

**BLACK COLLEGES ACROSS
THE DIASPORA: GLOBAL
PERSPECTIVES ON RACE
AND STRATIFICATION IN
POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION**

ADVANCES IN EDUCATION IN DIVERSE COMMUNITIES: RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRAXIS

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ADVANCES IN EDUCATION IN DIVERSE COMMUNITIES:
RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRAXIS VOLUME 14

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IN POSTSECONDARY
EDUCATION**

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INTRODUCTION

Black Colleges Across the Diaspora: Global Perspectives on Race and Culture in Postsecondary Education examines colleges and universities across the diaspora with majority African, African-American, Afro-Brazilian, Caribbean, Columbian, and other Black designated student enrollments. The nomenclature of this institutional cohort connotes for the casual observer an assumption of racial exclusivity and homogenous monolithism. Research confirms that these campuses possess a flourishing landscape with racial, economic, and gender diversity while also sharing a Black identity created through global racialization. Around the world, Black colleges and universities create academic and social environments where different races, sexes, cultures, languages, nationalities, and citizenship status coexist in a manner that enables academic achievement, civic engagement, and colonial resistance. Black colleges across the globe collectively proffer important lessons about promoting access and equity in postsecondary education for all institutional types.

This volume examines the institutional and contextual factors related to culture and identity on these black college campuses across the diaspora. Each chapter is authored by an individual or team of scholars representing the best of evidence-based research on international/comparative education, predominantly black colleges, white supremacy, and colonization area studies. The studies presented highlight racial hegemony in multi-national student experiences and achievement; examine the social and career implications of attendance on lifelong success; explore the impact of global Black marginalization and racist ideology on Black college communities; and research the role gender plays in outcomes and attainment. *Black Colleges Across the Diaspora: Global Perspectives on Race and Culture in Postsecondary Education* engages the diversity of Black colleges and universities around the world and explains their critical role in promoting academic excellence in higher education.

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CHAPTER 1

TOWARD A GLOBAL UNDERSTANDING OF BLACK COLLEGES: DEFINING DIASPORA, DESCRIBING STRATIFICATION, AND DISRUPTING HEGEMONY

M. Christopher Brown II and T. Elon Dancy II

“Men make their own history,
but they do not make it just as they please;
they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves
but under circumstances directly encountered,
given and transmitted from the past.”

–Karl Marx

ABSTRACT

Over one dozen books have been written about historically black colleges and universities over the last 15 years. However, not one of the volumes published addresses this cohort of institutions from a global dimension. Each

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of the books ignores the reality that there are institutions of higher education populated by persons of African descent scattered around the globe. Equally, the emergent literature is silent on issues of racial stratification; consequently, treating black colleges as homogenous monoliths. This quiescence ignores the important tension of racial oppression/white supremacy, social stratification, and the persistent hegemony of power in societies with black populations. In this commencing chapter, there are two primary explorations: (1) the particularities of race and identity in black colleges in the United States, and (2) the nexus between race and culture in black colleges outside of the United States. In order to properly contextualize this diorama, it is imperative to examine the meaning of diaspora, the realities of racial stratification, and the ways in which hegemony can be unsettled and usurped.

Keywords: Race; diaspora; stratification; hegemony; Black colleges

Over one dozen books have been written about historically black colleges and universities over the last 15 years (Austin, 2012; Betsey, 2008; Brooks & Starks, 2011; Brown & Freeman, 2004; Clay, 2012; Darity, Sharpe, & Swinton, 2009; Gasman, 2007, 2013; Gasman & Tudico, 2008; Hale, 2006; Hill & Fiore, 2012; Lovett, 2011; Lucisano, 2010; Mbajekwe, 2006; Ricard & Brown, 2008; Willie, Reddick, & Brown, 2006). However, not one of the volumes published addresses this cohort of institutions from a global dimension. Each of the books ignores the reality that there are institutions of higher education populated by persons of African descent scattered around the globe. Equally, the emergent literature is silent on issues of racial stratification; consequently, treating black colleges as homogenous monoliths. This quiescence ignores the important tension of racial oppression/white supremacy, social stratification, and the persistent hegemony of power in societies with black populations.

The history of higher education across the diaspora reflects a curious practice of Black degradation as fundamental to the maintenance of a colonial order (Dancy, 2013; Dumas, 2016; King, 2014; Wilder, 2013). Essential to the colonial project is subjugating the colonized (in this case, persons of African descent) into a perennial quest to pursue white models of civilizational performance (Fanon, 1952/2008; Mbembe, 2001; Memmi, 1965/1991). This practice of striving for an elusive and impossible goal works to reaffirm the humanity of the colonizer. Colleges and universities across the diaspora remain one of the primary sites where this stratification occurs. Referencing the United States, Samuels (2004) argues that education, along with science and law, is one of the deities of “American” democracy.

The aim of transcending these histories requires multiple levels of engagement that extend beyond this scholarly presentation. Therefore, this volume will focus on identifying some of the diverse perspectives on race and stratification in black colleges around the globe. There are two primary explorations: (1) the particularities of race and identity in black colleges in the United States, and (2) the nexus between race and culture in black colleges outside of the United States. In order to properly contextualize this diorama, it is imperative to examine the meaning of diaspora, the realities of racial stratification, and the ways in which hegemony can be unsettled and usurped.

DIASPORA: THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCE OF DIVIDING AFRICA

Like the historical ground from which they grow, schools and classrooms are not raceless nor have they ever been. They are the sites where the rules of race are taught and reinforced. There is a struggle in the realm of education that centers on its function. Much of this struggle also involves a need to distinguish between education and schooling. Schooling has as one of its goals to teach students about the ways of society so that they might be able to understand and participate in that society. Because the West requires racism as a foundational social organizer (in addition to intersecting oppressions), serious analyses of higher education as a reproducer of inequalities must grapple with colonialism, diaspora formation, and slavery.

The term *diaspora* derives from Jewish and Greek histories. In Greek, diaspora means “dispersal” though the term is mostly used to reference the scattering of Jews throughout the West (Patterson & Kelley, 2000). The term “African diaspora” in modern usage emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. Its function in academic discourse is to describe and emphasize the unifying experiences of African peoples dispersed by slave trade. The term also supports analytical discourse about Black communities across nations and cultures. Africa diaspora scholarship largely examines the dispersal of African people, their role in transformation and creating new ethos, institutions, and ideas outside of Africa, and the complex challenges of building pan-African movements around the world (African Diaspora Research Project, 1990; W. Brown, 1876; Patterson & Kelley, 2000; Shepperson, 1982).

The existence of the African diaspora is the testimony to centuries of civilizational disruption among the descendants of Africa. A civilization is in effect a periodic culture and mode of existence. A civilization has people who

eat certain foods, wear certain thing, walk, talk, and engage in particularistic ways. The diaspora confirms that the epoch of African civilization has been disregarded, disrupted, and dismantled. The black-skinned people of the world strewn across nation-states are the primary artifact of what was a monolithic kinship of identity. Black strategies and projects of cultural invention respond in part to Western European Christian enslavement terrors.

Several national enslavement projects preceded the Western European Christian slave trade of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For instance, Egyptians enslaved many peoples, including Semitic, Mediterranean, and other Black peoples from Nubia. Greek and Roman Empires enslaved humans from Western Asia and North Africa to farm and provide menial service for the ruling classes. Because slavery was not considered degrading, the enslaved could access educational and cultural advancement opportunities (Franklin & Moss, 1994). By contrast, the Western European enslavement leads in the creation of racial caste systems, particularly those that asserted the inhumanity of Africa's descendants.

Upon the guiding philosophies of economists Adam Smith and Herman Merivale (among others), the British set out to conquer land and command the labor for it. Up to 1776, there were two types of British colonial possessions. The first was a colony in which enslaved Africans farmed as "mere earth scratchers" (Williams, 1994/1944, p. 4). The second type of colony is one with facilities for export markets. Northern colonies on the US mainland comprised the first category, while the Caribbean comprised the second for its tobacco and sugar islands. With this framework, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade speedily commenced. Williams (1994) observes,

From Virginia and Maryland to Carolina, Georgia, Texas, and the Middle West; from Barbados to Jamaica to Saint Domingue and then to Cuba; the logic was inexorable and the same. It was a relay race; the first to start passed the baton, unwillingly we may be sure, to another and then limped sadly behind. (p. 7)

Settler colonialists also defined the African body as a Black body with intent to mark its status as other than human. "The Black" is not only outside a relational being framework but is always-already property. In the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision, Justice Taney wrote:

[T]he public history of every European nation displays it in a manner too plain to be mistaken. They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully to slavery for his benefit. He was

bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it ... And in no nation was this opinion more firmly fixed or more uniformly acted upon than by the English Government and English people. They not only seized them on the coast of Africa, and sold them or held them in slavery for their own use. But they took them as ordinary articles of merchandise. (Davis & Graham, 1995, p. 32)

The decision in the Dred Scott is clear: the status does not change simply because one's "owner" relinquishes property rights. Black peoples remain property whether or not an individual owns them. Justice Daniel's concurring opinion also reflects an understanding of Africa as ontologically colonized or always-already the property of Europe that erases Africa as a land of nations colonized by Europe. As Smith (2014) notes, the narrative that Africa is always the property of Europe consequently constructs Black people and their struggles against the colonial state as always the internal property of the United States. This ideology is also apparent elsewhere on the globe.

In 1884 at the request of Portugal, the sitting German chancellor Otto von Bismarck called together the major powers of the white western world to engage in a paternal and unsolicited negotiation over the entire continent of Africa and its primarily black populace. Operating in a white supremacist ideology, Bismarck contended that the resources of the African continent were too vast to be left to its indigenous population, and that Aryan rule was required for the benefit of Africa's native-born people. Further, Bismarck sought to expand the power and import of Germany on the European stage given its landlocked constriction. The only expansion for his nation state would emerge from subjugating the black populations on the African continent.

Fourteen nation-states participated in this imperialistic and tyrannical colonization of the African soil and its people. Prior to this ungodly conclave of countries, 90% of continental Africa remained under traditional indigenous local control; only the coastal areas of Africa were colonized by the European powers. Self-rule was displaced by a white patriarchal coup when the Berlin Conference opened on November 15, 1884. Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway (unified from 1814 to 1905), Turkey, and the United States of America wrestled with each other to gain control over territory within a continent filled with free black people. These self-described Aryan nations announced fiat power over the lands, crops, buildings, soil, money, resources, air, water, language, and bodies of black people for which they had no legal birthright, no constitutional permission, and moral aim of egalitarian coexistence.

Because of its strategic importance, Africa was the prime candidate for conquest by ambitious European empires. Although the African continent was geographically a fair distance from Europe, its vast shoreline made it easy prey for occupation. The burgeoning industrial revolution made the participating nations of the Berlin Conference bloodthirsty for cheap labor, raw material, and new markets. This rapacious quest for more of everything was leading these interloping nations to resource-rich Africa to fulfill their pangs. However, there were no rules of engagement. This led Aryan nation-states into conflict with each other over African goods, commodities, and transit ways. The Europeans literally resorted to killing each other in the competition for African resources and trade routes.

The public ruse for the gathering was for a European intervention to facilitate humanitarian efforts and to end slave trade “for the greater welfare of Africa.” This farce is evident in a casual review of the agenda and resulting articles. The first order of business was not humanitarian relief nor was it slave trade, the first agenda item was declaring the Congo and Niger Rivers, mouths, and basins neutral trade zones. One article stated that any nation occupying coastal lands had to promise to permit free trade and transit. Another article said that any conferee assuming control over a coastal port as a “protectorate” must immediately inform other conferees of their successful subjugation of native peoples and invite open trade and transit. The spoils of these occupations would be that the colonizing country would not only control the coast, but they would also control an unlimited landmass on the interior of the continent.

After 3 months of unsolicited and uninvited deliberation, the white Western powers announced new geometric boundaries for the entire African continent on February 26, 1885. Their great scheme disregarded the cultural and linguistic boundaries already established by the indigenous African population (Knaus & Brown, 2016). The Aryan constructed hodgepodge of countries divided the continent of Africa into 50 irregular countries with complete oblivion to the hundreds (if not thousands) of local cultures and tribal regions already in existence. This new map lacked anthropological intention and divided coherent groups of Africans and united disparate groups of Africans – harmonious nations were destroyed and warring tribes were forced together all because the Berlin conferees assumed that all African peoples were the same because of their black skin. This is a curious assertion given the flagrant differences in language, government, and culture between the various participating nation-states even though they all had white skin.

The Berlin Conference was not only Africa’s undoing but it also reified the remnants of the transatlantic slave trade. The result was a polygamous marriage between colonization, imperialism, and white supremacy. This three-fold cord has a synergistic impact on the diasporic realities of black-bodied

peoples around the world. Colonialism – the establishment of political and economic control by one state over another – continues to have an enormous impact on the descendants of Africa. Notwithstanding, it remains conjoined to the scattering of black populations on other continental soils during and even after the international exchange of enslaved black workers as the economic engine of European/white patriarchal expansion. The persistence of this structural relationship with the Black body is an essential analytic.

While scholars and media pundits alike have disdained a “slave” discourse to underscore contemporary historically white institutional accumulation of Black bodies (Branch, 2011; Toure’, 2011), their conception of enslavement primarily structures slavery as an historical economic arrangement that requires a primary focus on “exploitation” and “alienation” today. However, the ability to accumulate and exchange bodies is a primary marker of slavery (not exploitation and alienation; Hartman, 1997; Wilderson, 2010). Because Black bodies are accumulated and fungible (exchangeable and transportable) within historically white institutions, a Master/Slave model today lays bare the ways in which, slavery is essential, even worshipped or “cathedralized” (Wilderson, 2010, p. 18). This framework advances the word “slavery” from a condition that could subject anyone to a word “which reconfigures the African body into Black flesh” (Wilderson, 2010, p. 18). Slavery is therefore not only the experience of the African in period read as forgone but also the African’s or African American’s continued banishment from ontology. In other words, the Black is (still) rendered the slave and other than human.

In the absence of a dominant binder, the collection of black-bodies in a singular campus of higher, further, tertiary, or postsecondary education creates an intangible cultural reality that transforms the co-curricular into a perpetual séance that resurrected the power and potency of an undivided people. The clustering of black-bodies in one collegiate space generates as ethos of hope, possibility, and attainment unimagined and inexperienced in white-dominated campus contexts. Black-populated higher education and its co-occurring physical setting produce a cultural dynamic that seeks to upend stratification and portends a renegotiation of cultural hegemony.

STRATIFICATION: EXAMINING STRUCTURES OF RACIAL OPPRESSION

Education, unlike schooling, involves a liberating quality that challenges the status quo. Assuming that there is a liberating quality in education, education

serves to liberate persons from hegemonic structures that oppress. These oppressions may be based on race, gender, class, age, and/or other characteristics. Combining the liberating quality of education with morality requires one to challenge those structures in society that have served to exploit some and to privilege others. Questioning the “rightness” of past and present acts against peoples is a requirement of a liberating education. Without a morality that is rooted in what is good and humane to all persons, education cannot liberate. The alternative is then a perpetuation of those structures that endow more power (although not legitimate power) to those who are already powerful.

Before expounding on some of the politically based discrepancies within schools, there must be some consensus on what education and schools are for. Underwood (2000) states that schools “must prepare you to be a rational, reflective, and critical thinker. It should provide truthful knowledge about who you are and how you become a productive member of society” (p. 44). Being a rational, reflective, and critical thinker can be complex and require a solid base of knowledge about a subject. However, if most schools concentrate on a curriculum that centers on nonblack students, how can they be expected to relate to the subject, let alone think critically about its content?

The curriculum is primarily concentrated within European-American ideologies and perspectives. Rarely do black students attend a public school that has a curriculum focused on their cultures and histories. This lack of a “relevant” education could perpetuate low academic achievement by this cohort of learners. Consequently, many of these students may not see the relevance or importance of schooling. Far too many teachers then view these students as underachievers or learning disabled. This is not true (see *Black Sons to Mothers: Compliments, Critiques, and Challenges for Cultural Workers in Education*, Brown & Davis, 2000).

In *Blackness Visible*, Charles Mills (1998) suggests that the notion “that race should be irrelevant is certainly an attractive ideal, but when [race] has not been irrelevant, it is absurd to proceed as if it had been” (p. 41). The reality is that despite increasing discourses on and about class and forms of capital (i.e., cultural, social, economic, human), there is nothing more permanent to social interactions than race. Inasmuch as the delivery of educational services is a function that occurs in the social/public space, education is bedeviled by the realities of race – race bias, race privilege, race effects, and racism. Hence, cultural/racial difference, both as a hallmark of human society and as an aspect of educational curricula continue to excite debate and conceptual confusion. This conscious acknowledgment of race in society foddors dialectic between power and race and hegemony that contours

the definition, purpose, content, and pedagogy of schools institutions, not to mention colleges and universities. Race is a core pillar in the stratification of higher education in societies with populations experiencing differential histories based on skin color.

Racial stratification refers to the acts or processes of arranging people into racialized classes. Understanding these arrangements as represented in power hierarchies, economic resources, and life chances is a central concern within the social sciences. Most empirical research on racial inequality focuses on the economic dimension given the consequences for survival and well-being in industrial societies (Oliver & Shapiro, 2006). Several reliable economic indicators such as income and wealth gauge states of inequality. However, educational access and achievement data also expose racial stratification.

Education funding at the K–12 level is largely determined by property taxes. Children who live in neighborhoods with higher property values benefit from the resources available at well-funded schools. Children who live in poorer neighborhoods endure under-resourcing, high teacher turnover, overcrowded classrooms, and a milieu of additional challenges to their educational access. Unsurprisingly, neighborhood school funding is historically (and contemporaneously) racialized. Redlining of potential Black homeowners to areas with lower property values, government collusion in the obstruction of VA home loans dispensed to Black veterans, and “white flight” have all worked to consolidate large segments of the Black population to impoverished neighborhoods and subsequently under-resourced schools. All of these realities work to concretize notions of mattering and humanity (Dancy, 2013, 2014a). When analyzed through the lens of organizational or political theory, the challenges of public education can appear unfortunate, possibly evidence of the ills of capitalism. However, through the lenses of race and racism, these regulatory failures can be understood as white supremacy’s response to Black agency with reassertions and reminders that “The Black” is “slave.”

Public education, the institution designed to prepare students for higher education, is predicated on anti-blackness. If one is not an owner or the progeny of an owner, one is not entitled to an adequate education. Public education funding is a direct model of plantation politics. Like our settler colonial predecessors, the only group able to freely access an adequate preparatory education is the children of the owning class. The maintenance of a public education system dependent on property taxes institutionalizes a social arrangement of dispossession. It also serves as an anti-Black filter for higher education. Refusal on the part of higher education to substantively respond to the failures of public education reflects complicity.

The discourse on education is confounded by the recognition that societies are comprised of intricately intertwined networks and frameworks of race (i.e., communal culture), hegemony (i.e., dominance and leadership), and power (i.e., the politics of policy). The aggregation of these myriad social histories, informal language patterns, and familial traditions make it difficult to create one definition of an inclusive curriculum. Like society writ-large, colleges and universities must respond to the populations of students from myriad backgrounds and experiences assembled and blended on their campuses. Consequently, the postsecondary, higher, and tertiary educational structures are forced to engage the complex nuances of multiple cultures, languages, and contexts that stratify the public domain. Arguably, the framework of most of the world's collegiate education is founded on a cultural hegemony and stratification that assigns privilege to the white patriarch while relegating non-whites and women to the margins. Not only has education served as a system for legitimating domination, but it has also been one that fosters the reproduction of racialized, cultural, and economic structures/hierarchies and stratification around the globe.

As such, the task of theorizing race, hegemony, and education requires educators to critically examine egocentric and allocentric positionalities through race in a society. This is particularly important when race is the agency in which oppression is ascertained, as well as the agency in which the oppressed struggle for their liberation. Furthermore, we must be mindful that the institutional praxis that (in)formed the foundation of colonization and the ability to rule other people monopolized the ability to know – in the sense of being able to name, analyze, judge, study, illustrate, and discipline – colonized people (Brown, 2003, 2013; Said, 1979). With the changing demographics of the students occupying the space in our schools, colleges, and universities, the way of knowing must therefore change. It is necessary to develop a new frame of reference that transcends the limits of existing concepts, theories, and ideologies. Reality has been conceptualized, by and large, in terms of a limited perspective from the dominant social forms that reside in western populations. Educators must challenge the constructions of truth operating in prevailing educational discourses that perpetuate dominant social structure and power relations (Gordon, 1997). Thus, the call for more racially and ideologically diverse voices in the construction of knowledge that informs the curriculum must be answered.

The myriad conceptualizations of race have consistently influenced the relationship between black peoples and others in the known-world. In *The Racial Contract*, Mills (1997) argues that these two primary groups have, therefore, either involuntarily or voluntarily entered into an agreement that

proffers non-black peoples as superior and black peoples as inferior. Non-black peoples become beneficiaries and parishioners of their race, while black people are victimized and prisoners within their own skin. The contract is laden with unfair connotations and unjust results that inherently signify political and moral innuendoes behind “racialized color.” Two important questions emerge from within this literature: (1) what created this racial divide? and (2) how has “racialized color” affected the larger society?

Bederman (1995) argues that the division between the races is an ideological juxtaposition of the various interpretations of civilization. These seeming polar positions on human existence emerge during the late nineteenth century or the post-Civil War era. While these positions depict meanings of civilization very differently, in many ways, all racialized human beings become accustomed to similar roles and results. The connotations of race vividly construct images of the vestiges of “white-skin” superiority and racial hatred that existed for black people throughout the diaspora. The distinction between these two primary clusters of people, consequently appear clear and separate. While this is the appearance, the reality of how and if race shapes phenomena has paradigmatic implications for role performance among students, teachers, and the curriculum. Race becomes a perceived proxy for ideology, as well as the schema for the epistemological context of education.

Further, a critical examination of race illuminates the manner in which all individuals conceptualize the stratification of humanity. Mills (1997) acknowledges the significance of race by exploring its role of fostering and sustaining a hierarchical society. Needless to say, race is an observable characteristic. Race cannot be concealed or disregarded simply because of its controversial implications. Race cannot be masked because it brings forth feelings of discomfort, confusion, and fear. The proposed solution, however, has been to silence discussions of race. This attempt suggests that the world should engage in the notion of colorblindness. It is assumed that to be colorblind is to be impartial, fair, and objective (Brown, 2000a, 2000b, 1998a, 1998b; Nieto, 1996). On the contrary, colorblindness is a race-conscious ideology – one simply chooses not to acknowledge race. Race is a mandate of difference that bestows rights of power and privilege. It is in reality, a colorful mark of inevitable separation that distinguishes the have and have-nots, and ultimately, the oppressor and the oppressed in a positional space. Race is an element of education that cannot and should not be ignored. “Race continues to preoccupy the public mind, a reminder of a past that cannot be willed away” (Hacker, 1992, p. 4). Education must correct the fallacy of colorblindness and declare that the positionality of each individual is subjective, significant, and colored by race.

The white supremacist racial world is a world cut into two – white and non-white (Fanon, 1963). At the social level, European colonialism and its progeny is undergirded by the contention that “a conception of humanity according to which the global population was differentiated into inferior and superior, irrational and rational, primitive and civilized, traditional and modern” (Quijano, 2000, p. 3). Without equivocation, at the center of most diverse social systems is race. As result, colleges and universities around the world reflect the social stratification from which they were developed. Colleges and universities codify and institutionalize the hegemonic differences between conquerors (white races) and the conquered (black races). The curriculum of these institutions regularly assumes a superiority complex and assigned inferiority to the colonized (Brown & Land, 2005). As articulated by Maldonado (2007), the curricula of most educational institutions is a reification of colonialism and promotes in the present day the same racial misanthropes of the racist realities of yesteryear.

HEGEMONY: DISMANTLING THE MASTERS’ HOUSES

Most policymakers fail to recognize the correlation between race and education. Meaningful policy change must start with a dialogue on the curriculum. Dialogue, which uses words to name the world and transform it, imposes itself as the way humans achieve significance. Through words, men and women are able to change, or name, the world. Freire (1993) has explained the dimensions and the importance of the word. The word is the essential instrument in dialogue. But more importantly, it is both reflective and active by nature. Moreover, there can be no true word without both its reflective and active dimensions. In order to have true education, dialogue must exist. Brown (2000a) refers to the “Word” as the sum total of our lived experiences identifiable as real and intellectual. These experiences are lessons of empowerment and liberation. The word maximizes human possibility to change current conditions in society.

Given the importance of the word in naming the world and the importance of dialogue in determining human significance, it seems evident that the words used in dialogue determine the success of the dialogue and ultimately the success of education. However, racial dialogue does not represent true dialogue. Racial dialogue lacks the active and reflective involvement of all persons. The racial dialogue is often contaminated by the infusion of white-skin privilege in determining the direction of the conversation. This phenomenon

is accomplished by confusing individuals who candidly talk about race with those individuals who are in fact racist. By discussing issues, race relations are disturbed in our colorblind society. Macedo (1994) refers to actions of this nature as discourse sanitation.

The dominance of white-skin privilege, in addition to determining who may actively participate in dialogue, also determines the language used in the dialogue. Terms that label the dominant culture (Note: this term is used instead of oppressor in the spirit of political correctness) tend to be viewed as (Macedo, 1994). For example, the term “disenfranchised” is preferred over “oppressed” because it prevents the noun from ascribing blame to the dominant culture. Macedo (1994) identifies a number of euphemisms that allow the dominant culture to be held harmless for their actions. Such terms include “ethnic cleansing.” Ethnic cleansing is used to redefine the genocide experienced by the Jews in Nazi Germany and Bosnian Muslims in Serbia. What is most disheartening is the phrase. The language infers that the Germans and the Serbs were acting in a manner that would “cleanse” or “purify” their respective regions of the ethnic “filth” that resided among them with being named as oppressors [*sic*].

Settler colonialism is a practice of direct global domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another (Fanon, 1961). The term “colonialism” is frequently used to describe the European settlements of North America, Australia, New Zealand, Algeria, and Brazil. Settler colonialism describes a process in which colonialists emigrate(d) with the express purposes of building a new community through territorial occupation (Russell, 2001). Eliminating Indigenous people, pilfering land, and creating new wealth systems from the built and rebuilt environment are fundamental organizing principles of the settler colonial project (Wolfe, 2006). European settlers colonized the US vis-à-vis a number of terrorist acts on aboriginal inhabitants including disease, broken treaties, and outright massacre (Mills, 1997). Settler colonization was a process driven by capitalist impulses, which also sought to institute settler political, cultural, and economic hegemony managed vis-à-vis a network of relations between “metropolitan officials” (Veracini, 2010).

Sets of practices aimed at domination. The settler colonialists raised questions about whether all were members of the same human species or “family of man” (Omi & Winant, 2010, p. 14). Europeans used interpretations of Judeo-Christian doctrine to devalue Indigenous humanity and assume spiritual ineptness (Omi & Winant, 2010). This interpretation drove the philosophy behind who should be free, who should own, who should be eliminated, and who should be enslaved (Omi & Winant, 2010). The Europeans distinguished human beings from “others” or “humanoids” through seizing

land, the denial of political rights, the introduction of indentured servitude, enslavement, other forms of coercive labor, and complete extermination.

While the US settler colony saw a period of white indentured servitude, Blackness became a formal marker of chattel enslavement. Servants understood as white experienced limited loss of liberty, but people understood as Black were enslaved for life. While servant status could not descend to offspring, Black children took the status of the mother. In *Capitalism and Slavery*, Williams (1994/1944) elaborates that skin color and phenotype differences made it easier to justify and rationalize Black enslavement, “to exact the mechanical obedience of a plough-ox or a cart-horse (p. 19),” and to subjugate Black people using the various oppressive tools that made “slave labor” possible. The enslavement of Black people must also be understood in the context of capitalist motivations. Williams (1944) adds:

The Negro slave was cheaper. The money, which procured a white man’s services for ten years, could buy a Negro for life. As the governor of Barbados stated, the Barbadian planters found by experience that “three Blacks work better and cheaper than one white an”...Here, then, is the origin of Negro slavery. The reason was economic, not racial; it had to do not with the color of the laborer, but the cheapness of the labor. As compared with Indian and white labor, Negro slavery was eminently superior ... The features of the man, his hair, color, and dentifrice, his “subhuman” characteristics so widely pleaded were only the latter rationalizations to justify a simple economic fact: that the colonies needed labor and resorted to Negro labor because it was cheapest and best. (pp. 19–20)

Mills (1997) discusses the emergent color caste system and its legacies in terms of the racial contract, or the set of relationships and conditions that must occur to maintain white supremacy, or the white settler colonial state. All whites are beneficiaries of the contract, though some whites are not signatories to it. At the center of this contract are agreements that define a white class as superior and various subsets of human beings as “nonwhite” and therefore a different, inferior status. The general purpose of the contract is always the differential privileging of white people as a group among nonwhites and the exploitation of their bodies, land, and resources. The use of narrative is a critical condition in the racial contract. Mills (1997) explains the ways in which whiteness narrates itself as default human:

The establishment of society ... implies the denial that a society already existed; the creation of society requires the intervention of white men, who are thereby positioned as already sociopolitical beings. White men who are (definitionally) already part of society encounter nonwhites who are not, who are “savage” residents of a state of nature characterized in terms of wilderness, jungle, wasteland ... In the colonial case, admittedly preexisting but (for one reason or another) deficient societies (decadent, stagnant, corrupt) are taken over and run for the “benefit” of the nonwhite natives, who are deemed childlike,

incapable of self-rule and handling their own affairs, and thus appropriately wards of the state ... the Racial Contract establishes a racial polity, a racial state, and a racial juridical system, where the status of whites and nonwhites is clearly demarcated, whether by law or custom. And the purpose of this state ... is ... specifically to maintain and reproduce this racial order, securing the privileges and advantages of the full white citizens and maintaining the subordination of nonwhites. pp. 13–14)

Current academic standards are inextricably linked to the perpetuation of white supremacy and white interests. Pedagogical practice and objectives are constructed to support an epistemic orientation to the world that is Eurocentric. For instance, positivist assumptions about objectivity and post-positivist reliance on Cartesian perspectives of the thinking (disembodied) man support anthropological and consumptive approaches to engagement with the other (Baszile, 2008; Lowe, Byron, & Mennicke, 2014; Minh-ha, 1989; Spivak, 1988; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Thomas, 2013). When students and faculty of color struggle to align their intellectual and sociopolitical realities to the pedagogical practice, they are dismissed as inferior. An individual's proximity to "humanity" is directly dependent on their ability to manifest (white) destiny.

In *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*, Wilder (2013) dispels the notion that there were no Black people in colonial colleges. In fact, enslaved Black people outnumbered faculty, administrators, and trustees at a number of Ivy League colleges, such as Dartmouth (Wilder, 2013). Black people erected the buildings, cooked the food, and cleaned the dormitories yet were engaged in the objective. Colonizers advocated (from college campus podiums) for the inhumane treatment of Black people everywhere, and violence was a common experience for the enslaved on college campuses. Colonial college trustees (many of whom were ministers) tortured and murdered enslaved Black men, women, and children in the most sadistic ways.

College presidents, many of whom were "slave masters," used enslaved Black people as personal attendants and as house servants to maintain the president's mansion. Harvard president Increase Mather (1692–1701), used an enslaved man "gifted" to him by his son Cotton Mather, to run errands for the college. Harvard president Benjamin Wadsworth (1725–1737) brought an enslaved man named Titus, who lived with his family, to the college and "bought a Negro Wench" two days before arriving on campus. Benjamin Franklin, founder of the College of Philadelphia; the first eight presidents of the College of New Jersey (Princeton); and Georgetown presidents Fathers Louis William Valentin DuBourg (1796–1798) and Stephen L. Dubuison (1825–1826), as Wilder's (2013) research highlights, all accumulated enslaved

Black people for their own personal service during their tenures as the top college administrator.

Within higher education, there are similar configurations of anti-Black violence. While physical insecurity is less evident, psychological and economic vulnerabilities persist. Theories such as microaggressions, tokenism, impostorship, and racial battle fatigue attest to the psychological torment regularly visited upon Black humanity in higher education (Dancy, 2014b, 2014c, 2016; Dancy & Hotchkins, 2017; Dancy & Jean-Marie, 2014; Hotchkins, 2016; Hotchkins & Dancy, 2015; Smith, 2014). Regular patterns of Black student protest reveal a culture of white antagonism on college campuses and largely pronounce solidarity with the Black Lives Matter Movement (Johnston, 2015). The continued defunding of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) reflects a sordid commitment to the elimination of Black enterprise (Brown, 2000, 2004; Brown & Lane, 2003). It also undergirds the relationship of trauma between Blackness and the educational system; a relationship HBCUs play a protective role against. In many ways, HBCUs are the contemporary manifestation of Underground Railroad safe houses.¹ While not beyond a critique of settler colonial strivings, they have also protected and supported Black students along their journey to educational and economic freedom amidst a dangerous environment (Brown, Carter, & Dancy, 2014). Defunding exposes the State's commitment to Black vulnerability.

In settler colonial relationships, Black resistance and despair are understood as not only a nuisance but also a public display of Black suffering for the consumption of a white audience (Alexander, 1995). Black performances are disruptive acts that occupy subjectivity but are against it. In other words, as discussed earlier, while whiteness may understand "the Black" as having sentient capacity (ability to perceive or feel), there is not relational capacity (ability to interact; Wilderson, 2010). Black suffering decorates the landscape of white humanity. It cannot be responded to with understanding and empathy. Instead it is Black full intellectual participation in higher education that is illegible, accumulated (collected), exchangeable, and openly vulnerable (Anzaldúa, 1981; Wilderson, 2010). Black academics are not subalterns, but the property (slaves) of their colleagues (Wilderson, 2010).

At the conclusion of her expansive volume critiquing white ideology, Marimba Ani (1994) offers an important charge to the African-descended reader. She states, "Now that we have broken the power of their ideology, we must leave them and direct our energies toward the recreation of cultural alternatives informed by ancestral visions of a future that celebrates our Africaness and encourages the best of the human spirit" (Ani, 1994, p. 570).

Radical self-determination requires both a departure from the white social contract and directed investment in the creation of Black counterintellectual and economic spaces. The only way to establish Black human agency is to exit the system that insists upon Black dehumanization. Black counterintellectual and economic spaces would prioritize the survival and edification of all Black people. These spaces would center African ways of knowing and being in the world, as well as an exploration of the theoretical and technological legacies of African-descended peoples. A substantive and unapologetic critique of settler colonial logics predicated on anti-blackness will also be present. These are just initial imaginations of an emancipated Black future. The principal characteristics of Black divestment and radical self-determination is the severing of all sociopolitical relationships with whiteness for the protection of Black humanity. This seems a small price to pay for freedom.

Even with the global context, the historically black college and its counterparts do not divorce higher education of its responsibility to explore the sociocultural, socioeconomic, political, and familial backgrounds that contribute to African-American student attrition, and the ramifications of the larger society that perpetuates these characteristics (Brown & Davis, 2001; Dancy, 2010; Lang & Ford, 1988; Palmer, Wood, Dancy, & Strayhorn, 2014). Halpern (1992), a lawyer and professor of Political Science at State University of New York at Buffalo, argues that historically black institutions have made their most historic educational contribution through their profound commitment to and encouragement of its students. Any effort to increase the number of students attending black colleges is a step forward in provide a human and humane environments for postsecondary studies.

A WORK IN PROGRESS: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Black Colleges across the Diaspora: Global Perspectives on Race and Culture in Postsecondary Education examines colleges and universities across the diaspora with majority African, African-American, Afro-Brazilian, Caribbean, Columbian, and other Black designated student enrollments. The nomenclature of this institutional cohort connotes for the casual observer an assumption of racial exclusivity and homogenous monolithism. Research confirms that these campuses possess a flourishing landscape with racial, economic, and gender diversity while also sharing a Black identity created through global racialization. Around the world, Black colleges and universities create academic and social environments where different races, sexes, cultures, languages,

nationalities, and citizenship status coexist in a manner that enables academic achievement, civic engagement, and colonial resistance. Black colleges across the globe collectively proffer important lessons about promoting access and equity in postsecondary education for all institutional types.

Research in the United States confirms that historically black universities have been the primary educators of blacks in American and around the world (Akbar, 1989; Allen, 1991; Brown, 1998, 1999, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004; Brown & Bartee, 2009a, 2009b; Dancy & Brown, 2008; Fleming, 1984; Garibaldi, 1984; Hytche, 1989; Thomas, 1981). The black institution has historically created pools of qualified individuals who have traditionally been underutilized in academia and corporate America. While it is true that these schools are of great value, they have not convinced some in society of their importance. There have been many questions raised regarding the strengths of the historically black university.

Understanding the fundamental characteristics that shape historically black colleges should be the foundation of state policies governing institutions and Title VI compliance. These fundamental characteristics shape how all colleges play out their role in society. There are dual and competing roles of knowledge construction and transmission and of status allocation. On one hand, historically black colleges serve to develop and create, teach, and transmit advanced knowledge to society. In this fashion, they serve to transmit and transform a society's culture while educating its citizens. On the other hand, these institutions make critical gains in ensuring that growing numbers of African Americans will be competent to serve as leaders and/or knowledge workers in society. These roles call on historically black colleges to aid all who enter their doors to gain knowledge.

In an attempt to expound on the mission and goals of the predominantly black college, Roebuck and Murty (1993) state, "HBCUs, unlike other colleges, are united in a mission to meet the educational and emotional needs of black students. They remain the significant academic home for black faculty members and many black students" (p. 10). Lamont (1979), in *Campus Shock*, goes on to say that for many African-American students the historically black institution is "culturally more congenial" than the traditionally mainstream university (p. 32). Moreover, "there is also a general level of satisfaction and camaraderie among black students at black schools that is not found among black students on white campuses" (Roebuck & Murty, 1993, p. 15).

Historically, black colleges and universities continue to play a critical role in the higher education of African Americans despite a legacy of underfunding and inferior resources in comparison to historically white institutions. Though concealed, sometimes ignored, misunderstood, and under-researched,

HBCUs have a long-standing tradition of preparing students for social, economic, and political successes. For centuries, these institutions have trained the leadership of the African-American community, largely graduating the nation's African-American teachers, doctors, ministers, politicians, lawyers, and scientists. HBCU graduates, in turn, have diversified academia and corporate America, serving as embodiments of HBCU potential and possibilities. Conversations about historically black colleges largely involve these institutions' abilities to deliver solid education amid a turbulent history of social disadvantage and aggravation.

By and large, the literature of higher education research and practice is silent on the issues of diversity, discrimination, and prejudice at black collegiate institutions. In fact, the scholarly work on historically Black colleges consistently celebrates their role as an academic haven providing culturally affirming and psychosocially effective environments for student learning. McIntosh's (1988) famous work on White privilege represented a revolutionary advancement in the thinking around diversity issues, demonstrating in concrete terms the persistent and pervasive presence of unearned benefits accrued by Whites. Drawing from feminist critique, McIntosh argued for a parallel reality for Whites and men, in that both groups possessed an invisible set of privileges that they typically failed to acknowledge. Indeed, a salient component of privilege is the way in which it operates in normative fashion to preserve hegemonic conditions advantaging dominant social groups.

To be certain, the literature on historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) has demonstrated how Black students have benefited greatly from the kinds of supportive contexts established at these schools (Brown, 2010, 2004; Brown & Freeman, 2004a, 2004b; Brown, Ricard, & Donahoo, 2004; Gasman, Lundy-Wagner, & Bowman, 2010). By promoting closer relationships with peers (Willie, 2003) and faculty (Palmer & Young, 2009), HBCUs constitute culturally safe spaces for a population of students that has often experienced alienation at majority institutions. However, less attention has been paid to exploring the plausible existence of privilege and prejudice on HBCU campuses both within the Black community and toward other social groups. Closson and Henry (2008) argue that scholarly work on the experiences of White students and faculty is relatively nonexistent.

This volume examines the institutional and contextual factors related to culture and identity on these black college campuses across the diaspora. An individual or team of scholars representing the best of evidence-based research on international/comparative education, predominantly black colleges, white supremacy, and colonization area studies authors each chapter. The studies presented highlight racial hegemony in multinational student

experiences and achievement; examine the social and career implications of attendance on lifelong success; explore the impact of global Black marginalization and racist ideology on Black college communities; and research the role gender plays in outcomes and attainment. *Black Colleges Across the Diaspora: Global Perspectives on Race and Culture in Postsecondary Education* engages the diversity of Black colleges and universities around the world and explains their critical role in promoting academic excellence in higher education.

NOTE

1. The Underground Railroad was a secret network of routes and private homes used by enslaved Black peoples during the nineteenth century to escape “slave-states” primarily in the US South to “free-states” located in the Northeast region of the US and Canada.

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