California State University,

Fullerton

LIFTING AS WE CLIMB: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF CRITICAL METHODS AND APPROACHES OF THE LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMAN ACTIVIST-EDUCATOR

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By

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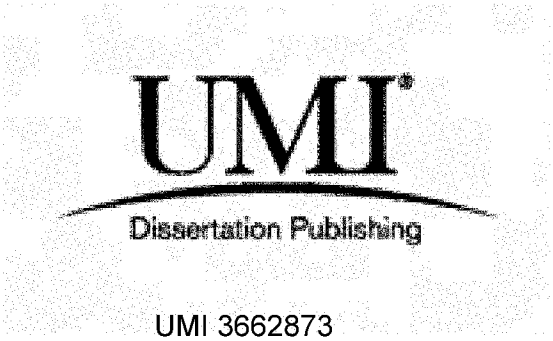

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examines the critical methods and approaches brought fourth by late nineteenth-century African American women educators Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E. W. Harper in their task of imparting skills for the regeneration of the Black race. Too few people have explored the ways in which their work speaks to the importance of culturally relevant education. Fewer have argued on the relevance of their writings, philosophies, and approaches to present-day educational deficiencies in higher education settings. The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore Cooper and Harper's written work and extract themes that may speak to the importance of culturally relevant education. Second, this study sought to offer a critical examination of the possible contributions that Cooper and Harper can make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students.

The following published works written by Cooper and Harper were used in this study: "The Colored People in America" (Harper, 1854), "Duty to Dependent Races" (Harper, 1891), "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women in the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation: A Response to Fannie Barrier Williams" (Cooper, 1893), and "On Education" (Cooper, 1930s). A close analysis of each text was performed, and patterns and emerging themes were extracted. The data was then coded and reasonable conclusions were drawn about their written work.

Five key themes emerged from Cooper and Harper's written work: commitment to faith, commitment to freedom, commitment to sacrifice, commitment to resistance and struggle, and commitment to the future – all of which were characterized under the overarching concept of tradition. The written data demonstrated clear evidence of thought and practice grounded in African culture and tradition. The findings for this study reveal a number of significant ways that the pedagogies of Cooper and Harper can contribute to the pedagogical model of teaching African American student populations in their pursuit of academic success and achievement.

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DEDICATION

In memory of my mother and father. May the good they left last forever.

And in memory of our ancestors—the bridges that carried *us* over.

Hotep. Ashe. Heri.

The Odu Ifa (10:2) reads,

Odu asked, "What is my power?"

Olodumare said, "You will be their mother forever.

And you will also sustain the world."

Olodumare, then, gave [Odu] power.

And when he gave her power, he gave her the *spirit* of the bird.

It was then that he gave women the power and authority so that anything that men wished to do, they could not dare do it successfully without women.

. . . Obarisa said that people should always respect women greatly.

For if they always respect women greatly, the world will be in good and right order.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A critical examination of pedagogical practices grounded in the liberatory traditions of Black intellectual culture promises to offer an important framework for enriching the current educational process and our understanding of different ways of providing education. The writings and work of late nineteenth-century African American educators Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E. W. Harper may contain an important source for such liberatory pedagogy. Cooper and Harper cultivated visionary practices that proved valuable to advancing the educational interests of people of African descent during and immediately following the Holocaust of enslavement. Their methodology is grounded firmly in African-centered womanism—a moral stance and intellectual social strategy directed toward giving voice, securing rights, and achieving power for African women and the African community as a whole. Scholars Karenga and Tembo (2012) indicated in their seminal work, "Kawaida Womanism: African Ways of Being Woman in the World," that African-centered womanism pays special attention to "the rights and dignity of women, their agency, their rightful relationship with men, and the vital roles they play in the construction, maintenance and development of family, community, society and the world" (p. 33). This study explored the various ways that Cooper and Harper's methodologies may contribute to the

academic achievement and success of African American student populations in higher education institutions.

Background of the Problem

Current data on graduate rates for African American students in two- and four-year institutions nationwide report that only 45% percent of African American students attain degrees (Barker, 2011; The Persisting Racial Gap in Higher Education, 2013). In the 2008-2009 academic year, African American students represented a mere 7% percent of the total number of students who attained degrees at the community college level in California (Moore & Shulock, 2010). Of greater significance, in this same year, nearly half of all African American students dropped out of their respective institution by their second year of study (Harris & Bensimon, 2007; Moore & Shulock, 2010). Although California colleges and universities have increased the overall number of African American student enrollments in higher education settings, they have failed to retain and successfully assist this marginalized group in increasing degree attainment rates (Moore & Shulock, 2010). These distressing statistics are by no means defined as *success* in accordance with the California Master Plan of 1960, which explicitly measures success for community colleges by their ability to prepare and develop degree transferable students for four-year institutions (California Department of Education, 1960; Thelin, 2004). Moreover, these statistics denote a failure to carry out the prescriptive measure of the 1991 Amendment to the California

State Education Code: Chapter 1198, Section 66010.2, which mandates California higher education institutions to provide the following:

> Access to education and the opportunity for educational success . . . [with particular efforts to] those who are historically and currently underrepresented in both their graduation rates from secondary institutions and in their attendance at California higher educational institutions. (Regents of the University of California, 2011)

With respect to community colleges, to claim that these institutions are teaching institutions undergirds the fundamental assumption that within the walls of these institutions, culturally-inclusive "curricular programs, teaching strategies and instructional materials are the basic tools for translating educational ideas, visions and goals and policies into realities" that best meet the needs of all students and lead to continued degree attainment and transfer rates (Gay, 1990, p. 57; see also Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Thelin, 2004). Scholars argue, however, that two-and four-year institutions carry out the opposite in the classroom. This undermines the historical experiences of people of color and inhibits culturally distinct ways of learning and resolving issues in the world (Shujaa, 1994). When this happens, educators sacrifice essential opportunities for marginalized groups to achieve academic success (Shujaa, 1994), and, thus, reinforces firmly what Ladson-Billings (1994) deems true, i.e., the quality of education that ethnic populations (in this case, African American populations) receive in public, higher education institutions is poor, largely because it does not meet the needs of these students. The

solution, according to Delpit (1992), is "not necessarily to create the perfect 'culturally-matched' learning situation for each student, but rather to recognize when there is a problem" and seek relevant solutions in the most broad and multifarious ways (p. 237).

Among the many challenges for higher education leaders is the implementation of suitable policies and practices that address the low academic achievement rates of African American student populations. Similar to Ladson-Billings, Boykin (2000) makes the claim that African American students have not been well served in public, post-secondary institutions, as evidenced by the low retention, degree, and transfer rates of this population. Recognizing the relationship between academic success and pedagogy, many scholars assent to Woodson's (1933) discord toward the overall European-centeredness of higher education instructional practices that, according to Woodson (1933), only aim to uphold the status quo. It is clear that for Woodson (1933) and other scholars, the application of culturally deficient pedagogical models is without question ineffective in providing a good and useful education for African American student populations.

Several scholars have demonstrated the serious need for culturally relevant teaching practices in higher education settings. As an illustration, Boykin (2000) wrote that our failure to integrate African-centered pedagogies into classroom teaching practices suppresses our ability to "[build] on the cultural assets African American children bring with them to school, and ultimately [foster] positive life transformation for black children through cultural

empowerment" (p. 143). In like manner, Woodson (1933) argued that current educational practices essentially educate students away from their culture, which he claimed handicaps the student by preventing him from becoming a "constructive force in the development of [his or her] race" (p. 3). Indeed, there is a need for increased research on the impact of culturally relevant pedagogies on African American students' academic performance and achievement in higher education settings (Boykin, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Shujaa, 1994).

Despite educators who question African American student interest in higher education, and claims from others who argue that it is the student's lack of interest in achieving academic success that leads to low retention, degree attainment, and graduate rates, key scholars report in their research the primal importance and longstanding significance of education to the African American community. To demonstrate, Woodson in his text, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (1968), conveyed how enslaved Africans in the United States would "[steal] away to secret places at night to study under the direction of friends" (p. 13). Woodson (1968) also demonstrated the steadfast desire of an oppressed African people during the enslavement era to gain access to information when he wrote, "Some learned by intuition without having had the guidance of an instructor" (p. 13). In addition, Anderson (1988) disclosed how Africans, both free and enslaved, connected education to freedom as early as the 1800s. For example, the first institutions constructed by African Americans prior to and immediately

following the Holocaust of enslavement in the United States were schools and churches (Anderson, 1988; Shujaa, 1994). Furthermore, Shujaa (1994) made the claim that the unyielding efforts of the African American community to construct educational institutions within their own communities from the "ground up with their own hands and resources" demonstrated the value and importance that African Americans placed on both vocation and academics (p. 4). This also signified a self-determining factor to provide education for themselves and for the betterment of their communities. Comparatively, we can certainly look to pre- and post-African American Civil War educators and activists such as Maria W. Stewart who, associating knowledge with liberation, took part in guiding African American attention toward "knowledge and improvement" as a way to "beat the yoke of oppression" (Stewart, 1996, p. 397).

It is likely Shujaa's (1994) distinction between education and schooling and his claim that the excess of *schooling* that African American students receive in public institutions instead of *education* discourages them from pursuing education in formal settings provides key insights and understanding of low retention, degree attainment, and transfer rates for African American students in higher education settings. Shujaa (1994) defined schooling as a process intended to "perpetuate and maintain society's existing power relations and the institutional structures that support those arrangements," while education, according to Shujaa (1994), serves as a process to "[transmit] from one generation to the next knowledge of values, aesthetics,

spiritual beliefs, and all things that give a particular cultural orientation its uniqueness" (p. 15). Significantly, he argues that the excess of schooling that African American students receive in public education institutions is neither culturally relevant to themselves nor to their community. This, according to Shujaa (1994), ultimately leads to low academic achievement and success.

Problem Statement

Nineteenth-century African American women educators Cooper and Harper brought forth an educational framework grounded uniquely in the liberatory traditions of Black culture. Too few people have explored the ways in which their works may speak to the importance of culturally relevant education. Although scholars have studied and written about the relevance of culturally inclusive pedagogies in post-secondary classrooms and the relationship between academic achievement and African American students, few have argued on the relevance of these nineteenth-century African American educators' writings, philosophies, and approaches to present-day educational deficiencies in higher education settings.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore Cooper and Harper's works and extract themes that may speak to the importance of culturally relevant education. Second, this study sought to offer a critical examination of the possible contributions that Cooper and Harper can make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided this qualitative research study:

1. What primary themes, ideas, terms, and topics are prevalent in the pedagogy of Cooper and Harper that speak to the importance of culturally relevant education?
2. What possible contributions can the pedagogies of these two nineteenth-century educators make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students in their pursuit of academic success and achievement?

Significance of the Study

This qualitative study addressed gaps in teaching practices by arguing that the critical methods and approaches utilized by Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E.W. Harper are both suitable and necessary for the onerous task of educating the present generation of African American students. Examined through an African-centered womanist lens, this study sought to recover and explore Cooper and Harper's written work and methodologies for the purpose of integrating a culturally relevant pedagogical model into higher education institutions to address educational deficiencies such as retention, transfer, and certificate and degree attainment rates for African American populations that could cultivate student interests in the critical issues and conditions confronting the world. This study may be of special interest to higher education leaders, practitioners, and administrators who share an interest in

employing practices that best meet the needs of marginalized student populations. With this in mind, since the concentration here is on retention, the goal was to offer a sustainable institutional environment in which *all* students can flourish.

Scope of the Study

This study used historical methodology, Afrocentric research methodology, and content analysis to demonstrate the ways in which Harper and Cooper developed essential concepts for their own pedagogies (Loewenberg & Bogin, 1976; Logan, 1999 May, 2007). This study explored the ways in which Cooper and Harper's philosophies are grounded in African-centered womanism. Since little is written about their methods of providing a culturally relevant education to African American students, this research also concerned itself with giving voice to marginalized African American women who waged an incredible struggle against oppression.

Assumptions

One major assumption of this study was that Harper and Cooper's writings, works, and philosophies can contribute to the development of a culturally relevant pedagogy. A second major assumption was that Harper and Cooper's writings contain a distinct teaching methodology.

Study Delimitations

Common to historical methodology, this study limited its focus to the works of Harper and Cooper, despite the numerous African American women educators who taught from this perspective both knowingly and unknowingly

and with similar determination to perform what was commonly known during the nineteenth and twentieth century as *racial uplift*, i.e., the process and practice of liberating the African American community through education. Likewise, Cooper and Harper's written works were chosen because a considerable amount of their work has been published and therefore is accessible, unlike other lesser-known educators.

Study Limitations

Since I chose to study African American women who lived during the nineteenth century, I was faced with the indisputable truth that some of their written work may not have been properly preserved nor recorded. Moreover, much of their written work, e.g., the curriculum from which they taught has been lost or destroyed. Another key concern was that many of their original works have been reprinted and may contain slight variations. Since these women did not have access to modern-day devices designed to preserve documents, recovery of some of their original work is nearly impossible.

Definitions of Key Terms

African. This term refers to African people on the continent of Africa and those in the Diaspora (Karenga, 2010).

African American. This term refers to people of African descent in the United States whose ancestors were enslaved during the Holocaust of enslavement. These individuals are also referred to as descendants of enslaved Africans in the United States (Karenga, 2010).

African-centered womanism. This term is largely defined as a moral stance and intellectual and social strategy directed toward giving voice, securing rights, and achieving power for Africana women along with the African community as a whole (Karenga & Tembo, C, 2012).

Afrocentricity. This term is defined simply as placing African ideals at the center of analysis that involves African culture and behavior (Asante, 2010).

Afrocentric perspective. This term is defined as the critical viewpoint centered within the culture in which Africans are the subjects and agents of their own history (Karenga, 2010).

Black or Black race. This term is an informal, colloquial reference to all people of African descent and is sometimes used interchangeably with African or African American.

Black studies. This term refers to Black studies as a discipline, more specifically, a specialized branch of study and knowledge. This term is defined as the "critical and systematic study of the thought and practice of African people in the current and historical unfolding" (Karenga, 2010, p. 3).

Kawaida philosophy. This term is defined as the communitarian African philosophy created in the context of the African American liberation struggle and developed as an ongoing synthesis of the best of African thought and practice in constant exchange with the world (Karenga, 2008).

Kawaida womanism. This term is defined as culturally grounded thought and practice directed toward the liberation of African women as an integral part of the liberation of African people (Karenga & Tembo, 2012).

Womanism. This term is defined as a social change perspective rooted in Black women's and other women of color's everyday experiences and everyday methods of solving problems (Phillips, 2006).

Organization of the Dissertation

To summarize, the important work and writings of late nineteenth-century African American women educators Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E. W. Harper offer a real and necessary occasion to recover, reaffirm, sustain, and apply African intellectual culture to address current educational deficiencies, such as the marginalization of African American populations in higher education institutions. Cooper and Harper's methodologies are valuable because they stress cultivating in students the capacity to strive for academic excellence and to care for, heal, and develop themselves and their communities in the most expansive ways. Indeed, Cooper and Harper's philosophies are necessary for the purpose of progressing humanity forward in the most plausible and communal ways.

Chapter 1 provided an introduction of the research topic and a clear statement of the problem. Chapter 2 offers a review of the literature relevant to the research topic. Chapter 3 presents the methodology guiding the study. Chapter 4 offers the findings. Chapter five explores the findings and offers key recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Late nineteenth-century Black women educators Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E.W. Harper brought forth an educational framework grounded uniquely in the liberatory traditions of Black intellectual culture. The central tenets of their visionary discourse are rooted in African-centered womanism, the moral creed and theoretical compass used to transform African American communities during and immediately following the Holocaust of enslavement. This study explored Cooper and Harper's written work to determine the relevance of their methodologies to present-day educational deficiencies in higher education settings such as retention, degree attainment, and transfer rates among African American student populations. Equally, this study attempted to translate Cooper and Harper's theories into practice for the purpose of employing a culturally relevant pedagogical model capable of addressing the needs of African American student populations.

This review of the literature begins with a review of the Afrocentric method since this is the principle philosophical framework used in the examination of the human and social conditions that effect the African American academic achievement in higher educational settings. Likewise, African-centered womanist theory is examined in the literature review since it serves as the key theoretical and conceptual framework applied to the

examination of Harper and Cooper's works. Following the discussion of the philosophical, theoretical, and conceptual framework , a review of the history of key educators and activists prior to, during, and following the Holocaust of enslavement, followed by an examination of Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E.W. Harper's life and written works which underscores the relevance of this study and lays the groundwork for a pedagogical model suitable for African American populations in higher education settings. The remainder of the literature review is largely comprised of an examination of the research on the academic achievement gap of African American student populations in higher educational settings. Visible in the review of the literature is the application of culturally deficient pedagogies. Lacking from the literature are pedagogies that stem from the African American woman educators' philosophies and approaches to teaching which attempt to address critical concerns such as the retention and degree attainment rates of African American student populations in higher education settings.

Philosophical, Theoretical, and Conceptual Framework

The central aim of this study was to examine African phenomenon from a philosophical lens that centered the voice, values, and agency of African people (Asante, 2007). The purpose of studying African people and culture from an African-centered perspective was to demonstrate the relevance in examining phenomena that concerns people of African descent from a cultural lens. According to Asante (1990), the application of Afrocentricity as a research method creates an occasion for people to see

and interpret the world from a distinctly African cultural perspective. In addition, it allows for the observation of African people from a centered position wherein they essentially become the focal point. African-centered womanist theory, the theoretical and conceptual framework used in this study, concedes to the process of honoring the African woman's unique ways of liberating herself and her community and of resolving conflict in the world. Afrocentricity and African-centered womanist theory, then, are the applied lenses in the exploration of the relationship between the African American achievement gap in higher education settings and Cooper and Harper's written work.

Afrocentricity

Molefi Kete Asante (2007) cultivated the theory of Afrocentricity to serve as an African-centered theoretical model that seeks rightful inquiry and research of people of African descent. Although scholars have defined Afrocentricity in various ways, it should be understood, according to Asante (2007), as a "paradigmatic intellectual perspective that privileges African agency within the context of African history and culture transcontinentally and transgenerationally" (p. 2). Scholar Mazama (2002) wrote that Afrocentricity stresses the "importance of cultivating a consciousness of victory as opposed to dwelling in oppression," which is particularly validating to people who share similar language, cultural traditions, histories, and values (p. 6). To further make clear its form, scholar Karenga (2010) writes that Afrocentricity is markedly "the placing of African ideals at the center of an analysis that

involves African culture and behavior" (Karenga, 2010, p. 42; see also Asante, 1988). Prescribed as the "first and only reality for African people," Asante (1988) declared Afrocentricity a "transforming agent;" a philosophy that aims toward truth and the full liberation of African people (p. 2). The need for Afrocentricity, especially in research, then, stems from the relevance and value in relying upon one's own history and culture to determine their reality. To demonstrate this, Asante (1990) wrote, "in the contemporary, context must be derived from the most centered aspects of the African's being" (p. 9).

The relevance of Afrocentricity as a research methodology is reaffirmed in the practice of viewing phenomena, including historical truths, from the perspective of the African person (Asante, 1991). Afrocentricity essentially affords people of African descent the opportunity to study their language, behaviors, and indicative ways of being human in the world from their own worldview. To demonstrate further the essentialness of Afrocentricity as a viable methodology, Karenga (2010) affirmed that the most "effective and fruitful way of studying and understanding African people is from their own perspective" (p. 43). Accordingly, the benefit of studying oneself from one's own cultural perspective is powerful in that it gives people *agency* in the world (Asante, 2007). In the same way, observing people of African descent from an African worldview locates Africans within their own culture, which invariably leads to a more accurate view of the phenomena studied (Asante, 2007).

Asante (2007) established a clear process and methodology for conducting legitimate Afrocentric research. To begin, Asante (2007) wrote that the researcher must first locate from a historical context the phenomena studied. This, according to Asante (2007), is one of the most essential steps in gaining a conceptual frame of reference of the phenomena's relationship to history. Next, the researcher must examine closely the language used within the phenomena studied in order to determine the location of the author. And since Afrocentric research considers what Asante (2007) called the "imaginative structure of a system of economics, bureau of politics, policy of government ," in order to gain a more in-depth meaning of the phenomena studied (p. 27), the researcher must lastly consider the socio-political policies and structures in place at the time in which the phenomena occurred, since this, too, has a large-scale impact on the subject or phenomena studied.

One of the primary reasons that Afrocentricity serves as an excellent theoretical framework for this study is that it branches outward toward an African-centered pedagogical approach to educational practices (Asante, 1991). Asante (1991) wrote that the application of Afrocentric paradigm as an approach to educational practices demands for a critical examination of African history, culture, and traditional practices. Likewise, Asante (1991) stressed the need for teachers to provide students the opportunity to study the world, particularly Africa and its people, "concepts, and history from an African world view" (p. 171). By all means, such a pedagogical approach to teaching creates opportunities for African American students to see

themselves as historically and intellectually important people, and "centered" and central in the heart of "any discipline" (p. 171).

Some critics of Afrocentricity draw parallels between Afrocentricity and Eurocentricity, making claims that suggest Afrocentricity as the Black version of Eurocentricity (Asante, 1991). In contrast, Asante (1991), argued that this assumption negates Afrocentricity, meaning, it categorizes Afrocentricity as the lesser concept. Asante (1991) also points out that while Eurocentrism seeks to uphold and protect White privilege and other favorable successes for persons of European descent in areas such as politics, education, and positions of power in the world, Afrocentrism does not. Additionally, Asante (1991) emphasized that Eurocentrism presents itself as a universal concept—one that applies to all. Certainly, this notion privileges the European as the *better* human being since Eurocentrism is positioned as the standard. Afrocentricity, on the other hand, seeks to center the person of African descent in "his or her own experiences" as an African in the world instead of privileging him or her as superior human.

African-Centered Womanist Theory

A pedagogical practice grounded in African-centered womanist theory is central to the educational advancement of African American students in higher educational settings and important to our diverse understanding of the different ways of providing education. The term *womanism* is defined in different ways. The complexity in offering one central definition for womanism lays in the widespread and diverse characterizations of the term. The term

continues to expand, particularly as African American women find new ways of defining their experiences and themselves. Nonetheless, Layli Phillips offers a general definition of womanism. In her work, *The Womanist Reader* (2006) Phillips defines womanism as:

> a social change perspective rooted in Black women's and other women of color's everyday experiences and everyday methods of problem solving in everyday spaces, extended to the problem of ending all forms of oppression for all people, restoring the balance between people and the environment/nature, and reconciling human life with the spiritual dimension (p. 3).

Whereas womanism is continuously evolving, there are several theorists who developed early and distinct forms of womanism. Alice Walker was among the first attributed with bringing a form of womanism into being. In her work, *In Search of our Mother's Gardens* (1983), Walker characterized womanism as having derived from the term *womanish*, a term, she wrote, borrowed "from the black folk expression of mothers to female children" (Walker, 1979, p. 19; Walker, 1983). Moreover, Walker defined the term conceptually as "a black feminist or feminist of color" (Walker, 1983. p. xi) adding, "womanist is to feminist as purple to lavender" (Walker, 1983, p. xii).

Different from Walker's characterization of womanism is Chikwenye Okono Ogunyemi's (1985) concept of womanism which underscores the need for Black women not only to concern themselves with gender inequalities, but also to show equal concern for "racial, cultural, national, economic, and

political" gender inequalities as significant forms of oppression that afflict African people (p. 21). In her seminal work, "Womanism: The Dynamics of the Contemporary Black Female Novel in English" (1985), Ogunyemi pointed out that the distinction between White feminists and African women lies in the African woman's experiences of "past and present subjugation of the Black population" (Ogunyemi, 1985, p. 22). It is clear that Ogunyemi's concept of womanism situates the African women in her own culture, which shifts the focus from gender issues to critical issues that stem beyond gender that plague the African community.

In further contrast to Alice Walker's equating womanism to feminism, Clenora Hudson-Weems's (1989) concept of womanism is distinguishable from Walker's concept first in name, i.e., *Africana Womanism*, significant, according to Hudson-Weems, because it reflects the self-naming of oneself, and next in classification. In her essay, "Cultural and Agenda Conflicts in Academia: Critical Issues for Africana Woman's Studies" (1989), Hudson-Weems characterizes Africana womanism as a theoretical framework and methodology that challenges "sexual discrimination as well as race and class discrimination (Hudson-Weems, 1989, p. 37), however, within the context of African tradition and culture. Hudson-Weems wrote that though this concept of womanism, i.e., African-centered womanism, opposes male chauvinism, this particular theoretical perspective also abstains from "eliminating [African] men as allies in the struggle for liberation and family-hood" (Hudson-Weems, 1989, p. 37). It is clear that Hudson-Weems is emphasizing the importance of

men as equal sharers in the struggle against all forms of discrimination and oppression, and she is stressing the collectiveness in the fight for the liberation of African and all people. One of the most important distinctions that Hudson-Weems makes between Africana womanism and feminism is conversely in each ideological motive and justification for liberation. The feminist, she claims, aspires to be liberated *from* the family and its responsibilities, while the Africana womanist desires to be liberated *to* the "community, family, and its responsibilities" (Hudson-Weems, 1989, p. 37). Under this philosophical ideology, Hudson-Weems (1989) stresses the need for Africana women to make it their mission to strive to "reclaim security, stability, and nurturing of a family-based community" (Hudson-Weems, 1985, p. 38).

Other scholars stress the relevance of African-centered womanism and its centrality to African people. Tsuruta (2012) locates womanism within the cultural context of African culture and stresses the need for a form of womanism that is culturally rooted in the lived experience of Black culture. She (2012) argued that the term womanism must be preserved as an African-centered concept that reaffirms the values, voice, and customs of African women and their culture. Cannon (1988) emphasized the wisdom that continually transpires between African women, stemming of course from culture and lived experiences. She also illustrated the ways in which this wisdom is passed down from one generation to the next, declaring also that this particular way of operating in the world is unique to Black women and

African culture and substantive to their liberation and ability to live fully in the world (Cannon, 1988).

Kawaida Womanism. Although Ogunyemi's and Hudson-Weem's concepts of African-centered womanism are stressed in this study because of their emphasis on the liberation of African people and the community and their groundedness and respect for African culture and tradition, it is Kawaida womanism that constitutes the conceptual framework of this study. Kawaida womanism encompasses the inherited, long-continued practice of "struggle, creativity and resourcefulness" that constitutes the history and culture of African woman and people as a whole, and stresses the rights, dignity, and agency of African women and their liberation as an integral and indispensable part of the liberation of African people as a whole (Karenga & Tembo, 2012, p. 33). This "practice of struggle, creativity and resourcefulness" that is characteristic of Kawaida womanism originated from ancient African women, and was further cultivated by African women in the United States during the Holocaust of enslavement (Karenga & Tembo, 2012, p. 33).

Conceived from Kawaida philosophy, Kawaida womanism is defined as "culturally grounded thought and practice directed toward the liberation of African women as an integral and indispensable part of the liberation of African people as a whole, including the creation of conditions necessary for the well-being and flourishing of women, men and children in family" (Tembo, 1996, p. 1; see also Karenga & Tembo, 2012, p. 33). There are seven key aspects of Kawaida womanism: cultural grounding; spiritual and ethical

grounding; self-definition; family and community; Black women and men as partners in love, life, and struggle; sisterhood; and service and social activism (Karenga & Tembo, 2012). Karenga and Tembo (2012) argue for a form of womanism that stems from the history and culture of African people, and one that is "culturally grounded and specific to the Black woman" (p. 33).

Historical Framework

To fully understand Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E. W. Harper's commitment to the liberation of African women and African people as a whole, an extensive review of key African American scholars' intellectual sentiments on education during and immediately following the enslavement era is needed. A review of the scholarly literature written about Cooper and Harper's work is needed also. At first glance, what is clear in the literature is that both Cooper and Harper maintained pertinent views on educational programs for African American people, and developed essential concepts for their own pedagogies. A thorough review of the literature testifies to Cooper and Harper's responsibility to the Black community, their moral concern for the well-being of others, and their push for adequate education for oppressed people. These characteristics indeed situate their practices within a pedagogical framework rooted in African culture and tradition.

African American Intellectual Sentiments on Education During and Following the Holocaust of Enslavement

Key African American intellectuals during the nineteenth century devoted great attention to a serious discourse on the creation of a Black agenda that, among other things, included a strong educational plan intended

to elevate the condition of African Americans in the United States during the Holocaust of enslavement. The establishment of National Negro Conventions by Black intellectuals marked the "earliest organized political gatherings of African Americans outside the church" where prominent African American leaders gathered to construct an agenda that would lay the foundation for the task of educating people of African descent (Gates & Burton, 2011, p. lxv). These conventions spanned from 1831 to 1864 and throughout critical eras such as the Industrial Revolution and the Reconstruction Era. With collective attention to the need for an educational plan capable of uplifting African Americans out of poverty and oppression, the Black delegates at the first Nation Negro Convention in 1831 determined that "Education, Temperance and Economy [were all necessary conditions needed] to promote the elevation of [African people] to proper rank and standing among men" (Gates & Burton, 2011, p. 131). What is most significant about these meetings is that African Americans were practicing the self-determining concept of defining for themselves and for the African American community what was necessary, good, and possible.

Building upon the discourse of an educational plan for African Americans, the delegates at the 1853 National Negro Convention expanded the conversation further by posing critical questions concerning the kind of education that would benefit African Americans most. Their questions were: "What kind of educational institution would be best fit for us?" and "What is the best type of education to promote?" and " What is the role of education?"

(p. lxv). Surely since African Americans were living in the midst of the worst kinds of oppressive conditions during the 1850s, their answer was simply, "One that would develop power" in people and in the community (p. lxv). It was decided, then, that the need for educational institutions that emphasized "manual and academic training rather than one or the other" would afford African Americans the best possible outcome for lifting themselves out of their present conditions of poverty and enslavement, for participating politically and economically in government, and for creating and sustaining a viable workforce of intelligent and well-trained people (Gates & Burton, 2011, p. 134). This plan represented a strong thrust forward toward the creation of educational institutions that would ensure both classical and vocational education for African American people (Gates & Burton, 2011, p. 134).

Maria W. Stewart

Maria W. Stewart is arguably among the earliest of African American women to speak publically to wide audiences at lecture halls throughout the eastern and southern parts of the United States against slavery and in support of full emancipation. In 1832 and at the age of 29, Stewart addressed an audience in Boston, giving a speech titled, "Lecture Delivered at the Franklin Hall." As an abolitionist and activist who would later become a school teacher, she pointed toward racism and oppression as key systems that stood in the way of Black freedom and liberation, and called for African Americans to rise against these systems of oppression by joining the fight for liberation and independence. A deeply committed Christian, she integrated her spiritual

beliefs into the long and persistent fight for African American freedom and rights. She understood education as a way toward freedom, and so she advocated education as a means to gain freedom for all African American people and specifically for those who were enslaved or impoverished. Many of her speeches and writings were addressed to African American people, as she tirelessly worked to get African Americans to actively participate in freeing themselves and others in their community. She would continue to serve as an activist and scholar, and would later work almost exclusively as a teacher within Washington D.C.'s public school system.

Frederick Douglass

One of the most influential leaders who shaped the Black agenda for the regeneration of the African American condition during and following the Holocaust of enslavement was Frederick Douglass. A relentless abolitionist and extraordinary thinker and writer, Douglass's position on the type of education that would best elevate and advance African Americans from what he considered the most critical conditions of "poverty, ignorance, and degradation," and toward "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" was for manual institutions that would offer technical skills, instead of high schools and classical colleges that would offer a classical education (Douglass, 1853, p. 133). Douglass argued for industrial and vocational education, believing that this best represented our most "present and pressing wants," for three key reasons. First, he stated that "we ought not hope that in a single leap from our low condition, we can reach that of Ministers, Lawyers, Doctors,

Editors [and] Merchants" (Bell, 1964, p. 135). To clarify, Douglass believed that African Americans needed to further develop and build upon the skills that they already possessed, i.e., ones that they were already accustomed to. Increased mechanical training, according to Douglass, would lead to an increase in one's ability to earn a living. Second, Douglass argued that mechanical institutions were often readily available to African American youth. And according to Douglass, African American youth preferred mechanical training more often than a classical one. Douglass pointed out that those who chose both a classical and mechanical education were often over-qualified for the work that was readily available to them. Douglass stressed that in due time, a classical education—one that would lead to careers as doctors, ministers and lawyers—would be of necessity to the African community, however, only after African Americans had "patiently and laboriously and . . . successfully, mastered and passed through the intermediate gradations of agriculture and the mechanic arts" (Bell, 1964, p. 135).

Ida B. Wells

Ida B. Wells can indeed be classified among the strongest and most fierce writers, activists, and educators. Although Wells is well known as a journalist for her publications that aggregated and exposed horrific stories of the indiscriminate lynchings of African Americans prior to and during the Jim Crow era, she began her career early on as an educator. Wells fought against all forms of racial injustice and argued strongly for equal access and education for African American people. For Wells, equality was equated to

integration. She opposed segregation, particularly in schools, denouncing it as a factor that would surely keep African American people disadvantaged and on the margins of the political realm. Indeed, she argued against African Americans who desired self-segregation as she saw this as nothing more than a deliberate way to continue to disenfranchise African American people. In her early activist years, she wrote and spoke extensively about the unequal and often uninhabitable conditions of segregated African American schools. In many of the speeches she gave, she spoke of the interrelatedness of Black and White southerners and of the value of the African American citizen to the economic progress of the United States. Thus, she argued for quality education for African Americans. In later years and after several friends were lynched, she would dedicate her life to journalism but continued to be an activist in the struggle for attaining equal rights and protection for African American people.

Booker T. Washington

Toward the end of the Reconstruction Era there emerged a major African American educator and activist, Booker T. Washington. He ascended quickly to national leadership following the death of Frederick Douglass in 1895 and advanced a fundamental educational plan for African Americans. Booker T. Washington also advocated first for an industrial and agricultural education for African Americans over a classical one (Washington, 1895). Washington believed that not only was this the best way to provide education for the masses but also that the skills gained from a mechanical education

were richly needed in society. Washington argued that the attainment of these skills would to lead to greater employment opportunities for African Americans (Washington, 1895).

While many African Americans migrated southwestward because of increased discrimination and the lack of employment opportunities (Karenga, 2010), Washington urged African Americans to remain in the South. He urged Southern White Americans to "cast down your buckets," that is to seek assistance from African Americans who "tilled your fields, cleared your forests, [built] your railroads and cities, . . . and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South" (Washington, 1895, p. 207). And Washington promised in returned the most hard-working, "law-abiding and unresentful people that the world has seen" (p. 207), suggesting that African Americans shared the same desire as White Americans in serving in the interest of the nation and in contributing to the economic prosperity of the South. Washington saw this as an opportunity to serve both interests. Uniquely, Washington saw this as a key opportunity to progress African Americans forward toward social equality. Washington went on to found the Tuskegee Institute in 1881 as an institution that would offer vocational education .

Washington's speech, known as the "Atlanta Compromise," was given at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia in 1895. This speech best illustrates the demand for vocational institutions that offered mechanical skills for African Americans. Washington stated the following:

> Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life. (Washington, 1895, p. 207)

Although Washington clearly argued for vocational educational for African Americans so that they could "lend a hand" to Southern White Americans, his chief goal was to increase their ability to gain employment and to care for themselves. Many of his sentiments, particularly in the "Atlanta Compromise" were aimed at creating partnerships with Southern White Americans as a way to get them to see African Americans as qualified applicants who could fulfill the needs of the economy. It was in this speech that Washington (1895) infamously stated, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress" (p. 207), for which he would later be criticized.

W. E. B. Du Bois

In contrast to Booker T. Washington's push for an industrial educational program, W. E. B. Du Bois argued for an educational program that would develop an educated and intelligent class of African American men and women—the Talented Tenth—who could lead the African American community toward greater political, economic, and social freedom (Du Bois, 1903). Essentially, Du Bois (1903) argued for education for African Americans

according to ability (p. 215). The creation of a Talented Tenth, Du Bois stressed, would "[rise] and [pull] all that are worth the saving up to their vantage ground" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 233). In terms of the debate on vocational or classical education, Du Bois (1903) argued that men and women needed a classical education first, one that would provide knowledge and build intellectual skills sufficient for serving the body public and for protecting the interests of the African American community. Du Bois contended that a higher education curriculum was the primary need and, thus, he advocated for one that would cultivate in students "intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 231).

Critical of Washington's insistence on an industrial education over a classical education, Du Bois (1903) pointed out that Washington's plan represented "an old attitude of adjustment and submission" that forced African Americans to give up "first, political power, second insistence on civil rights, [and] third, higher education of [African American] youth" (p. 214). He claimed that the concentration on "industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South" (p. 214) was narrow and in all ways reinforced an attitude of inferiority instead of equal status. Du Bois (1903) called attention for the need of a highly educated class, reminding Washington that Washington himself had been educated by someone who had a classical education. Furthermore, Du Bois (1903) reminded Washington

that an educated class was also needed at his very own institution, Tuskegee Institute, in order to serve as adequate educators for students.

Carter G. Woodson

Commonly referred to as the "Father of Black History," Carter G. Woodson (1933) argued for the creation of a fresh and new educational program that would not teach or encourage African Americans to conform, to compromise themselves, to be meager, or to imitate others (Gates & Burton, 2011) but that would return African Americans to their history and culture to teach them skills that would liberate themselves and their communities. African American education, according to Woodson (1933) must differ from the education of White Americans. Specifically, it must not "handicap [the] student by teaching him that his black face was a curse and that his struggle to change his condition [was] hopeless" nor disenfranchise the Black community (Woodson, 1933, p. 413). Woodson (1933) argued that the current educational system was worse than lynching and equipped African Americans "to begin the life of an Americanized or Europeanized white man" (p. 414) instead of the life of a dignified, African citizen with equal status and equal rights to wealth and power.

Woodson's main contempt with the current educational system, which he termed "modern education," was that it was mere "propaganda," meaning, it did not reflect knowledge that was truthful or accurate, nor did it elevate African Americans in political or social status (Woodson, 1933, p. 413).

Instead, Woodson believed that the modern educational system best served those who had historically oppressed and enslaved Africans. He wrote:,

> [The current educational system] inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worth while [and] depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the [African] by making him dislike his own people . . . and feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples. (Woodson, 1933, p. 413)

And so, according to Woodson (1933), modern education only reinforced in African American minds a "proper place" in society as oppressed, inferior and subordinate people (p. 413). Woodson (1933) further wrote, "The problem of holding [African Americans] down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions" (p. 413). Furthermore, he asserted, "The [African American] thus educated is a hopeless liability of the race" (p. 413). Instead, Woodson (1933) argued for an educational plan that advanced African American history and culture. This kind of education, according to Woodson, would instill in African Americans the confidence, knowledge and skills necessary to fight against oppression and to liberate themselves.

Anna Julia Cooper

Educator, activist, and scholar, Anna Julia Cooper advocated for the right and necessity of equal educational opportunities for African Americans.

Moreover, Cooper in fact declared it her lifelong occupation to acquire education for 'neglected people" (Giles, 2006; Hutchinson, 1981; May, 2007). What Cooper really sought for African Americans was complete liberation through educational advancement (Alridge, 2007). Cooper argued that educational practices during her time, which she defined as an "objectifying, top-down approach to educational and social policy," was detrimental to oppressed groups, specifically, African American people (May, 2007, p. 144). She instead argued for a womanist approach to teaching that sought to educate students for the purpose of connecting them to the social, political, and economic conditions of the world (May, 2007).

Loewenberg and Bogin (1976) argued that because Cooper was driven by a "belief in individual capacity for growth through formal schooling," she dedicated her life to advocate for quality education for all persons (p. 317). Her seminal work, *A Voice From the South* (1892), proposed collective work, moral responsibility, and quality education as self-sustaining factors in the task of uplifting the African American community (Johnson, 2000; Logan, 1999). May's (2004) analysis of Cooper's *A Voice From the South* advanced Cooper's philosophies as intersectional and therefore relevant to all disciplines, including political, social, and cultural disciplines. In her work, May (2004) argued that Cooper stresses in her writings the need to develop student intellectual capacity so that they can rightly see and assert themself in the world. May (2004) points out that Black feminist theorists have long-since adopted Cooper's philosophical ideas, and have allowed these ideologies to

shape their core philosophy. For this reason, Cooper is often deemed the mother of Black feminist thought (May 2004; Moody-Turner, 2009).

Moody-Turner (2009) analyzed two of Cooper's texts: "Sketches From a Teacher's Notebook" (1923) and "The Negro's Dialect" (1923). In terms of "Sketches From a Teacher's Notebook" (1923) and argued that Cooper appeals for diverse theoretical models that give voice to marginalized classes, in this case, African American women (Moody-Turner, 2009). According to Moody-Turner (2009), Cooper suggested that to deny marginalized classes adequate education is to essentially deny them the right to care for themselves, which is an unquestionable maneuver of the dominant power (Mood-Turner, 2009a). Moody-Turner's (2009) analysis of a second text written by Cooper, "The Negro's Dialect" (1923), illustrated the various ways that Cooper wrote about the disparities between Black and White cultures. Moody-Turner (2009) argued that Cooper saw these disparities, particularly education and income inequalities, as resulting from socially-constructed ideologies rather than intellectual ability (Moody-Turner, 2009). Further, according to Moody-Turner (2009), Cooper believed that these socially-constructed ideologies were often influenced by society's longstanding and unfounded beliefs.

In Vivian M. May's (2009b) text, *Writing Self Into Being: Anna Julia Cooper's Textual Politics,* she explored Cooper's later works, noting that these works were more race conscious and politically driven than her earlier writings. According to May (2009b), Cooper's later works really challenged

the dominant class, specifically their insistence on silencing marginalized classes through poor or no education (May 2009b). May (2009b) also pointed out in her work ways that Cooper used a narrative approach as a rhetorical strategy to strengthen her political and social voice on critical issues.

In the article, "Anna Julia Cooper's Philosophy of Resistance: Why African Americans 'Must Reverse the Picture of the Lordly Man Slaying the Lion. . . [and] Turn Painter,'" May (2009b) analyzed patterns in Cooper's writings such as the use of repetition. According to May (2009a), the use of repetition symbolized another rhetorical strategy used by Cooper, in this case to shed light on the importance of honoring gender and culturally-specific epistemological ways of knowing and becoming fully human in the world. May (2009b) wrote that according to Cooper, the problem with so-called classical philosophical models taught in Western academic institutions was that they almost always excluded the "lived experience" as a way of knowing and making sense of the world.

Some scholars argued that Cooper's work reinforced the significance of the lived experience and its relationship to the liberation of marginalized classes (May 2009b). May (2009b) demonstrated that Cooper understood the lived experienced as meaningful and relevant to people of color in that it related directly to their lives, language, culture, and traditions (May, 2009b). Moreover, in May's (2008) article, "'By a Black Woman of the South': Race, Place, Gender in the Work of Anna Julia Cooper," she noted the emphasis Cooper placed on speaking and operating from a cultured and gendered

place. May (2008) wrote that Cooper saw culture and gender as inseparable from one another (May, 2008). Furthermore, May (2008) stressed how Cooper defended the position of being cultured and gendered as a meaningful way of seeing and operating in the world. This is an important perspective that varies from the perspective of the dominant class.

In "Tending to the Roots: Anna Julia Cooper's Sociopolitical Thought and Activism," Glass (2005) uncovered the struggles of nineteenth-century African American activist-educators and their fight against policies and practices that often excluded women and people of color. Glass (2005) wrote that Cooper's work illustrated a "legacy of struggle," and reaffirmed struggle as a necessity in the transformation of society and its socially-constructed realities (p. 24). According to Glass (2005), Cooper's writings are relevant to all marginalized classes because of their insistence in tone and language on the right to political and economic involvement within societies and the world (Glass, 2005). Giles (2006), in "Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, 1858-1964: Teacher, Scholar, and Timeless Womanist" equated Cooper's philosophical ideologies to Paolo Freire's work, demonstrating that they both committed themselves to achieving social justice through education. Similar to May (2008), Giles (2006) stressed that Cooper occupied a unique space as both woman and African-American, two historically oppressed groups (Giles, 2006).

Frances E.W. Harper

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper emerged as a preeminent writer, thinker, speaker, abolitionist, activist, and educator during the nineteenth

century who spoke indiscriminately to audiences, primarily on the need for education for African Americans, political freedom and liberation (Ammons, 1985; Logan, 1999). In a womanist fashion, Harper argued for the right of African Americans to be free and to acquire knowledge for the purpose of transforming society and the world (Logan, 1999). One of the ways she proposed making education accessible to all persons was through collective struggle and action. Logan (1999) pointed out the ongoing theme of community and convergence in Harper's writings in her text, *We are Coming: the Pervasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women.* Johnson (2008) also noted the theme of community and convergence found in Harper's writings. In fact, she wrote about the merging of the enslaved African with the post-civil war African found in some of Harper's writings. According to Johnson (2008), it was Harper's lived experiences during the enslavement era and rebellious spirit against slavery and oppression that most influenced her desire to support progressive African American ideas on education and liberation.

In addition to writing politically-charged rhetoric on social injustices against the African American community, Harper also wrote a number of non-fiction literary texts, including poetry. In fact, Harper can indeed be classified as a poet. She is known also for her novel *Iola Leroy,* which is comprised of themes such as racial, gender, and educational inequalities. A point worth mentioning is that most, if not all, of Harper's writings reflect tenets of the anti-slavery movement. Lauter (1988) wrote that Harper's fictional writings served

as an extension of her political voice and activist work. In a sense, she carried her political activism forth in her writings.

Since exact details about Harper's life were not recorded during the eras in which she wrote, it is difficult for scholars to fully discern the intent behind some of her writings (Johnson, 2008). To date, there exist only incomplete biographical sketches of Harper's life (Johnson, 2008). To demonstrate, Boyd (1994) published what is considered the first book-length biography on Harper, which mostly includes her writings and speeches (Bacon, 1996). Missing from this text is an analysis of Harper's political philosophies, and more specifically, the derivation of her most essential thoughts, inspirations, and ideologies (Bacon, 1996). As such, historians such as Boyd can only piece together glimpses of Harper's personal and internal thoughts and her intimate life. Most of the information available on Harper's personal and internal thoughts stemmed from personal letters that she wrote to close friends as she lectured throughout the south (Johnson, 2008). In a point that is often overlooked, these writings, Johnson (2008) argues qualify Harper as a travel writer.

It is clear in Harper's writings that she put forth a moral and spiritual argument, claiming civil rights as indeed a human right and necessity. Sehulster (2010) noted that Harper's messages and philosophy are largely rooted in Christianity. Sehulster (2010) argued that Harper embraced a "socio-religious mission" in her writings such as "sacrificing the self for others" (Sehulster, 2010. p. 1136). To further demonstrate this point, Rutkowski

(2008), in an analysis of Harper's published novel *Moses: A Store of the Nile,* wrote that Harper consciously depicted a brave Moses leading the Hebrews out of oppression. Rutkowski (2008) pointed out that the morality in Moses's actions serve as a model of resistance and freedom for others.

In his writings on Harper, Bacon (1989) illustrated how Harper devoted much of her life to the cause of freedom for African American people in the United States. According to Bacon (1989), Harper traveled south to lecture and teach people of African descent education and Christianity. She supported these endeavors by collecting donations during her lectures and by selling her poetry (Bacon, 1989). It is noted in the literature that she would often give privately to women who were in situations in which they could not care for themselves (Bacon, 1989). Bacon (1989) nicely demonstrated how Harper shared in the practice of caring for women and the African community.

Perceiving discrimination and social class as interrelated conditions, Harper argued for a classless society (Petrino, 2005). According to Bacon (1989), Harper believed that if African Americans could attain an education and political freedom, they could, together with European Americans, build a new society—one that promoted equality instead of oppression. Ernest (1992) wrote that Harper charged those who were educated with the moral responsibility and civic duty of aiding others. Ernest (1992) contended that her position was visible in her writings and in her life's work. Related to this idea is a belief Harper held in the duality of art and life (Ernest, 1992). A failure in

art, according to Harper, would ultimately lead to a failure in life (Ernest, 1992).

Review of the Empirical Literature

One of the central concerns of this study is the low retention, transfer, and degree attainment rate for African American students in higher education. Most research finds a correlation between pedagogical models and school success. Shujaa (1994) claims that education must "lead to a deep understanding and mastery" of subject (p. 5), which is possible only through the application of effective pedagogical practices. This study is interested in literature that investigates (a) the primary causes of the African American achievement gap in higher education settings and (b) the impact of culturally deficient practices on African American students in the higher education classrooms. In addition, this section explores current literature pertaining to culturally relevant discourses and pedagogies practiced in the classroom and the African American community.

Academic Achievement Gap

Research on African American academic achievement rates in higher educational settings reveals significantly lower academic performances in comparison to other ethnic groups (Whaley & Noel, 2011, 2012). Even more concerning is increased underachievement and the dropout rates of African American males (Jenkins, 2011; Wyatt, 2009). Whaley and Noel (2011) investigated a theory that presumes that sociocultural factors cause low African American academic performances in post-secondary institutions. By

reviewing the literature of various cultural theories such as Ogbu's cultural theory and Steele's stereotype threat theory, the researchers discovered limited empirical support for the presumption that sociocultural factors are the primary cause of low African American academic achievement rates in higher education institutions.

Shockley (2011) explored the relationship between poor academic performance amongst African American students and the disenfranchisement and disorganization of one particular Black community. The researcher applied a critical ethnographic design to an exploratory study of an African American training institute designed to teach educational professionals how to cultivate in African American students the ability to take "*agency* over their lives" in order to better support their themselves and their communities (p. 380). After conducting interviews and participating in observations, he discovered that this institute reinforced the need for African agency, that is, the ability for African Americans to see themselves in self-sustaining and self-determining ways (Shockley, 2011). By the end of the study, Shockley (2011) found the notion that poor academic achievement among African American students was related to the disenfranchisement and disorganization of the Black community to be largely unsupported. He discovered, too, that the educators who participated in this institute were better prepared to work effectively with African Americans students because of the cultural knowledge gained during their training. Thus, the researcher concluded that these

educators were less likely to downplay the importance of culture within academic and classroom settings (Shockley, 2011).

Related to the African American male achievement gap, Palmer and Maramba (2011) analyzed various studies that attempted to explain through a number of theories the poor academic performance of the African American male. In their review of current literature on this subject, the researchers reviewed several theories on the African American male achievement rate. First, they reviewed Fordham and Ogbu's theory of "acting White," which, according to Fordham and Ogbu, often discourages African Americans from pursuing learning and engaging in higher education institutions (Ogbu, 2011). Second, they analyzed data that pointed the finger at discriminatory practices, such as racial prejudices and the portrayal of negative images, which the researchers found is often the one deterring factor that impacts African American interest in higher education. Third, the researchers reviewed literature on stereotype threat theory and found this theory to have the greatest impact on African American male success rate in higher education institutions. The researchers concluded by determining that African American males are often victimized and criminalized by negative images of the Black male. Consequently, this impacts their ability to successfully navigate higher education institutions and achieve academic success.

Jenkins (2003) explored various factors that affect African American male success both within academic institutions and in society. The researcher examined factors such as social, political, psychological, and economic

inequalities, which are common, deeply rooted issues within American culture. Jenkins concluded that the solution—beyond rebuilding a new America—is to restructure academic institutions. In addition, Jenkins recommended that African American males empower themselves by involving themselves more in learning, both within academic institutions and within their communities (Jenkins, 2003, 2011). Although Jenkins recommended the restructuring of academic institutions as a key solution to improving African American male achievement rates, he failed to direct attention toward smaller solutions such as integrating effective pedagogical practices, which could certainly assist in increasing African American male achievement rates.

To further shed light on possible causes for the African American student achievement gap, Robinson and Biran (2006) examined the relationship between African identity, study habits, and academic achievement. The researchers found that African American students who were aware of their history and culture, and who practiced cultural norms and traditions worked harder toward academic excellence. According to the researchers, this largely resulted from the value system that they carried with them. The researchers wrote that these students felt connected to and responsible for their communities. The researchers also found that these students believed that they could positively contribute to their communities by gaining an education. One important point in this study: the researchers discovered that negative stereotypes concerning African American students

and their community interfered with all African American students' ability to excel academically.

William, Hampton, and Hegedorn (2002) found that community colleges continue to be common, post-secondary beginning points for many African American students. McGlynn (2013) noted that this is largely due to the community colleges' open admission policies and the low cost of tuition. He also reported that student responsibilities outside of their role as students, such as employment demands and family responsibilities, impacts the students' decision to begin post-secondary education at the two-or at the four-year institution (William, Preston, & Hegodorn, 2002). In 2002, William, Preston, and Hegedorn (2002) conducted a quantitative study wherein they collected data from 202 first-year African American male students over the course of three consecutive semesters. Of the 202 male students studied, only 69 maintained enrollment and continued to earn credits by the third semester (William, Preston, & Hegedorn, 2002). These findings relate to McGlynn's (2012) report wherein he found that in 2012, only 19% of African Americans students in California community colleges who intended to transfer to four-year institutions actually did.

Culturally Deficient Practices

In response to the issue of poor academic achievement rates among African American students in higher education institutions, Sizemore (2000) charged that it is the lack of strong instructional leadership and climates conducive to learning that has led to decreased academic performance

among African American student populations. Research suggests that faculty biases and their failure to adopt or even integrate culturally relevant pedagogies into classroom teaching practices directly impacts African American student achievement rates in higher education settings (Sizemore, 2000). Shockley and Banks (2011) studied faculty biases, specifically the inability to see or reflect upon the way in which faculty might promote or reinforce racial biases in classroom instructional settings. Using qualitative research methods, the researchers observed faculty participation in a master's program course designed to engage these faculty-students in critical reflection of their current teaching practices. Focusing closely on the part that White privilege played in their teaching practices, the researchers observed these participants for over a period of one year as they participated in classroom activities and discussions such as exercises designed to unmask racial inequalities. The researchers found that the faculty participants were more capable of acknowledging the notion of White privilege after full completion the course. According to the researchers, prior to undergoing this course, none of the participants admitted White privilege as influencing their instructional practices. Furthermore, following the completion of the course, the participants reported that they sometimes unknowingly reinforce racial biases within the classroom.

Daniels, Costner, and Clark (2009) performed their own study on faculty biases, specifically as it related to faculty interest in implementing culturally relevant pedagogies into their classroom teaching practices for the

purpose of increasing African American achievement rates. The researchers also examined overall faculty interest in teaching African American students (Daniels et al., 2009). Through a mixed method study, Daniels et al. (2009) surveyed 477 faculty and concluded that although these non-African American faculty were willing to teach African American students, many were unwilling to adopt culturally relevant models or use culture as a resource within the classroom, even though they were all aware that these practices were beneficial to African American student achievement (Daniels et al , 2009).

In terms of increasing faculty interest in adopting culturally relevant pedagogies and practices, Horsford, Grosland, and Gunn (2011) suggested that greater attention be given to faculty who lacked preparedness or an unwillingness to teach diverse populations from culturally relevant models. They suggested diversifying leadership in academic institutions in order to assist faculty in meeting the needs of diverse student populations (Horsford et al., 2011). Although this is a viable solution, the researchers assumed that these diverse leaders will possess a social consciousness, that is a consciousness that lends itself toward the implementation of culturally relevant ways of learning and teaching.

Womanist-Centered Teaching Practices

In terms of womanist-centered teaching practices, Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2005) conducted life history interviews with five African American women educators who taught from a womanist perspective, which was

identified in part as "the Black women's experiences with multiple oppression and resistance efforts" (p. 438). Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2005) discovered that all of these women had acquired knowledge from their foremothers and integrated this knowledge into classroom learning. Also, these women used empathy within the classroom as a way to connect to students (Beauboeuf-Lafontant). In addition, these women understood engagement and growth as a "human activity" (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2005, p. 440). Thus, Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2005) found that these particular characteristics best set the framework for culturally relevant pedagogies within classroom settings.

Cozart and Gordon (2006) studied the impact of teaching practices used within educational institutions that fail to address racial inequalities such as "privilege and oppression" (p. 10). They illustrated how pedagogies grounded in womanist theory set the groundwork for culturally relevant practices. Within their study, this was particularly visible in the social foundations discipline. The researchers reported that the moral ideology of womanist theory connected students to the larger social, economic, and political concerns of the world (Cozart & Gordon, 2006).

McCrary (2001) argued that a pedagogy rooted in womanist theory was essential for writing instructors. McCrary demonstrated how such a pedagogy assisted students, particularly those of color, in developing advanced language skills. Through a qualitative research design, McCrary (2001) reported that by choosing texts that were grounded in womanist theory and by introducing this theoretical model as a way to understand the

literature, students were more inclined to perform a close reading of the text, understand the author's purpose for writing, and make connections between themselves, their culture, and other readings. Furthermore, students were able to apply skills learned in this course across the disciplines (McCrary, 2001).

Taylor, Mackin and Oldenburg (2008) used a womanist epistemological framework for a nursing research course. An autoethnography research design was used to engage students in the practice of honoring other ethnic groups and their different ways of operating in the world. Taylor et al. (2008) used ethnic narratives, personal journals, and seminar discussions to gain a deeper awareness of people of color. The researchers reported a significant impact on student epistemological ideologies as this qualitative study challenged the students' belief systems in relation to other cultural belief systems. Thus, according to the researchers, this model was liberating in that it offered students a new framework applicable to real-life situations, specifically, their work and relationship with people of color (Taylor et al., 2008).

Culturally Relevant Teaching Practices

Murrell (2002) reported that the most common African-centered pedagogical models largely encompass several key educational frameworks: responsive teaching, student-centered learning, and cognitively-guided instruction. Additional research shows that culturally relevant pedagogies are meaningful to people of African descent both within academic institutions and

in their own communities (Douglass & Peck, 2013). Douglas and Peck (2013) studied the characteristics of a culturally relevant, community-based pedagogy distinct of one particular Black community. Performing a qualitative study, the researchers used historical methodology and border-crossing theory in their examination of the ways in which people of African descent "fought for and redefined education in non-school and educative venues" (p. 67). The researchers observed learning in various settings such as Black churches, community centers, and athletic clubs. Douglas and Peck (2013) determined that in addition to classroom instruction, educational leaders within school settings could address the African American achievement gap by creating learning spaces outside of academic institutions that already serve as supplemental learning spaces for these students.

Jenkins (2011) also investigated non-traditional ways of learning by examining several African American non-traditional environments in which education and learning took place. Jenkins reported that environments such as "farms, fields, churches classrooms, courtrooms, juke joints, and homes" were all places where learning took place outside of the traditional classroom (p. 11). From this contextual analysis study, Jenkins determined that this type of learning is consistent with African cultural tradition and communal practices. The researcher also discovered that many of these spaces within the community were places of love and inclusion (Jenkins, 2011). The researcher reported that these non-traditional spaces were places where dialogue, learning, and self-reflection happened, and so these places became

transformed spaces—imperative to learning. Jenkins, however, did not identify pedagogical characteristics practiced within these learning environments.

Many scholars who support culturally relevant ways of teaching African American students argue that educational leaders should learn from and build upon the strengths of the African American community and implement these practices within educational institutions. Boute and Hill (2006) investigated distinct pedagogies that derived from African American culture and communities. The researchers showed how these pedagogies were used in a number of ways within the Black community to extend knowledge to others. Boute and Hill found that African American students were responsive to these types of pedagogies, and they made the claim that these pedagogies, common to African American people and their distinct ways of learning, could certainly be effective within academic institutions.

In terms of culturally relevant models of teaching utilized within the classroom, Tate (1995) performed an ethnographic study of African American student experiences in a math course taught from a culturally relevant pedagogy that integrated traditional and communal African practices. For this study, the researcher interviewed the students' previous calculus professor who taught from a non-culturally relevant pedagogy. Most students who took this professor's course performed poorly. According to this professor, student performance was largely a result of laziness, lack of motivation, and little family support. Tate then observed the same group of students in a math

course in which traditional and communal practices such as problem-solving techniques and communal ways of learning were integrated into classroom instruction. The researcher reported a significant increase in student interest, grades, and achievement within this classroom in comparison to their previous math course.

Within the scholarly literature, there exists data that supports African American student interest in the implementation of culturally relevant pedagogies within academic settings. Sampson and Garrison-Wade (2011) used a mixed methods research to determine if African American students preferred culturally relevant lessons within classroom settings. Using critical race theory and racial identity development as theoretical foundations, Sampson and Garrison-Wade (2011) found that culturally relevant lessons were significantly more desirable than non-culturally-relevant lessons among African American student populations.

In terms of the interplay of pedagogy and student learning theories grounded in culturally relevant methodologies, in a qualitative study, Johnson (2011) examined the increase in literacy skills for African American males when critical race theory and sociocultural theory were integrated into classroom instructional practices. The researcher interviewed African American students and their teachers who applied cultural instructional practices into classroom teaching. Observing these teaching practices within a classroom setting, the researcher discovered significant results: students in this classroom achieved a high level of literacy skills. Thus, Johnson

concluded that culturally relevant pedagogies are effective and can impact the African American achievement gap in higher education institutions.

In further investigation of the importance of culturally relevant pedagogies, Carson (2009) demonstrated how collectivism, i.e., membership within the African American community, played a central role in African American identity and academic success in higher education institutions. Utilizing a qualitative design, Carson studied the disposition of collectivism in relation to the academic success of 16 African American college students. The researcher found collectivism central to the African American college students' retention and academic success. For one, the researcher found that collectivism offered students a sense of place and belonging. This is key since, according to the Carson, the African American college students in this study reported often feeling as if they were not welcomed nor valued in their academic institution of study. Students also reported that their campus lacked diversity, particularly within the classroom and in instructional methods.

Walton and Cohen (2007) examined the impact of social belonging on academic achievement through a mixed methods study that included 36 African American students and 34 students of European descent. The researchers found that the lack of social connectedness disproportionately impacted African American students in comparison to their peers of European descent. Thus, the researched found that the inability of African American students to connect with others of similar cultures resulted in a decrease in

GPA scores and overall academic achievement and behavior (Walton & Cohen, 2007).

Wyatt (2009) studied the social conditions that contribute to African American success in higher education settings. He investigated the effectiveness of a school-based male mentoring program aimed at improving the graduation rates among African American males. The program relied on empowerment theory and Afrocentricity to establish a culturally relevant pedagogy. The research methods used in the study included surveying 36 alumni students of the program, including a review of their GPA scores in comparison to males who did not take part in the mentoring program. The researcher discovered that substantive student support by adult males improved African American male students' overall academic achievement in schools, including their GPA scores. Wyatt also saw a 16% increase in GPA scores in African-American males who took part in the program compared to those who did not. One of the limitations of this study was that the researcher did not illustrate the processes and practices of the pedagogy used.

Chapter Summary

In conclusion, this literature review presents a strong concern for a suitable, culturally relevant pedagogy capable of combatting the African American achievement gap in higher education institutions. Further, the literature presented in this review suggests that cultural deficiencies in current pedagogical practices are strongly connected to low retention, transfer, and degree attainment rates among African American student populations.

Certainly, further research is needed in the areas of culturally relevant discourse and practices that support African American educational achievement. Moreover, an in-depth analysis of Cooper and Harper's work, specifically their methods and practices, is needed to determine if their methods can indeed suffice as best practice strategies for the improvement of African American retention, degree attainment, and transfer rates.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Although scholars have studied and written about the need for culturally relevant discourses for African American populations, few have argued on the relevance of late nineteenth-century African American educators' writings, philosophies, and approaches to present-day educational deficiencies in higher education settings. During and immediately following the Holocaust of enslavement, educators Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E. W. Harper argued for adequate education and pedagogical practices for African Americans that may prove useful to the present generation of African American students. Scholars argue that unless higher education institutions integrate culturally relevant teaching practices suitable for ethnically diverse populations, they will continue to marginalize this population of students (Asante, 2007; Delpit, 1992; Gay, 1990). Thus, increased marginalization is sure to result in the further decline of retention, transfer and degree attainment rates among African American student populations.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the multifarious ways in which the employment of Cooper and Harper's methodologies may afford a real and sustainable opportunity for successful retention, degree attainment, and transfer rates for African American student populations in higher education institutions (Banks & Banks, 2004).

An examination of Harper and Cooper's methodologies, their rootedness in communal and collective ideologies, and their stress on education as a source of liberation for African women and the community is also important to the development of culturally relevant teaching practices within higher education classrooms. The research questions that this study examined are:

1. What primary themes, ideas, terms, and topics are prevalent in the pedagogy of Cooper and Harper that speak to the importance of culturally relevant education?
2. What possible contributions can the pedagogies of these two nineteenth-century educators make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students in their pursuit of academic success and achievement?

This chapter is comprised of a review of and argument for the qualitative research methodology, the research designs, and research methods relevant to this study. Also included in this chapter are the setting, sample size, and data collection applicable to this study. In addition, this chapter includes a section on the data analysis and interpretation and on the procedures to ensure validity and trustworthiness. Lastly, this chapter includes an exploration of the role of the researcher.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is designed to address research problems that require substantial exploration. Precisely, qualitative research lends itself

toward the examination of complex phenomenon or problems for greater meaning and understanding (Creswell 2008). Indeed, qualitative research focuses on data collection and analysis in the investigation of phenomenon, honing in on words rather than numbers (Creswell 2009). As a discovery-oriented method of research, it supports the emergence of questions that may stem from data collection and analysis. According to Creswell (2009), a key characteristic of qualitative research is the development of perceptual meaning through the critical examination of the phenomenon in study (Creswell 2008). A second characteristic of qualitative research is the emphasis on the inquiry of data for descriptive themes, later used to investigate meaning.

The philosophical underpinnings that support the practice of qualitative research are social constructivism. Generally, social constructivism is the praxis of seeking complex understandings of the world and individual experiences. Significant consideration is given to the historical and social context of both the subjects studied and the researcher. Magoon (1977) wrote that social constructivists assume that the subjects studied typically possess a truth that yields to important discoveries and understandings of the way that "behavior and actions are interpreted" (p. 652). An important assumption of social constructivism is that behavior and actions are systematic and purposeful, that is, performed intentionally. Major scholars of social constructivism include Mannheim, Berger, and Luekmann, and Crotty.

Similar to all research methods, qualitative research contains key strengths and limitations. A major strength of qualitative research is that it supports an organic process wherein discovery and meaning emerge naturally from phenomenon. This holistic approach yields new and innovative findings that are often useful to the world in which we live. Along these lines, a second strength of qualitative research is that in the process of determining patterns, researchers often bring ideas and concept to light that might have gone undiscovered otherwise. A limitation of qualitative research is that it is often subject to researcher biases since it is subjective in nature. A second limitation involves the research process itself. Since qualitative research accommodates emergent themes, the process tends to be loosely prescribed, and, thus, can change suddenly and without warning (Creswell, 2008). When this happens, researchers must constantly remind themselves of the goal of qualitative research, i.e., the subjects or phenomenon studied creates meaning. This point essentially guides the study.

Qualitative research is decidedly the most appropriate research method for this particular study for several reasons. For one, it allows for a collection of data and an analysis of the works of both Cooper and Harper and the historical and social context in which they were written. It also allows for the extraction of themes, ideas, and concepts that make speak to a culturally relevant pedagogy. Interpretive inquiry of their works is most appropriate in this case since both Cooper and Harper are no longer alive. Consequently, their writings are essentially all that remains. The process of

reviewing data collected from their works and organizing this data into sub-categories and themes can possibly yield innovative insights on culturally relevant discourses suitable for African-American student populations in higher education settings. Likewise, since great stress in qualitative research is placed on gaining meaning from the data, it is likely that several unforeseen emergent themes may surface that may offer new perspectives on the educational process of African Americans during and after the post-enslavement era.

Research Design

One of the prescribed methods of research used for this qualitative study is historical methodology. The purpose of historical methodology is to bring to light undiscovered aspects of the past. Wood (1990) defines historical methodology as a "systematic body of principles for gathering, critically examining, and presenting the source materials of history" (Wood, 1990, p. 82). Similar to other qualitative research methods, historical methodology is concerned with the process of the collection and close analysis of a document in order to explain an era or occurrence. According to Wood, such documents can include "records, photographs, maps, and even the landscape itself" (Wood, 1990, p. 82). The principal interest lies in the authenticity of the documents analyzed. It is important, then, that the researcher utilize primary sources for historical accuracy and to protect the validity of the study.
The researcher also employed an Afrocentric research methodological approach—a form of historical analysis—in order to study African culture

from what Asante (2007) classified as a *centered* position. Afrocentric research requires centering the African person in "his or her own context, reality, and time" as necessary for the most accurate discovery of phenomena (pp. 24-25). Thus, Afrocentric research requires the researcher to first examine the phenomena in relationship to "psychological time and space" (Asante, 2007, p. 25). This means that the researcher should study the phenomena from the position and experiences of the person or persons studied. Accordingly, Asante offered a set of comprehensive characteristics for carrying out an Afrocentric research project: (a) an interest in psychological location, (b) a commitment to finding the African subject place, (c) the defense of African cultural elements, (d) a commitment to lexical refinement, and (e) a commitment to correct dislocations in the history of Africa (Asante, 2007, p. 41).

A point often overlooked in Afrocentric research is that the researcher must direct her/his efforts toward the employment of these characteristics in order to conduct proper and systematic Afrocentric research. In practice, the researcher will need to begin by ascertaining the psychological location of the person or persons studied. This will require determining the mindset, awareness, or perspective of the person or people studied. Parallel to the psychological location of the subject studied is the researcher's commitment to finding the African subject place or position. Asante (2007) defined this as the researcher's duty to locate the "cultural, historical, or personal place occupied" by the subject at a particular time in history (p. 42). Next, the

researcher must defend African cultural elements, meaning, they must concern themselves with clarifying and providing an authentic understanding of African cultural values and elements. In this case, Asante (2007) was concerned most with historical misrepresentations of African culture, that is, the cultures, values, habits, traditions, and norms. It must be remembered that the emphasis here is on correct representation and a clear understanding of these elements in relation to the subject studied. A fourth characteristic of Afrocentric research is the commitment to lexical refinement. This requires the researcher to examine the language used in the text studied, or by the subjects studied in order to account for negations that conflict with building African agency. And lastly, the researcher must commit him or herself to a new narrative of Africa. Asante (2007) wrote that since Eurocentric authors often position Africa and Africans in inferior positions, which he asserted was a "deliberate falsification of the record," the person performing Afrocentric research must make an accurate assessment of the subject studied and then report his or her findings correctly, that is, without falsifying or marginalizing African accomplishments (p. 44).

Complimentary to historical and Afrocentric research methods, content analysis research methods, a third method of research, was also employed to distinguish the ways that Harper and Cooper developed essential concepts for their own pedagogies (Loewenberg & Bogin, 1976; Logan, 1995; May, 2007). Babbie (2013) defined content analysis as "the study of recorded human communications" (Babbie, 2013, pp. 330-331), including, but not

limited to, the examination of books, newspapers, speeches, and lectures. Further, content analysis as a research technique refers to the objective, systematic coding of communication into "data that can be summarized and compared" (Holsti, 1969, p. 3). Content analysis challenges the researcher to seek and answer such questions as "who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect" (Babbie, 2013, p. 331) on the requirements of objectivity, system, and generality (Holsti, 1969, p. 3). Content analysis as a research tool was useful to this research study for the following reasons:

1. It sought to uncover themes and patterns that recur in the works of Cooper and Harper by transforming communication content into data that can be examined and measured.
2. It sought to objectively explore human communications for the purpose of reclaiming some of the great work and writings of these late African American women educators that lived during and immediately following the enslavement era, particularly, their methods, practices, and philosophical perspectives that have rarely, if ever, received systematic categorization, comparison, and study in the same ways as their male counterparts.

The application of three qualitative methods of research historical methodology, Afrocentric research methodology, and content analysis methodology allowed for a broader and more comprehensive method of performing qualitative research relevant to the study of

Cooper and Harper's written work. Historical methodology made applicable a logical method for selecting and ensuring the accuracy of pre-existing data, written texts, documents, and sources. Afrocentric research methodology authorized power to the researcher, necessary in the evaluation of the subjects studied from a centered position and from a well-defined perspective. And finally, content analysis methods ensured systematic coding of the data in order to determine patterns and themes for later study and comparison.

Research Methods

In this section, I describe the particular research methods used in this study. Respectively, I describe the setting, sample, data collection, data analysis, and the critical processes employed to ensure the validity and trustworthiness of the study. In addition, this section outlines the way in which the data was collected. This section also illustrates the way in which data is organized and interpreted.

Setting

For this particular qualitative study, there was not a definitive setting for data collection since both Cooper and Harper were no longer living and, therefore, were unavailable for face-to-face contact. Nonetheless, Cooper and Harper's written work are the focus of this investigation. The data collected, then, stemmed from works written between 1864-1930, primarily accessible through libraries, museums, and private collections. Indeed, this study entailed the retrieval of Cooper and Harper's written work from published

literature, speeches, and original writings. Great care was taken in locating documents and texts reflective of their original works in order to guard against documents that might have been tampered with for any reason.

Sample

Analyzing the written work of late African American educators during and immediately following the enslavement era was quite an endeavor. Since this was a critical period in African American history—the impetus for racial uplift—I began by conducting an in-depth search for any and all writings and work by Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E. W. Harper created between 1864 and 1930.

Since a significant body of literature exists on African American male educators who performed what is typically referred to as *racial uplift* during and following the Holocaust of enslavement and little is written about the role of African American women educators during this era, the researcher chose to investigate the role that African American women educators played in uplifting the Black race during and immediately following this critical period. Because this is an exploratory study, the researcher investigated significant anthologies and edited books by prominent African American scholars who have written extensively on Cooper and Harper as a way to locate these women and their experiences within a particular social, historical, and political context.

Two African American women educators were selected for this study. Cooper and Harper were selected largely because of their role as progressive

African American women educators and activists during the nineteenth and twentieth century. In addition, Cooper and Harper published a large body of written work that is accessible to the general public. And as unquestionable African American trailblazers, I chose Cooper and Harper because they both saw education as a birth right for all persons and as a necessity to live truly free lives.

The number of educators used in this study was limited to two African American women for several reasons. First, since this study requires an in-depth analysis of content, it was important to limit the number of women surveyed in order to focus on the content of their works and to give voice to their philosophies. Although this study focused on key works by Cooper and Harper as outlined in the Instrumentation section of the study, they have each written a number of relevant works that would have been valuable to this study. As such, the number of educators and written work included in this study was limited to allow for a close examination of key works.

Data Collection and Management

Since this study was an attempt to analyze Cooper and Harper's philosophical approaches toward educational practices, I began by first examining reports, books, and records written by historians on Cooper and Harper in order to explore closely and to understand fully both the time period in which these women lived and also their perspectives. And with attention to Topolski's (1976) point that the "study of authenticity of sources is the starting point of all research" (p. 433), I made every attempt to locate original work in

an effort to ensure the validity of this research. To be clear, I sought primary documents such as personal writings, published works, manuscripts, and public documents that included the lives and writings of these women.

Accordingly, I accessed libraries and private institutions in which Cooper and Harper's original documents were housed. I began this collection of original written work by visiting the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in their Research Collection Division (Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division) located at the New York Public Library at 515 Malcolm X Boulevard in New York, New York. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture houses the strongest and largest collection of materials in the areas of women, African American writers, civil rights organizations, manuscripts, research files of historians, and records of individual and organizations documenting radical political movements throughout African American history. Prior to my arrival to the New York Public Library, I scheduled a telephone appointment with a research specialist in order to ensue that I could gain full access to all pertinent documents. Assistance from New York Public Library research specialists was offered at no cost. The library required, however, at least a four-day advance notice for assistance. Once I arrived in New York and applied for a state library card, I was able to access the original written work and other related work on both Cooper and Harper. After review of this work, I completed a request to scan and print copies of these documents.

Instrumentation

As a qualitative study, I served as the central figure in accessing and analyzing the following published essays: "The Colored People in America" (Harper, 1854), "Duty to Dependent Races" (Harper, 1891), "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women in the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation: A Response to Fannie Barrier Williams" (Cooper, 1893), and "On Education" (Cooper, 1930s).

In terms of secondary sources and references, I drew from a wide range of central sources, including: *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African American Women* (Royster, 2000); *We Are Coming: The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women* (Logan, 1999); and *With Pen and Voice: A Critical Anthology of Nineteenth-Century African American Women* (Logan, 1995).

Once these documents were in my possession, I read and closely analyzed these written documents, paying close attention to patterns and emerging themes. Next I coded the data derived from both Cooper and Harper's written work. Thereafter, I organized the data in order to draw reasonable conclusions about their work.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The overarching goal in analyzing Harper and Cooper's philosophies was to locate key ideas and themes present in their work for the purpose of offering a culturally relevant pedagogical model to higher education institutions capable of addressing educational deficiencies among African

American student populations. I began by analyzing the data for relationships present among the ideas, terms, and topics present in Cooper and Harper's written work. Babbie (2013) wrote that searching for patterns within the literature that appear on a frequent, ongoing basis is the best way to perform this task. I noted this information by figuratively placing "brackets around a temporal and spatial domain" of Cooper and Harper's written work (Maanen, 1983, p. 9). Maanen (1983) reported that it is through the process of bracketing that themes and patterns emerge.

Next, I recorded the primary themes that emerged. This step required me to classify the data in an effort to properly categorize it. According to Babbie (2013), this process requires the utilization of a method referred to as data coding, which requires naming and categorizing data through close analysis. To properly code the data, I used data coding techniques such as code notes and theoretical notes. Code notes assist the researcher in identifying code labels and their meanings. Theoretical notes is the process of creating notes that carry the meaning of the concepts and relationships among concepts (Babbie, 2013). I also used the technique of concept mapping, which is the process of graphing information as a way to determine clearly relationships among concepts.

According to Maanen (1983), what qualitative investigators seek most is the unfolding of the social processes of qualitative research. Once I had properly coded the data, I re-organized the data in written format. Once this step was complete, I carried out the analysis phase, which required deliberate

questioning of the data in order to extract meaning. I asked many of the following questions:

- For what purpose were these documents written?
- What kinds of critical issues, e.g., unjust laws, equality, segregation, did these documents seek to address?
- What kinds of historical and/or sociological questions do they answer?
- What sort of generalizations can one make on the basis of the information contained within these documents? (Babbie, 2013)

I carefully recorded all findings extracted from the data collected. This information is present in Chapter 4.

Procedures to Ensure Validity

Historical methodology as a qualitative research method employs a set of practices aimed at ensuring validity by locating primary works. Thus, this study relied heavily on the process of gaining access to authentic documents. Marshall and Rossman (2011) highlighted in their work on qualitative research their concerns with traditional terms such as trustworthiness and validity. According to these scholars, these terms are reflective of quantitative approaches (Marshall & Rossman, (2011). They suggested instead terms such as credibility and ethics.

In accordance with Marshall and Rossman (2011) I ensured credibility by using qualitative processes and techniques such as data coding, code notes, theoretical notes, and concept mapping. I also used prolonged data

engagement as a technique to produce credible findings. This technique required me to dedicate a significant amount of time to the data collection process (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) in order to review over and again the data collection. I also employed the technique of peer briefing. Peer briefing is the process of discussing emergent findings with colleagues and scholars to "ensure that analysis is grounded in the data" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 40).

Procedures to Ensure Trustworthiness

Marshall and Rossman (2011) suggested that qualitative research methods are better suited for terms such as *trustworthiness and ethics*. Ethics can be understood as the respect for all persons and can be defined as the process of "moving beyond procedures to focus on matters of relationships" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 45). Certainly the responsibility of the researcher, then, is to engage Cooper and Harper's works in an ethical manner. I performed such ethical decision-making in the illustration and evaluation of Cooper and Harper's written work by applying Afrocentric research methods, particularly the application of the five characteristics that Asante (2007) deemed central to carrying out Afrocentric research. These characteristics are: (a) an interest in psychological location, (b) a commitment to finding the African subject place, (c) the defense of African cultural elements, (d) a commitment to lexical refinement, and (e) a commitment to correct dislocations in the history of Africa (Asante, 2007, p. 41).

Such characteristics, according to Asante (2007) support ethical findings of Cooper and Harper's work and honor the historical era in which these texts were written.

Role of the Researcher

In accordance with Asante's (2007) work on Afrocentric research, research cannot undergo rightful analysis without first locating the researcher. Indeed, my role as researcher required that I acknowledge the distinct part that I played in this research project. As both an African American woman and an educator, I was led to this research principally to recover a culturally relevant pedagogy that may lend itself to the practice of quality education for African American students in present-day higher educational settings. Too, I share a common language, culture, tradition, and value system with the population I studied. Furthermore, in a deeply kindred sense, I felt a duty as both a woman and person of African descent to pay rightful homage to our ancestors, whom Karenga often refers to as the "bridges that carried us over" (personal communication, 2013). For this reason, to bring to light the philosophies and methodologies that Cooper and Harper argued for and employed during this critical period in African American history is indeed necessary. Thus, I was deeply committed to this project.

To limit biases, I created a set of field notes dedicated to what Marshall and Rossman (2011) defined as "self-reflections" (p. 97). These notes assisted in separating my emotions and biases from the data collection. Scholars often refer to the process of self-reflecting as bracketing. Marshall

and Rossman (2011) argued that the process of bracketing is necessary in qualitative research in order to distinguish between the researcher's personal thoughts and the collection of data. Many researchers also argued that bracketing allows the researcher to "perceive the phenomenon freshly, as if for the first time" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 97).

Chapter Summary

In conclusion, the central purpose of this study was to explore the written work of nineteenth-century African American women educators to determine if their exists in their work a pedagogical model capable of addressing African American student retention, degree attainment, and transfer rates in higher education settings. Historical methodology served as an essential methodology for this study since it allowed for a thorough examination of Cooper and Harper's written work, a clear understanding of their ideas, and the opportunity to create meaning from their core philosophies. An Afrocentric research methodological approach allowed me to locate Cooper and Harper's written work and study African American student populations from a centered position. Additionally, content analysis allowed me to extract common themes, ideas, and concepts from the written work.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter presents the findings from the analysis of Cooper and Harper's written texts. The chapter begins with an introduction, followed by the research questions, the emerging themes and ideas, and the data which is drawn from the written texts of Cooper and Harper. The chapter concludes with a summary.

The purpose of this study was to extract themes from Cooper and Harper's written texts that may speak to the importance of culturally relevant education for African American students. Data analysis and interpretation were accomplished through open thematic coding of the following published essays: "The Colored People in America" (Harper, 1854), "Duty to Dependent Races" (Harper, 1891), "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women in the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation: A Response to Fannie Barrier Williams" (Cooper, 1893), and "On Education" (Cooper, 1930s). This study attempted to answer the following questions:

1. What primary themes, ideas, terms, and topics are prevalent in the pedagogy of Cooper and Harper that speak to the importance of culturally relevant education?
2. What possible contributions can the pedagogies of these two nineteenth-century educators make to the pedagogical model of

teaching African American students in their pursuit of academic success and achievement?

Emerging Themes

Five key themes emerged from Cooper and Harper's works: commitment to faith, commitment to freedom, commitment to sacrifice, commitment to resistance and struggle, and commitment to the future. In reference to the term commitment, this concept is characterized in this work as dedication, self-giving, and active engagement toward oneself and others (M. Karenga, personal communication, February 1, 2015). There are several subthemes within these five themes, which give thick content to the primary themes. In addition, all of these ideas are characterized under an overarching concept of tradition. To clarify, the overarching concept of tradition can be understood in two distinct ways. First, Cooper and Harper are operating from a tradition that has long been in existence. And second, as stated in Chapter 2, since Kawaida womanism contends that African-centered womanism was reconstructed during the Holocaust of enslavement, thus forging a new concept of African-centered womanism (Karenga & Tembo, 2012), Cooper and Harper are not only operating from a tradition, but they are also contributing to a tradition.

Commitment to Faith

One of the most fundamental characteristics of African culture is the deeply rooted spiritual and ethical grounding that undergirds the culture (Karenga, 2010; Karenga & Tembo, 2012). The principal theme, commitment

to faith, is understood through the spiritual and ethical grounding aspect of Kawaida womanism. The values that derive from spiritual and ethical sacred texts of African culture encompass principles such as right and wrong. These principles essentially shape and determine "how we [African Americans] live our lives, treat our fellow humans, and relate to the rest of the world" (Karenga & Tembo, 2012, p. 41). Commitment to faith can also be understood as the living and upholding of one's religious beliefs and commitments. It becomes, then, a part of one's life works, or to put it differently, it is what one does as a believer (M. Karenga, personal communication, February 1, 2015). Significantly, commitment to faith precedes all other themes because it is understood that we cannot be good people nor can we achieve good without having good moral character. In their written texts, Cooper and Harper stress our responsibility in cultivating the moral character of a person so that we can create a good and just society and world. Present within this theme are two subthemes: an appeal for moral character and faith in the unseen.

Subtheme 1: An appeal for moral character. The emphasis in this subtheme is on the need to establish the moral character of the nation and on women as influential in the building and sustaining of good moral character. Within the written data, there were many occasions where the writers emphasized the need for establishing good moral character. In fact, the need for good moral character is repeated often in the data. What is clear within the data is the stress on the African American woman's role and ethical

responsibility in building and sustaining the moral character of the nation. Harper (1891) wrote the following:

> Men may boast of the aristocracy of blood, may glory in the aristocracy of talent, and be proud of the aristocracy of wealth, but there is one aristocracy which must ever outrank them all, and that is the aristocracy of character; and it is the women of a country who help mold its character, and to influence if not determine its destiny. (p. 245)

Harper (1891) made clear, "that the world has need of all the spiritual aid that women can give for the social advancement and moral development of the human race" (p. 244). Harper (1891) also explained the following:

> I am not sure that women are naturally so much better than men that they will clear the stream by the virtue of their womanhood; it is not through sex but through character that the best influence of women upon the life of the nation must be exerted. (p. 246)

Here in the written data, the writers lay emphasis on the need for women, as possessors of good moral character, to strive for and uphold equality and justice as a right for all of humanity. Harper (1891) argued the following:

> O [Black] women of America! Into your hands God has pressed one of the sublimest opportunities that ever came into the hands of the women of any race or people. It is yours to create a healthy public sentiment; to demand justice, simple justice, as the right of every race. (p. 246)

Harper (1891) also explained:

> Women coming into her kingdom will find enthroned three great evils, for whose overthrow she should be as strong in a love of justice and humanity as the warrior is in his might. (p. 246)

Harper (1891) continued:

> To her is apparently coming the added responsibility of political power; and what she now possesses should only be the means of preparing her to use the coming power for the glory of God and the good of mankind; for power without righteousness is one of the most dangerous forces in the world. (p. 244)

Harper (1891) further noted:

> As the saffron tints and crimson flushes of mourn herald the coming day, so the social and political advancement which woman has already gained bears promise of the rising of the full-orbed sun of emancipation. The result will be not to make home less happy, but society more holy. (p. 245)

Harper (1891) also wrote:

> Let the hearts of the women of the world respond to the song of the herald angels of peace on earth and good will to all men. Let them throb as one heart unified by the grand and holy purpose of uplifting the human race, and humanity will breath freer, and the world grow brighter. With such a purpose Eden will spring up in our path, and Paradise be around our way. (p. 247)

Cooper (1893) wrote the following:

> The [African] woman feels that woman's cause is one and universal; and that not till the image of God, whether in parian or ebony, is sacred and inviolable; not till race, color, sex, and condition are seen as the accidents, and not the substance of life; not till the universal title of humanity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is conceded to be inalienable to all; not till then is woman's lesson taught and woman's cause won—not the white woman's, nor the black woman's, nor the red woman's, but the cause of every man and of every woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong. (p. 205)

Within the written data, the writers stress woman's infinite possibilities in creating a freer and more just world for all of humanity. Harper (1893) demonstrated this by writing the following:

> But as mind is more than matter, and the highest ideal always the true real, so to woman comes the opportunity to strive for richer and grander discoveries than ever gladdened the eye of the Genoese mariner. Not the opportunity of discovering new worlds, but that of filling this old world with fairer and higher aims than the greed of gold and the lust of power, is hers. (p. 245)

Cooper (1893) wrote the following:

> Now, I think if I could crystallize the sentiment of my constituency, and deliver it as a message to this congress of women, it would be something like this: Let woman's claim be as broad in the concrete as

> in the abstract. We take our stand on the solidarity of humanity, the oneness of life, and the unnaturalness and injustice of all special favoritisms, whether sex, race, country, or condition. If one link of the chain be broken, the chain is broken. A bridge is no stronger than its weakest part, and a cause is not worthier than its weakest element. Least of all can woman's cause afford to decry the weak. (p. 204)

Cooper (1930) continued:

> As interested in the education of a neglected people, and as educators in a circumscribed field of work, we are confronted by a peculiar danger at the same time that we are buoyed up and helped by a peculiar inspiration and stimulus to devotion. Whether from force of circumstances or from choice and loving consecration, we are ministers of the Gospel of intelligence, of moral and material uplift to a people whose need is greater than the average need around us by reason of past neglect—a people who are habitually reasoned about en masse as separate, distinct, and peculiar; a people who must be fitted to make headway in the face of prejudice and proscription the most bitter, the most intense, the most unrelenting the world has ever seen. (p. 250)

Subtheme 2: Faith in the unseen. The emphasis in this subtheme is on the belief in God or a Higher Power, reliance on faith, belief in Christianity, belief that God will "right all wrongs," and faith in brighter days. Evident in the written data is a special stress on the need for faith, this is, a genuine belief in

God and all that God is capable of. The writers also stress faith in the unseen.

Cooper (1893) wrote the following:

> Since emancipation the movement has been at times confused and stormy, so that we could not always tell whether we were going forward or groping in a circle. We hardly knew what we ought to emphasize, whether education or wealth, or civil freedom or recognition. . . . But as Frederick Douglass had said in darker days than those, 'One with God is a majority,' and our ignorance had hedged us in from the fine-spun theories of agnostics. (p. 202-203)

Cooper (1893) continued:

> We had remaining at least a simple faith that a just God is on the throne of the universe, and that somehow—we could not see, nor did we bother our heads to try to tell how—he would in his own time make all right that seemed most wrong. Schools were established, not merely public day-schools, but home training and industrial schools, at Hampton, Fisk, Atlanta, Raleigh, and other central stations, and later, through the energy of the [African] people themselves, such schools as the Wilberforce, the Livingstone, the Allen, and the Paul Quinn were opened. (p. 202-203)

Reflected in the written data is a steadfast belief in Christian faith and a belief that Christians out of duty ought to act in good and just ways toward oppressed people—specifically in this case, African American people. Harper (1891) declared the following:

> What I ask of American Christianity is not to show us more creeds, but more of Christ; not more rites and ceremonies, but more religion glowing with love and replete with life,— religion which will be to all weaker races an uplifting power, and not a degrading influence. (p. 251)

Harper (1891) continued:

> Jesus Christ has given us a platform of love and duty from which all oppression and selfishness is necessarily excluded. While politicians may stumble on the barren mountains of fretful controversy and ask in strange bewilderment, "What shall we do with weaker races?" I hold that Jesus Christ answered that question nearly two thousand years since. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them." (p. 251)

Harper (1891) also asserted:

> And now permit me to make my final claim, and that is a claim upon our common Christianity . . . It is the pride of the Caste which opposes the spirit of Christ, and the great work to which American Christianity is called is a great work of Christly reconciliation. God has heaved up your mountains with grandeur, flooded your rivers with majesty, crowned your vales with fertility, and enriched your mines with wealth. . . . Be reconciled to God for making a man [B]lack, permitting him to become part of your body politic, and sharing one rood or acre of your goodly heritage. (p. 250-251)

Commitment to Freedom

Commitment to freedom is grounded in the ideology of freedom as a shared good. Freedom here is characterized in two distinct ways: first, freedom from domination, deprivation, and degradation (M. Karenga, personal communication, January 17, 2015) and second, freedom to grow, to develop, and to live fully in the world (M. Karenga, personal communication, January 17, 2015). This theme essentially reaffirms the right of African Americans and all people to share in the development and in the creation of the world. Likewise, African Americans and all people should also benefit from the good that the world has to offer. The term commitment, too, implies dedication, self-giving, and active engagement in the freeing of oneself and others. Central in the written data is the stress on education as a way forward and toward freedom. Three key aspects of freedom are presented as subthemes: freedom-focusing, freedom-cherishing, and freedom-seeking.

Subtheme 1: Freedom-focusing. The emphasis in this subtheme is on education as a necessity for all persons, the collective responsibility in educating all persons, education as a means to achieving liberation. Here, the writers emphasize the need for and right to a classical education. Reiterated in the written data is the necessity for classical education as a means to substantiate vocational education. Cooper (1930) wrote the following:

> Any act performed by an ignorant slattern is menial, while no amount of indignity can really degrade a soul truly in possession of itself through scientific development of its faculties. (p. 255)

Comparing the United States to Germany, Cooper (1930) continued:

> The Germans understand this better than we. They realize as we do not that the total output of all industry is enhanced by the broader growth of the laborer. In her fierce competition with her foreign foes Germany set herself to building up the man,—a man useful to and to be used by the Fatherland in whatever capacity his services might be needed. To this end primary and secondary education are made the broad basis for technical or industrial training. In other words, technical schools where colleges are with us and specialization does not begin until the child has completed what answers to the high school course. This places the educative before the occupative—the cultural before the special, the development before the industrial. This is the natural order of any educational program based upon scientific principles of human development. (p. 256)

Cooper (1930) also asserted:

> We 'learn by doing' is an educational axiom, but true as it is, it does not mean as it often attempted to prove that sense travels only from hand to brain. The normal direction of the current would seem logically to go just the other way. Brain power insures hand power, and thought training produces industrial efficiency. We learn by doing when we

> dissect a crayfish or build a Latin sentence in the secondary school, when we perform a chemical reaction in the laboratory or express a thought in French, German, or Spanish, as when we read, write or draw in the primary grades. Enlightened industrialism does not mean that the body who plows cotton must study nothing but cotton and that he who would drive a mule successfully should have contact only with mules. Indeed it has been well said "if I knew my son would drive a mule all his days, I should still give him the groundwork of a general education in his youth that would place the greatest possible distance between him and the mule." (p. 257)

Cooper (1930) also wrote, "Education has been well defined as the building up of a man, the whole man; which, I take it, implies putting your crude material through whatever processes insure the highest return of the entire product at its best" (p. 249).

In the written data, the writers placed special stress on cultivating educational programs designed specifically to fit the needs of African American people. Commonly repeated in the written data is the self-determining need for African Americans to decide for themselves the best and most effective educational programs that would lead to greater freedom and liberation. Cooper (1930) wrote the following:

> As to the second or "occupative" aim of our work, it cannot be denied that there has been some loss in the past through a certain lack of definiteness on our part. There has been a shifting or wavering of

> programs coupled with an acrimony in criticizing the other man's program which promises little in the way of progress or of mutual esteem. This has been partly our fault, partly our misfortune. It has been a misfortune that too often our program has been handed down from above, along with the cash which was to constitute our sinews of war. The [African], being an 'interesting case,' all the good old ladies in the country have had a hand in prescribing his medicine, and they mean to see that he takes it. . . . The time has come, however, when the educators of [Africans] must see that one narrow pattern cannot meet the demands of this people whose life is as varied and whose need is as various as the life and needs of the American people. The time has come for rational discussion of these needs on the part of those who are interested in the shaping of educational programs, for a frank admission of individual limitations (one man can't do it all—or know it all), and lastly for an intelligent and economic division of labor on the principle of each undertaking that which he does best and standing squarely for that specialty for which his plant, his general equipment and his endowment promise the best result. (p. 252-253)

Cooper (1930) continued by stressing:

> There can be no doubt that [African] families are producing children enough to keep all the schools going, from the kindergarten to the universities; the high schools, trade schools, colleges, normal schools,

> professional schools,—all are needed to minister to the ever broadening demand of this people. (p. 253)

Cooper (1930) also pointed out:

> We may not stem the tide rushing into our large cities. Certainly speech-making has very little to do with such things. Be we may direct, guide, and help some in the cities, and, it seems to me, that the consideration of such a program is not unworthy of the serious attention of thoughtful educators. (p. 255)

The written data here lays emphasis on the need for schools to operate as places of higher learning—places where the intellect and mind are cultivated. Cooper (1893) claimed the following:

> The work in these schools, and in such as these, has been like the little leaven hid in the measure of meal, permeating life throughout the length and breadth of the Southland, lifting up ideals of home and of womanhood; diffusing a contagious longing for higher living and purer thinking, inspiring [the African] woman herself with a new sense of dignity in the eternal purposes of nature. (p. 203)

Cooper (1930) also wrote:

> Let Fisk, Atlanta, and similar schools have the support and encouragement they need as institutions of higher learning; let Hampton, Tuskegee and similar schools wear their well earned laurels as [the] correspondingly great trade universities; but let not Atlanta think she must extemporize a tin shop, nor Tuskegee make shift for a

> chair of oratory under the apprehension that each must aim at what the other is doing well. (p. 253)

Stressed within the written data here is the need to professionalize service-oriented jobs. According to the writers, ensuring both academic and vocational skills does this. Cooper (1930) highlighted the following:

> I have dwelt thus at length on the occupation of domestic service for two reasons: first, I hoped to make it clear that I have no word or thought adverse to this or any honest toil. Second, I expect to make it just as plain before I am through that neither domestic service nor any other service will ever be considered anything else than menial until it is put on a professional basis by having behind it a thorough course of general education. (p. 255)

Cooper (1930) also stressed:

> The conclusion is a corollary to this that the trained domestic, like the trained nurse, will demand the pay, and will deserve the treatment that are accorded intelligent and efficient services professionally rendered in whatever calling of life, and that it is not by persuasive essays on the dignity of labor, but by broadening and dignifying the labor, that we can secure any respectable number of recruits for this most important field of occupation. (p. 255)

In addition, Cooper (1930) asserted, "and yet it is important for our cause, no less than for the employer class, that the quality of domestic

service be improved through training and through intelligent comprehension of its circumstances and opportunities" (p. 254).

Cooper (1930) also declared:

> In the first place, the association of the domestic in the home of her employer is by necessity most intimate and responsible. 'The help' can by her silent, self-respecting dependableness preach unanswered sermons before audiences that you and I can never reach. She can refute pre-judgments, ally opposition, and mold favorable sentiment without ever opening her lips on the [African] problem; she can in her own person and by her own character offer a solution of that problem which will gainsay all cavil and all criticism. Is it not worth while for some school to undertake the work seriously, candidly, devotedly, of sending out a stream into these channels of usefulness so full of promise, so rich in opportunities for the race? The character of the service is important and the service itself when properly appreciated and performed has the same elements of dignity as other services. (p. 254-255)

Cooper (1930) wrote:

> Not only must the girl be trained for the home but the home, too, must be selected and prepared for the new servant—a servant whose treatment shall be worthy of her training, a servant whose dignity and whose serviceableness shall justify the expenditure for such a course in our educational program. (p. 255)

A central subject in the written data is the need to care and show concern for others. The writers stress 'others' as the poorest and weakest among us. Both writers argue that the nation cannot succeed without caring for, offering aide to, and educating the poor, weak, and vulnerable. Harper (1854) wrote the following:

> Having been placed by a dominant race in circumstances over which we have had no control, we have been the butt of ridicule and the mark of oppression. Identified with a people over whom weary ages of degradation have passed, whatever concerns them, as a race, concerns me. (p. 99)

And Cooper (1930) declared:

> And so our uncomely parts have put on more abundant comeliness, that there be no schism in the body politic. The high cannot say to the low, "I have no need of thee" nor the well-conditioned to the lazzarone: "I have no need of thee." (p. 249-250)

Harper (1891) added, "The strongest nation on earth cannot afford to deal unjustly towards its weakest and feeblest members" (p. 248).

Cooper (1930) continued:

> The only sane education, therefore, is that which conserves the very lowest stratum, the best and most economical is that which gives to each individual, according to his capacity, that training of 'head, hand and heart' or more literally, or mind, body and spirit which converts him into a beneficent force in the service of the world. This is the

> business of schools and this the true cause of the deep and vital interest of all the people in Educational Programs. (p. 250)

Harper (1891) wrote:

> But there are some rights more precious than the rights of property or the claims of superior intelligence: they are the rights of life and liberty, and to these the poorest and humblest man has just as much right as the richest and most influential man in the country. (p. 249)

Harper (1891) also noted:

> Let the nation, which once consented to his abasement under a system which made it a crime to teach him to read his Bible, feel it a privilege as well as a duty to reverse the old processes of the past by supplanting his darkness with light, not simply by providing the [African], but the whole region in which he lives, with national education. (p. 250)

Cooper (1930) stated simply, "Our young girls must be protected from libertines and villains who lie in wait in gorgeous palaces to entrap the innocent" (p. 255), while Harper (1891) stressed, "Instead of taking the ballot from his hands, teach him how to use it, and to add his quota to the progress, strength, and durability of the nation" (p. 250).

Cooper (1930) argued the following:

> The interest of the commonwealth in the result is transcendent. The smallest element is as vital to the state as heart's blood. No expenditure is extravagant that enhances the value of the output: no

> experiment but is suicidal if it results in the waste of any precious material. (p. 249)

Cooper (1930) continued:

> Indeed, so busy and so efficient are the forces of evil in working up the refuse into engines of deadly execution, it may with truth be said that from the standpoint of the state the most valuable part of all material, reckoned both in direction of what it may become and of what it may be saved from being, the item most momentous in potentiality is the refuse—the outcast. (p. 249)

Cooper (1930) also wrote:

> So long as the wretchedest hovel may culture germs of disease and misery against which the proudest palace is not immune, the submerged tenth take on a terrible significance in the building up of men, and the only salvation lies in leaving the ninety and nine in the wilderness and going after which is lost. (p. 250)

Harper (1891) noted:

> I deem it a privilege to present the [African American], not as a mere dependent asking for Northern sympathy or Southern compassion, but as a member of the body politic who has a claim upon the nation for justice, simple justice, which is the right of every race, upon the government for protection, which is the rightful claim of every citizen, and upon our common Christianity for the best influences which can be exerted for peace on earth and good-will to man. (p. 247)

Harper (1891) also wrote:

> Jesus Christ has given us a platform of love and duty from which all oppression and selfishness is necessarily excluded. While politicians may stumble on the barren mountains of fretful controversy and ask in strange bewilderment, "What shall we do with weaker races?" I hold that Jesus Christ answered that question nearly two thousand years since. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them." (p. 251)

In addition to our responsibility to care for the poor and weak, the written data stressed active engagement in service as a necessity in lifting up the weak and in strengthening the community. Cooper (1893) proclaimed the following:

> In organized efforts for self-help and benevolence also our women have been active. The Colored Women's League, of which I am at present corresponding secretary, has active, energetic branches in the South and West. The branch in Kansas City, with a membership of upward of one hundred and fifty, already has begun under their vigorous president, Mrs. Yates, the erection of a building for friendless girls. . . . The women of the Washington branch of the league have subscribed to a fund of about five thousand dollars to erect a woman's building for educational and industrial work, which is also to serve as headquarters for gathering and disseminating general information

relation to the efforts of our women. This is just a glimpse of what we have been doing. (p. 204)

Subtheme 2: Freedom-cherishing. The emphasis in this sub-theme is on cherishing freedom won through struggle and reflecting upon the progress made toward freedom. The written data emphasizes various educational accomplishments hard won by the African American community. Cooper (1893) wrote the following:

> Schools were established, not merely public day-schools, but home training and industrial schools, at Hampton, Fisk, Atlanta, Raleigh, and other central stations, and later, through the energy of the [African] people themselves, such schools as the Wilberforce, the Livingstone, the Allen, and the Paul Quinn were opened. These schools were almost without exception co-educational. Funds were too limited to be divided on sex lines, even had it been ideally desirable; but our girls as well as our boys flocked in and battled for an education. . . . The work in these schools, and in such as these, has been like the little leaven hid in the measure of meal, permeating life throughout the length and breadth of the Southland, lifting up ideals of home and of womanhood; diffusing a contagious longing for higher living and purer thinking, inspiring [the African] woman herself with a new sense of dignity in the eternal purposes of nature. (p. 203)

Cooper (1893) continued:

> To-day there are twenty-five thousand five hundred and thirty [Black] schools in the United States with one million three hundred and fifty-three thousand three hundred and fifty-two pupils of both sexes. This is not quite the thirteenth year since their emancipation, and the [African] people hold in landed property for churches and schools twenty-five million dollars. Two and one-half million [African] children have learned to read and write, and twenty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty-six [African] men and women (mostly women) are teaching in these schools. According to Doctor Rankin, President of Howard University, there are two hundred and forty-seven [African] students (a large percentage of whom are women) now preparing themselves in the universities in Europe. Of other colleges which give the B.A. course to women, and are broad enough not to erect barriers against [African] applicants, Oberlin, the first to open its doors to both woman and the [African], has given classical degrees to six [African] women. (p. 203-204)

Harper (1854) wrote:

> We have papers edited by colored editors, which we may consider it an honor to possess, and a credit to sustain. We have a church that is extending itself from east to west, from north to south, through poverty and reproach, persecution and pain. (p. 100)

Here in the written data, the writers stress the need for women to see themselves as possessors of power and to reflect on their role and responsibility in liberating others. Harper (1891), for example, pointed out that, "to-day women hold in their hands influence and opportunity, and with these they have already opened doors which have been closed to others" (p. 245). Harper (1854) also wrote, "Public and private schools accommodate our children; and in my own southern home, I see women, whose lot is unremitted labor, saving a pittance from their scanty wages to defray the expense of learning to read" (p. 100). She also declared, "If the fifteenth century discovered America to the Old World, the nineteenth is discovering woman to herself" (Harper, 1891, p. 244).

Harper (1891) highlighted the following:

> In the home she [woman] is the priestess, in society the queen, in literature she is a power, in legislative halls law-makers have responded to her appeals, and for her sake have humanized and liberalized their laws. The press has felt the impress of her hand. In the pew of the church she constitutes the majority; the pulpit has welcomed her, and in the school she has the blessed privilege of teaching children and youth. To her is apparently coming the added responsibility of political power; and what she now possesses should only be the means of preparing her to use the coming power for the glory of God and the good of mankind; for power without righteousness is one of the most dangerous forces in the world. (p. 246)

Subtheme 3: Freedom-seeking. The emphasis in this subtheme is on the demand for more education and opportunities that may lead to the liberation of African People, the demand for processes and policies that lend themselves toward opening doors for African American people, and the demand for freedom in all senses of the word. Here in the written data, the writers emphasize the need for quality education, specifically, classical education. Increased intelligence and creativity is stressed in the written work. The writers argue for further development of African American men and women to serve the body public. Cooper (1930) argued, "Manifestly nothing can more profitably engage the time and thought of statesmen and sages than the perfecting of these processes and the improvement of this product" (p. 249), while Harper (1891) wrote, "Let our Government resolve that as far as that flag extends every American-born child shall be able to read upon its folds liberty for all and chains for none" (p. 250). Harper (1891) also asserted the following:

> I envy neither the heart nor the head of any legislator who has been born to an inheritance of privileges who has behind him ages of education, dominion, civilization, and Christianity, if he stands opposed to the passage of a national education bill, whose purpose is to secure education to the children who were born under the shadow of institutions which made it a crime to read. (p. 245)

The written data stresses the need for sustained equality and justice for African American people and for humanity. Cooper (1893) wrote the following:

> We want, then, as toilers for the universal triumph of justice and human rights, to go to our homes from this Congress, demanding an entrance not through a gateway for ourselves, our race, our sex, or our sect, but [through] a grand highway for humanity. (pp. 204-205)

Harper (1854) contended:

> We have our faults, our want of union and concentration of purpose; but are there not extenuating circumstances around our darkest faults– palliating excuses for our most egregious errors? and shall we not hope, that the mental and moral aspect which we present is but the first step of a mighty advancement, the faintest coruscations of the day that will dawn with unclouded splendor upon our down-trodden and benighted race, and that ere long we may present to the admiring gaze of those who wish us well, a people to whom knowledge has given power, and righteousness exaltation? (p. 100)

The written data here emphasizes the need for securing rights for African American women as a way toward equality and justice for African American people as a whole. Cooper (1930) argued the following:

> [The African] woman's wrongs are indissolubly linked with all undefended woe, and the acquirement of her 'rights' will mean the final triumph of all right over might, the supremacy of the moral forces of

> reason, and justice, and love in the government of the nations of the earth. (p. 205)

Here, the written data demonstrates the need for better education and increased educational programs as a necessity in building up the whole man or woman. Cooper (1930) wrote the following:

> The state has provided in all advanced American communities free instruction for this period covering altogether about twelve years and roughly divisible into primary and secondary schools, or more accurately into kindergarten and primary, intermediate and secondary which constitute the common school course or what we are proud to call general public education. Superadded to this common course for all should come the special courses or training for a vocation: a normal course to train for teaching and a technical course to train for certain trades. The latter are the true 'higher' schools and are equal in rank as fitting [sic] for earning a living. They ought to rank with professional schools, but American communities have not yet put all the professions on a public education basis, although without doubt the way should be provided somehow and somewhere to enable a poor boy of special aptitude to make his way to whatever equipment his talents can best employ in the service of the state. (pp. 256-257)

Cooper (1930) also argued, "such common school equipment is and of right ought to be the birthright of every American born child" (p. 257). Further, Cooper (1930) claimed:

> Any scheme of education should have regard to the whole man—not a special class or race of men, but man as the paragon of creation, possessing in childhood and in youth almost infinite possibilities for physical, moral and mental development. If a child seems poor in inheritance, poor in environment, poor in personal endowment, by so much the more must organized society bring to that child the good tidings of social salvation through the schools. (p. 258)

Here, the written data stresses education as a right to all citizens. Cooper (1930) emphasized the following:

> In many a hard-fought field the foe has been routed, not by a blunderbuss, but by an epithet. Advocates of the shortcut have made good use of this ruse. In the first place, the modern designation of secondary grade schools as "high schools" has favored the confusion with "higher education" which as already fallen under the disrepute of being "mere culture" or professional or "gentlemanly" training. In any exact thinking, culture is the term for those studies which disclose the child to himself and put him into possession of his dormant faculties. . . . But the poor man is almost ashamed to harbor the thought of culturing his offspring and high schools are derided as giving impractical and useless accomplishments for the few who do not have to work and as making "scholars" and high-sounding wind-bags. "You can't make," says one conclusively, "beet-root sugar out of fine phrases." This is true. But neither can you make beet-root sugar out of

> foolish phrases. When you come to think of it the beet-root industry has never been know to be affected by any kind of phrases. But the industries and ideals of a nation cannot but be enriched by the sound of intelligence of all the people derived from thorough general education in its schools. (p. 258)

The emphasis in the written data here is on sexual freedom, i.e., the right to one's own body or person. Presented in the data is an argument against human and sexual exploitation during and immediately following the enslavement era. Cooper (1893) wrote the following:

> Yet all through the darkest period of the [Black] women's oppression in this country her yet unwritten history is full of heroic struggle, a struggle against fearful and overwhelming odds, that often ended in horrible death, to maintain and protect that which woman holds dearer than life. The painful, patient, and silent toil of mothers to gain a fee simple title to the bodies of their daughters, the despairing fight, as of entrapped tigress, to keep hallowed their own persons, would furnish material for epics. (p. 202)

The right to freedom in order to live dignified lives, and the right to dignified treatment and protection are stressed here in the written data. Also emphasized here is the right to a life free of lynching and unjust killings. Harper (1891) demanded the following:

> Our first claim upon the nation and government is the claim for protection of human life. That claim should lie at the basis of our

> civilization, not simply in theory but in fact. Outside of America, I know of no other civilized country, Catholic, Protestant, or even Mahometan, where men are still lynched, murdered, and even burned for real or supposed crimes. (p. 247)

Harper (1891) continued:

> As long as there are such cases as moral irresponsibility, mental imbecility; as long as Potiphar's wife stands in the world's pillory of shame, no man should be deprived of life or liberty without the due process of law. (p. 247)

Harper (1891) also argued:

> The government which has power to tax a man in peace, and draft him in war, should have power to defend his life in the hour of peril. A government which can protect and defends its citizens from wrong and outrage and does not is vicious. A government which would do it and cannot is weak; and where human life is insecure through either weakness or viciousness in the administration of law, there must be a lack of justice, and where this is wanting nothing can make up the deficiency. (p. 247-248)

Harper (1891) asserted:

> O [Black] women of America! Into your hands God has pressed one of the sublimest opportunities that ever came into the hands of the women of any race or people. It is yours to create a healthy public sentiment; to demand justice, simple justice, as the right of every race;

> to brand with everlasting infamy the lawless and brutal cowardice that lynches, burns, and tortures your own countrymen. (pp. 246-247)

Lastly, Harper (1891) asserted, "I claim for the [African American] protection in every right with which the government has invested him" (p. 248).

Commitment to Sacrifice

Commitment to sacrifice reinforces the need for and practice of sacrifice as indispensable to building character and caring for the community, which ultimately leads to winning freedom. In his text, *Introduction to Black Studies*, Karenga (2010) defines sacrifice as the "self-giving [of oneself] in a real, meaningful and sustained way" (p. 213). In their work, Cooper and Harper stress the need to give of oneself, and ongoing and active engagement as a way to free African people from systems of oppression. In this theme the emphasis is on tradition of sacrifice and on sacrifice and struggle as a way to create a good world for future generations.

The tradition of sacrifice practiced by African women is illustrated here in the written data. Cooper (1893) argued:

> I speak for the [Black] woman of the South, because it is there that the millions of [Black people] in this country have watered the soil with blood and tears, and it is there too that the colored woman of America has made here characteristic history, and there her destiny is evolving. (p. 202)

Harper (1854) wrote:

> Public and private schools accommodate our children; and in my own southern home, I see women, whose lot is unremitted labor, saving a pittance from their scanty wages to defray the expense of learning to read. (p. 100)

Here, the written data demonstrates the emphasis that Cooper placed on sacrifice as a necessity to bring about good into the world. Cooper (1893) wrote the following:

> Schools were established, not merely public day-schools, but home training and industrial schools, at Hampton, Fisk, Atlanta, Raleigh, and other central stations, and later, through the energy of the [African] people themselves, such schools as the Wilberforce, the Livingstone, the Allen, and the Paul Quinn were opened. These schools were almost without exception co-educational. Funds were too limited to be divided on sex lines, even had it been ideally desirable; but our girls as well as our boys flocked in and battled for an education. Not even then was that patient, untrumpeted heroine, the [enslaved] mother, released from self-sacrifice, and many an unbuttered crust was eaten in silent content that she might eke out enough from her poverty to send her young folks off to school. She 'never had the chance,' she would tell you, with tears on her withered cheek, so she wanted them to get all they could. (p. 203)

In the written data, the writers correlate struggle and sacrifice as necessary conditions in the creation of a good world for future generations. Harper (1891) argued the following:

> And in our late civil conflict [African] men threw their lives into the struggle, rallied around the old flag when others were trampling it underfoot and riddling it with bullets. [African] people learned to regard the flag as a harbinger of freedom and bring their most reliable information to the Union army, to share their humble fare with the escaping prisoner; to be faithful when others were faithless and help turn the tide of battle in favor of the nation. (pp. 248-249)

And Cooper (1930) wrote:

> The natural father stores up this subsistence for the child during the growing and formative period of the child. My plea is for the sacredness and inviolability of the growing period of the child. Guard it, nurture it, foster it. Give it the one thing needful,—time. If it costs sacrifice, it is richly worth it. (p. 256)

Commitment to Resistance and Struggle

Commitment to resistance and struggle is characterized by the need for ongoing engagement in the fight against domination and oppression. The emphasis in this theme is on resistance to oppression, struggle as a necessity as part of freeing oneself and one's people, and the struggle to create for oneself and one's community.

Demonstrated in the written data is various ways that African women resisted oppression during the Holocaust of enslavement. Cooper (1893) wrote the following:

> It is enough for me to know that while in the eyes of the highest tribunal in America she was deemed no more than a chattel, an irresponsible thing, a dull block, to be drawn hither or thither at the volition of an owner, the [Black] woman maintained ideals of womanhood unshamed by any ever conceived. (p. 202)

Here, the written data demonstrates an interest in and the struggle to create and shape educational programs for African people. Cooper (1930) wrote the following:

> As to the second or "occupative" aim of our work, it cannot be denied that there has been some loss in the past through a certain lack of definiteness on our part. There has been a shifting or wavering of programs coupled with an acrimony in criticizing the other man's program which promises little in the way of progress or of mutual esteem. This has been partly our fault, partly our misfortune. It has been a misfortune that too often our program has been handed down from above, along with the cash which was to constitute our sinews of war. The [African], being an 'interesting case,' all the good old ladies in the country have had a hand in prescribing his medicine, and they mean to see that he takes it. . . . The time has come, however, when the educators of [Africans] must see that one narrow pattern cannot

> meet the demands of this people whose life is as varied and whose need is as various as the life and needs of the American people. The time has come for rational discussion of these needs on the part of those who are interested in the shaping of educational programs, for a frank admission of individual limitations (one many can't do it all—or know it all), and lastly for an intelligent and economic division of labor on the principle of each undertaking that which he does best and standing squarely for that specialty for which his plant, his general equipment and his endowment promise the best result. (p. 252-253)

Here, the written data stresses the African woman's struggle to bring about justice in the world through political activism. Harper (1891) contended:

> In coming into her political estate woman will find a mass of illiteracy to be dispelled. If knowledge is power, ignorance is also power. The power that educates wickedness may manipulate and dash against the pillars of any state when they are undermined and honeycombed by injustice. (p. 245)

Here, the written data reinforces the ongoing need for African women to struggle to take part in the creation of a good society and world. Cooper (1893) claimed the following:

> Now, I think if I could crystallize the sentiment of my constituency, and deliver it as a message to this congress of women, it would be something like this: Let woman's claim be as broad in the concrete as in the abstract. We take our stand on the solidarity of humanity, the

> oneness of life, and the unnaturalness and injustice of all special favoritisms, whether sex, race, country, or condition. If one link of the chain be broken, the chain is broken. A bridge is no stronger than its weakest part, and a cause is not worthier than its weakest element. Least of all can woman's cause afford to decry the weak. (p. 204)

Harper (1891) asserted:

> O [Black] women of America! Into your hands God has pressed one of the sublimest opportunities that ever came into the hands of the women of any race or people. It is yours to create a healthy public sentiment; to demand justice, simple justice, as the right of every race; to brand with everlasting infamy the lawless and brutal cowardice that lynches, burns, and tortures your own countrymen. To grapple with the evils which threaten to undermine the strength of the nation and to lay magazines of powder under the cribs of future generations is no child's play. (pp. 246-247)

Harper (1891) also argued, "By opening doors of labor woman has become a rival claimant for at least some of the wealth monopolized by her stronger brother" (p. 245).

Emphasized in the written data is the African woman's need to struggle against all evil and wrongdoings. Harper (1891) advised:

> The ballot in the hands of woman means power added to influence. How well she will use that power I cannot foretell. Great evils stare us in the face that need to be throttled by the combined power of an

> upright manhood and an enlightened womanhood; and I know that no nation can gain its full measure of enlightenment and happiness if one-half of it is free and the other half is fettered. (p. 246)

Harper (1891) also wrote, "To grapple with the evils which threaten to undermine the strength of the nation and to lay magazines of powder under the cribs of future generations is no child's play" (p. 247).

Within the written data, the writers emphasize the ongoing need for African women to struggle for themselves and the African community. Harper (1891) charged:

> Has the record of the [enslaved] been such as to warrant the belief that permitting him to share citizenship with others in the country is inimical to the welfare of the nation? Can it be said that he lacks patriotism, or a readiness to make common cause with the nation in the hour of peril? In the days of the American Revolution some of the first blood which was shed flowed from the veins of [an African] man, and among the latest words that died upon his lips before they paled in death was, 'crush them underfoot,' meaning the British guards. (p. 249)

Harper (1891) continued:

> And in our late civil conflict [African] men threw their lives into the struggle, rallied around the old flag when others were trampling it underfoot and riddling it with bullets. [African] people learned to regard the flag as a harbinger of freedom and bring their most reliable information to the Union army, to share their humble fare with the

> escaping prisoner; to be faithful when others were faithless and help turn the tide of battle in favor of the nation. (pp. 248-249)

In the written data, the writers lay stress on the need to struggle to overcome ignorance and poverty as well as other conditions caused by oppression and slavery. Harper (1891) declared the following:

> Ignorance and poverty are conditions which men outgrow. Since the sealed volume was opened by the crimson hand of war, in spite of entailed ignorance, poverty, opposition, and a heritage of scorn, schools have sprung like wells in the desert dust. It has been estimated that about two million have learned to read. [African American] men and women have gone into journalism. Some of the first magazines in the country have received contributions from them. Learned professions have given them diplomas. Universities have granted them professorships. [African American] women have combined to shelter orphaned children. (p. 249)

She continued:

> Tens of thousands have been contributed by [African American] persons for the care of the aged and infirm. Instead of the old slave-pen of former days, imposing and commodious are edifices of prayer and pen. Millions of dollars have flowed into the pockets of the race, and freed people have not only been able to provide for themselves, but reach out their hands to impoverished owners. (Harper, 1891, p. 249)

Harper (1891) also argued:

> Am I here met with the objection that the [African American] is poor and ignorant, and the greatest amount of land, capital, and intelligence is possessed by the white race, and that in a number of States [African American] suffrage means [African American] supremacy? But is it not a fact that both North and South power naturally gravitates into the strongest hands, and is there any danger that a race who were deemed so inferior as to be only fitted for slavery, and social and political ostracism, has in less than one generation become so powerful that, if not hindered from exercising the right of suffrage, it will dominate over a people who have behind them ages of domination, education, freedom, and civilization, a people who have poured into their veins the blood of some of the strongest races on earth? (p. 248)

Harper (1891) asserted:

> It is said that the [African] is ignorant. But why is he ignorant? It comes with ill grace from a man who has put out my eyes to make a parade of my blindness—to reproach me for my poverty when he has wronged me of my money. If the [African] is ignorant, he has lived under the shadow of an institution which, at least in part of the country, made it a crime to teach him to read the name of the ever-blessed Christ. If he is poor, what has become of the money he has been earning for the last two hundred and fifty years? (p. 249)

Harper (1854) also made the following claim:

> Having been placed by a dominant race in circumstances over which we have had no control, we have been the butt of ridicule and the mark of oppression. Identified with a people over whom weary ages of degradation have passed, whatever concerns them, as a race, concerns me. (p. 99)

In addition, Harper (1854) wrote:

> I have noticed among our people a disposition to censure and upbraid each other, a disposition which has its foundation rather, perhaps, in a want of common sympathy and consideration, than mutual hatred, or other unholy passions. Born to an inheritance of misery, nurtured in degradation, and cradled in oppression, with the scorn of the [W]hite man upon their souls, his fetters upon their limbs, his scourge upon their flesh, what can be expected from their offspring, but a mournful reaction of that cursed system which spreads its baneful influence over body and soul; which dwarfs the intellect, stunts its development, debases the spirit, and degrades the soul? . . . If there is a nation in whose veins runs the purest Caucasian blood, upon whom the same causes would not produce the same effects; whose social condition, intellectual and moral character, would present a more favorable aspect than ours? But there is hope; yes, blessed be to God! for our down-trodden and despised race. (p. 99-100)

Here, the written data stresses the need to struggle against the criminalization of the African race. Harper (1891) argued the following:

> Admit for one moment that every word is true, and that the whole race [Black people] should be judged by its worse, and not its best members, does any civilized country legislate to punish a man before he commits a crime? (p. 248)

Cooper (1930) contended:

> You and I both know what an agonizing wail there is throughout the country on the degeneration of the [African] servant. In fact I believe that most of the sentiment existing today adverse to the race is due to the bad record left by our missionaries–the servants! Most people don't stop to think, our average American public is just like 'most people' in this respect. They tell you that the [African] is more degenerate under freedom than he was under slavery; they extol the virtues, the amiability and reliability of the old time servant class, whom they tell you they loved by reason of their excellencies of character as well as their faithfulness of service,—"but now",—and then the howl of despair as the shiftlessness of the up-to-date girl is detailed, her untrained, unkempt disorderliness, her unmitigated emptiness of all the qualities that rendered her supposed ancestors loved and respected. And then the conclusion inevitable that the whole race is immeasurably worse conditioned than 'before the war'; that some such system as slavery was needed to keep us all from going to the dogs. (pp. 253-254)

Cooper (1930) also wrote:

> Under slavery there was the most vigilant, the most intelligent, the most successful natural selection known to civilized man to form this class of [enslaved] house servants who were to be in immediate and constant contact of the most intimate sort with the [ruling] class. There was absolutely nothing to mar this selection or thwart the most perfect adjustment of it to the needs of the system. The [enslaved] house servants were the cream by natural endowment first, and by most careful training and contact afterwards. Have these same people, and their children, degenerated since or have they gone up higher? I think the latter. Today they represent the thrift, the mechanical industry, the business intelligence, the professional skill, the well ordered homes, and the carefully nurtured families that are to be found in every town and hamlet where the [African] man is known. The whole bed-rock has been lifted up by emancipation, stratum upon stratum, so that hey who know the [African] only in their kitchens are too often brought in contact with a level which they never met under the old regime. (p. 254)

The written data also demonstrates the need for struggle, as struggle creates conditions that can lead to the liberation of African people. Cooper (1930) asserted the following:

> Something must be done on both sides, I grant you. Our young girls must be protected from libertines and villains who lie in wait in gorgeous palaces to entrap the innocent. Not only must the girl be

> trained for the home but the home, too, must be selected and prepared for the new servant—a servant whose treatment shall be worthy of her training, a servant whose dignity and whose serviceableness shall justify the expenditure for such a course in our educational program. (p. 255)

Cooper (1930) also wrote:

> The fatal American faculty of cutting corners has taught us to call that program of education 'practical' which makes the shortest cut to the nearest dollar in sight. Before childhood has had time to grow, it is harassed with the feverish, mercantile question, 'what can you do?' Bears sometimes eat their cubs and humans seldom fatten on child labor, but the crime becomes monstrous when whole communities systematize the stunting and warping of all normal child-development by premature specialization. (pp. 255-256)

Additionally, Cooper (1930) argued:

> Since emancipation the movement has been at times confused and stormy, so that we could not always tell whether we were going forward or groping in a circle. . . . . We had remaining at least a simple faith that a just God is on the throne of the universe, and that somehow—we could not see, nor did we both our heads to try to tell how—he would in his own good time make all right at that seemed most wrong. Schools were established, not merely public day-schools, but home training and industrial schools. . . . These schools were

> almost without exception, co-educational. Funds were too limited to be divided on sex lines, even had it been ideally desirable; but our girls as well as our boys flocked in and battled for education. Not even then was that patient, untrumpeted heroine, the [enslaved] mother, released from self-sacrifice, and many an unbuttered crust was eaten in silent content that she might eke out enough from her poverty to send her young folks off to school. (pp. 202-203)

The written data here emphasizes the need to remain principled, focused, and unified in the liberation of African people. Cooper (1930) wrote, "In the presence of this multitude of counselors the danger is that we lose sight altogether of basic principles as such, and remember that we are educating [African Americans] before we have yet realized that we are educating men" (p. 250).

Commitment to the Future

Commitment to the future relies heavily on the idea that Cooper and Harper committed themselves to the ongoing task of creating a good future for African people and the world. This theme embodies the meaning of Kawaida womanism which, as stated in Chapter 2, is defined as "culturally grounded thought and practice directed toward the liberation of African women as an integral and indispensable part of the liberation of African people as a whole, including the creation of conditions necessary for the well-being and flourishing of women, men and children in family" (Karenga & Tembo, 2012, p. 33). This theme argues that Cooper and Harper's intent was

to free, that is, to liberate African people and the world in the fullest sense. To put it another way, commitment to the future emphasizes an aspect of Kawaida womanism that aims for culturally grounded thought and practice resulting in the creation of conditions that lead to the liberation of African people. This concept is an essential underpinning of a liberatory pedagogy.

Subtheme: Forward-looking. The emphasis in this subtheme is on the need for the creation of conditions, including educational programs that lead to growth and liberation. The written data emphasizes the need to create conditions that will allow for the continued growth and development of African people. Cooper (1893) argued, "The higher fruits of civilization can not be extemporized neither can they be developed normally, in the brief space of thirty years. It requires the long and painful growth of generations" (p. 201-202).

The written data also stresses the need for policies that ensure education as a right to all children. Harper (1891) wrote the following:

> When parents are too poor or selfish to spare the labor of their children from the factories, and the State too indifferent or short-sighted to enforce their education by law, then let the Government save its future citizens from the results of cupidity in the parents or short-sightedness in the State. (p. 250)

The written data stresses the need to protect African American interest and lives, and future generations of African people. Harper (1891) asserted, "I

claim for the [African American] protection in every right with which the government has invested him" (p. 248).

The writers stress the need to remain unified in the struggle to liberate African people and in the struggle to gain freedom and equality for all people. Harper (1891) declared the following:

> The reason our nation snapped asunder in 1861 was because it lacked the cohesion of justice; men poured out their blood like water, scattered their wealth like chaff, summoned to the field the largest armies the nation had ever seen, but they did not get their final victories which closed the rebellion till they clasped hands with the [African American], and marched with him abreast to freedom and victory. (p. 248)

Harper (1891) also wrote:

> The tendency of the present age, with its restlessness, religious upheavals, failures, blunders, and crimes, is toward broader freedom, an increase in knowledge, the emancipation of thought, and a recognition of the brotherhood of man; in this movement, woman, as the companion of man, must be sharer. So close is the bond between man and woman that you can not raise one without lifting the other. The world cannot move without woman's sharing in the movement, and to help give a right impetus to that movement is woman's highest privilege. (p. 244)

The written data stresses the need to cultivate and maintain the most effective educational programs for African Americans in order to ensure the advancement of current and future generations of African people. Cooper (1930) asserted the following:

> As interested in the education of a neglected people, and as educators in a circumscribed field of work, we are confronted by a peculiar danger at the same time that we are buoyed up and helped by a peculiar inspiration and stimulus to devotion. Whether from force of circumstances or from choice and loving consecration, we are ministers of the Gospel of intelligence, of moral and material uplift to a people whose need is greater than the average need around us by reason of past neglect—a people who are habitually reasoned about en masse as separate, distinct, and peculiar; a people who must be fitted to make headway in the face of prejudice and proscription the most bitter, the most intense, the most unrelenting the world has ever seen. (p. 250)

Harper (1854) claimed:

> And shall we not hope, that the mental and moral aspect which we present is but the first step of a mighty advancement, the faintest coruscations of the day that will dawn with unclouded splendor upon our down-trodden and benighted race, and that ere long we may present to the admiring gaze of those who wish us well, a people to

> whom knowledge has given power, and righteousness exaltation? (p. 100)

Cooper (1930) argued:

> It cannot be denied that the wisest plan of education for any people should take cognizance of past and present environment, should note the forces against which they must contend, or in unison with which they must labor in the civilization of which they form a part. (p. 250)

Cooper (1930) also asserted:

> It should not be ignored, further, that the [African] in America, because of his marked appearance and his unique history, will for a long time need peculiar equipment for the intense, the unrelenting struggle for survival amid which he finds himself in the America today. (p. 251)

Additionally, Cooper (1930) pointed out:

> Any scheme of education should have regard to the whole man—not a special class or race of men, but man as the paragon of creation, possessing in childhood and in youth almost infinite possibilities for physical, moral and mental development. If a child seems poor in inheritance, poor in environment, poor in personal endowment, by so much the more must organized society bring to that child the good tidings of social salvation through the schools. (p. 258)

Cooper (1930) argued, "The weakest of the races here represented, at the same time the most conspicuous and undisguisable, the [B]lack race, has need truly of wise teachers and far-seeing leaders, to help them up the thorny

road to life" (p. 251), and she continued by suggesting, "When studying or planning a program of [African American] education, we shall need the clearest thought, the wisest counsels, the broadest charity. There is no place for jealousies or hobbies" (Cooper, 1931, p. 251). Cooper (1930) also wrote the following:

> It is well known that the power to think, the power to appreciate, and the power to will the right and make it prevail, is the sum total of the faculties of the human soul. Education which is truly "educative" must strengthen, develop, 'lead out' these faculties in preparation for those special activities which may be called "occupative" because they give the one line of training necessary for the occupation or trade of the individual. (p. 251)

And she continued:

> No one will deny that thought-power, will power, and the power to discern and appreciate proportion and right relation are fundamental needs of the people for whom we toil, as of others. Indeed when we speak of their peculiar weaknesses and special lack to be overcome by education, I think if we analyse our criticism carefully, we shall find the fault resolve itself into one or all of these three faculties still latent or underdeveloped and in need of training. (Cooper, 1930, p. 251).

Cooper (1930) also argued:

> The [African American] has had manual education throughout his experience [enslaved]. For 250 years he was practically the only

> laborer in the American market. His training was whatever his teachers decreed it should be. His skill represented the best teaching of the section in which he found himself. If he did not reckon a knowledge of machinery among his accomplishments it must be admitted that machinery was very tardily introduced into the Southland. But his methods as farmer, as a mechanic, as nurse, as domestic, were the result of the best teaching the peculiar institution afforded. What was the lack? What is the need today? Is it not just the power to think, the power to will, the power to appreciate true relation, which have been enumerated as the universal aim of education? The old education made him a "hand," solely and simply. It deliberately sought to suppress or ignore the soul. We must, whatever else we do, insist on those studies which by the consensus of educators are calculated to train our people to think, which will give them the power of appreciation and make them righteous. In a word we are building men, not chemists or farmers, or cooks, or soldiers, but men ready to serve the body politic in whatever avocation their talent is needed. This is fundamental. No sort of superstructure can endure on any different foundation. (p. 251-252)

Cooper (1930) wrote the following:

> This first for all men—whether for white men, red men, yellow men, or black men, whether for rich men or poor men, high or low, the aim of

> education for the human soul is to train aright, to give power and right direction to the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will. (p. 252)

Cooper (1930) also wrote:

> Teachers from Aristotle to the present have sifted and analysed the various branches of learning to get at their relative worth as educative factors. The results of their experiments and analyses are not hidden in dark places. They are universally accepted by teachers and thinkers as a reasonable and proper basis for the education of mankind. The only way to meet those skeptics who still ask with a half sneer, "What is the use of this or that study for [African Americans]?" is with the query "is it good for men?" Has it been selected for curricula universally and has it stood the test for the discipline it gives in the direction of thought-power, power of appreciation, power of willing the right? These are the things we need. If these studies are means to those ends there can be nothing incongruous or unreasonable in trying them on our pupils in all faith as to the divine possibilities in all human development. (p. 252)

Further, she emphasized:

> There can be no doubt that [African] families are producing children enough to keep all the schools going, from the kindergarten to the universities; the high schools, trade schools, colleges, normal schools, professional schools,—all are needed to minister to the ever broadening demand of this people. (Cooper, 1930, p. 253)

Cooper (1930) also reported, "And yet it is important for our cause, no less than for the employer class, that the quality of domestic service be improved through training and through intelligent comprehension of its circumstances and opportunities" (p. 254).

In addition, she wrote:

> The conclusion is a corollary to this that the trained domestic, like the trained nurse, will demand the pay, and will deserve the treatment that are accorded intelligent and efficient services professionally rendered in whatever calling of life, and that it is not by persuasive essays on the dignity of labor, but by broadening and dignifying the labor, that we can secure any respectable number of recruits for this most important field of occupation. (Cooper, 1930, p. 255)

Cooper (1930) argued the following point:

> Primary and secondary education are made the broad basis for technical or industrial training. In other words, technical schools where colleges are with us and specialization (specializing) does not begin until the child has completed what answers to the high school course. This places the educative before the occupative—the cultural before the special, the development before the industrial. This is the natural order of any educational program based upon scientific principles of human development. (p. 256)

She continued:

> Training of the eye to accuracy and the muscles of the hand and arm as in writing and drawing have an early place in any program of general education, which, according to all enlightened planning, comprehends the culture of the physical as well as the mental and moral man. But it is well known that with the growing child a too early concentration of effort in the operation of special muscles is sure to result in partial or total atrophy of others. As a matter of course subsistence is the first problem with man as with every animal and, if it is not at hand, the child must make shift as he can to get to or perish. But he does not grow in order to subsist; he subsists in order to grow, and if his growth be used up in the means of subsistence, the inevitable result is dwarfage. (p. 256)

Cooper (1930) also wrote:

> The state has provided in all advance American communities free instruction for this period covering altogether about twelve years and roughly divisible into primary and secondary schools, or more accurately into kindergarten and primary, intermediate and secondary which constitute the common school course or what we are proud to call general public education. Superadded to this common course for all should come the special courses or training for a vocation: a Normal course to train for teaching and a technical course to train for certain trades. The latter are the true "higher" schools and are equal in rank as fitting [sic] for earning a living. They ought to rank with professional

> schools, but American communities have not yet put all the professions on a public education basis, although without doubt the way should be provided somehow and somewhere to enable a poor boy of special aptitude to make his way to whatever equipment his talents can best employ in the service of the state. (p. 256-257)

In accordance with Cooper (1930), "such common school equipment is and of right ought to be the birthright of every American born child." (p. 257). Cooper (1930) also argued:

> In many a hard-fought field the foe has been routed, not by a blunderbuss, but by an epithet. Advocates of the shortcut have made good use of this ruse. In the first place, the modern designation of secondary grade schools as "high schools" has favored the confusion with "higher education" which as already fallen under the disrepute of being "mere culture" or professional or "gentlemanly" training. In any exact thinking, culture is the term for those studies which disclose the child to himself and put him into possession of his dormant faculties. . . . The industries and ideals of a nation cannot but be enriched by the sound of intelligence of all the people derived from thorough general education in its schools. (p. 258)

The written data illustrates the active role that African women must continue to play in the liberation of current and future generations of African people. Examples of these roles include the activist, educator, advocate, mother and nurturer. Cooper (1893) declared the following:

> Now, I think if I could crystallize the sentiment of my constituency, and deliver it as a message to this congress of women, it would be something like this: Let woman's claim be as broad in the concrete as in the abstract. We take our stand on the solidarity of humanity, the oneness of life, and the unnaturalness and injustice of all special favoritisms, whether sex, race, country, or condition. If one link of the chain be broken, the chain is broken. A bridge is no stronger than its weakest part, and a cause is not worthier than its weakest element. Least of all can woman's cause afford to decry the weak. (p. 204)

Cooper (1893) also wrote:

> We [African American women] want, then, as toilers for the universal triumph of justice and human rights, to go to our homes from this Congress, demanding an entrance not through a gateway for ourselves, our race, our sex, or our sect, but [through] a grand highway for humanity. (pp. 204-205)

In addition, she claimed:

> The [African] woman feels that woman's cause is one and universal; and that not till the image of God, whether in parian or ebony, is sacred and inviolable; not till race, color, sex, and condition are seen as the accidents, and not the substance of life; not till the universal title of humanity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is conceded to be inalienable to all; not till then is woman's lesson taught and woman's cause won—not the white woman's, nor the black woman's, nor the

> red woman's, but the cause of every man and of every woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong. (Cooper, 1893, p. 205)

The written data stresses the African woman's duty to continue to advance herself for the liberation of current and future generations of African people. Harper (1891) declared, "If the fifteenth century discovered America to the Old World, the nineteenth is discovering woman to herself" (p. 244). She also argued

> Through weary, wasting years men have destroyed, dashed in pieces, and overthrown, but to-day we stand on the threshold of woman's era, and woman's work is grandly constructive. In her hand are possibilities whose use or abuse must tell upon the political life of the nation, and send their influence for good or evil across the track of unborn ages. (Harper, 1891, p. 245)

Cooper (1893) also wrote:

> [The African] Woman's wrongs are indissolubly linked with all undefended woe, and the acquirement of her "rights" will mean the final triumph of all right over might, the supremacy of the moral forces of reason, and justice, and love in the government of the nations of the earth. (p. 205)

Chapter Summary

By examining Cooper and Harper's written work, five prevalent themes emerged. These themes, classified under the overarching concept of tradition, are: commitment to faith, commitment to freedom, commitment to

sacrifice, commitment to resistance and struggle, and commitment to the future. There were a number of patterns of similar ideas and concepts present in both Cooper and Harper's writings that prove that these women were operating from a longstanding practice and traditional way of being human in the world—long standing practices and traditions that are shared with current African American student populations. Thus, the themes, topics, and ideas present in Cooper and Harper's written work demonstrate clear methods that can contribute to a pedagogical model of teaching African American students since they stem from their own culture and traditions. What is clear is, these methods are grounded in African tradition, and stress values such as cultivating in students good moral character, so that students are prepared to take part in the creation of a good world.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore Cooper and Harper's written work with the objective of extracting themes that may speak to the importance of culturally relevant education and to critically exam the possible contributions that Cooper and Harper can make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students. This study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What primary themes, ideas, terms, and topics are prevalent in the pedagogy of Cooper and Harper that speak to the importance of culturally relevant education?
2. What possible contributions can the pedagogies of these two nineteenth-century educators make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students in their pursuit of academic success and achievement?

A qualitative methodological approach was used to examine Cooper and Harper's written work for increased insight and understanding of their perspectives, methods, and approaches to teaching. In terms of research designs, historical methodology was applied to examine the written work of Cooper and Harper from a historical perspective and to center this work in a historical context. Afrocentric methodological approach was also used to

study African American people and culture and the work of both Cooper and Harper from an Afrocentric perspective. And content analysis was used to locate and extract themes, ideas and patterns present in Cooper and Harper's work.

The previous chapter presented the findings from Cooper and Harper's written texts. As previously stated, five key themes emerged from Cooper and Harper's written work. These themes were commitment to faith, commitment to freedom, commitment to sacrifice, commitment to resistance and struggle, and commitment to the future. All of these themes were contained under the overarching theme of tradition. Chapter 4 also illustrated the reoccurring terms, ideas and topics present in Cooper and Harper's written work. This chapter offers an examination of the major findings acquired from the analysis of Cooper and Harper's written work. Further, this chapter interprets the major themes, ideas and topics present in Cooper and Harper's work and locates the findings within the framework of the literature presented in Chapter 2. Lastly, this chapter offers recommendations for policy, practice, theory and future research.

Summary and Interpretations

A review of the written data revealed a number of significant findings. First, I present the findings that address the first research question: What primary themes, ideas, terms, and topics are prevalent in the pedagogy of Cooper and Harper that speak to the importance of culturally relevant education?

Several convergent themes emerged from the written data. One of the most significant findings was clear evidence of thought and practice grounded in African culture and tradition. The sheer use and expression of values that define the culture, such as faith, freedom, struggle, resistance, and sacrifice, constitutes a rootedness in a tradition. While tradition can indeed be classified as long-established collective customs practiced by a people over a period of time, Karenga (2008) characterizes tradition as both a "lived, living and transmitted history," and "core culture, i.e., thought and practice central to the survival and development of a people" (p. 6). Further, Karenga (2008) delineates tradition as an unyielding foundation that serves as a "source of position [which gives] . . . a person or people a standpoint, a vantage point from which to discover or speak their own special truth to the world" (p. 6). Corroboration of Cooper and Harper's groundedness in African tradition is evident in several scholars' writings about these women and their work. Whereas Loewenberg and Bogin (1996) explored the inherited ways that Cooper and Harper perceived the world and thus carried out their work, Logan (1999) indicated the continuous pattern of cultural customs and practices reflected in their writings. And so, as noted in Chapter 4, the concept of tradition encompasses all other themes found in the written data and therefore serves as an overarching concept. To illustrate the significance of the five primary themes found in the written data, these themes have been characterized as *commitments*, which stress dedication, self-giving, and active engagement as foremost responsibilities in the uplifting of a people.

A second significant finding was the ethical and spiritual denotations and references that permeated every aspect of Cooper and Harper's written work. Classified in Chapter 4 under the theme of commitment to faith, the ethical and spiritual position that they write from is not only a defining characteristic of their work, but also a reflection of a fundamental belief system common to African people. This point is emphasized in Karenga and Tembo's article, "Kawaida Womanism: African Ways of Being Woman in the World (2012). These scholars stress that "we [African people] are defined and guided not only by our cultural grounding, but also by our spiritual and ethical grounding within our culture" (Karenga & Tembo, 2012, p. 41). Karenga and Tembo (2012) also assert that it is culture "that gives us identity, purpose, and direction (p. 41) making clear that Cooper and Harper were operating within a culture and from an ethical and spiritual tradition that has long been in existence, and one that has been embraced and expressed by numerous persons of African descent.

There were several subthemes and topics found in the written data also classified under the theme commitment to faith that correspond to the importance of culturally relevant education. For example, Cooper and Harper emphasized the need to cultivate and sustain the moral character of the nation. They saw this task as essential to the development of the whole person, which implies that one should not simply develop the mind or intellect of a person without also developing their moral character. Cooper and Harper explained that to develop the moral character of the nation means to properly

and fully prepare men and women for the task of building and sustaining a strong nation. In like fashion, the cultivation of good moral character means that one is made ready to act in good and just ways toward all humans, e.g., share wealth and resources, and show concern for the weakest and poorest in the nation. Certainly, the written data makes clear that persons of good moral character are better equipped to participate rightly in politics and to act in the best interest of all people.

Fundamental to Cooper and Harper's stress on the need for good moral character was their emphasis on African American women as cultivators and sustainers of the moral character of the nation. In the written data, the literature repeats the supposition that God bestowed upon African American women the faculty of good moral character, charging them with the task of sustaining the moral character of the nation. To demonstrate the African American woman's duty and obligation to sustain the moral character of the nation, the writers drew examples from the African American woman's experiences during the enslavement era, arguing that even in the darkest and most devastating conditions, these women still embodied the nobleness of moral and ethical values. It should be noted here that—from Cooper and Harper's perspective— since this responsibility was given to African American women by none other than God, these women were morally obligated to fulfill this task so as not to disappoint God. This concept relates to a second subtheme found in the written data, also classified under the primary theme of commitment to faith— faith in the unseen. Cooper and

Harper's writings are indicative of a strong faith in God and the belief that God will surely right all wrongs. This deep belief in in the unseen serves as yet another indication of a value system rooted in African tradition.

An important finding present in the written data was the need to win freedom for all African American people. Classified under the theme commitment to freedom in Chapter 4, freedom is expressed in two distinct ways: first, freedom from domination and deprivation, and second, freedom to grow, develop and live full lives. The three subthemes classified under this theme are: freedom-focusing, freedom-cherishing, and freedom-seeking. Freedom-focusing implies collective focus on the creation of educational opportunities and programs that drive people from poverty and oppression and toward sustained liberation and freedom. Freedom-cherishing emphasizes safeguarding good progress made toward achieving quality education and acquiring freedom for all persons. And lastly, Freedom-seeking stresses the ongoing need to seek and create educational programs and opportunities that best meet the needs of current and future generations of underprivileged African American people.

The concept of sacrifice was another major finding in the written data. Classified under the theme commitment to sacrifice in Chapter 4, the written data reinforces the practice of sacrifice as fundamental to gaining freedom for oneself and for others. Cooper and Harper demonstrate this idea by offering a narrative of the enslaved African mother who devoted herself to the mere hope of her child living a free live by surrendering her body, by giving up

almost every freedom, and by relinquishing any and all materials in her possession. Cooper refers to this as "self-sacrifice." Related to the theme commitment to sacrifice is the theme of commitment to resistance and struggle. This is another key finding in the written data wherein Cooper and Harper stressed the need to fight against all forms of domination and oppression and to struggle to bring into being a good and just world. Indeed, they also stress the need to fight against poverty and the conditions that cause poverty.

A strong emphasis on the future was a central theme in the written data. This fifth and final primary theme classified in Chapter 4 under commitment to the future stresses the ongoing need to create and sustain liberatory conditions for both the present and future generations. This includes protecting future generations from conditions that may lead to their demise. Also included here is the stress placed on African woman to continue to advance herself forward for the liberation of herself and the community. This does not mean that women are responsible for liberating the world on her own; conversely, this theme extends beyond the individual and embraces the collective notion that the entire community is responsible for creating a good future. Kawaida womanism stresses this as a fundamental principle, arguing that "liberation is an inclusive project" and that "our freedom and dignity are inseparable from that of our community and our families" (Karenga & Tembo, 2012, p. 42).

The second research question asks: What possible contributions can the pedagogies of these two nineteenth-century educators make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students in their pursuit of academic success and achievement? The findings of this study reveal a number of relevant ways that the pedagogies of nineteenth-century educators Anna Julia Cooper and Frances E. W. Harper can contribute to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students in their pursuit of academic success and achievement. A central point stressed in Cooper and Harper's written work was the need to develop the moral character of the nation. Kawaida womanism emphasizes "our duty to each other, our need for each other and our commitment to build mutually-respectful and mutually-beneficial relations in all things" (Karenga & Tembo, 2012, p. 42). Certainly there is a need to direct African American student interests away from individualistic attitudes and desires and toward the needs and interests of the community. Cooper and Harper's work suggests that early development of good moral character will prepare African American students to serve the "body politic" by connecting students to their communities and the concerns and needs of the weakest and poorest within the community. In addition, developing the moral character of students will create an interest in students to take part in the collective task of building stronger communities.

The written data also implies the need to make available to African American students an education rooted in their own culture and tradition. All of the themes, ideas, and concepts derived from Cooper and Harper's written

data can be traced back to African culture and a lived tradition. Indeed, Cooper and Harper were operating from a long-established tradition and prescribed way of being African and human in the world. Woodson (1933) would argue that current educational models still educate students away from their culture, leading to increased oppression, poverty, beliefs of inferiority, and the overall disenfranchisement of the Black community. Conversely, Cooper and Harper's methods and practices, which can be classified as a pedagogy, reinforce cultural values and traditional practices. To demonstrate, Cooper (1930) argued that "culture is the term for those studies which disclose the child to himself and put him into possession of his dormant faculties" (p. 258). In addition, Cooper argued that education, particularly higher education, should ward against shortcuts or cutting corners in its effort to increase of the intelligence of the person. Cooper also stressed that students should be afforded time and the opportunity to develop into a specialized field. So often, wrote Cooper (1930), students are urged to answer the question "'What can you do?' . . . [which often] leads to the stunting and warping of all normal child-development by premature specialization" (p. 255-256).

Cooper and Harper's methods and practices also support a need to professionalize vocational programs. Professionalizing vocational programs demands the need for both classical education and vocational education. Cooper (1930) believed that complete development of the mind along with a technical training would increase the worth of technical skills learned, and

thus, professionalize the specific field. In addition, she argued that if we professionalize vocational programs, we must also protect the interests of the student by preparing society for this new professionalized person. Society, then, would need to elevate the profession by increasing wages and by privileging the position.

Implications

The implications for practice are undergirded by the philosophical theoretical, and conceptual frameworks, which are Afrocentricity and African-centered womanist theory. Afrocentricity sustained the right to examine the issue from an African-centered perspective. This signifies that African American people were studied and situated in their own history, traditions and culture. African-centered womanist theory, specifically, Kawaida womanism, permitted an examination of Cooper and Harper's methods and philosophies from an African-centered womanist perspective that brought to light the various ways that Cooper and Harper operated from a tradition that has long been in existence. It also demonstrated ways that Cooper and Harper added to this tradition. This study has significant implications toward the ways in which we teach African American student populations and prepare them for academic achievement and success.

Implications for Policy

The findings of this study may be particularly useful to higher education faculty, educational leaders, and policy makers who seek solutions to meeting the needs of African American student populations. Indeed, the findings of

this study suggest the implementation of pedagogical models that honor and value the tradition and culture of African American student populations. Cooper and Harper's methods and practices reconnect students to their culture, their communities, and their traditional ways of being human in the world. In addition, their methods and practices are capable of cultivating the character of a person because it grounds the student in moral and ethical values that stem from African culture and tradition. Indeed, Cooper and Harper's methods and practices take seriously the task of creating strong intellectuals who possess not only skills and intellect but also good moral values. Thus, this pedagogy nurtures student development and growth and the cultivation of women and men who are capable of building and sustaining their own communities.

The findings of this study also suggest a need for the creation of space within current educational models, including funding and resources for students to study and fully develop at their own pace. Cooper (1930) wrote of the "definite possibilities in all human development" (p. 252), implying that students should be nurtured and given the opportunity to develop fully and at their own pace. She argued against systematizing "the stunting and warping of all normal child-development by premature specialization" (Cooper, 1930, p. 256), and cutting corners in terms of funding in order to create what is deemed by Cooper a mere "practical education" (Cooper, 1930, p. 256). Likewise, Cooper (1930) argued for the "educative before the occupative" (p. 256), meaning, educational institutions must develop the mind before offering

technical and industrial training. She asserted that by developing the mind and intellect of students, greater distance is placed between the mind of the mule and that of man (Cooper, 1930). From this perspective, she reminds us to remember always that we are educating humans. Conclusively, educators should want to produce the best thinkers and intellectuals before all else.

Furthermore, educational leaders must advocate for pedagogical models that ground students in their own culture and traditions so that they can become more productive individuals within their communities. Certainly, there is a need to strengthen underprivileged communities. There also still exists the need to advocate for fair treatment of all people. This includes sharing resources and shared decision-making in local, state and federal governing bodies. In addition, Cooper emphasized in her work that educational leaders must take into consideration the past histories of a people and their current conditions when creating policies and programs for underprivileged populations. In doing so, they must not apply a "one size fits all" model by granting the same amount of funding and resources to all populations. Each population should be assessed in accordance with the past and present histories and the current needs of that population.

Implications for Practice

The findings of this study identified significant themes, ideas and topics prevalent in the pedagogies of Cooper and Harper that make clear the importance of culturally relevant education. To demonstrate, the findings show clear thought and practice rooted in a tradition. This tradition is

expressed not only in the ethical and spiritual ideals held by Cooper and Harper, but also through values such as faith, sacrifice, struggle, and resistance. These findings have important implications for faculty. For one, these findings indicate a need for the integration of culturally relevant models for teaching African American student populations. Instead of simply discussing the value of diverse practices, educators must integrate African-centered pedagogies into classroom teaching practices in order to meet the needs of African American student populations within classroom settings. In addition, these findings demonstrate the value in looking within African histories, traditions, and culture to determine solutions to problems such as African American retention, graduation, and transfer rates in higher education institutions.

Implications for Future Research

The findings of this study identify several implications for future research. For one, although this study examined the themes, terms, topic and ideas prevalent in the written work of Cooper and Harper that speak to the importance of culturally relevant pedagogy, it did not study, test, or assess these methods on African American students, nor did this study compare these methods to current pedagogical models of teaching African American students. Evaluation of these methods may prove useful to the creation of a pedagogical model aimed at increasing African American student success and achievement in secondary and post-secondary educational institutions. In addition, an evaluation of current pedagogical models of teaching may

indicate similarities between current methods and practices and Cooper and Harper's methods and practices. Conclusively, such an evaluation may lend itself toward further evidence for the need for culturally relevant pedagogical practices for African American student populations.

A second implication for future research relates to the written work of Cooper and Harper. Although both Cooper and Harper's writings were used in this study, it became apparent during the data collection phase that the use of one of their works could have provided sufficient data for this study. Cooper and Harper have both written a number of in-depth works on education and educational reform for African American people. And since much of their writings are thick with ideas, a close analysis of their writings would result in an unobjectionable amount of data suitable for such a study. Furthermore, by examining each educator and their work individually, the researcher would have been able to concentrate heavily on both major and minor patterns and repetitions that existed throughout one body of work instead of two.

Recommendations

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore Cooper and Harper's works and extract themes that may speak to the importance of culturally relevant education. This study also sought to offer a critical examination of the possible contributions that Cooper and Harper's work could make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students. This study applied an Afrocentric and African-centered womanist lens to properly locate the population studied within their own culture, history, and

tradition. This study concentrated on identifying and examining key themes, terms and topics present in Cooper and Harper's written work that might inform the pedagogical model of teaching African American students in their pursuit toward academic achievement and success. In result, this study offers an African-centered pedagogical model comprised of Cooper and Harper's pedagogies that lends itself to the larger pedagogical model of teaching African American students in their pursuit of academic success and achievement and that aims to connect African students to their culture and tradition.

There are several essential preconditions necessary for the overall effectiveness of this African-centered pedagogical model. To begin, Cooper (1930) makes clear that the "wisest plan of education for any people" must first consider "past and previous environment, [and the] forces against which they must contend" (p. 250). Cooper (1930) continues that such an educational plan for African American student populations must not ignore his or her "marked appearance and unique history" and so "for a long time [will] need peculiar equipment for the intense, the unrelenting struggle for survival amid which he [or she] finds [himself or herself] in the America today" (p. 251). By all means, the past and present social, historical, and economic conditions of African American student populations served must be thoroughly examined and factored into the educational plan. In like manner, funding and resources should be made available for the critical needs of this population and to ensure increased academic success and achievement.

Additionally, this tailor-made educational program should allow the students to grow and develop at their own pace and should not force upon them a career. Cooper (1930) criticized educational programs that "systematize the stunting and warping of all normal child-development by premature specialization" (p. 256). She argued the following:

> The fatal American faculty of cutting corners has taught us to call that program of education "practical" which makes the shortest cut to the nearest dollar in sight. Before the child has time to grow, it is harassed with the feverish, mercantile question, "what can you do?'" (Cooper, 1930, p. 255)

Indeed, African Americans students should study classical knowledge first and then undergo intensive career exploration and career planning. This may include an investigation of the needs of the community and the world. And when the student matures and can identify a specific career interest, only then should he or she select a particular field of study or specialization.

Cooper (1930) also made mention of the need for "truly wise teachers and far-seeing leaders [to help students] up the thorny road to life" (p. 251). She wrote further that there is need for "the clearest thought, [and] wisest counsels" in our task of educating African American student populations (Cooper, 1930, p. 251). This implies that the best educators and leaders—those who are well-trained and well-educated in their field of study should teach this student population. By the same token, Cooper and Harper both gave special precedence to African American women educators, as they see

them as essential in educating African American student populations. This is largely due to the significant role and responsibilities of the African women within the family and the community, namely her unique ways of being a woman in the world and in solving issues. Karenga and Tembo (2012) wrote extensively about the African womanist tradition of "struggle, creativity, and resourcefulness" (p. 33)—a tradition that "concerns itself with the rights and dignity of women, their agency, their rightful relationship with men, and the vital roles they play in the construction, maintenance and development of family, community, society and the world" (p. 33), and the various ways that this tradition was further cultivated by African women during the Holocaust of enslavement. From this perspective, Cooper and Harper, respectively, have enriched this tradition.

Likewise, Cooper and Harper's argument for African American women educators as key to African American student development stems from the belief that the African woman was chosen by God to sustain the moral character of the nation. To demonstrate, Harper (1891) wrote, "O [Black] women of America! Into your hands God has pressed one of the sublimest opportunities that ever came into the hands of women of any race or people. It is yours to create a healthy public sentiment." (p. 246). Harper (1891) continued, it is true "that the world has need for all the spiritual aid that women can give to the social advancement and moral development of the human race" (p. 244). Certainly, the African American woman educator must play a critical role in educating African American student populations, for she

has much to offer in terms of ethical and spiritual values and in cultivating wise and good men and women who are capable of serving the body public.

There are several practices that can be employed by educators within the classroom that originate from Cooper and Harper's pedagogies and that support the pedagogical model of teaching African American student populations. These practices are characterized through the five key themes that were brought fourth from Cooper and Harper's written work. To begin, the theme commitment to faith underscores the ethical and spiritual grounding of people of African descent. Cooper and Harper's written work demonstrate the value that African Americans place on an ethical and spiritual belief system. The theme commitment to faith affirms the need for educators inside of the classroom to draw parallels between ethical and spiritual axioms and the subject studied. By doing this, educators honor and encourage traditional epistemological ways of thinking and interpreting the subject studied. This also allows educators to demonstrate an appreciation for the various ways that African people approach and resolve issues in the world. This practice should also include incorporating the philosophies and work created by people of African descent into the subject studied, in order to allow the student, as Asante (2007) wrote, to study history from the "point of view of the African child's heritage" (p. 79), and to see him or herself as taking part in the creation of the subject studied. Asante argued the following:

> No discipline of knowledge is alien to the African person from this perspective. Whether the subject is biology, medicine, literature, or

> social studies, the African student is centered in the reality of the discipline so that he or she is not seen as 'having to get it' but rather being a part of it. (p. 79)

Cooper and Harper's methods also encourage the need for educators to cultivate in students good moral character, which simply implies teaching them principles of right and wrong conduct. These principles must be rooted in the shared and collective practice of sharing goods and resources, treating others with respect, and caring for others, particularly the weakest among us.

The theme commitment to freedom reinforces the practice of gaining freedom and rights for the current and future generations. As noted in Chapter 4, freedom is defined as a shared good which implies that freedom should be collectively fought and won for the benefit of all people, not just the individual. Cooper and Harper's written work stresses the need for education to develop the entire person, i.e., provide students with knowledge that increases their intellectual capacity enough so that they can become productive individuals in society. A key point in Cooper and Harper's work was their stress on connecting educated persons back to their communities. It is clear that educators must relate education and knowledge to life and world experiences. To explain further, education must be applied to practice. Educators should offer problems that require students to apply what they have learned in the classroom to real-life problems that encourage students to identify solutions. The educator must also make clear to students their responsibility in gaining education for the purpose of (a) playing an active role

in the development of their community, and (b) taking part in remaking of the world. This practice is closely related to all three areas of focus in the discipline of Black studies. This specifically, however, relates to the concept of social responsibility. In terms of social responsibility, Karenga (2010) wrote the following:

> The emphasis in the Black Studies mission on social responsibility is derived from an African conception of knowledge and education as not only an indispensable path to understanding the world, but also as a vital instrument in changing it; not only as a invaluable resource for enhancing the life of the mind, but also an equally essential resource for improving and expanding the life of the people. (p. 26)

Karenga demonstrates a perspective that is sustained by Woodson's (1933) ideology of education for African Americans. Woodson (1933) advocated for an education program that would ground African American students in their own culture and history, and one that would allow for increased confidence, knowledge and skills relevant to their communities and in the fight against oppression. Thus, the methods categorized under this theme argue for an education that is advanced, yet useful in the application of cultivating a good world.

The theme commitment to sacrifice reinforces the indispensableness in self-surrendering in order to build character and to gain freedom for oneself and for others. Educators can teach this to students in two fundamental ways. First, there is a need to point out to students the ways in which they, too, are

expected to sacrifice, such as by committing themselves to their education and to learning. In addition, students must sacrifice by gaining an education to improve their lives and the lives of others. Educators can teach this concept by integrating the histories of African people and by integrating examples of sacrifice performed by African people for the good of the community. The educator should connect these ideas to the student's life, experiences, and his or her community. Second, the educator should integrate activities that allow students to collectively examine social issues within their own community. Students should be encouraged to dedicate substantial time and energy to this cause. This might include handing out food to the hungry or volunteering at nearby shelters or community centers for the poor.

The theme commitment to resistance and struggle is indicative of the resiliency in attitude and spirit needed to fight against external and internal factors that are against academic achievement and success. For the educator, this means acting as institutional agents in order to provide students with the right kinds of assistance and resources needed to remain in school. This includes explaining unfamiliar concepts, policies, and procedures to first generation students. This also implies, at times, articulating this information in a language that is both familiar to and understood by the student. Additionally, the educator must become familiar with both campus and community resources and must be willing to seek and demand necessary resources for the benefit of the student. The educator must also serve as a mentor for students and continually inspire and encourage them toward their

educational goals. It is clear, then, that the educator cannot simply remain in the classroom. The educator must actively involve him or herself in the lives of the student and the student's community. Without question, the educator must clearly understand the needs of the population served in order to properly be of assistance to them. In short, the educator must become one of the student's greatest advocates.

Lastly, the theme commitment to the future reinforces the ongoing and collective task of committing ourselves to the building and sustaining of a good world. Educators must create space for students to give careful attention to their role in creating a fair and just world for future generations and to see themselves and their educational progress related to the progress of their families, communities and society. In addition, educators must develop in students a strong sense of connection to the community and society so that they will want to contribute to it. To teach students this value, educators should use African American history, specifically significant struggles, as a model to demonstrate the various ways that African Americans have gained rights and freedom. In this way, students will learn the philosophies and methods used by great activists and leaders to gain freedom and rights. Students will also see that these leaders fought for rights and freedoms for future generations. Educators might also teach from liberatory pedagogies so that they can engage students in current social issues that plague the Black community. Students must be encouraged to

develop solutions to these injustices, so that they can see themselves as part of the solution.

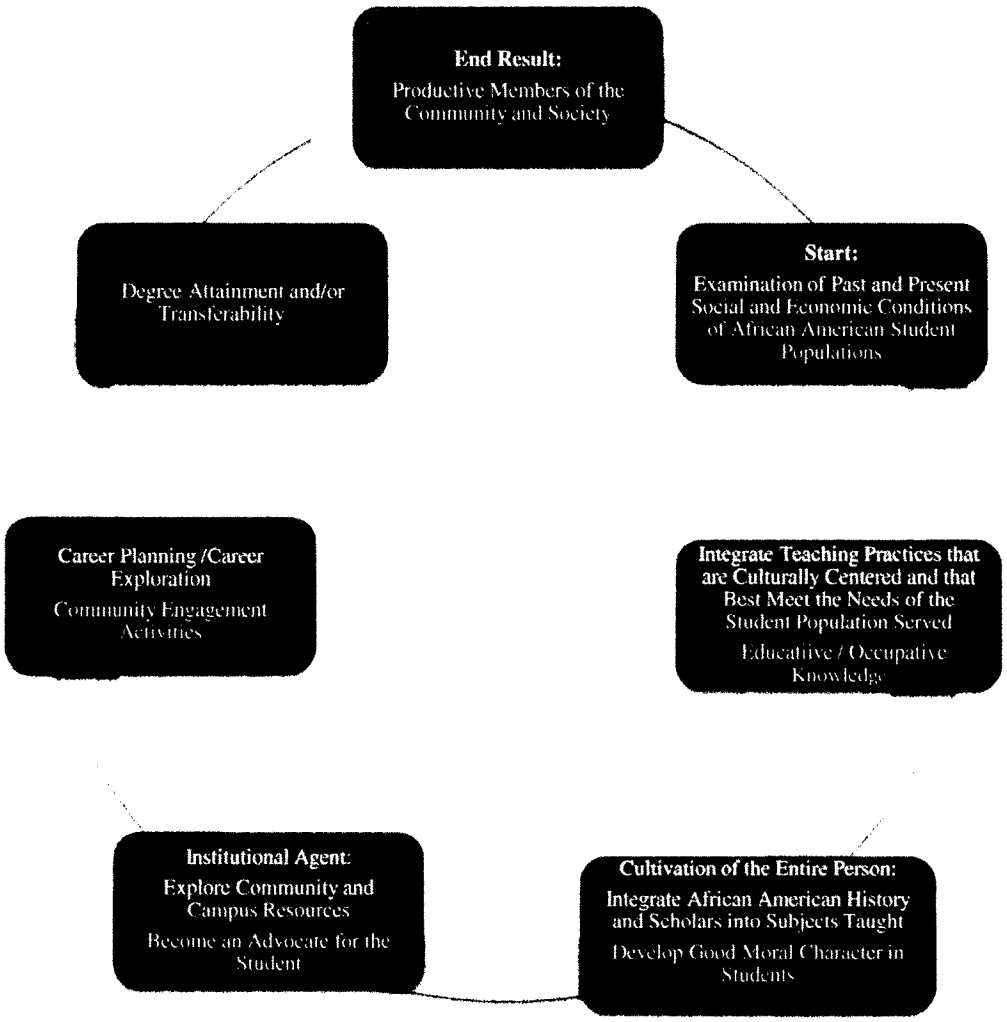

Figure 1. Pedagogical Model for Teaching African American Students. Demonstrates a pedagogical process for teaching African American student populations in higher education settings. Adapted from the pedagogies presented in Cooper and Harper's written work (Cooper, 1893, 1930; Harper, 1854, 1891).

Summary of the Dissertation

The purpose of this study was to explore Cooper and Harper's written work and to extract themes that may speak to the importance of culturally relevant education. This study also sought to offer a critical examination of the possible contributions that Cooper and Harper can make to the pedagogical model of teaching African American students. From Cooper and Harper's written work, I discovered five key themes: commitment to faith, commitment to freedom, commitment to sacrifice, commitment to resistance and struggle, and commitment to the future. All of these themes were organized under the overarching theme of tradition.

Cooper and Harper were clear in their approach to gain freedom and liberation through educational advancement for African American people. Their work reflects the harsh conditions that African American people endured during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the sacrifices made, and the lives lost. Indeed, the need for urgency is made clear in their written work. What is most interesting about their writings is the parallel between the past and current conditions of African American people. Cooper and Harper demonstrated concern for the safety and well being of African people in the United States. Surely, this same concern for the safety and well-being of African men and women still exists today—namely, safety against police violence and brutality. Cooper and Harper advocated for quality educational programs for African American people, programs developed by African American people and in the interest of African people and communities that

are capable of liberating Africans from all forms of oppression. Without a doubt, quality education that lends itself toward the liberation of African people is still sorely needed. And Cooper and Harper wrote about cultivating a class of African American people who can serve rightly in the body politic and who can support and develop rightly their own communities. Presently, there is still a need for the cultivation of a larger and stronger class of African American men and women who can represent the interests of African people in the body politic and who can sustain and develop African communities. Indeed, we are still charged with the task of struggling for greater liberation and freedom for all African people, as well as humanity as a whole. Cooper and Harper's philosophies and methods serve as a blueprint, a model, to do just so.

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