU at some point in their career. I'm

searching for full-time women professors who self-identify as African American. I

will seek information from you about your thoughts and feelings regarding the

American academe, your career path, the education of Black women in America, and

the importance of your work in HBCU institutions. Interview questions will surround

topics of your collegiate path; the production and promotion of academic

scholarship, your experience in the academic hierarchy, HBCU work environments

from a gendered perspective, the future of Black women professionals in general,

etc. The data will be collected with the participants' permission using an audio

recording device via a telephone interview.

If you are interested, please send me an email asap as I trying to get to work asap.

You have been selected for this study because you are currently a full-time Black American woman professor of a Historically Black College and/or University (HBCUs) in the United States and have graduated from a HBCU at some point in your pursuits. Please complete the consent form and email it back. Remember to state if you wish to have your personal information anonymized. We will arrange and meeting time and place on your campus in communications to come.

Please respond immediately whether you would like to participate so that I may have an accurate data set established (20-30 professors) before moving forward. Please note—you may withdraw at any time leading up to the interview but after the interview withdrawing is not permitted as doing so would cause an inadequate sample size.

Thank you for your time and consideration. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

T. R. Holloman
sstrh@leeds.ac.uk
Department of Sociology & Social Policy
University of Leeds
https://leeds.academia.edu/TiffanyHolloman

Appendix C

Participant Consent Form

Consent to take part in:

Undervalued
The HBCU Black Woman Professor and the U.S. Academic Prestige Hierarchy

	Add your initials next to the statements you agree with
I confirm that I have read and understand the '*Undervalued*' information letter explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	
I agree for the data collected from me to be used in relevant future research.	
I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the lead researcher should my contact details change.	

Name of participant	
Participant's signature	
Date	
Name of lead researcher	Tiffany R. Holloman
Signature	
Date	

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/ information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.

Appendix D

Interview Guide

Interview Questions Guide

Undervalued? The HBCU Black Woman Professor and the American Academic

Prestige Hierarchy

1. Describe your career path, which colleges/universities were attended and why?

2. Are you a member of any academic associations/organizations? If so, which ones?

3. Why are you teaching at an HBCU?

4. How do you define a prestigious university?

5. Are you aware of the university ranking systems?

6. How do you feel universities are ranked? For example, what parameters do you believe are measurements?

7. Are you aware that HBCUs are ranked? If so, do you know how they are ranked?

8. Do you consider HBCUs prestigious? Why or why not?

9. My research so far shows has come across interesting facts concerning organizations that historically have ranked American universities, how do you feel that one of the founding members of one of these organizations was also on the American Eugenics Association board?

10. Vital Statistical info? (Age, marital status, parenthood).

11. What are your thoughts on being a Black woman professor in a HBCU?

Appendix E

Institutional Review Board Approval

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee

University of Leeds

	Who Defines Rank? A Historical Sociological Glance at the
Title of study:	**HBCU Woman Professor and the American Academic Prestige**
	Hierarchy *Initial Title

Ethics reference: **AREA 15-138 amendment Oct 16**

I am pleased to inform you that your amendment to the research application listed

above has been reviewed by a delegate of the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA)

Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the

committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the

date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
AREA 15-138 amendment Oct 16 Tipp's Signed Ethical Review from (2).doc	2	31/10/16
AREA 15-138 amendment Oct 16 Amendment_form.doc	1	11/10/16
AREA 15-138 amendment Oct 16 Sample Participant Information Sheet 2016.doc	1	11/10/16
AREA 15-138 amendment Oct 16 Informed Consent Form II.doc	1	11/10/16
AREA 15-138 Tipp's Signed Ethical Review from.doc	3	05/07/16
AREA 15-138 Sample Participant Information Sheet 2016.doc	2	05/07/16
AREA 15-138 Informed Consent Form II.doc	1	14/06/16
AREA 15-138 Draft Interview Questions.docx	1	14/06/16
AREA 15-138 Risk Assessment (High) 2016 (2).docx	2	14/06/16

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any further amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval as all changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie

Senior Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service

On behalf of Dr Kahryn Hughes, Chair, AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

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