From Black Power to Black Studies

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Notes

**ONE: The Movement That Became an Institution**


2. As of 2006, the following universities offer doctoral degrees: Temple University; the University of California, Berkeley; Michigan State University; the University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Northwestern University; Harvard University; and Yale University. This list is drawn from various editions of the Index of College Majors and the E-Black Studies Web site (www.eblackstudies.org), which lists graduate programs in African American studies and related areas.

3. The Harvard “dream team” refers to the professors hired by Henry Louis Gates Jr. to teach in the Department of African and African American Studies at Harvard University in the late 1990s. Following two decades of decline at the campus, the program was chaired in 1991 by Gates, who rehabilitated it. An outstanding administrator, Gates hired some of the best-known African American scholars to teach in the program, such as Kwame Anthony Appiah (Cambridge-trained philosopher), Cornel West (religion scholar and progressive activist), Larry Bobo (sociologist and expert on racial attitudes), William Julius Wilson (originator of the declining significance of race thesis), and Michael C. Dawson (perhaps the preeminent student of black public opinion). The Harvard program is discussed in detail in chapter 4.

4. During a confidential interview, one black studies program chair called this the “Harvard effect.” Administrators were much more likely to provide funding for black studies once Harvard revamped their program. The Harvard effect is not discussed in this book much, except to note that it occurred. Future research can assess the impact of black studies in elite universities on the well-being of black studies programs in lower-ranked schools.

5. Nile Valley scholarship claims that the Western cultural tradition comes from black Egyptian culture. Unsurprisingly, this thesis has been strongly disputed. The best-known version is the one proposed in *Black Athena*. See Bernal, Martin. 1987. *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Afrocentrism is an approach to knowledge and social change that places African interests at the center. Afrocentricity is not only an epistemic claim but also an ethical stance: “Finally, Afrocentricity seeks to enshrine the idea that blackness itself is a trope of ethics. Thus, to be black is to be against all forms of oppression, racism, classism, homophobia, patriarchy, child abuse, pedophilia, and white racial domination.” Page 2 in Asante, Molefi. 2003 [1980]. *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change*. Chi-

These beliefs have been attacked by scholars within the academy and by conservative critics. For example, *National Review Online* editor John Derbyshire succinctly stated the view of black studies’ most aggressive critics when he wrote that “like most nonblacks, I guess, I have, anyway, always thought that ‘Afro-American Studies’ is a pseudo-discipline, invented by guilty white liberals as a way of keeping black intellectuals out of trouble, and giving them a shot at holding professorships at elite institutions without having to prove themselves in anything really difficult, like math.” (Column published at www.nationalreview.com on January 11, 2002. Permanent URL link: www.nationalreview.com/derbyshire/derbyshire011102.shtml.) For other critiques of black studies and ethnic studies more generally, see Syke, Charles. 1989. *Profs scam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education.* Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing; or D’Souza, Dinesh. 1991. *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus.* Glencooe, IL: Free Press. The latter targets multiculturalism more generally, although black studies is mentioned as an example of multiculturalism gone amok.

6. A detailed examination of the conflict at Harvard must wait until more time has passed. According to news reports and accounts published in academic journals and books, the conflict seems to have been centered around Harvard University president Lawrence Summers, who, for better or worse, chose to confront Professor Cornel West in a private meeting. This meeting followed a period when relations between Summers and some Harvard professors were allegedly strained because of Summers’s views on campus diversity.

The *Boston Globe*, which broke the story in December 2001, reported that Summers chastised West for a variety of activities. West declined to be interviewed for that article; when contacted by the *Globe*, Summers refused to provide details of private meetings but said that “grade inflation is a general issue in the university that should be considered by faculty members in all departments with no specific focus.” Summers also tried to distance himself from the report that he criticized West’s public writings by saying that “many mediums of intellectual expression are appropriate and not for the university to judge, and that . . . public intellectual debate on many issues, including race, is a great strength of Harvard” (Abel, David. December 22, 2001. “Harvard ‘Dream Team’ Roiled, Black Scholars, Summers in Rift.” *Boston Globe*. Page A1).

In a recent book (*Democracy Matters*, 2004, New York: Penguin Press), Cornel West claims that Summers angrily confronted him with a long list of complaints, such as the fact that he supported Bill Bradley’s presidential campaign, recorded a rap CD, and allegedly canceled classes. Furthermore, Summers allegedly wanted West to publicly criticize his friend Harvey Mansfield: “When I entered his office, Professor Summers seemed nervous as he shook my hand; frankly, he seemed uneasy in his own skin. Then, to my astonishment, this man I’d never met before started our conversation by saying that he wanted me to help him f*** up Professor Mansfield, a leading conservative professor who has openly disparaged the sizable presence of black students and women at Harvard. President Summers apparently assumed that because I am a deep black democrat I would relish taking part in bringing Professor Mansfield down. To his surprise, and I would imagine embarrassment, I told him that Professor Mansfield is a friend of mine, my former teacher, and a respected colleague, and that in fact I had just congratulated Mansfield at the faculty club on his superb translation (with his wife) of
Tocqueville’s two-volume classic *Democracy in America.* West’s account of the meeting and its aftermath can be found in an excerpt adapted for the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education.* 2005, 47: 64–69.


The timing of the conflict is the most interesting aspect of the Harvard incident. Black studies programs have been surrounded by conflict since their inception. However, it would seem to be unwise to invite controversy when an academic program is at the height of its international reputation, especially from a university president who had been in office for only about four months. Normally, the nearly impeccable academic credentials of the Harvard African American studies faculty would protect them from bureaucratic interference. Perhaps the faculty’s sudden prominence in the 1990s, after years when the department was nearly extinct (see chapter 4), invited attention from the department’s enemies. Further research will have to assess this conjecture.

The *Boston Globe* reported in the summer of 2006 that the Harvard African and African American studies faculty was considering bringing back Cornel West, who left in the wake of the dispute with Summers (Marcella Bombardieri. June 6, 2006. “Some Seek Scholar’s Return.” *Boston Globe.* Page B1.) The end of Summers’s tenure as university president has encouraged some faculty members to believe that Harvard will be a more hospitable place for West. The department would benefit because West is a charismatic instructor who can fill the introductory course. It is unknown whether the Harvard administration would approve another job offer or if West would accept. Black studies at Harvard is a work in progress.


9. See chapter 6 for a thorough analysis of which universities offer black studies degrees and an analysis of the black studies professoriat.

10. I thank one of the manuscript’s anonymous reviewers for suggesting this language.


12. I consulted reference guides such as the College Board’s Index of College Majors and found about two hundred universities that offered degrees, including minor concentrations and certificates. Among those that were listed as having programs in which students could major in black studies at the undergraduate or graduate levels, many did not officially offer “black studies” but permitted students in other majors, such as American studies or self-directed independent studies, to write theses on black studies. At other universities, black studies designated a program of study in which students would take courses in history or sociology, but there was no independent academic unit. In total, I found about 125 universities that had a distinct academic subunit labeled as black studies (or a variant like Africana studies) that offered bachelor’s, master’s, or doctoral degrees. Since I conducted this research, a few more universities have established programs and departments. Therefore, the total number may now be as high as 140.


15. Ibid., 17–18.


20. Ibid., 11.


22. Forms of black studies that I do not consider in this book are independent scholarship, multicultural K–12 education, and black studies conducted in existing disciplines such as history, sociology, and literary criticism. These are certainly valid modes of black studies, but this book focuses on the emergence of formalized black studies in large organizations such as universities in order to understand interactions between bureaucracies and social movements.


28. I thank Tim Bartley for a discussion of how movements generate institutional alternatives. This model of how movements enact change is adapted from an unpub-


34. I use “organizational form” to mean a group organized as a hierarchy (Weber, Max. 1946. “Characteristics of the Bureaucracy.” In From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press) with a particular social identity (see chapter 4 of Carrol, Glenn R., and Michael T. Hannan. 2000. The Demography of Corporations and Industries. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press). For example, a department of black studies uses the hierarchical structure of the academic department (professors and chairs) and identifies with other departments that are self-labeled as black studies. For simplicity, “organizational form” means organizational subunits such as departments or divisions as well as autonomous bureaucracies. In this book, departments of black studies and independent black studies research institutes are both considered organizational forms. The difference is that a department of black studies exists inside another organizational form such as a college or university, while a research institute could be an independent entity.


Social Transformation, and Fall of a University Budget Category.” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 33(4): 562–587.


TWO: The Road to Black Studies

1. This perspective is called the “political process model.” The most prominent exposition is Doug McAdam’s book on the civil rights movement, which argues that the actions of the 1950s and 1960s were made possible by the coalescence of political groups (like the NAACP), black churches, and wealthy donors. McAdam, Doug. 1983. Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency: 1930–1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2. Chapter 1 discusses framing as an important activity within social movements. The most-cited author on this topic is David Snow. See Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow. 2000. “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment.” Annual Review of Sociology 26: 611–639. This is a common concern among movement researchers; for example, McAdam’s book, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, includes a discussion of early framing processes in the civil rights movement.

3. Researchers call the organizations associated with a political movement “the social movement sector.” The idea is that movement participants find it useful to create organizations, like the NAACP or the Urban League. It is important to have the ability to coordinate large groups of people, collect money, broadcast information, and maintain routine contacts with people in the movement and allies of the movement. The article that first drew attention to the social-movement sector is McCarthy, John D., and Zald, Mayer N. 1987. “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A


5. Walters, Pamela. 2001. “Educational Access and the State: Historical Continuities in Racial Equality in American Education.” Sociology of Education. Special issue: 35–49. This article reviews the research linking political power to educational opportunities and racial inequality in schooling.


10. Ibid., 114, 117–118.


17. Ibid., 192, 194.


24. McWhorter, Gerald. 1968. “The Nature and Needs of the Black University. *Negro Digest* 17(5): 8, 12. Though the black university was vigorously debated, few attempts were made to establish autonomous nationalist colleges and universities. William Van Deburg (1992. *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965–1975*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 80) briefly discusses Nairobi College in East Palo Alto, California, and Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham, North Carolina. He notes that both institutions were short lived. To the best of my knowledge, the only extensive scholarly study of these institutions is Brent H. Belvin’s “Malcolm X Liberation University: An Experiment in Independent Black Education.” 2004. Master’s thesis. Department of History, North Carolina State University. Belvin explains that Malcolm X Liberation University was created when students and activists became upset with Duke University’s response to the needs of black students and the community. According to Belvin, the institution operated in secrecy because of a fear of the white media; because of this, the university was unable to acquire operating funds or staff. Belvin attributes the failure of Malcolm X Liberation University to a lack of support from mainstream black groups in North Carolina, negative press, and factionalism.


29. Ibid., 331. The quoted material was completely italicized in the original. I present it without italics for legibility.

30. Martin Kilson was quite wrong on this account. Except for a short-lived spike in enrollments in the early 1970s, the number of black studies majors has been rather small. In chapter 4, I mention in passing some enrollment figures. In general, African American students have chosen to pursue traditional liberal arts and vocational majors such as education and, more recently, business. Although I do not pursue the topic of undergraduate enrollments in this book, the available evidence suggests that most departments award fewer than a dozen degrees per year. This figure is small when compared to history or English departments, which can award hundreds of degrees per year at large public universities. Black studies seems to occupy a rather small niche in the modern liberal arts curriculum. It is a major for students who are not vocationally oriented (compared to the typical business student) and have an unusually strong interest in black history and culture. I suspect that as in any other specialized liberal arts major, a substantial number of students have an interest in the topic but choose not to earn a degree in it because they feel it is unmarketable. 2002. “News and Views: Black Studies Is an Unpopular Major.” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 36: 14.


39. Ibid., 73–81.

42. Seale goes to great lengths to distinguish the Black Panthers, who adhered to a sort of Marxist ideology, from nationalists who refused to recognize that the true enemy was racism and not whites in general. See page 23 in Seale. 1991 [1970]. Seize the Time.
43. Ibid., 27.
48. Pearson, Hugh. 1995. Shadow of the Panther: Huey Newton and the Price of Black Power in America. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley. Although Pearson is interested mostly in documenting Panther violence and Newton’s criminal activities, numerous passages describe the internal organization of the Panthers, such as their court system and joint living arrangements. There is almost no other scholarship that delves into this aspect of the Panther organization.
50. Ibid.


THREE: Revolution at San Francisco State College


4. Ibid.


6. The organization of California public higher education into three tiers—the University of California, the state colleges, and the community colleges—sprang from the California Master Plan for Higher Education, a document written partially by Clark Kerr, who was charged by Governor Pat Brown with developing a strategy for managing California’s sprawling colleges and universities. The plan was formally instituted by the legislature in Education Code Section 66010.1–66010.8 in 1960. The system is designed so that any citizen could enroll in one of these three college systems, with the most qualified students enrolling in the research intensive University of California. The Office of the President of the University of California maintains a Web site with the master plan and subsequent discussions and modifications: http://www.ucop.edu/acadinit/mastplan/mp.htm.

8. This structure was created by many state governments to manage the quickly expanding state university systems of the postwar era. Typically, state legislatures would combine publicly funded institutions into multi-tiered research and teaching systems managed by administrators reporting to the state legislature. The State of California was not the only government to experience problems after placing authority in a single office.


10. Ibid., 16, 17.

11. Ibid., 20.


20. Ibid., 3.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., 4.

23. Ibid., 7.

24. Ibid., 8.


30. Ibid., 15.
33. Academic Senate Minutes. January 14, 1969. Vol. 8, No. 8. RG 283 Records of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Box 6. LBJ Library, Austin, TX. Specifically, the academic senate recommended that “the ‘present’ emergency procedures for suspending and expelling students be immediately rescinded” (p. 2). S. I. Hayakawa wrote to the academic senate that since no new procedures were developed and students were unable to provide jurists for the discipline panel, the panel would be operated by three faculty members appointed by the president’s office. See Dollard, Frank D. January 17, 1969. “Communication from the Executive Vice-President to the Acting President, with a Copy to the Chairman of the Academic Senate.” RG 283 Records of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Box 6. LBJ Library, Austin, TX. Pages 1–2 contain S. I. Hayakawa’s “Memorandum to Leo McClatchy, Chairman, Academic Senate from Acting President S. I. Hayakawa.” The same document shows that the new disciplinary procedures instituted on January 24, 1969, streamlined the discipline process and based expulsion on the student’s violation of California state code. The student code is reproduced at the end of the Dollard memo. Unlike the previous code, the new code insisted that the proceedings end with a definite decision regarding the student’s conduct and future status at the college.
Technically, Deep Springs students do not determine the entire curriculum. Students are required to take public speaking and composition courses. All other courses are selected by students. It also should be noted that students, for the most part, do not teach classes. They select class topics, and then professors are hired to teach the topics. See the Deep Springs Web site for a more thorough explanation: www.deepsprings.edu/academics/index.html.


Ibid., 6–7.

Ibid., 8–10.


Ibid., 1–2.


Ibid., 14.


Ibid.

This book does not address black studies curricula, but it is worth noting that the model developed in the Experimental College survives to this day. Many programs offer a mixture of humanities and social science courses, with the occasional writing sequence. Although the specific content of courses may vary, one often finds courses with remarkably similar titles and motivating concepts, such as history courses dealing with civil rights, nationalism, and various eras of black literature.


Orrick. Shut It Down! 31.
60. Cited in ibid., 151.
61. Ibid.
64. Reagan, Ronald. February 18, 1969. RG 283 Records of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Box 12. LBJ Library, Austin, TX. Page 8. In his interview, Reagan expresses his low opinion of black studies. He thinks that it shields black students from rigorous academic work, but he admits that black studies might be helpful if it helps white students learn about black culture.
65. Interview with Nathan Hare. August 16, 2004. This was also clarified in later correspondence with Hare.
68. Orrick. Shut It Down! 38.
69. A tactical squad is a unit of a police force specializing in crowd control and other activities that go beyond the routine maintenance of public order. In the words of a colleague who studies police, “These are the tough guys with the shields and batons.”
70. Orrick. Shut It Down! 41–43. I draw my discussion of this incident from this source.
71. Ibid., 43.
72. Ibid., 44.
73. Ibid., 45.
74. Ibid., 46.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., 47.
77. Ibid., 49.
78. Ibid., 51.
79. Ibid., 54.
80. Ibid., 56.
81. Governor Regan, Chancellor Glenn Dumke, and other highly placed California state education officials had all suspected that the situation at San Francisco was unstable and that they would soon need to look for Robert Smith’s replacement. Hayakawa first appealed to Reagan because he was known as an opponent of the campus shutdown. The following passage from journalist Lou Cannon’s first account of Reagan’s governorship suggests that Hayakawa was simply “on the radar screen” when Reagan and Chancellor Dumke went looking for an emergency replacement for Smith. Cannon reports on a meeting between Governor Reagan and his education advisor, Alex Sherriffs. They were discussing what would happen if President Smith resigned. Reagan said, “What about this man Professor Hayakawa? I do not know the man, but he has been quoted . . . as saying the college should be kept open and all that.” Cannon,


88. Ibid., 60–61.


90. Unidentified black graduate student. 1969. Interview with Austin Scott. RG 283 Records of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Box 2. LBJ Library, Austin, TX.


94. Nyman, Sheldon J. February 17, 1969. “Hayakawa Bargains.” *Daily Gater.* Page 1. This article reports that a group of twenty pro-strike people approached Hayakawa. In an interview, Nathan Hare reported that the group that confronted Hayakawa was much smaller.

101. Nathan Hare told me that he continued to help students and professors start the Department of Black Studies, although he was no longer officially connected to the campus. He gave advice during the first year of the department’s existence on course development and administrative matters.

FOUR: The Life and Death of Black Studies Programs

18. Ibid., 10–11.
19. Ibid., 17.
20. Ibid., 20. “Another Columbia” refers to the student strike at Columbia University in the spring of 1968. The event paralyzed the campus and soured relations between the Columbia administration, professors, students, and the surrounding community for years.
21. Ibid., 24 and 27.
22. Ibid., 31–33, 40, 53.


29. Ibid., 76–77.

30. Ibid., 79, 81.


33. Ibid., 2–3.


37. James C. Bruce to Gwin Kolb. September 18, 1968. This letter describes the beginning of the process. Kent initially refuses to head African American studies at Wellesley College, opting instead to join the Chicago Department of English. He'll assume chairmanship of the committee when he arrives on campus. See the memo from Werner A. Wick to James Cook. July 15, 1970. Box 104. Dean of the College Papers. Committee on African and African American Studies. Archives of the University of Chicago.

38. There was a visit by poet Gwendolyn Brooks. There were also dance groups, musical acts, and lectures. See the memo from James C. Bruce to Members of the Informal Committee on African and African American Studies in the Humanities.


41. This is evident from two memos discussing the slow response to Kent’s proposal: Fay Archibald to Karl J. Weintraub. January 11, 1974. Charles Oxnard to Fay Archibald.


45. “Black Enrollment at the University of Chicago.” Faculty Committee on Minority Concerns. December 1985. Archives of the University of Chicago.

46. Interview with Ralph Austin, July 2003.


48. Black Studies Formulating Committee to Administration, Faculty, and Students of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. Re: Supplementary Demands. September 12, 1969. UA 81-14 3/1/2 Box 5, Folder 210. Archives of the University of Illinois, Chicago.


Folder 116. Archives of the University of Illinois, Chicago. Plumpp notes that the department has only one faculty member in the graduate college, Professor Grace Holt.

57. Wandile Kuse to Andrew Schiller. March 3, 1977. Grace Holt Papers. Box 5, Folder 116. Archives of the University of Illinois, Chicago. This folder contains other intrafaculty discussions of a potential graduate program. Professor Wandile Kuse notes that there are no advanced linguistics courses in black studies, probably because there were few core senior faculty who teach at that level, so the department cannot participate in a proposed linguistics program. In passing, Kuse mentions proposals for an M.A. degree in black studies but notes that few students are seeking such a degree. At the time the department had only one professor in the graduate college, which would have made the M.A. proposal implausible.


60. This theme appears in multiple documents, for example, Handwritten Faculty Meeting Notes. December 6, 1979. Grace Holt Papers. Box 1, Folder 17. Archives of the University of Illinois, Chicago.


63. Ibid., 4. On the matter of burdensome teaching interfering with research, the external review cites a report written by faculty member Clovis Semmes: “If faculty are to complete dissertations and increase their scholarly productivity there must be a more balanced approach to the question of course load and class size.” The report continues, “The picture is thus one of overextension and relief.” There was little evidence to indicate that these recommendations were implemented by the Illinois administration in the 1980s.


68. For two accounts of the campus unrest at Harvard, see Eichel, Lawrence E.,


75. Ibid., 18.


78. See, for example, the report on a visit to the Afro-American Studies Department of Harvard University. March 11–13, 1971. Ewart Guinier Papers. Box 24. Folder 2. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. New York Public Library. Page 4. Some students were extremely hostile toward the major. Edgar F. Beckham, an associate dean at Wesleyan who was hired as a consultant, reported that a few students said the major was “a joke,” “a scandal,” and “a disgrace to scholarship.” He also reported on the growing tensions between Guinier and the staff and students, who felt that he asserted his authority in an “offensive way” (p. 2).


80. Harvard University does not award tenure to most junior faculty members; the administration awards tenured positions only to those who have become undisputed leaders in their field. Most young faculty members have difficulty building research records comparable to scholars who have been publishing for twenty or thirty years. It is probably no fault of Guinier’s that junior faculty were not promoted within the department for many years.

81. Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Regular Meeting. Tuesday, January 16, 1973, 4 p.m.


86. This is described in Benjamin’s article, and I confirmed it in an interview with Henry Rosovsky in January 2006. Rosovsky explained that he and Harvard president Derek Bok looked at Harvard’s Faculty of Arts and Sciences to determine what program was in dire need of repair so he could make one last effort at reform before his retirement.


88. Interview with Henry Rosovsky, January 2006.


90. Once again, I thank Henry Rosovsky for explaining this system to me.


92. Ibid.


FIVE: The Ford Foundation’s Mission in Black Studies


9. Ibid.


13. Ibid., table 1 between pages 11 and 12. This is a probably an underestimate of the Ford Foundation’s contributions because it comes from a 1974 report that examined grants within the higher education and education divisions. It excludes grants made by other divisions of the foundation.


22. This assessment turned out to be incorrect. As chapter 4 shows, Huggins was not the savvy administrator his proponents made him out to be.

23. Recommendation for Grant Action/DAP Action and Grant Précis. From Ed-


29. Ford Foundation Central Index. Index of rejected applications in General Correspondence under term “Afro-American Studies.” 1969–1971. Ford Foundation Archives. Friends College was an experimental college with student-designed majors and no course requirements. Housed in what was once a resort, the college catered to those interested in Eastern philosophy, art, and poetry. It eventually shut down because of persistent financial difficulties.


34. Ibid.

35. I compiled this list by looking at who received invitations to apply for grants in log file 1988-01.

36. In this book, I used older versions of the Carnegie Classification for consistency.


38. Scanlon, John J. Interoffice Memorandum to the Files. Title: Afro-American Studies Program at Howard University, April 4, 1969. PA 69-518. Ford Foundation Archives.


42. Ibid.


45. Ibid., 4.


52. Harding published his theory of the black university in forums such as Negro Digest (Summer 1970) and Ebony (September 1969).


65. There were unsuccessful attempts to extend the Ford Foundation’s support. See Cook, Samuel DuBois, to Vincent Harding. December 7, 1970. PA 700-089. Ford Foundation Archives.


71. All of the earlier chapters describe how protest drives the creation of black studies programs; chapter 6 contains a detailed statistical analysis of the topic.


For a summary of current theorizing about how accountability channels movements in more mainstream directions, see Ostrander, Susan A. 2004. “Moderating Contradictions of Feminist Philanthropy, Women’s Community Organizations, and the Boston Women’s Fund, 1995 to 2000.” Gender and Society 18: 29–49. This article sum-
marizes current theorizing about how accountability channels movements in more mainstream directions.

75. Some grants were given over many years, so a few black studies programs kept getting money until 1980.

S I X: Constructing the Discipline

1. It is worth noting that there are other examples of occupational groups, such as academic disciplines, that emerged from political movements. Aside from obvious examples like black studies and ethnic studies, the American social sciences were often tied to Christian progressives in the late nineteenth century. See Haskell, Thomas L. 1977. The Emergence of Professional Social Science. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. There are also examples beyond academia. If one considers new religious groups as a sort of social movement, then the clergy and professional staff can be considered an occupational group emerging from the movement. Obviously, the professional staff of a movement or interest group itself is another occupational group that is a movement outcome.

2. I consulted reference books such as the Index of College Majors to compile a list of universities and colleges that offer black studies degrees. I then collected data on the founding dates of degree-granting black studies programs from books, journal articles, and department Web sites and by contacting program chairs. College Board. 1977–2002. The Index of College Majors. New York: College Board.


(such as yearly enrollments) on a dichotomous variable (such as creation of a black studies program) is pooled-data logistic regression analysis. In this section, the data set consists of yearly data on universities and a variable that is zero if the university has no black studies program and one if the university has such a program. Then the pooled data on university-years is analyzed using logistic regression, which estimates the effects of the independent variables of the log-odds that the dependent variables change from zero to one.


24. Many sociologists have focused on group boundaries and exclusive claims over work. For example, Frank Park claimed that group social status was linked to the ability to exclude others from vital resources. See Park, Frank. 1979. Marxism and Class Theory: A Bourgeois Critique. London: Tavistock. Perhaps the most important explanation of how occupational groups establish their status through jurisdictional claims over work and knowledge is Abbott, Andrew. 1988. The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Abbott’s point is that an occupational group achieves professional status by gaining a monopoly over specific types of work. In the sociology of science, Thomas F. Gieryn has argued that scientists exert great effort in defending the boundaries of science by excluding competitors they view as practicing nonscience. Although Gieryn finds no consistent pattern in demarcating science from nonscience, the point remains that boundaries are important in distinguishing scientific communities from each other. Gieryn, Thomas F. 1999. Cultural Boundaries of Science: Credibility on the Line. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.


**Seven:** Black Studies as the Loyal Opposition


6. Note 5 in chapter 1 provides Asante’s definition of Afrocentrism as an epistemic and ethical stance, while nationalism might be seen as more oriented toward creating black-controlled institutions. A debate about the differences between black nationalism and Afrocentrism is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it suffices to say that they are distinct philosophies.


18. These local religious groups were composed of laypeople who promoted liberation theology’s “church of the poor” message. They are intended to be a place where local interests could be heard within the Roman Catholic hierarchy.


21. Blau, Peter M. 1970. “A Formal Theory of Differentiation in Organizations.” American Sociological Review 35: 201–218. The idea that large societies are more complex than smaller ones can be found in the works of many writers, not just within sociology, but also throughout the social sciences. In sociology, the idea can be traced to Spencer, Durkheim, and Parsons.


Appendixes


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