

ABSTRACT

SIMMONS, CRYSTAL GALE. A Critical Race Theory Content Analysis of a High School African American Social Studies Curriculum. (Under the direction of Dr. Patricia L. Marshall and Dr. Meghan M. Manfra).

The call for the social studies to be attentive to the cultivation of effective, competent, and critically aware citizens suggests that issues of race and racism must be included in the content of the social studies. Race and racism effect (both historically and in contemporary times) the full exercise of citizenship. However, race and racism are notably missing from current social studies scholarship and position statements. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which topics concerning race and racism are incorporated in an African American Studies curriculum in one school district that serves as a social studies elective at the secondary school level. A content analysis of the adopted textbook and the Essential Standards for teaching social studies that were formulated by the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction was conducted. The aim of the analysis was to use the lens of critical race theory to gain insight into the ways race and racism are explored in the curricular materials. Findings revealed that the two were not explicitly addressed in the resources, and when race and racism did appear they were distorted, diluted, and/or decontextualized. The textbook made direct connections between race and citizenship, whereas the Essential Standards failed to explicitly make the connection. Lastly, the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship was expressed and explored in an implicit manner in both the textbook and the Essential Standards. Future research recommendations include a careful examination and analysis of the teaching and learning of African American Studies to extend the discussion beyond theorizing but to actually understanding the impact

discussions about race and racism may have on students' critical understanding of the historical and contemporary impact of these phenomena on U.S. citizenship.

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A Critical Race Theory Content Analysis
of a High School African American Social Studies Curriculum

by
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DEDICATION

“...Bringing the gifts that my ancestors gave, I am the dream and the hope of the slave. I rise, I rise, I rise.” –Still I Rise-Maya Angelou

I dedicate this to my grandparents Norman and Alma Williams and Robert and Bert Simmons. Although you are no longer here, your spirit and love lives within. Your perseverance, work ethic, values, compassion, and dedication to family inspired me to be the best I can be. I also want to thank Ms. Laverne Barnes for introducing me to African American history at an early age. Your selection of books opened my eyes and world to a history unknown.

BIOGRAPHY

Crystal Gale Simmons was born and raised in Asheboro, North Carolina. The daughter of Donald and Doris and the sister to Brittany, Crystal comes from a loving family that instilled in her ethics and morals grounded in respect, love, and compassion for others. Through her parents, Crystal developed a passion for learning. Since her parents had limited educational opportunities, they stressed to her the importance of an education. As a result of this firm belief, Crystal excelled in school and went on to become the first person in her immediate family to attend college.

After graduating from Asheboro High School in 1999, Crystal attended the University of North Carolina at Chapel-Hill. At UNC, Crystal majored in History and International Studies. As a student on campus, she became actively involved in organizations such as the Black Student Movement (BSM) and the Campus Y, an organization dedicated to social justice through community based programs. Her role as co-chair of the Big Buddy committee furthered her interests in education. Upon graduating from UNC in 2003, Crystal returned to her hometown to teach.

Crystal began her teaching career as an 8th grade social studies and science teacher at North Asheboro Middle School, a school she once attended. Since Crystal did not receive her degree in education she returned back to UNC where she enrolled in the Middle Grades Program. After completing the program, Crystal relocated to Durham, North Carolina where she began teaching 8th grade social studies at Githens Middle School.

Her experiences teaching in Durham provided insight into the importance of implementing Multicultural Education into the curriculum and overall school reform. As a

teacher leader at Githens, Crystal served as team leader, social studies department chair, and manager for the after-school program. She also became Teacher of the Year. Fueled by her desire to continue learning, Crystal returned to UNC to enroll in the Masters of Education Program for Social Studies Education. Her coursework and interaction with local school teachers and leaders shaped and influenced her teaching practices.

A year after receiving her Masters of Education in 2009, Crystal decided to further her studies and pursue a Doctorate. She was accepted into the Curriculum and Instruction, and Counselor Education program at NC State University. Crystal left the classroom to fulfill her studies full time however she plans to remain in education by preparing and teaching future teaching candidates in the field of social studies education.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

As a longstanding feature of the curriculum in secondary schools throughout the United States, the social studies serves as one of the fundamental subjects. Its aim is the preparation of citizens for a democratic and diverse society (Barth & d, 1970; Nelson, 2001). The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in one of its most recent position statements, “A Vision of Powerful Teaching and Learning in the Social Studies: Building Social Understanding and Civic Efficacy” (2008) notes the following

Social studies programs prepare students to identify, understand, and work to solve the challenges facing our diverse nation in an increasingly interdependent world. Education for citizenship should help students acquire and learn to use the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will prepare them to be competent and responsible citizens throughout their lives. Competent and responsible citizens are informed and thoughtful, participate in their communities, are involved politically, and exhibit moral and civic virtues.

Similarly, NCSS’s recent adopted College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework (2013) for Social Studies State Standards (generated by a nationwide group of social studies scholars, teachers, and curriculum specialists) reiterates this aim and vision of preparing students for civic life. Michelle Herczog, NCSS President (2013) writes:

Abundant research bears out the sad reality that fewer and fewer young people, particularly students of color and students in poverty are receiving a high-quality social studies education, despite the central role of the social studies in preparing students for the responsibilities of citizenship. Active and

responsible citizens are able to identify and analyze public problems, deliberate with other people about how to define and address issues, take conservative action together, reflect on their actions, create and sustain groups, and influence institutions both large and small (NCSS, 2013).

Both position statements illustrate that the aim of the social studies is to cultivate responsible and active citizens. Like NCSS, scholars too agree that the preparation for democratic citizenship should be rooted in a civics-based approach to the social studies that promotes social transformation. This is because ultimately, the teaching and learning of social studies should equip students with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be critical, informed, and caring citizens (Stanley & Nelson, 1994; Thornton, 2005).

The call for the social studies to be attentive to the cultivation of effective, competent, and critically aware citizens suggests that issues of race and racism must be included in the content of the social studies. Race and racism effect (both historically and in contemporary times) the full exercise of citizenship (Marshall, 2003). However, race and racism are notably missing from current social studies scholarship and position statements. Missing are explicit references to how race and racism impact interpersonal relationships and create power and social hierarchies that lead to social, political, and economic inequities. Notable exceptions include the work of scholars who have examined the impact of race and/or racism on the social studies profession (Baber, 2003; Howard 2003; Tyson, 2003) social studies policy (Branch, 2003; Marshall, 2003) and curriculum (Gay, 2003). Except for these isolated examples, in general the field of social studies has given scant attention to the issues of race and racism.

A lack of consideration of race and racism in social studies can be traced back to the policies of the field's primary professional organization, NCSS. NCSS provides both curriculum frameworks and guidelines that influence content decisions, instruction, and assessment (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Ross, 2006). NCSS's current and past position statements outlining the agenda for citizenship education do not include direct references to race and racism (Marshall, 2003). Because position statements influence and impact the development of national and state level social studies curriculum standards and materials including textbooks, the omission of race and racism is significant. For example, the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (NCDPI) creates the curriculum standards for all academic subjects. The curriculum standards for social studies is referred to as the Essential Standards. These standards provide the curriculum framework, skills, and objectives for the planning, teaching, and learning of social studies courses including African American Studies. Previous research on national and state social studies standards like North Carolina reveal scant attention to race and racism (Journell, 2008). Therefore, it is unlikely that teachers will teach about race and racism if they rely on the direction of NCSS and state departments to guide their instruction (Branch, 2003). The lack of leadership on the part of NCSS to address race and racism in social studies classrooms has consequences. Epstein (2009) argues, "teachers who avoid race talk in history or humanities classrooms mis-educate all American youth not just about their nation's historical legacy, but about their ability to change contemporary society" (p. 5).

Race and racism also do not feature prominently in contemporary U.S. history classrooms (Chandler & McKnight, 2009; Loewen, 2009). This is despite the opportunity

offered by the U.S. history curriculum for teachers to present an overview of how race and racism have shaped social interactions, political and economic infrastructures, and the lived experiences of all Americans. Nelson and Pang (2006) contend that it is the goal of the social studies to investigate and respond to racism. Failure to follow through on this goal contradicts the essence of what has been U.S. democracy for a large segment of the American population. Likewise it negates through omission the realities of many people of color-whose experiences have not (and often do not) align with the idealized notions of what it means to be an American citizen. If the social studies curriculum continues to ignore, sterilize, and exclude discussions of race and racism, the gap between the idealized American experience and that of most Americans will only grow (Nelson & Pang, 2006). The social studies therefore cannot fully prepare students to live in a democratic society if it does not teach them (through analyses of historical and contemporary realities) how race and racism have determined who is *and* who is not afforded the full exercise of U.S. citizenship and all its related rights and privileges.

To correct the omissions of U.S. history courses and offer an alternative to the standard narrative presented in the textbooks and curricula, social studies elective courses like African American Studies were introduced in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Banks, 1992; Ford, 1973; Murch, 2010). Typically, such courses situate the experiences and collective perspective of African Americans within the context of the broader ‘mainstream’ American story thereby, confronting the issues of race and racism. African American studies explicitly challenges the omissions, inaccuracies, and misrepresentations about African Americans that commonly have gone unaddressed in standard social studies curricula.

Furthermore, as part of the overarching ethnic studies movement, courses like African American Studies are intended to promote critical thinking about the role and influence of power on not only race and ethnicity but other aspects of identity including class, gender, and sexuality (Okiihiro, 2010).

Ethnic and other “single group studies” (Sleeter & Grant, 2009) courses serve an important purpose in the social studies. Nevertheless, there is a paucity of empirical research that looks specifically at how African American Studies courses are taught at the secondary level. Given, the widespread lack of attention in the social studies to issues of race and racism, studies that examine how elective courses like African American Studies address these issues are needed.

Conspicuous Absence of Race in the Social Studies

How can it be that in a society so heavily affected by race and racism that the social studies can avoid attention to these topics, and still claim to be a subject devoted to civic education? Many scholars, particularly scholars of color and those who use critical race theory as an analytic framework, contend that the large-scale exclusion of race and racism from the social studies represents a persistent problem within the field (Branch, 2003; Howard, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Marshall, 2003). For example, Howard (2003) states, “issues pertaining to race and more importantly racism have been conspicuously absent from most of the discourse, research, and scholarship within the social studies” (p. 28). Likewise, Marshall’s (2003) analysis of NCSS position statements over a twenty year span illuminated what she termed, “the persistent deracialization” of the citizenship education agenda. She noted, “...the inertia within NCSS to formulate position statements that speak directly to the

deleterious impact of race and racism on the citizenship education agenda is not only intolerable, but irresponsible” (p. 84). Concluding her analysis of social studies position statements, she indicates:

The agenda for citizenship education can never be deracialized and at the same time, be democratic, dynamic, and in step with the actuality of life in these United States...The sooner NCSS leaders accept this reality, the sooner they can begin doing their part to dismantle the dehumanizing unrealities racism imposes on us all. (Marshall, 2003, p. 93)

The works of these scholars along with many others (Chandler & McKnight, 2009; Epstein, 2009; Woynshner & Bohan, 2012) calls for the field of social studies to acknowledge and include explanations of race and racism in all facets of the field (i.e. policies and curriculum). A central problem facing our field is a pronounced and obvious aversion to acknowledge and address critically the impact of race and racism on life in the U.S. and by extension, on the very exercise of citizenship.

Students in the social studies classroom will not receive a quality social studies education grounded in civic education if they are not exposed to the realities of race and racism from a historical and contemporary perspective. Single group studies courses in general, and African American Studies in particular as a social studies elective and curriculum, provide teachers and students a space for analysis and discussions about the lived experiences of people of color as “citizens” within a highly racialized and discriminatory society. Renowned scholar of African American history, Henry Louis Gates contends that African American courses in high school should be mandated throughout the country as they

serve as a “corrective history” to the insufficient and inadequate portrayal of people of color from the general narrative of American history (D’Addario, 2013).

Purpose Statement and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which topics concerning race and racism are incorporated in an African American Studies curriculum that serves as a social studies elective at the secondary school level. A content analysis of the adopted textbook and the Essential Standards for African American Studies written by the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction were conducted through the lens of critical race theory to gain insight into the ways race and racism are explored in the curricular materials.

The following research questions were addressed in this study:

- 1) In what ways are race and racism integrated in the textbooks and the Essential Standards for African American Studies?
- 2) What connections are made between race and citizenship within the context of an African American Studies textbook and the Essential Standards for African American Studies?
- 3) How is the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship expressed and explored within the context of an African American Studies textbook and the Essential Standards for African American Studies?

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory (CRT) served as the theoretical framework for this study to examine and critique what is included and what is missing in terms of exploration and analysis of race and racism in the text of an African American Studies course. As an analytic

tool and framework CRT explores how race and racism influence and impact aspects of society (e.g., the law, politics, economics, and education). Delgado and Stefancic (2012) define CRT as “a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power” (p. 3). During the mid-1970s CRT was created by legal scholars Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, and Alan Freeman to challenge the failed attempts of the Critical Legal Studies movement in confronting the effects of race and racism in the legal system (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998). CRT was later expanded to education (led by the scholarship of Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995) to analyze and critique the inequities that exist between the schooling experiences of white middle-class students and students of color. The five tenets of CRT include: racism as normal/pervasive, counter-storytelling, critique of liberalism (incremental change and colorblindness), whiteness as property, and interest convergence (see DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998). These tenets provide a useful conceptual lenses through which research can offer in-depth analyses of the role race, power, and privilege play in society and institutions such as schools.

Four of these tenets: racism as normal/pervasive, counter-storytelling, critique of liberalism (incremental change), and interest convergence are relevant for understanding the importance of African American Studies. An essential tenet of CRT is the permanence of racism, which is the premise that racism is “normal, not aberrant, in American society” (Delgado, 1995, p. xiv). Bell (1992) adds that “racism is a permanent fixture of American life (as cited in Ladson-Billings, 1998). In other words, racism is ingrained in the laws, policies, economic, and social structures that govern U.S. society. These structures in turn

support the status quo and white privilege. As a result, inequities continue to exist between people of color and whites at various levels in society (i.e., institutional, cultural, and individual) and across contexts. Thus, Ladson-Billings (1998) argues, “the strategy [of CRT analysis] becomes one of unmasking and exposing racism in its various permutations” (p. 11).

Counter-storytelling challenges the notion of reality held by the dominant group. Sharing the stories of people of color enables listeners to rethink and challenge assumptions and judgments based on stereotypes and misconceptions (Delgado, 1989). Delgado (1989) values counter-storytelling and views it as an essential tool for building understanding, empathy, and change. “Listening to stories makes the adjustment to further stories easier; one acquires the ability to see the world through others’ eyes. It can lead the way to new environments” (p. 2439-2440). Within the realm of education and more specifically within the context of teaching American history, the inclusion of counter-storytelling is essential in exposing the experiences of people of color.

CRT’s critique of liberalism contests the idea that regardless of one’s race everyone is treated equally under the law. Delgado and Stefancic (2012) argue that the liberalists’ framework and agenda has failed to address issues of racism in society. Consequently, beliefs based on meritocracy and colorblindness prevail as the dominant ideology concerning race and equal opportunity. The myth of meritocracy is rooted in the notion that individuals can succeed on the bases of their own hard work exclusively. Embedded within this assumption is the idea that everyone has equal opportunities and the same starting points. However, failures to examine the role institutions play in both reproducing social hierarchies

and creating difference (Baez, 2006), combined with misconceptions about economic inequities (i.e., wealth vs. income, including the effects of inheritance on the quality of life) supports the notions of meritocracy.

In addition to this critique is the belief in taking incremental steps to address inequities versus sweeping and swift changes. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) add, “under the notions of incremental change, gains for marginalized groups must come at a slow pace that is palatable for those in power” (p. 29). Historical and contemporary events in African American history (e.g., the right to vote, path towards citizenship, school desegregation) speak to the slow efforts and process of combating racial inequality.

Interest convergence also provides explanation into how some governmental policies and legislation that have occurred in African American history benefited those in power. Defined by Bell (1980), interest convergence is “the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites” (p. 523). In his analysis of *Brown v. Board*, Bell (1980) described how desegregation efforts suited the political and economic interests of whites.

Through this framework, CRT provides a rationale and support for the inclusion of African American Studies curricula in schools. Ladson-Billings (1998) argues that “Critical Race Theory sees the official school curriculum as a culturally specific artifact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script” (p. 18). African American Studies courses challenge the official school curriculum by acknowledging and including the socio-historical narrative of African Americans as it relates to race, discrimination, racism, and various aspects of culture and tradition (Brown, 2010). From a critical race theory perspective there

are systems of power that have historically oppressed underrepresented groups in society and that these systems should be addressed and critiqued.

The field of social studies, primarily through its curricula, serves as a prime example of how systems of power can omit and marginalize the experiences of people of color and women. Two tenets of CRT can explain this omission: colorblindness and whiteness as property. Colorblindness is the failure to recognize race, however for a person to not acknowledge race they must notice race (Gotanda, 1991; Tate, 1997). Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich (2011) argue that colorblindness, post-civil rights era, is the new dominant racial ideology. As a result of this ideology, a “new racism” of subtle and covert measures continues to uphold a racial hierarchy rooted in white privilege. Hence, a colorblind approach to curriculum implies that race does not matter and fails to provide a critique of the status quo. Chandler and McKnight (2009) posit, “The colour-blind philosophy has created a situation in which whites are unable to understand that people of color have more institutional and individual barriers than they do” (p. 231).

The notion of whiteness as property provides language to describe the benefits of being white historically and today, especially the ability to acquire, own, and control property (Harris, 1995). Relevant to educational research, the control over curriculum, the ability to implement school programs and /or services, is a manifestation of whiteness as property (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Consequently, this control has restricted access to the curriculum for students of color. Ladson-Billings (1998) argues that this right to ‘use and enjoyment’ (see Harris, 1995) of the curriculum extends beyond

distortions or omission of content but it also includes access to rigorous and enriched curriculum. Yosso (2002) adds:

Through the curriculum, students of color are socially, politically, and economically marginalized. While their white counterparts are preparing for power, students of color are prepared to fill the ranks of the working class through a curriculum that minimizes their intellectual growth and maximizes opportunities to teach menial labor skills. (p. 96)

The establishment of single studies courses like African American Studies was seen as a strategy to address historic white control of the American history curriculum and the elimination or limited representation of people of color.

According to Creswell (2007), CRT as a theoretical approach to research identifies “the conditions that serve to disadvantage and exclude individuals or cultures such as hierarchy, hegemony, racism, sexism, unequal power relations, identity, or inequities in our society” (p.24). My aim in this research was to use CRT as an analytic lens to describe and critique the inclusion and omission of race and racism in the African American Studies curriculum. I sought to understand how social studies courses may be revised to help students develop better understandings of race and racism, and their intersections with citizenship.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to critique the literature and expose the current gaps that exist regarding the curriculum of African American Studies as a social studies elective. Another purpose is to examine the ways in which the African American Studies curriculum has been used to introduce race and racism. Due to the limited amount of research conducted on African American Studies as social studies electives (particularly at the secondary level), most of the literature in the review stems from the field of social studies. More specifically, it is drawn from U.S. history courses that to some extent include topics like enslavement, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Civil Rights Movement. Since most of the research on African American Studies is conducted at the collegiate level, and very few discussions occur about such courses and curriculum as a social studies elective, this research is warranted.

There are three guiding questions that frame this review: 1) How have scholars used Critical Race Theory to explain the omission of race and racism from social studies curricula and policies? 2) How could the aims and goals of the social studies (e.g. citizenship education) support the inclusion of race and racism in the curriculum? 3) How might African American Studies as a curriculum address race and racism?

Critical Race Theory Analysis of the Social Studies

In Ladson-Billings edited volume titled, *Critical Race Theory Perspectives on the Social Studies: The Profession, Policies, and Curriculum* several scholars within the field analyze and explain the glaring omission of race and racism in the curriculum and organizational policies from a critical race theory perspective. In this collection of works

there are four sections dedicated to the profession, policies, curriculum, and implementation of technology in the social studies. In their critiques and discussions of these four areas, social studies scholars and critical race theorists analyze state and national social studies standards and position statements, the goal and mission of civic education, social studies teacher education textbooks, intersectionality of race and sexuality in curriculum materials, and the use of technology to teach race and racism in social studies classrooms. A review of CRT literature along with other scholarly works published in the field of social studies since the edited volume reveal the omission of race and racism is attributed to the foundational scholarship of early social studies educators (Fallace, 2012; King, Davis, & Brown, 2012; Woyshner & Bohan, 2012) and the adoption of a color-blind perspective in the curriculum (e.g., textbooks) and policies (e.g., position statements and standards).

Using a CRT framework, King, et al. (2012) report that the foundational literature of the social studies offers important information on why race and racism remains on the periphery of the curriculum. Specifically, the works of Thomas Jesse Jones and Harold Rugg provide critical insights. These two individuals were instrumental in creating social studies curriculum and materials that were attentive to the social problems of their time, but that neglected to address issues concerning race and racism (King, et al., 2012; Woyshner & Bohan, 2012). The influence of these early scholars thus set the tone for both the profession and curriculum of social studies. This tone comprised a lack of concern and attentiveness to race and racism that eventually defined the profession for years thereafter.

Jones, an educator who created a social studies curriculum at Hampton Institute and later became the chairman of the National Education Association Committee on Social

Studies played a pivotal role in the creation of the social studies as a discipline to change society. Yet, his curriculum at Hampton Institute, a university established for students of color, “gave scant attention to either political rights or social equality because its aim was to prepare students for their subordinate roles in society” (Woyshner & Bohan, 2012, p. 8).

King, et al. (2012) add that the social studies curriculum created by Jones produced negative racial undertones for the field as it forced African Americans to accept their inferior status and assimilate into white culture.

Fallace (2012) who studied the racial and cultural assumptions of early social studies educators like Jones and Dewey from the years 1901 to 1922 found that their views on race and culture aligned with the beliefs of the dominant culture. He argues that Jones and Dewey did not believe that African Americans and Native Americans were biologically inferior but that they were “socially, culturally, and ethnically disadvantaged and deficient” (p. 38). The goal of these early scholars, according to Fallace (2012) and Crocco (2004), was to offer remediation and development to those deemed culturally deficient (e.g. African Americans and Native Americans). Crocco (2004) states, “social studies...was designed to remediate cultural deficiency and create better citizens out of those some intellectuals feared were not suitable raw material for democracy” (as cited in Woyshner & Bohan, 2012, p. 1).

King, et al. (2012) add to this discussion by showcasing the omission of race and racism through a comparative examination of the textbooks of Harold Rugg and Carter G. Woodson. In their analysis, King, et al. (2012) juxtapose the differences in acknowledgement and awareness of race and racism between white progressive and black revisionist scholars of the early twentieth century. Their work illustrates the inconsistencies

of progressive white scholars like Rugg who ostensibly were dedicated to the preparation of critical and civic minded students through an issued-centered curriculum, yet their scholarship failed to investigate and trouble societal issues of race and racism.

The analysis of Rugg's textbooks throughout the early part of the twentieth century unveiled his failure to recognize the racial strife experienced by African Americans such as lynching and Jim Crow laws and social policies. King, et al. (2012) contend, "If Rugg's curriculum and textbooks were designed to approach critical issues within American democracy, the exclusion of race is a direct oversight of the atrocious and salient racial events that troubled social equality" (p. 362). According to King, et al. (2012), the contributions of African American scholars like Woodson repudiated the stereotypical and erroneous depictions of African Americans in textbooks. The efforts of Woodson in creating separate textbooks and curriculum dedicated to the experiences of African Americans laid the foundation for African American Studies courses. His work as a scholar will be discussed in the latter portion of this literature review.

The foundational scholars like Rugg and Thomas's approach to race and racism in the curriculum has permeated the contemporary scholarship of the field. This is evident in history textbooks, the position statements, and national standards of NCSS. A CRT analysis of the social studies curriculum would question the knowledge and discourses (Yosso, 2002) presented and made available to students. Nelson and Pang (2006) note,

Social studies as a discipline should acknowledge and take responsibility for contributing to a racist and prejudicial agenda via its curriculum. As a field, social studies has often ignored or been complicit with institutional

racism... This includes laws, policies, traditions, and rules-many widely taught and/or fostered by the social studies curriculum-which serve to discriminate against certain groups of people. Underrepresented groups continue to be marginalized by being forced to the perimeter of society. (p. 130)

Several scholars have therefore conducted social studies textbook analyses to determine the extent of representation of race and racism in the curriculum. Based on their findings there appears to be an aversion to race and racism among social studies textbook publishers. For example, Gay's (2003) analysis of ten social studies teacher education textbooks published between 1994 and 2001 revealed that topics and issues concerning race and racism were avoided, invisible, and deemed insignificant. Gay (2003) states:

None of the textbooks reviewed discusses race and racism as significant topics in their own right which deserve independent and thorough examination... Nowhere in these books will prospective teachers find any substantial information about what race and racism mean; how they function in shaping the life and experiences of individuals, groups, and societies; why they should be central themes in social studies education; or the explicit identification of racially motivated attitudes, values, and behaviors. Nor will they find any carefully constructed instructions on how to teach these issues to K-12 students. (p. 136)

Gay (2003) illustrated that the failure of social studies teacher education textbooks to include race and racism as central themes reinforces the message that issues pertaining to race and racism are meaningless to the authors who produced these texts. Brown and Brown's (2010)

literary analysis of violent acts directed toward African Americans in nineteenth U.S history social studies textbooks adopted in Texas revealed similar results. They found that the violent acts depicted in K-12 textbooks did not associate such acts with the overarching system of institutional and structural racism. Instead, the textbooks inferred that violence resulted from single actors or bad men doing bad things. Drawing from a CRT lens, Brown and Brown (2010) argue that their findings reveal there is limited historical and sociocultural knowledge of race and racism presented to teachers and students in social studies textbooks. They posit:

These findings have direct implications for how teachers and students conceptualize and grapple with real issues of race and racism in the schools and society. We suggest that the knowledge contained in school texts must go beyond simply representing acts of racism, situating such acts of racism within the discursive and material realities that have shaped the lives of African Americans in the United States. (p. 32)

This color-blind ideology embraced by the social studies curriculum prevents an honest critique of the ways race and racism produces social inequalities. Chandler and McKnight (2009) contend that a color-blind ideology reinforces inequities and that it is a strategy embraced by the dominant white culture to ignore the realities of racism. Consequently, it advances a notion of fairness and equality for all that has little bases in reality.

To repudiate the color-blind approach that appears in most social studies textbook, scholars have employed counter-stories as a method to challenge the traditional narrative of U.S. history. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) add that the telling and sharing of personal

experiences can “help strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance” (p. 32). Social studies scholars hence see the power in including such stories. Hunter (1992) urges the field to be frank and honest in its revision of textbooks and curriculum. Doing so means that “the full story of the emergence of our society is told” (p. 80). McKnight and Chandler (2009) propose to the field of social studies that the inclusion of counter-stories that explore the ways “ordinary people have fought to have their humanity realized and their dignity acknowledged in the face of oppression” (p.71) are needed as they would instill respect for humanity.

As the curriculum work of Woodson’s textbooks (Brown, 2010; Brown, Crowley, & King, 2011; King, et al., 2012) illustrate, counter-stories are critical in the dispelling of stereotypes in understanding the social construction of race, and the intersections between race and citizenship education. For example, Brown’s (2010) document analysis of textbooks authored by Woodson and co-authored by Charles Wesley uncovered a deliberate attempt to reconstruct the narrative and image of African Americans. The texts were designed to represent the diverse experiences of African Americans and they were unlike the traditional texts of the time which essentialized their lives. As Brown (2010) claims, “curriculum was more than a text to help build the self-esteem of African American students; it was a critical social commentary that called into question the existing racial discourse about African Americans” (p. 63).

The color-blind approach is also seen in the NCSS position statements and standards. Marshall (2003) conducted an analysis of the position statements of NCSS that serves as a seminal piece in highlighting the organizations’ failures to acknowledge race and racism.

Beginning with the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, Marshall felt that the report could have served as an impetus to encourage social studies educators to think critically about the preparation of youths for citizen roles during the 1980s and beyond. Yet her analysis of the statements over a twenty year time frame revealed the organizations' persistent efforts to "deracialize" its agenda for democratic citizenship education. In the nineteen position statements examined, Marshall found that twelve never mentioned the word race or racism.

In addition to NCSS's omission of race within citizenship education position statements, they made no attempts to write any social studies position statements that dealt with race and racism. Marshall identified the use of "diversity phrasing" which, according to her served as a means to avoid addressing race and racism directly while giving the impression that other, equally critical issues, were being examined. Diversity phrasing is grounded in a color-blind perspective as it foregrounds the tolerance and appreciation for other cultures, religions, and sexual orientation without acknowledging a clear marker of difference, on the basis of race. For Marshall, acknowledging the growing diversity within schools does not equate to the permanence of race and racism in the lives of individuals. Diversity phrasing does not take into account the ways race has served as "a marker of difference in the United States" (Marshall, 2003, p. 86). Instead, "NCSS equates the continuing realities of racism with the discomfort one may encounter for holding say, unpopular beliefs" (Marshall, 2003, p. 87).

Since Marshall's (2003) analysis, no other scholar has performed such a critique. It can also be noted that NCSS has not taken heed to Marshall's attentive call. For instance, NCSS continues to use "diversity phrasing" throughout many of its statements. In its most

recent position statement for civic education “Revitalizing Civic Learning in our Schools”, NCSS uses the “founding principles and values” (NCSS, 2013) of our nation as a unifying theme that binds us all as citizens in the United States. Within the document, NCSS identifies civic based skills and virtues as those that are open-minded, compassionate, and tolerant of diversity and diverse perspectives. As Marshall (2003) posits, NCSS cannot claim to be for civic education when democracy is not interrogated from the perspectives of race and racism.

In conjunction with the position statements, a color-blind orientation to race and racism is also seen in the standards (Branch, 2003). According to various researchers this color-blind approach, as set for by the national standards of NCSS, can influence the way race and racism is included in the social studies standards written at the state level (Anderson & Metzger, 2011; Epstein, 2009; Journell, 2008). Despite the blatant aversion to race and racism in the position statements of NCSS, Branch’s (2003) analysis of the national standards demonstrates that topics and discussions of race and racism do fit within certain themes (e.g. Culture, Individual Development & Identity, Individuals, Groups & Institutions, and Power, Authority, & Governance) championed by the NCSS. Unfortunately, Branch’s (2003) study confirms that students are not being exposed and taught about the role race and racism plays in the lives of individuals and society even if there are elements in the standards that would enable such instruction to occur.

The research of Anderson and Metzger (2011), Epstein (2009), and Journell (2008) examines how African Americans and topics of race and racism are portrayed in varying state standards. Although, each study analyzed different state standards and employed

different methods of research, their findings were strikingly similar. Anderson and Metzger's (2011) mixed methods study of four geographically balanced northern and southern states standards, for example, sought to research how the standards treated the historical experiences of African Americans during the American Revolution, early U.S. Republic, Civil War, and Reconstruction. Based on their findings, African Americans were covered significantly throughout these units of study, however their experiences were trivialized as it pertained to the systematic institution of slavery and racial hierarchy. The standards also did not provoke students to think critically about the social conflicts that occurred during these topics of study.

Epstein's (2009) study of Michigan U.S. history social studies standards utilized "diversity phrasing" (Marshall, 2003) as a way to diminish topics of race and racism.

The social studies curricular framework in Michigan...emphasized citizens' commitment to democratic values and ignored the nation's lack of commitment to those values...Terms such as racism, sexism, or discrimination did not appear...Michigan's framework paid lip service to "diversity", but not to historical and contemporary realities of racism and other forms of social injustice. (p.8)

Similar to Anderson & Metzger (2011), Journell's (2008) research of nine state standards of U.S. history revealed numerous references to African Americans. However, in these references, African Americans were represented as oppressed beings. Journell (2008) noted that there was no equal recognition of the resiliency and contributions of African Americans to American society.

As these studies of state and national standards illustrate, a color-blind approach and whiteness as property (right to enjoy and use) of the curriculum has led to a distorted and limited exploration of race, racism, and people of color (Heilig, Brown, & Brown, 2012). Heilig et al.'s (2012) critical race theory textual analysis of race in the social studies standards of Texas, for example, revealed that there is an "illusion of inclusion". Despite the inclusion of race in the standards, the experience of people of color and the role of racism, particularly from an institutional level is obscured. This is an especially important issue to point out because as Heilig et al. (2012) argues, White middle class teachers who make up the majority of the teaching force and who often resist talking about race rely upon a standards-based curriculum and testing. Hence, such standards shape the school curriculum and teaching practices. In turn a direct outcome of using such resources is that all students lack a historical and contemporary understanding of race and racism.

Critical race theory is therefore a valuable and necessary framework for analyzing race and racism in the social studies. If the social studies is dedicated to the aims of civic education and preparing students to be effective citizens then CRT enables the field to question and interrogate the ways it is or is not living up to its mission. Tyson (2003) for instance, finds value in fusing CRT and civic education. She urges the field to move "race and racism from the margins to the essence of citizenship education in the social studies" (p. 16). Through the utilization of CRT tenets such as the permanence of racism and counter-storytelling, structures of power and privilege can be critically challenged and examined. She argues that from a CRT lens students could assess what democratic values and principles influenced and shaped the historical, political, social, and economic context of the United

States. Through detail analysis students could also use CRT to question the hypocritical motives and beliefs of the founding fathers that instituted and maintained the institution of slavery while fighting for democratic values and freedoms of liberty.

Similarly, Baber (2003) states, “CRT offers a way for the profession to develop and sustain a visible, vocal, and vigilant dialogue on race and racism. Such a dialogue is imperative in a field that purports to be the standard bearer for citizenship education” (p. 64). To accomplish this we must first understand the aims of the social studies via civic education and the intersection between citizenship and race.

Citizenship Education

There has been a history of contentious debates among many scholars of the social studies regarding its definition and purpose (Barth & Shermis, 1970; Nelson, 2001; Saxe, 1992; Stanley, 2005). Despite the various arguments, scholars are in agreement that a central aim and goal of the social studies is citizenship education (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977; Shaver, 1977; Ross, 2006; Thornton, 1994, 2005). Barth and Shermis (1970) state, “As diverse as are the philosophical assumptions of social studies educators, it seems clear that all of them do think of the social studies as a means of achieving citizenship” (p. 744). With this clear goal and purpose of the social studies, however, there is no consensus what it means to be a good citizen or how to teach and prepare students for citizenship education (Ross, 2006).

As a review of the literature on social studies and civic education reveals, there are five aims of social studies that promote citizenship education; citizenship transmission, reflective inquiry, social transformation, civics centered, and issue centered (Barr, Barth, &

Shermis, 1977; Stanley, 2005; Stanley & Nelson, 1994). These aims, with the exception of citizenship transmission, support the inclusion of race and racism in social studies curricula.

The seminal work of Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) identified three purposes of the social studies: citizenship (cultural) transmission, social science, and reflective inquiry. Of these, citizenship transmission intends to prepare “good citizens” through indoctrination of certain beliefs often held and accepted by society (Barth & Shermis, 1970; Ross, 2006). Barth and Shermis (1970) define a good citizen as “one who has internalized the ‘right’ values, conforms at least outwardly to what is expected of him [sic], votes regularly, joins certain community organizations and in general, ‘accepts’ the local community’s concepts of democracy” (p. 744). Consequently, the problem with citizenship transmission is determining what and whose values constitute those deemed to be “right”. This aim to citizenship education could prohibit the introduction and inclusion of race and racism in the social studies if the beliefs and values held by some in society reinforce notions of superiority, dominance, privilege, or espouse a colorblind mentality. As Ross (2006) posits, “when cultural transmission is emphasized, the intent is to use the social studies curriculum to promote social adaptation” (p. 211).

Reflective inquiry promotes critical thinking and the ability to make rational decisions through the examination and evaluation of societal problems. According to Engle and Ochoa (1988) reflective decision making involves a broad knowledge base about the problem being examined and the ability to analyze, critique, and ask thought provoking questions. More importantly, it requires individuals to identify a problem that is of concern to them and society (Barth & Shermis, 1970). Barth and Shermis note that “a problem is not

a problem unless it is sensed, defined, or perceived by particular individuals as a problem” (p. 749). However, Engle and Ochoa (1988) add that reflective inquiry requires individuals to think beyond their own self-interest and instead focus on the common good. Hence, reflective inquiry of race and racism as societal problems allows students to collectively think and challenge a hegemonic structure that subjugates people of color. Consequently, if race and racism is not identified as a social problem or a problem of concern (i.e. White teachers and students who have a race-less consciousness wherein race is not salient [Branch, 2003]) then this process may not occur.

The antithesis of citizenship transmission, social transformation, is acknowledged in the work of George Counts and John Dewey. Stanley’s (2005) analysis of social transformation from the perspectives of Counts and Dewey highlights their efforts in critiquing and challenging the political and economic power structures of society. Unlike citizenship transmission which accepts the status quo, social transformation seeks to reform society. A social transformation approach is also aware of America’s failures to be a full democratic society (Stanley, 2005). Stanley (2005) states:

...the view is that our nation is not now (nor ever was) a fully democratic society. In addition to a history of ethnic, racial, and gender discrimination, the gap between wealthy and lower classes continues to increase, meanwhile, a significant percent of Americans still live in poverty. Most people have little or no influence on corporate or government institutions and policy, which are largely controlled by dominant groups who support a system that serves their own interests. If one accepts this line of thinking, education for

social transformation become a moral imperative in the service of democracy.

(p. 282)

Stanley is exposing hegemonic structures in society that foster a hierarchy of oppression. A major contributor to this power differential is the impact of race and racism. Hence, incorporating topics and issues regarding race and racism under the social transformation approach would enable students and teachers to think critically and reflectively about views held by those in power and privilege in society (Ross, 2006).

Stanley and Nelson (1994) also characterized the purpose and aims of the social studies based on three broad categories: subject centered, civics centered, and issues centered. Civics and issues centered support the aims of citizenship education. For example, civics-centered focuses on the behaviors of individuals and society. The ultimate goal is to promote civic competence that encourages individuals to be responsible and effective members of society. Issues centered examines social and controversial topics in society. Through this aim, students begin to evaluate their own values along with finding ways to become socially active in their communities. These two aims specifically prepare students to know more about social problems but also to do more to challenge and combat those problems (Parker, 2003).

The theoretical underpinnings of reflective inquiry, social transformation, civic centered, and issues centered orientations to social studies provide space and opportunity for the inclusion of race and racism in the curriculum. Scholars have therefore provided strong arguments through conceptual and empirical research for why race and racism should be considered in conjunction with citizenship education. For instance, Tyson (2003) argues

“We define being a ‘good’ citizen as a concept that must include addressing the inequities that are the byproduct of endemic racism” (p. 16). Howard (2003) states, “The pursuit of civic culture in the name of democracy must be cognizant of forces that pose threats to its aims and goals” (p. 30). Brown et al. (2011) add:

If social studies is the field called upon to develop civic values in today’s schools, and if a major emphasis within the field is on historical instruction to model and inculcate those values, the social studies literature must address the persistent intersection between race and citizenship. (p. 284)

Despite this call from scholars, there is a paucity of strong empirical research that looks at the intersection of race and citizenship (Brown, Crowley, and King, 2011). Brown, et al. (2011) claim that civic education research tends to focus on the skills, dispositions, and knowledge of effective citizens along with the roles and responsibilities of citizens.

However, they propose that when research begins to interrogate “the manner in which race determines one’s access to the full benefits of citizenship, both historically and contemporarily, the field of citizenship can take yet another step forward” (Brown, Crowley, and King, 2011, p. 283).

Several scholars have made direct references to the connection between race and citizenship. For instance, Banks and Nguyen (2008) situate the historical construction of citizenship in the construction of race. According to these writers access and rights attached to citizenship has been historically denied to people of color. They state:

Racialization has worked through U.S. institutions and policies-including citizenship formation-in powerful ways and has significantly influenced who

can become a citizen and has defined the rights and protection designated to each racial group. While racialization privileges people of European descent and has created and sustained a majority White race, it has consistently isolated and excluded ethnic groups of color. (p. 139)

Parker (2008) adds that the dominant culture has even utilized citizenship education to promote their self-interests, “Citizenship education, generally, is authorized by dominant cultures who seek the continuance of their members’ social status, social vision, and self-regard” (p. 66).

Furthermore, Howard (2003) and Tyson (2003) identify a series of historical events and documents in U. S. history (e.g. displacement of Native Americans, enslavement of Africans, Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Jim Crow) that illustrate how non-white racial classification has been used to limit access to full citizenship. According to Howard (2003), “the realization of democratic values within a society requires full recognition of past deeds that have denied individuals the right to enjoy the benefits of democracy” (p. 32). Likewise, Tyson (2003) notes a ‘good citizen’ was one who once “embraced economic tenets that support enslavement of Africans; political tenets that supported the internment of Japanese; geographical tenets that supported the decimation of sacred burial grounds and ceremonial sites; and historical tenets that supported the legalized denial of civil rights (p. 17).

Brown et al.’s (2011) empirical examination of Carter G. Woodson’s textbooks and teacher journal, *The Negro History Bulletin*, and the portrayal of the Black soldier illustrate the paradox of African Americans upholding civic ideals and democracy through military

service while being denied full citizenship. Through their analysis, themes of patriotism, duty, utility, and the intellectual as well as physical capacity of the Black soldier showcased African Americans as promoting the “highest ideals of U.S. citizenship-the willingness to die for one’s country and to protect U.S. interests” (p. 290).

In addition to scholars identifying direct correlations between race and citizenship status, empirical research has revealed that the historic denial of citizenship of African Americans has shaped and impacted students’ perspectives of democracy and civic participation (Cooks & Epstein, 2000; Epstein, 2009; Grimes, 2007). Grimes examination of African American teachers’ construction of civic-based curriculum in Georgia prior to *Brown v. Board* demonstrates the efforts of such teachers to provide their students skills and knowledge to be self-sufficient and socially responsible citizens. Through the incorporation of African American history in addition to school and community based activities, Grimes argues that education for citizenship became:

A vehicle for freedom and full participation in a democratic society...African American educators not only sought ways to teach and exercise their civic rights and responsibilities, but also searched for greater meaning to make sense of the contradictions inherent in teaching civic education principles to African American children in a racially divided society. (p. 22-23)

The desegregation of schools, however, uncovered a different sentiment regarding the purpose and aim of civic education primarily for African American students. Cooks and Epstein (2000) conducted a literature review between the years of 1960 and 1980s on adolescents’ attitudes of citizenship and political participation. They found that African

American students showed low levels of political efficacy and cynicism of government. Due to historical and contemporary examples and experiences of racism, students did not trust the government and felt that their participation in government (i.e. voting) did not lead to social and political change. Also, African American students defined citizenship more as loyalty to the government than active participation. Cooks and Epstein (2000) state:

The authors explained this finding by noting that given racial barriers to political participation, African American youth might have thought they had a more realistic chance of fulfilling the role of the loyal citizen than the role of the citizen active in mainstream political organizations and institutions. (p. 11)

Furthermore, their review of the literature concluded that African American youths were cynical of government due to personal experiences with racism and discrimination in which they found the government responsible. However, cynicism decreased once the students participated in civic courses with open classroom climates (Cooks & Epstein, 2000).

In a subsequent study these same authors engaged in an in-depth examination of African American youths' attitudes towards citizenship (Cooks & Epstein, 2004). Specifically, through a series of writing prompts and interviews, they found that fourteen inner-city African American students viewed citizenship in terms of individual responsibility and commitment to their communities. Unlike the findings in the research studies presented in the literature review they had conducted years prior (Cooks & Epstein, 2000), students' responses in the 2004 study reflected an individual responsibility to a local community rather than loyalty to the national government, especially when it does not take care of everyone equally. Likewise, students felt that people in the United States were not treated equally.

The responses included personal experiences with racism and discrimination in which students discussed the poor economic and social conditions of their neighborhoods. Overall, students believed that race relations between African Americans and White Americans would never change until White Americans let go of their privileges that in turn oppress people of color.

Epstein's (2009) ethnographic study of fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade U.S. history classrooms corroborates Cooks and Epstein's (2004) study of African American students' attitudes of citizenship. In mixed classroom settings, African American students viewed citizenship as having a strong connection and responsibility to the African American community whereas White students saw their role as citizens through professional accomplishment and individualism. Epstein (2009) notes:

Black students also discussed their responsibilities to become professionals and responsible citizens, but did so by discussing the obstacles they faced, the means they had to address those obstacles and the responsibilities they had to give back to the black community...as future citizens, the students discussed working to end racial profiling, white-on-black violence and black-on-black violence. (p.106-107)

Conversely, in all Black settings African American students were very critical of how race has been constructed and presented in history and society (Epstein, 2009). Students attributed this to the misrepresentation of African Americans in history. Based on Epstein's analysis of African American students essays, the inclusion of African American history in curricula would "provide them with skills that could help them become productive citizens"

(p. 110). As critical consumers of history, several African American students believed that the inclusion of African American history in the school curricula would teach them how to protect their communities from all forms of racism (Epstein, 2009).

Thus the present study will add to the literature by examining the ways African American studies introduces race and racism into social studies curricula. It will explore the connections made between race and citizenship and how the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship is expressed within the context of African American studies.

African American Studies

Most of the literature regarding African American Studies is examined from the perspective of universities nationwide that adopted the programs during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The first noted research dedicated to the enactment of African American Studies in secondary schools is a book by Giles entitled, *Black Studies in Public Schools* (Giles, 1974). Since that work appeared, a limited amount of research has been published focused on secondary education. Unfortunately, this gap in the research limits the understanding and conceptualization for how these courses are taught as high school social studies electives.

In the search for literature many of the results uncovered the historical foundations and the purposes and objectives of African American Studies. Central to this research as it pertains to the importance of Africa American Studies is the historical work of Carter G. Woodson. The work of Woodson (i.e., textbooks, history bulletins, and community initiatives) has been thoroughly researched and analyzed by many social studies scholars (Brown, 2010; Brown, et al., 2011; King et al., 2010; King, et al., 2012), yet Woodson's

work has not been acknowledged or credited as being instrumental in the development of early social studies curriculum (King, et al., 2010).

Woodson is credited with having a direct influence on the teaching of African American history in public schools (Banks, 1992; 2004; King et al., 2010). Deemed “the Father of Black History”, Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) and the *Journal of Negro History*. His establishment of the Associated Publishers allowed for the development of textbooks and other scholarly works on African American history. Woodson also initiated in 1962 the nation’s first Negro History Week, which was used to acknowledge and celebrate the contributions of African Americans. The Civil Rights Movement and the teaching and inclusion of Black history in segregated Black schools in the south led to a month long celebration in the 1970s. Woodson, however, strongly supported the teaching of African American history throughout the year (Banks, 1992).

Concerned and outraged over the failure of the education system to properly teach African American students, Woodson saw the value of adding African American culture and history into the curriculum. In his seminal work, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* Woodson (1933) states:

The thought of the inferiority of the Negro is drilled into him in almost every class he enters and in almost every book he studies. If he happens to leave school after he masters the fundamentals, before he finishes high school or reaches college, he will naturally escape some of this bias and may recover in time to be of service to his people. (p.2)

Woodson's creation of elementary and secondary textbooks on Black history for school teachers emphasized his efforts to counteract messages of inferiority presented in the narrative of the standard curriculum. King, et al., (2010) posit, "Woodson's scholarship was a direct response to the social construction of race during that time" (p. 212).

Woodson's development of textbooks dedicated to African American history challenged scientific and social constructs of race. According to Brown (2010), Woodson and other African American scholars created textbooks for three purposes. These were to: 1) emphasize the achievements and accomplishments of African Americans, 2) discuss the historical and institutional conditions that impacted the lives of African Americans, and 3) present the various ways African Americans lived during slavery and Reconstruction.

Both Brown (2010) and King, et al. (2010) argue that the historical work of Woodson as well as that of other African American scholars such as Charles H. Wesley and W.E.B. Du Bois is essential in understanding contemporary discussions about race and racism. Brown (2010) notes that Woodson's revision of African American history through curriculum writing serves as an example of how curriculum can be used to recreate new narratives. Similarly, King, et al. (2010) states, "...efforts such as Woodson's can assist teachers in bringing outside knowledge into the classroom to engage the growing number of different ethnicities who walk through their doors on a daily basis" (p. 215). The research of Brown (2010) and King et al., (2010) urges educators to step outside the confines of traditional and formal curriculum in order to challenge the dominant narrative that diminishes and silences the voices and experiences of people of color. However, literature outside the foundational

research of African American studies is limited. Only a few conceptual discussions and empirical studies have examined the benefits and impacts of African American Studies.

For example, Banks (2001) provides a conceptual model for the incorporation of African American Studies in the social studies curriculum through an interdisciplinary and reflective inquiry approach of the social sciences (e.g., economics, geography, political science, sociology, etc.). He argues that African American Studies can lead to social change. Banks also acknowledges African American Studies as part of the social studies curriculum. He believes that the goal of African American Studies should be to help students think reflectively and critically in order to solve social problems, become politically aware, and act through social action. More importantly, Banks claims that Black students especially benefit from such courses because through political awareness and social action they free themselves from oppression. He notes, “[p]overty, political powerlessness, low self-esteem, consumer exploitation, institutional racism, and political alienation are the kinds of problems which social studies can aid Blacks in realizing through effective political action” (p. 673).

Chikkatur’s (2013) empirical research of African American Studies provides a current and in-depth look into African American Studies. Her ethnographic study of six mandated African American history courses revealed a troubling finding; the failure to illustrate and acknowledge the impact of racial discrimination. This was surprising for the researcher due to her own assumptions that the course would address race and racism. Chikkatur attributes this finding however to teacher’s lack of preparation and hesitations for teaching about race and racism (Branch, 2003; Gay, 2003). Secondly, Chikkatur found that the reactions from Asian and Latino students raised questions and concerns about what it means to teach

African Americans Studies in a diverse setting. This is particularly the case when the narrative presents the content from a white/black binary and does not include additional stories and perspectives. Chikkatur recommends teachers “go beyond the mandated curriculum to consider which voices are heard, which ones are not heard and why that matters to our understanding of American history” (p. 529).

Beginning with the historical scholarship of Woodson, African American Studies has evolved out of a response to racism. The curriculum materials created by Woodson rejected the representation of African Americans presented in traditional texts. Banks (2001) contends that African American Studies as a part of the social studies curriculum has the potential to create social change through the exploration and examination of social problems from a conceptual and interdisciplinary framework. Chikkatur’s work provides interesting insight into the curriculum structure of African American Studies and raises questions about teacher awareness and preparation for the teaching of race and racism. She urges future scholars to conduct research on the ways teachers are prepared to teach such courses, and how the curriculum situates the experiences of racial discrimination for all people of color, not just African Americans.

The literature also discusses two approaches for the implementation and teaching of African American Studies: the integrative approach (i.e. African American Studies told from the perspectives of Whites) and the Afrocentric approach. According to Giles (1974), the integrative approach is the most widely used approach in terms of adding the contributions of African Americans into the narrative of U.S. History. He writes, “such approaches are being adopted by many districts that seem to have as their general goals ‘the integration of the

Black experience into the American experience” (p. 34). This approach is highly criticized by African American scholars and educators including Asante (1998); Karenga (1995) and Hilliard (1997) who ascribe to the Afrocentric approach.

The Afrocentric approach to African American Studies places African ideals, culture, and behavior at the center of analysis. Asante (1998) believes that a people without a history are subject to those that have a history. As a result, members of a group without a history are dismissed by others as being underachievers (Boyd & Lenix-Hooker, 1992). Afrocentricity thus challenges the integrative approach of African American history which centers the African American experience on the legacies of colonialism and enslavement (Biondi, 2011). The Afrocentric approach begins a study with African civilizations in order to dispel the myths of Africa and Africans as being uncivilized (Worrill, 2007). Furthermore, an Afrocentric approach is transformative (Giddings, 2001) because it challenges the Eurocentric hegemony present in school curricula. Therefore all students benefit from learning history that includes the accounts of African Americans and their contributions to American society. Characterized as ‘human studies’, emphasis is placed on culture, values, and the self; concepts relevant in understanding humanity. Joyce (2005) posits:

As a creative change agent, Black studies was conceived as an intellectual discipline to deconstruct the injustices rooted in a disrespect for cultural differences and to train students to use their intellectual prowess to improve the quality of human lives, especially Black lives. (p.9)

The curriculum therefore creates a space that promotes dialogue on issues concerning race and racism (Giddings 2001; Giles, 1974; McCarthy and Crichlow, 1993; Pitre 2009, Traore, 2007).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This study employed a critical race theory content analysis to explore to what extent African American Studies as a social studies elective, introduces race and racism for exploration and analysis in the curriculum. The following research questions were addressed:

- 1) In what ways are race and racism integrated in the textbooks and Essential Standards for African American Studies?
- 2) What connections are made between race and citizenship within the context of an African American Studies textbook and Essential Standards?
- 3) How is the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship expressed and explored within the context of African American Studies textbook and Essential Standards?

Krippendorf (2004) defines content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (p.18). Schwandt (2001) further adds that content analysis involves “comparing, contrasting, and categorizing a corpus of data” (p. 34). Researchers can use content analysis from a quantitative, qualitative, or mixed method design (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This study employed a qualitative design. According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), qualitative content analysis is a “research method for the subjective interpretation of the context of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (p. 1278).

The coding process for qualitative content analysis can be either inductive or deductive (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). For this study my coding scheme followed both the deductive and

inductive approaches. In the deductive approach, the researcher takes previous knowledge from an earlier theory, model, or literature review and applies it to his/her study (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). Gall, et al. (2007) suggest to researchers that if appropriate, “consider employing a coding system that has been used in previous research” (p. 289). They argue that this approach not only saves time but also a standard coding system allows for comparisons with other studies. For part of my coding process I used the codes created by Heilig, et al. (2012) in their textual analysis of race and racism in Texas social studies standards. For inductive codes, I was open to any emerging codes and themes that resulted from my analysis of both the textbook and Essential Standards from a CRT perspective.

This coding scheme was relevant to my study because CRT was used as an interpretative framework to analyze the ways race and racism were included and excluded in the eleventh grade U.S. history social studies standards in Texas. Specifically, the researchers used CRT and other critical theories of race to “make sense of the macro context of educational policy (Heilig, et al, 2012, p. 407). They relied upon the following concepts of CRT: 1) experiential knowledge of people of color meaning that their experiences are legitimate in understanding and analyzing race and racism, 2) examining how issues of race and racism “served as a heuristic to read and make meaning of the racialized knowledge” (p. 409) in the Texas standards, 3) deconstructing dominant ideology, 4) challenging notions of meritocracy, and 5) analysis of structural and institutional racism.

Similarly, I used the CRT tenets: permanence of racism, colorblindness, meritocracy, whiteness as property, interest convergence, incremental change, and counter-narratives (challenging the dominant ideology) to examine how race and racism are integrated in the

Essential Standards for African American Studies and the adopted textbook. More importantly, like Heilig et al. I employed a CRT analysis of the curricular materials of African American studies in order to gain insight into the racialized context of macro-level educational policy (i.e., the development of standards and the selection of textbooks). Hence, I hypothesized that CRT can be used to help critique how standards and textbooks reinforce dominant ideology rooted in color-blindness.

A CRT orientation was applied in this study to examine what is not only presented throughout the texts of the documents, but also what is missing as it relates to race and racism (Marri, 2007). The research questions were grounded in the main concepts of CRT. For instance, the questions aligned with the CRT tenet of permanence of racism which states that racism is “normal, not aberrant in American society” (Delgado, 1995; p. xiv) and that it “is a permanent fixture of American life” (Bell, 1992). All three questions acknowledge and highlight the historical and contemporary role of race and racism in America.

The goal of the research questions was to examine if and/or how the text and standards of a social studies elective, African American Studies, recognizes and documents this continuous social problem. Secondly, the research questions sought to uncover the ways in which an African American Studies textbook and Essential Standards unmask and expose “racism in its various permutations” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 11). In other words, I wanted to uncover whether and how the text and standards examine the ways racism infiltrates social, political, and economic institutions and policies. Thirdly, questions two and three addressed the intersection between race and citizenship and how the social construction of race has been used historically to deny civil rights, voting rights, and ownership of property

to people of color. Through the inclusion of counter-stories in the textbook and interest convergence, the shared experiences and stories of people of color and the creation of legislation, programs, and policies to promote the rights of people of color at the interest of whites were explored.

By employing content analysis grounded in central ideas of CRT to analyze and critique an African American Studies adopted textbook and Essential Standards I hoped to gain a greater understanding of how the curriculum introduces and addresses race and racism vis-à-vis African American Studies as a social studies elective course. Based on my review of literature on race and racism in the social studies (Brown, 2010; Brown, et al., 2011, Chikkatur, 2013; Howard, 2003) I was confident that race and racism would not be addressed either *critically* or *explicitly* in the textbook or Essential Standards.

Likewise, I believed the textbook and the Essential Standards would not explicitly acknowledge or discuss the intersection between race and citizenship. Even so, I did believe that race and racism would be addressed in a superficial manner under historical events and topics like enslavement, The Civil War, Post Reconstruction (Jim Crow era), and the Civil Rights Movement. As will be shown, under these topics, I have argued that discussions of race and racism focused on the inferior state of African American under systems of oppression (e.g., enslavement, Jim Crow) however the text did not explore the racist and hegemonic nature of these systems and how they were designed to keep the dominant group (white Americans) in control and in power.

Positionality Statement

An aspect of good and quality research is researchers' recognition of their own positionality within the context of the study. Positionality refers to the ascribed attributes of race, gender, and nationality that are fixed or culturally defined (Chiseri-Strater, 1996), and that either directly or indirectly, consciously or subconsciously impact the researchers' ability to conduct research and analyze data. St. Louis and Barton (2002) add that social, political, economic, historical, and educational contexts also add to a researchers' positionality. Several contexts thus influence my role as a researcher. I am an African American female, born and raised in a middle class family from the south, educated, and a former social studies teacher. I characterize my beliefs and values as moderately liberal. My awareness and acknowledgement of myself as a cultural being whose experiences and beliefs align with a particular worldview and conceptual framework (i.e., CRT) is therefore valuable to this research process. It is through these ascribed attributes that I understand, perceive, and view the world. As Shope (2006) posits, "Our interpretations are always filtered through our cultural lenses" (p. 171).

For instance, as an African American I have experienced discrimination and racism as a student and as a teacher in K-12 settings. I strongly believe that the sharing of stories and experiences of people of color who have similar experiences is crucial in exposing the realities of race and racism. As I approached this study, I was looking for if and how counter-stories are utilized in an African American Studies text. Secondly, my experience as a former classroom teacher who taught social studies in two distinct districts that differed significantly in terms of student populations informed my interest in this study. As someone

who taught American history, I witnessed my students, primarily my students of color, struggle to find themselves in the curriculum. I consider myself a multicultural educator who embraces both equity and culturally relevant pedagogies. Therefore, I have been interested in African American Studies as I feel that the curriculum has the potential to promote active engagement and awareness among all students, not just students of color. Based on my experiences teaching U.S. history, I approached this study with an optimistic outlook for how race and racism should be introduced in a social studies curriculum via African American Studies.

As I thought about my positionality in terms of this research I realized that my race as an African American could serve as a potentially complicating factor. Since I am interested in studying African American Studies, it could have been a challenge for me to separate my own knowledge of the curriculum and the experiences of African Americans from the knowledge that is presented in the textbook. Therefore, as a qualitative researcher, I chose to bracket (Moustakas, 1994) my assumptions meaning that I set aside any preconceived notions, biases, and beliefs I had about the curriculum and approach this research with a new perspective. Specifically, I relied upon the tenets of critical race theory to ensure that I conducted a quality and trustworthy analysis of the contents of the textbook and the Essential Standards. By using the tenets I am looking to see what is missing and included.

Finally, my research was grounded in my life experiences as a young African American female student growing up in the south and attending predominately white schools. Due to this upbringing I have always been aware of the inequities that exist as a result of others' attitudes and orientations toward my race and gender. For example, in the fourth

grade I experienced my first encounter with racism. A white peer chose not to work with me on a science project because I was not of the same race as she. This incident sparked my interest in exploring and understanding what it means to be Black. From a curriculum standpoint, I had a social studies teacher who incorporated culturally relevant teaching and introduced to the class the stories and histories of those marginalized in society. Learning and reading about my history in school influenced and shaped my identity as an African American. These experiences have therefore informed my interest in conducting this study. I recognize, however, that my experiences as a student and later as a teacher of African American history were completely different from what I encountered as a researcher exploring the curricular structure of such courses in conjunction with this study.

Data Sample

African American Studies is a high school social studies elective course offered to high school students throughout the state of North Carolina. For this study I focused on the Durham Public schools textbook adoption for African American Studies. I chose Durham Public Schools for two reasons. First, the historical legacy of Durham played a vital role in African American history. Labeled “The Capital of Black Middle Class” by sociologists E. Franklin Frazier, Durham served as a model city for African Americans nationwide. From the 1880s to the 1940s, the Hayti District, the area of settlement for African Americans in Durham, became home to many Black owned businesses. Consequently, urban revitalization and renewal efforts by the city in 1958 challenged and compromised the autonomy and self-sufficiency of the Black community. Second, African American students make up fifty percent of the student population of Durham Public Schools (Durham Public Schools, 2014).

Therefore, I am interested in examining how the curricular materials of African American Studies present the history of African Americans particularly as it relates to race and racism.

There are currently fifteen high schools in Durham Public Schools. Of those fifteen, three high schools offered African American Studies in the spring semester of 2014. Table 1 shows the course enrollment for the 2014-2015 school year. The offerings of this course vary each semester as it depends upon student enrollment and teacher availability.

Table 1

DPS African American Studies Course Enrollment 2014-2015

School	Number of Students
1	25
2	50
3	60
Total	135
Classification	
Freshmen	5
Sophomores	30
Juniors	25
Seniors	75
Gender	
Males	80
Females	55

The Department of Public Instruction (DPI) of North Carolina website outlines the textbook adoption process. DPI defines textbooks as:

Systematically organized material comprehensive enough to cover the primary objectives outlined in the standard course of study for a grade or course.

Formats for textbooks may be print or non-print, including hardbound books,

softbound books, activity oriented programs, classrooms kits, and technology-based programs that require the use of electronic equipment in order to be used in the learning process. (Department of Public Instruction, 2000)

A textbook commission recommended by the State Superintendent and appointed by the Governor consists of 23 members each of whom serves a four-year term. The textbook commission is comprised of five elementary (grades K-5) teachers or principals, five middle school (grades 6-8) teachers or principals, four high school (grades 9-12) teachers or principals, three parents of elementary students, three parents of middle school students, two parents of high school students, and a local school superintendent. A curriculum review committee makes requests to publishers to submit textbooks for evaluation and adoption consideration. Afterwards, the textbook commission appoints a regional textbook advisory committee based upon training and expertise in the discipline. The committee is paid one hundred dollars a day for a total of ten days in the month of July to review the published materials and provide feedback (verbal and written) to the Commission.

The Commission convenes in September to assess the feedback of the regional advisory committee in conjunction with their own evaluations to provide the State Board of Education a list of recommended textbooks. In October, the State Board of Education takes the recommendations of the Commission as well as the guidelines set by the curriculum review committee and formally adopts the textbooks. The final step in the process involves the selection of the recommended textbooks by local school districts. In 2007, the State Board of Education adopted two textbooks for African American Studies: *African American History* by Holt and *African American History* by Prentice Hall. Table 2 provides a

membership representation of the 2005-2009 Textbook Commission appointed by then Democratic Governor Mike Easley.

Table 2

2005-2009 North Carolina Textbook Commission

Members	Elementary	Middle	High School	Central Office
Parents	3	3	2	
Teachers	4	4	4	
Principals	2	0	0	
Superintendent				1

Seventeen school districts located in various counties throughout the state of North Carolina were represented in the 2005-2009 Textbook Commission. Some counties had multiple representatives. The counties included on the Commission, with numbers of representatives greater than one noted in parentheses, were: Pitt, Caldwell (3), Lenoir, Pender, Carteret, Wake (3), Nash, Moore (2), Cumberland, Guilford, Chatham, Asheboro City, Winston-Salem- Forsyth, Cleveland (2), Rowan-Salisbury, McDowell, and Rutherford.

African American History by Lisbeth Gant-Britton, an African American female, and published by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston is the current adopted textbook for Durham Public Schools. It is one of two textbooks used nationwide that is dedicated to the teaching of African American History in pre-collegiate public school classrooms. This particular textbook contains thirteen chapters that chronicle African American history from the beginnings of African civilizations (e.g., Songhai, Mali, and Ghana) to the leadership of African Americans in modern United States. The features of the book include primary

sources such as key speeches and images from African American history, biographical profiles of key African Americans, charts, graphs, maps, and other graphic organizers intended to facilitate students' development of critical thinking and social studies skills. Also, there are sections dedicated to the work of Carter G. Woodson, the Moorland Spingarn Research Center, and the National Civil Rights Museum. See Appendix A for the table of contents.

The teacher's edition provides notes for every chapter, teaching strategies, section activities, transparencies, and answers to questions posed in the student text. For example, each chapter provides suggestions for how to introduce and reinforce key terms and people, as well as enrichment ideas for encouraging student discussion and higher order thinking. Other peripherals include differentiated instruction tips which identify key points and ideas at various learning levels, teacher and online resources, and author's notes. The latter can be used for "... additional or in-depth information on a topic of particular interest or importance." (Gant-Britton, 2007)

The North Carolina Standard Course of Study for African American Studies is comprised of nine broad goals which begin with the study of the enslavement of Africans in the United States from political, social, and economic perspectives. It follows chronologically the fight of contemporary African Americans for equality. The curricular framework for this course is also supported by the national standards of NCSS. Several of the major themes and strands such as culture, individual development and identity, and civic ideals and practices are integrated throughout the objectives. A series of workshops held in 2006 and led by the National Humanities Center and the NC Department of Public

Instruction were provided for high school social studies teachers who taught the course or were interested in learning more about the curriculum's content (Department of Public Instruction, 2010).

In 2008, the North Carolina State Board of Education and the Department of Public Instruction (DPI) created an initiative called "The Framework for Change" designed to redefine the Standard Course of Study for all K-12 subjects. This curriculum reform movement called ACRE (North Carolina Accountability and Curriculum Reform Effort) developed "essential standards". The primary goal of the standards "is to clarify what must be learned at each level and lessen the chance that critical knowledge is overlooked" (Department of Public Instruction, 2010).

For social studies in particular, the Essential Standards are grounded in the disciplines of history, economics, and geography. Also included are civics and government. The Department of Public Instruction adds:

The essential standards are focused on understanding the broad concepts of social studies. Standards will continue to address topics and facts; however, the goal of conceptually written standards is to help students recognize patterns and make connections in their learning that transfer beyond a single discipline topic guide or isolated fact. While the essential standards are written broadly, the clarifying objectives are written to include more specificity. Additionally, conceptual standards will give teachers and districts more flexibility in the content examples that may elect to use in order to support the concepts. (Department of Public Instruction, 2010)

The Essential Standards for African American studies is organized around five strands: history, geography and environmental literacy, economic and financial literacy, civics and governance, and culture. The Department of Public Instruction (2013) states:

African American Studies is a conceptually driven course that introduces students to the explanation of the rich and diverse history and culture of African Americans. The goal of this course is to broaden the knowledge and understandings of students interested in learning about the histories, cultures, and economic, geographic, and political realities of African Americans. This course should provide students with an opportunity to engage with the social, economic, and political activities of African Americans in a way that allows them to make deep connections across the content. The historical contents of this course should be taught with relevance to contemporary and current issues in order to ensure a deep understanding for students.

For a complete examination of the standards and the clarifying objectives see Appendix B. The examination of the Essential Standards and the textbook currently used for African American Studies is necessary in order to understand how each of these curriculum materials may influence each other, as well as how they independently and in tandem, impact teaching and course content.

Data Analysis

CRT informed and guided my analysis of the data collected from the content analysis of the textbook and the Essential Standards. The analysis was conducted in three phases (Elo & Kyngas, 2008).

The first phase was the preparation and selection of the text to analyze. For the preparation of the data from the textbook, all pages were scanned into PDF files. Each page was saved, labeled, and numbered according to its chapter. For instance the first page of Chapter 3 was labeled 3-1. Each of the pages were then stored into file folders labeled for each chapter. These files were then copied into Google Drive where PDF files can be converted into word and text images using Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software.

Through this conversion process, I scanned and searched the document for my codes, particularly the words *race* and *racism* (or derivatives of these terms such as *racial stereotypes*, *racial profiling*, *racial conflict*, etc.). I also included passages identified by the textbook's glossary under the word 'racism'. Once these passages were identified and selected, I uploaded each scanned PDF into Atlas.ti for coding and organization of the data. For the Essential Standards, I uploaded the entire five page document into Atlas.ti without converting the text.

The second phase was the coding of the data. In this phase I first conducted category coding of race/racism and then of citizenship. Both the Essential Standards and the selected texts were read carefully and coded using the coding scheme of Heilig, Brown, and Brown (2012). This round of coding addressed the first research question. The following codes were used: individuals (I), groups of color (G), race (R), and racism (RS). In addition, I coded words related to or derived from race or racism (e.g. racial conflict [(RC)], racial identity [(RI])). Lastly, to keep in line with CRT, racism was coded based on whether it was presented as a structural/institutional problem (S/I) or presented as the result of individual bias and/or prejudice (IBP).

To further aid in my data collection of the texts and standards I kept a notebook in which I recorded my thoughts and analysis of each passage and standard. In the notebook, I included the codes that I observed while reading. I used highlighters to represent the various codes that were dominant: pink (race), yellow (racism), blue (groups of color), orange (individuals), and black (citizenship rights, non-legal limits on citizenship, and citizenship as community activism). Emerging codes/themes found throughout both data sets were also identified. Table 3 below identifies the list of codes and definitions that were used in the first round of coding.

Table 3

Coding Scheme for Race and Racism

Race	R	Passage directly uses the term or a derivative of the word.
Racism	RS	Passage directly uses the term racism.
Individuals	I	Passage identifies individuals (people of color, women, men, Caucasian) who challenged and combated racial inequality and/or racism
Groups of Color	G	Groups of color (African American, Asian-American, Latino, etc.) that worked to challenge and combat racial inequality and /or racism. (Ex: NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, NFWA, ACE, etc)

Table 3 Continued

Racial Profiling	RP	Passage directly uses the term and/or discusses racial profiling as a discriminatory process of identifying and targeting persons for investigation solely on the basis of their race/ethnicity.
Racial Stereotyping	RST	Passage directly uses the term and/or discusses racial stereotyping as assumptions/judgments placed on individuals based upon their racial classification.
Racial Conflict	RC	Passage directly uses the term, and/or discusses racial conflict as violent, disruptive acts towards people of color (ex: riots and lynchings).
Racial Identity	RI	Passage directly uses the term and/or discusses racial identity as an individual's sense of belonging based on a shared common heritage with a racial group.
Structural/Institutional Racism	I/S	Passage directly uses the terms, and/or discusses structural/institutional racism as the interplay between history, policies, institutions, and cultural representations that perpetuate racial inequality (Ex: Legal system, schools, housing, corporations, policies [e.g., voting laws])
Individual Bias/Prejudice	IBP	Passage directly uses the terms and/or discusses racism as a form of individual bias/prejudice where individuals express/perform prejudicial and discriminatory acts towards other individuals who they deem inferior.

I did not provide a detailed definition for race and racism as I did not want to inadvertently omit codes I would consider applicable to the focus of my study. Even so, I understand race to be a social construct that changes over time as is defined by historical and social contexts (Omi & Winant, 1994). Among the constructs that came to mind that fit this definition are: success, popular music, and fashionable clothing. I also ascribe to Wellman's (1993) definition of racism as a "system of advantages based on race". Drawing on my review of the literature regarding race and social studies, I did not believe that race and racism would be explicitly defined in the text or standards. Therefore, if I had defined these terms according to my own understandings and those presented in the literature there was a clear possibility that I would have omitted codes that did appear in the data sources for this study, but that differed from my interpretations.

The second round of coding examined the intersection between race/racism and citizenship (e.g., research questions two and three). During this phase the texts and standards identified in the first round of coding were read and coded again in Atlas.ti and in my notebook. The purpose was to see if citizenship rights (e.g., de jure [legal citizenship: enfranchisement/voting, property/ownership], non-legal limits on citizenship (e.g. De facto segregation), and citizenship as community activism (e.g. resistance, community organizations, allies) had been addressed. As highlighted in the literature review, the social construction of race (wherein racial blackness, in particular, is devalued and explicitly subordinated to racial whiteness) has served historically to deny people of color access to individual rights, ownership of property, voting rights, and equitable resources (e.g., education). The purpose and rationale for this second round of coding for citizenship,

therefore, was to examine if the textbook and Essential Standards acknowledges the intersection of race and citizenship. Table 4 presents the coding scheme for the second round of coding for citizenship.

Table 4

Coding Scheme for Citizenship

Citizenship Rights	CR	Passage identifies and/or discusses the legal citizenship status/process of for people of color. (Ex: enfranchisement/voting property ownership, Plessy v. Ferguson, 13 th , 14 th , and 15 th Amendments, Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965, etc
Non-Legal Limits on Citizenship	LC	Passage identifies and/or discusses non-legal efforts to limit and challenge the citizenship status of /process for people of color (Ex: de-facto segregation)
Citizenship as Community Activism	CA	Passage identifies and/or discusses the grassroots, community organizing, and activism efforts of people color in their local communities to challenge/combat racial injustices/inequalities. (Ex: voter registration rallies, marches, protests, sit-ins, boycotts, etc.

Finally, the third phase of analysis (Elo & Kyngas, 2008) consisted of a comparison across the texts and Essential Standards for major themes that characterize the manner in which race and racism are introduced and their intersection(s) with citizenship. Again, CRT served as the framework for this third part of the analysis. Table 5 illustrates how each code relates to CRT.

Table 5

CRT Analysis of Codes

Race	Permanence of Racism, Colorblindness
Racism	Permanence of Racism, Colorblindness
Individuals	Meritocracy, Counter- Narratives
Groups of Color	Meritocracy, Counter- Narratives
Racial Profiling	Permanence of Racism, Colorblindness
Racial Stereotyping	Permanence of Racism, Colorblindness
Racial Conflict	Permanence of Racism, Colorblindness, Counter- Narratives
Racial Identity	Permanence of Racism, Colorblindness
Racial Bias/Prejudice	Permanence of Racism, Colorblindness, Counter- Narratives
Structural/Institutional Racism	Permanence of Racism, Colorblindness
Citizenship Rights	Permanence of Racism, Interest Convergence, Incremental Change

Table 5 Continued

Non-Legal Limits on Citizenship	Permanence of Racism, Interest Convergence, Incremental Change
Citizenship as Community Activism	Permanence of Racism, Counter-Narratives, Incremental Change

Despite my assumptions regarding the marginalization of race and racism in both the textbook and the Essential Standards, I recognized that both resources could have revealed race and racism in an explicit manner. Therefore, I aligned race and racism and their derivatives with the CRT code of permanence of racism if both curriculum materials explicitly examined the endemic nature and impact of racism on the construction of race, racial profiling, racial conflict, etc. On the other hand, I was also aware that both the textbook and the Essential Standards could take a color-blind approach to the discussion of race and racism.

I aligned the tenets of *meritocracy* and *counter-narratives* with the codes *individuals* and *groups of color*. The reason for this is I was interested to see if both curriculum materials would present the achievements and contributions of African Americans and other groups of color as examples of success due to hard work despite acknowledging racial barriers. Conversely, I was curious to see if the presence of counter-narratives would speak to the racialized experiences and hardships faced by different groups of color.

For the codes *citizenship rights*, *non-legal limits on citizenship*, and *citizenship as community activism* I wanted to see if the CRT tenets of *intersection of race* and *permanence of racism* on the full exercise of citizenship was expressed and explored. The tenets *interest convergence* and *incremental change* were also aligned with these codes. I was interested in exploring whether the textbook and Essential Standards would mention the gaining of civil rights and opportunities for Blacks in conjunction with parallel benefits for Whites. For incremental change, I wanted to see if slow and incremental progress towards change and racial equality was acknowledged in both curriculum materials. Lastly, I aligned *counter-narratives* with *citizenship as community activism* to see if both the Essential Standards and textbook would acknowledge the experiences and stories of communities or community organizers in the pursuit for citizenship rights.

As I read the passages, and coded and analyzed the data samples (textbook and Essential Standards), I asked myself the following questions grounded in a CRT framework: What historical topics explicitly address race and racism? Which historical topics do not address race and racism? Does the text and Essential Standards address racism as an endemic part of society? Are there elements of counter-storytelling and do they provide insight into the ways race and racism impact lives? Does the curriculum challenge the dominant ideology presented in the standard curriculum by including the experiential knowledge of people of color? Are there examples of meritocracy, interest convergence, and incremental change within the narrative of the text?

Trustworthiness and Consistency

To ensure trustworthiness of this research two methods were utilized. As Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) state, “validity is a process whereby the research earns the confidence of the reader. Trustworthiness takes the place of truth (p. 48). The analysis of this research stems from my own interpretation of the data. Therefore to ensure the reader that I carefully and ethically conducted quality research I utilized several methods. Validation strategies such as reflexivity and inter-coder reliability as tools were used to verify and support the interpretation of the content analysis (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008). In conducting quality work, researchers should be cognizant and aware of the subjectivity, worldview, and perspectives they bring to the research. As a researcher, I have provided a subjectivity statement in which I discussed my role as a researcher and identified my biases. I believe that by including a positionality statement, I have reflected and thought about the ways I approached this study and how my perceptions and understandings of the topic influenced or persuaded the analysis of data. Having exposed my subjectivities a priori caused me to become critically conscious of them. As a result, my analysis was grounded in the tenets of critical race theory. As I analyzed each passage and standards I used the tenets of CRT as a heuristic for critically analyzing the content present or missing. Based on this analysis I was able to provide evidence and claims to support the analysis. Hence, my analysis was not based on my own beliefs or pre-judgements.

To validate the codes, the operational definitions of each were developed and grounded in research in which the researchers reported 100% inter-rater reliability. I also employed a similar design with inter-coder reliability where a peer coded two passages from

the text and the Essential Standards. The coder was trained on the coding scheme, and the identification of examples that matched codes was compared and discussed. Of the ten passages (5 passages of the text and the 5 Essential Standards strands) the coder matched my initial coding with eighty percent agreement. For the inconsistencies, both the coder and I reread and re-examined the passages and standards until we came to 100% agreement through subsequent independent matching or consensus.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is that it was not designed to offer insights into the context in which the textbook and Standard Course of Study was produced. Gall, et al. (2007) claim:

To fully understand a document or record, the qualitative researcher needs to study the context in which it was produced—the author’s purpose in writing it, and the author’s working conditions, the author’s intended and actual audience, and the audience’s purpose for reading it. (p.292)

In light of this issue, I created my own meanings as to how race and racism are introduced in the adopted textbook. Moreover, I acknowledge that the publishing process of a work involves editing and numerous iterations of that same work prior to its distribution for public consumption. As a result, it is difficult to assess whether the information that is included in the final draft of any written passage reflects the author’s original intent exclusively, or the author’s work influenced by insertions (or deletions) of copy editors.

Secondly, what is presented in the curriculum does not always translate to the teaching methods of teachers. This study is a content analysis of an African American studies curriculum, therefore race and racism may be taught in more explicit and direct ways than how it is presented in the text or state guidelines.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The purpose of this critical race theory content analysis was to explore the extent to which the concepts of race and racism are introduced in instructional resources used in the teaching of African American Studies --- an elective social studies course for high school students in the public school district used for this study. The research questions were:

- 1) In what ways are race and racism integrated in the textbook and Essential Standards for African American Studies?
- 2) What connections are made between race and citizenship within the context of an African American Studies textbook and Essential Standards?
- 3) How is the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship expressed and explored within the context of an African American Studies textbook and Essential Standards?

In light of my content analysis of the adopted textbook and the Essential Standards, I developed a series of hypotheses to respond to each question. These included that race and racism would not be explicitly addressed, and when race and racism did appear they would be distorted, diluted, and/or decontextualized. Additionally, I hypothesized that the textbook would make direct connections between race and citizenship, whereas the Essential Standards would fail to explicitly make the connection. Lastly, I hypothesized that the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship would be expressed and explored in an implicit manner in both the textbook and the Essential Standards.

Integration of Race and Racism in Textbook and Essential Standards

Evasiveness on the Subject of Race and Racism

To explore the ways race and racism were integrated in the textbook and Essential Standards, I analyzed the textbook and NC Essential Standards published by NC DPI for the use of the words “race” and “racism” and their derivatives concepts (e.g. “racial conflict”, “racial identity”, and “racial stereotyping”). I also examined the table of contents and the glossary in the textbook. Of the thirteen chapters of the book (350 pages total), the search results lead to the careful examination of eleven chapters, which equaled a total of 318 pages. Table 6 represents the number of times the words “race” (or its derivative) and “racism” are mentioned in specific sections and chapters of the textbook.

Table 6

Representation of Race and Racism in African American History Textbook

Chapter	Topic(s)	Number of Times Race is Cited	Number of Times Racism is cited
Table of Contents/Intro	N/A	3	0
Chapter 2: The Atlantic Slave Trade	Slavery Middle Passage Africans in America	2	0
Chapter 4: African Americans in the New Republic	Slavery in the South Free Blacks Resistance to Slavery	1	0

Table 6 Continued

Chapter 5: Steps to Freedom	Antislavery Movement The Civil War	6	0
Chapter 6: Blacks in the Reconstruction Era	Life after Slavery Reconstruction Era Emergence of Black Political Leaders	8	0
Chapter 7: The Separation of the Races	Jim Crow Era Progressive Movement Black Achievements after Reconstruction	46	0
Chapter 8: A New Century and New Opportunities	World War I Harlem Renaissance	21	2
Chapter 9: The Great Depression and World War II	Great Depression African Americans in WWII	17	6
Chapter 10: First Steps Towards Equality	Segregation Civil Rights Movement	19	4
Chapter 11: The Movement Continues	Civil Rights Movement	15	10

Table 6 Continued

Chapter 12: A Time of Transition	Political Gains Economic and Social Challenges African Connection	10	2
Chapter 13: African Americans in Modern America	Social and Cultural Life Activism Looking to the Future	31	5

One of the first themes that emerged as a result of this search was the evasiveness of race and racism. Despite the numerous times *race* is mentioned in the textbook, the term is neither operationalized nor defined. As these findings will reveal, race and racism were simply avoided. Specifically, neither the textbook nor the Essential Standards includes these concepts in narratives. Nor does either provide explicit discussions about the historical and contemporary role of race and racism in the granting of citizenship and civil rights.

Essential Standards fail to address race and racism.

The Essential Standards never refer explicitly to race and racism. (see Appendix B for a copy of the Standards). It appears that race and racism are avoided in favor of terms that are commonly perceived as less provocative or emotionally charged. For example, an avoidance of race and racism can be seen in the Culture strand of the document. The Essential Standards do hint at the generic concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘shared identity’ but they do not mention or explore the concept of ‘racial identity’, which various scholars (Helms,

1990; Parham, 1989) have demonstrated has a considerable impact on the psychological states of African American individuals. Also, in the first clarifying objective the terms “assimilation”, “stereotypes”, and “oppression” are listed but not race and racism. Although, these concepts have a profound impact on the shared and cultural experiences of African Americans, the Essential Standards fail to mention and explore the issue of racial identity on the psychological state of African Americans. Table 7 includes the Essential Standard and clarifying objectives for the Culture strand of African American Studies.

Table 7

Culture Strand of the Essential Standards for African American Studies

Essential Standard Table 7 Continued	Clarifying Objectives
AAS.C.1 Analyze the lives of African Americans to understand the impact of shared and differing experiences and identities.	<p>AAS.C.1.1-Analyze the impact of assimilation, stereotypes, and oppression on the lives of African Americans.</p> <p>AAS.C.1.2-Analyze the ways in which African Americans have retained cultural identity over time while adapting to mainstream American culture.</p> <p>AAS.C.1.3-Explain how various artistic expressions of African Americans have contributed to the shared identity of various groups.</p> <p>AAS.C.1.4-Analyze the various cultural practices that have shaped the individual and collective identity of African Americans over time to understand shared and differing experiences.</p>

Another example of the avoidance of racism can be seen in the descriptions of the economic, social, and political policies that have impacted the lives of African Americans. In both the Essential Standards and in the textbook there is a failure to *explicitly* identify that the formation of these policies resulted from institutional racism. Neither do the resources acknowledge the role white privilege plays in maintaining these systems of power. Instead as demonstrated in Table 8 I provide examples from both the standards and the textbook that support implicit notions of institutional racism and white privilege.

Table 8

Implicit Notions of Institutional Racism in Standards and Textbook

Essential Standards	
Environmental and Financial Literacy	AAS.E.1.2: Explain how economic policies have impacted the socio-economic status of African Americans.
	AAS.E.1.3: Analyze various geographic, cultural, social, political, and financial factors in terms of their impact on the economic mobility of African Americans.
Civics and Governance	AAS. C&G. 1.3: Analyze political, constitutional and legal decision and de facto practices to understand their impact on the lives of African Americans.

Table 8 Continued

AAS.C&G 1.4: Explain how various philosophies and ideologies have played a role in the African American struggle for social, political, and legal equality.

African American History Textbook

Chapter 6: Black Codes

“The state’s legislatures had then quickly begun passing discriminatory laws against African Americans. Called Black Codes, the laws resembled the slave codes that had controlled African Americans under slavery...Most white southerners hoped to restore the white power structure they had enjoyed before the war. The Black Codes were designed to control African Americans and to put them back into an inferior and slavlike condition” (Gant-Britton, p.141).

Chapter 9: Great Depression and World War II

“The limited availability of housing and jobs contributed to the mounting racial tension” (Gant-Britton, p.240)

Chapter 10: Civil Rights in Postwar Period

“Custom and laws continued to separate black and white Americans in schools, housing, and jobs” (Gant-Britton, p. 253).

Chapter 12: School Busing

“Years of housing discrimination led to the development of segregated neighborhoods and schools” (Gant-Britton, p. 323).

Table 8 Continued

Chapter 13: African Americans in Modern America

“...but African Americans still face discrimination in the United States. For example, white and black Americans are often treated differently by the criminal justice system and social programs such as welfare” (Gant-Britton, p. 227).

“Throughout history, African Americans have witnessed inequality in all stages of the justice system, from arrests to sentencing. On average, black men in the United States are imprisoned more often and for longer terms than white men. In addition, African Americans convicted of murder receive the death penalty more often than white murders, regardless of the victim’s race” (Gant-Britton, p. 338).

In the Essential Standards and the textbook the author acknowledges economic policies, geographic, cultural, social, and political factors as components that imply systemic issues, however there is no clear connection and effort to promote understanding that these policies are part of institutional racism.

It is worth noting, however, that racism is explicitly addressed in the textbook on the last page of the main body of the text in chapter 13 as a current and future social issue. Here the author explicitly identifies “environmental racism”, which she defines as “actions and

non-actions on the subject of pollution and the environment that harm certain racial groups more than others” (Gant-Britton, R13).

Race and descriptions of slavery

More evidence of the evasiveness of race and racism is visible in the textbook chapters that focused on the history of slavery. The first time race is mentioned within the body of the text is in chapter 2 “The Atlantic Slave Trade”. Under the subheading, “The Treatment of Slaves”, race appears in the following sentence: “Unlike slavery in later years, ancient slavery was not based on *race*” (Gant-Britton, p. 26, emphasis added). In this chapter, the act of enslaving people is described as a phenomenon that took place in all parts of the world. The author goes on to describe that slavery and the slave trade took place in all parts of the world. For the student this gives the impression that slavery was an acceptable practice based on labor. While historians contend that slavery was practiced well before the late 19th century, most agree that nothing compared to the scale and brutality of the trans-Atlantic slave trade as well as the racial prejudice that fueled its subsequent expansion. Not only is this fact unacknowledged but the author fails to provide a substantive discussion in this particular passage about the use of chattel slavery in the United States. Hence, the text does not mention in this particular passage how enslaved Africans were viewed as property that could be purchased, sold, traded, abused, and killed. When the topic of slavery in the United States is discussed later, the author shifts the focus from race to economics. For example, the subheading “The Plantation System” in chapter 3 states:

Why were there so many slaves in the South? The answer is economics...As the demand for their crops grew, planters hurried to buy more land, which

required more slaves to work. This vicious cycle prevented the freeing of slaves and kept the institution of slavery strong in the South for many years (Gant-Britton, p. 49).

In this passage, the author identifies the “vicious cycle” as the system of economics and does not make the connection to race and racism.

Towards the end of chapter 2, there was another missed opportunity to revisit the centrality of race within the system of enslavement as noted in the earlier quote. In describing the laws that ensured slavery would persist in colonial America during the start of the American Revolution and the quest for freedom from Great Britain’s tyrannical rule, the author wrote:

New laws established that slaves would serve for life and that the children of female slaves would be enslaved as well. As in the other regions of the Americas, legal codes set restrictions on slaves, such as forbidding them to carry weapons or to travel without the permission of their owners. The basis for American slavery had begun (Gant-Britton p. 42).

Instead of identifying the “basis” of slavery and the subsequent legal system that grew up around slavery as racism, there is a marked avoidance of naming and calling out the reason why these laws were created and established.

In chapter 3, “African Americans Help Create a New Nation”, where topics including the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitutions are discussed, race and racism is never mentioned. For instance the text acknowledges Thomas Jefferson for his criticisms of slavery: “Thomas Jefferson’s first draft of the Declaration of

Independence included a strong protest against slavery as one of the justifications for the colonies' rebellion against England" (Gant-Britton, p. 59). The author goes on to say that Thomas Jefferson blamed King George III for slavery in the colonies. In this quote, the blame shifts from the vicious cycle of economics, to the King of Great Britain. The author avoids a discussion about Jefferson as a slave owner as well as an acknowledgement of America's role in upholding the system of slavery.

Uneven treatment of racism

"Racism" is not introduced in the text until Chapter 8, "A New Century and New Opportunities". In this chapter, the focus is on World War I and the Harlem Renaissance. The author completely avoids using the term racism when discussing slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow, whereas the index identifies these as topics addressing racism. When racism is first introduced it is discussed under the heading "Imperialism in Africa". In this passage, leaders from the Pan-African Conference join from various parts of the world (e.g., United States, Caribbean, Europe, and Africa) to "address issues facing blacks, including racism and imperialism" (Gant-Britton, p. 201).

The index however lists several passages under the term "racism" prior to Chapter 8. Table 9 shows the indexes identification of passages under the term racism as listed in the index. There are a total of 92 pages that encompass the concept of "racism" yet the term itself is only visible on 14 of those pages. Two chapters in their entirety are dedicated to the concept of racism, chapter 10: "First Steps Toward Equality" and chapter 11: "The Movement Continues" both dedicated to the Civil Rights Movement.

Table 9

Passages Identified Under the Topic, Racism

Affirmative Action	p. 307
After Passage of Voting Rights Act of 1965	p. 280-281, 323-324
Antebellum Period	p. 90-91, 100
Apartheid	p. 316-318
During and after World War II	p. 240, 253
Environmental	p. 348
Hitler	p.235
Colonial America	p. 67, 72-73
Modern America	p. 308-309, 341, 347-348
In the Military	p. 60, 120, 203, 231, 237
Jim Crow	p. 165-166, 168, 169-170, 181, 186
Protests Against	p. 55, 185, 244-245, 253- 274, 279-299, 337-338
Racial Profiling	p. 339
Reconstruction	p. 135, 141-142, 151, 157- 158
Red Summer	p. 211

In passages where the term racism does not appear, the author uses “discrimination” to refer to the unjust practices experienced by African Americans. Discrimination is also defined in the textbook and in the glossary as “prejudice towards an entire group often resulting in

unfair treatment of those people judged to be different or inferior from those in the majority or in power” (Gant-Britton, R13). Table 10 provides examples of passages that use discrimination in place of racism.

Table 10

Discrimination in Place of Racism

Affirmative Action	“... the federal government prohibited defense companies hired by the government from discrimination against job seekers on the basis of race, creed, color, or natural origin” (Gant-Britton, p. 307).
In the Military	“Du Bois urged African Americans to volunteer for military service in spite of the discrimination they faced at home...Black troops, however, would face discrimination in the armed forces much like discrimination they faced in civilian life...As hundreds of thousands of black troops joined the military, black leaders protested the military’s discrimination against black officers” (Gant-Britton, p. 203).

Table 10 Continued

	<p>“While African Americans benefited from some New Deal programs they still faced discrimination. Many never saw real benefits from any New Deal programs. Claiming that all his efforts to do so had been blocked by southern Democrats in Congress, Roosevelt did not nothing for many years to end this discrimination” (Gant-Britton, p. 231).</p>
Jim Crow	<p>“Before, long, the segregation laws, rules, and customs that arose after Reconstruction led a new era of discrimination. It was called Jim Crow and it lasted nearly 100 years” (Gant-Britton, p. 165).</p>

In the index, passages for discrimination are also listed. Topics for racism and discrimination are the same with the exception of Hurricane Katrina, which is located under discrimination only. The author states that many African Americans felt that the government’s slow response was “due to discrimination against poor black communities” (Gant-Britton, p. 339). Praise and criticism in the text regarding the government’s response to Hurricane Katrina is also included. Relief and recovery efforts of the Coast Guard and the American Red Cross were deemed successful. However, agencies at all levels-federal, state, and local (i.e. FEMA and New Orleans mayor Ray Nagin) were characterized as being “slow, inadequate, and poorly organized” (Gant-Britton, p.340). Despite the following quote, the author classifies

the government's failure to respond after Hurricane Katrina as a discriminatory act and not a result of institutional racism.

Some observers have claimed that issues of race and class contributed to the poor response. Jesse Jackson spoke for many of these observers when he said, "Many black people feel that their race, their property conditions, and their voting patterns have been a factor in the response". This observation seemed to be supported by statements from national officials that could be read to imply bias against black and poor New Orleanians. In addition, some African Americans claimed that media coverage after the hurricane depicted New Orleans as a crime-ridden city that needed military intervention to restore order. They complained that African Americans in Louisiana were shown as dangerous, impoverished class of people underserving of aid.

This passage regarding Hurricane Katrina and the passages in Table 10 extends beyond the author's definition of discrimination. The author defines discrimination as "prejudice towards an entire group often resulting in unfair treatment of those people judged to be different or inferior from those in the majority or in power". This broad definition could include elements other than race such as sexual orientation, gender, socio-economic status, etc. The use of the term "prejudice" also limits the definition to a belief and judgement and not the systemic nature and hierarchal structure of power and oppression associated with racism. These passages therefore illustrate the systemic and powerful nature of political (i.e. state and federal government and the military) and social institutions (i.e. the media) in

perpetuating racial inequality and limiting African Americans access to certain rights and privileges and not a behavior or judgment.

Distorted Reality of Race and Racism

In the Essential Standards and the textbook there is evidence to suggest that the author distorts, dilutes, and decontextualizes discussions on race and racism. This was most obvious in my analysis of references to Afrocentrism. The book appears to take an Afrocentric approach, beginning with an overview of African culture and traditions. Chapter 1 entitled “The Beginnings in Africa”, covers the time period of pre-history to 1500 and describes the history of Africa from the development of ancient civilizations to the African kingdoms of the southern, eastern, and western parts of the continent. In the introduction to the text the author attributes this approach to the goals and missions of early African American scholar Carter G. Woodson. Near the beginning of the textbook is a section dedicated to the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) created by Dr. Carter G. Woodson, the “Father of Black History”. The author states, “Woodson strongly believed that educating the public about the contributions made by African Americans to U.S. history and culture would transform race relations and empower African Americans” (Gant-Britton, xii). She further states in a letter to the students prior to chapter 1:

Absent from the official record were the great civilizations of Africa... In telling these stories, *Holt African American History* intends to walk again in Woodson’s footsteps by showing that the history of African Americans is part of the story of all Americans...people of African descent have influenced all

aspects of American culture-from food, clothing, music, literature, and the arts to science, business, leadership, and even the meaning of democracy. (Gant-Britton, xx)

The author defines Afrocentrism in the last chapter of the book, chapter 13: “African Americans in Modern America”. Under the subheading “Social and Cultural Life” she states:

Afrocentrists promote a shift toward a more Africa-centered view of world history. They reject the traditional and widely accepted Eurocentric view in which the accomplishments of Europeans are emphasized and discussed more than those of other cultures. Afrocentrists argue that the contributions of indigenous African peoples have long been neglected in the study of world history and cultures. They believe that greater emphasis should be put on Africa’s contributions to the development of world civilizations, as well as in the study of world history. (Gant-Britton, p. 329)

Gant-Britton’s definition does not provide an accurate description of Afrocentrism. Afrocentrism does not reject Eurocentrism nor does it promote the idea believe that there is one supreme worldview or hierarchal structure to history or culture. Instead, Afrocentrism should be included alongside other historical perspectives.

In addition to speaking Afrocentrism as a movement to preserve African culture, tradition, and self-image the author notes the criticisms of Afrocentrism by some scholars. In the passage the author states:

However, some scholars have criticized Afrocentrism for distorting aspects of African history and of **racial stereotyping**, which means making judgments, usually negative, about people on the basis of their race or physical appearance alone. Some critics say that by promoting separatism, Afrocentrism is, in effect promoting racism. Today Afrocentrism's popularity has faded, though its influence is still felt in some intellectual and cultural circles. (Gant-Britton, p.329)

The author does not respond to the critics' word choice, and this suggests that she may accept those criticism. In addition, Afrocentrism is described by the critics as a fad and ideology rather than a methodological approach to understanding and centering the experiences of African American students based on their culture and history. Ironically, this is also the first time racial stereotyping as a key term is bolded and mentioned in the text. Racism is also mentioned as an effect of promoting Afrocentrism. In none of the other chapters of the textbook where legal and non-legal efforts at racial prejudice, discrimination, and separation are discussed (e.g. slavery, Jim Crow, and the Civil Rights Movement) is there a mention of racial stereotyping. Finally, whereas the text claims to take an Afrocentric approach to acknowledge and highlight the cultural achievements of African civilizations, it implies that Afrocentrism is based on racial stereotyping because it appears to "promote" African history over European history. This distorted approach to racial stereotyping alongside a repudiation of Afrocentrism contradicts the mission and goals of Woodson who wanted to challenge the omission and distortion of Africa and its history.

A second example of the dilution, decontextualization, and distorted approach to examining race and racism is in regards to discussions about racial violence. In chapter 7, “The Separation of the Races” there is a subheading dedicated to racial violence. This chapter, which begins with the rise of Jim Crow (1877-1910), describes lynching and race riots. However, the presentation of these topics fails to convey the hatred rooted in white supremacy and racism. Instead, the text conveys that these acts of violence occurred as a result of African Americans breaking the rules or offending whites: “Most race riots occurred in cities when large numbers of white people took to the streets to punish blacks accused of crimes or misbehavior” (Grant-Britton, p. 170). The author seems to downplay the racist act of lynching by acknowledging that white men were hung prior to blacks.

Among the most common-and most horrible-forms of racial violence in the late 1800s were lynchings, or murders of individuals-usually by hanging-without a trial. In the mid-1800s, lynch mobs and the majority of their victims were white men. Most of the victims were accused of some sort kind of crime, like horse or cattle theft. After Reconstruction, lynchings of blacks became more common. By the late 1890s, it was estimated that one African American was lynched every other day. (Gant-Britton, p. 170).

Violence and white resistance from the Ku Klux Klan is also included in the book. According to the author, the creation of the group grew out of fear and rage over changes made during the Reconstruction era. The Ku Klux Klan is described as a secret terrorist group that “used threats, burnings, beatings, whippings, and even murder to scare and punish blacks, especially those who were successful or leaders. White Republicans and other

southerners who supported blacks were also targets” (Gant-Britton, p. 157). Despite the inclusion of these violent acts in the text, the author fails to describe the judicial system’s failure to punish whites for their brutal crimes against blacks thus illustrating the endemic nature of racism and upholding of white privilege.

A third example is also seen in Chapter 7 where the author included an image drawn by a French artist depicting a race riot in Atlanta, Georgia in 1906 (see Figure 1) for an “Applying What You’ve Learned: Analyzing Visuals” activity. The author or editors of this text made choices when selecting this image that might impact the reader’s impression of race riots. For example, the image is from the perspective of someone living outside of the United States who arguably has no true understanding or experiences of the racialized context of the South during this time. The author provides the following description for the image,

The Jim Crow era was a time of terrible violence, with brutal crimes inflicted on people across the country. Driven by intolerance and fear, these crimes led hundreds of Americans, especially African Americans, to live in fear that they would soon be victims. The image below is a French artist’s conception of the race riot in Atlanta, Georgia in 1906 (Gant-Britton, p. 172).



Figure 1. The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot

Petit Journal: Kenan Research Center, Atlanta History Center, 130 West Paces Ferry Road, Atlanta, GA 30305

Overall, this image provides a diluted and distorted image of racial violence. The illustration does not include real images thus eliminating the “authenticity” of race riots and violence. Instead the author or editors could have included an actual picture of the Wilmington Race Riots or a picture of a lynching to convey the violence inflicted upon African Americans.

Other passages on race riots and racial tension yield similar messages. The majority of the passages that mentioned race riots described the conflicts as the result of prejudice that existed between Whites and Blacks, with limited to no commentary on the racialized climate (i.e., Jim Crow Era) or the institutions and policies that contributed and led to the violence.

Examples include:

As American soldiers returned home and tried to find work, they found themselves competing with African Americans for factory jobs that had grown

scarce. The resulting competition between black and white workers for suddenly limited jobs led to a sharp increase in tension in many cities. (Gant-Britton, p. 211)

The 1919 race riot in Elaine, Arkansas had begun when whites attacked black farmers who were discussing their plans to join a union. (Gant-Britton, p. 213)

Perhaps the bloodiest day began in Detroit on June 20, 1943...Rumors about crimes that black and white citizens had committed against each other spread quickly. The fighting intensified, with the riot continuing over the course of three days. (Gant-Britton, p. 240)

Like Watts, racial tension was running in Detroit [12th Street Riot], where black and whiter workers labored alongside each other in auto plants but did not get along outside of work (Gant-Britton, p. 286)

Across these passages, the author refers to racial tensions that resulted in part from actions by Blacks, e.g., threatening to join unions, competing for jobs, etc. without acknowledging racial scapegoating. Overall, Blacks are seen as agents in their own oppression while the racialized and disempowering context of the Jim Crow system is largely ignored.

There are only two instances in the textbook where explicit discussions of racial violence and riots acknowledge oppressive conditions in fueling racial tension. In these examples, the race riots were not driven by individual acts of violence between Whites and Blacks, but resulting as a response by Blacks to oppression. For instance, in the discussion of the Watts Riots, the author identifies low unemployment rates and distrust of the police as

problems leading to racial tension. In a preceding paragraph entitled “Dissatisfaction within the Movement”, the author notes “...unemployment and job discrimination continued to plague most working-class black communities...Many people felt that nonviolent protest was unlikely to change things for the better” (Gant-Britton, p. 285).

A similar approach was also taken in the discussion of the Rodney King riots. The passage discusses the impact of the majority white jury on the building tensions between Blacks in the community and law enforcement officers. It is also in this discussion where the term *racial profiling* is defined as “a system that uses race, among other factors, to determine which people are likely to commit certain types of crime” (Gant-Britton, p. 339).

Overall, the clear message in this book is that the racial violence between Whites and Blacks and the riots in Watts and Los Angeles resulted from the actions taken by Blacks. Blacks are therefore seen as the villains or the cause of violence.

Distortion of the endemic, “normal” nature race

Within the textbook racism is distorted as being a geographical phenomenon. As previously mentioned, the term *racism* was used sparingly throughout the text. When it was used the phenomenon itself appears to be presented as endemic only to the southern region of the United States. This is mostly evident in chapters 10 and 11 which focus on the Civil Rights Movement. The following are examples that illustrate this point,

King and SCLC next focused their efforts on Birmingham, Alabama, a hotbed of racism. (Gant-Britton, p.273)

The Little Rock crisis revealed just how strong racism was in some areas, and school desegregation continued for decades. (Gant-Britton, p. 257)

Till's senseless murder-and his killer's acquittal-awakened more Americans to the racism that southern blacks faced and to the need for action. (Gant-Britton, p. 259)

How did the murder of Emmett Till expose the racial hatred in the South?
(Gant-Britton, p. 259)

All of these passages delimit racism as a southern place based phenomenon.

In chapter 11, "The Movement Continues" there is a subheading entitled the "New Racism in the North". This discussion occurs after the introduction of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The author states:

In fact, the passage of the Civil Rights Act actually increased racist feelings in some places where racism had not been very strong before...In response to this new racism, Martin Luther King Jr. and others decided to take the civil rights movement north. (Gant-Britton, p. 280-281)

Here the author identifies the wrong cause of racism in the north. The author blames the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its leaders for the emergence of the "new racism" not acknowledging the fact that racism existed prior to this legislative enactment.

According to the author, an example of this "new racism" in the North was housing discrimination:

...real estate agents were conspiring to keep black citizens from purchasing good homes.

The investigators found that if two couples of equal income, wealth, social background, and family size-one white and one black-applied to move into the same neighborhood, the white

family would almost invariably be approved while the black family would be denied. (Gant-Britton, p. 280)

Again, the author does not identify historical patterns of racism and racial prejudice in the north, nor does she identify this practice as a form of institutional racism. Instead it is labeled as “new racism”. Identifying these practices as a part of a “new racism” downplays and undercuts the notion that racism is a normal, permanent aspect of society. It also reinforces the point that for this textbook author racism was characterized as individual acts of racial bias.

Connections between Race and Citizenship

The connections made between race and citizenship within the context of the textbook and Essential Standards were examined through two major themes. The first theme focused on the approach taken to describe the denial of African Americans active and full participation of civic duties. Here the texts and standards describe how African Americans coveted the institutional aspects of citizenship including the ability to serve in the military, hold political office, and vote in elections. The curriculum acknowledges that race played a role in denying African Americans opportunities for active and full participation as citizens in these civic duties through legal and de facto forms of segregation and violence. Using the second theme I explored the manner in which the text and standards describe resistance and activism by individuals and groups in fighting for citizenship status.

Denial of Citizenship Rights

As previously mentioned, the Essential Standards avoid using the terms race and racism. However, citizenship appears in the Civics and Governance strand as illustrated in Table 11.

Table 11

Essential Standard: Civics and Governance

Civics and Government	
Essential Standard	Clarifying Objectives
Understand the African American quest for full citizenship.	AAS.C.G1.1: Analyze African American politics in terms of the quest for self-governance, social separatism, contest for power, and electoral and global alliances.
	AAS.C&G.1.2: Analyze the relationship between African Americans and other groups in terms of conflict and cooperation in the pursuit of individual freedoms and civil rights.

Table 11 Continued

AAS.C&G 1.3:
Analyze political,
constitutional, and
legal decisions and
de facto practices to
understand their
impact on the lives
of African
Americans.

AAS.C&G 1.5:
Analyze civic
participation of
African Americans
in terms of
leadership and
strategic planning at
various levels.

Instead of referring to race and racism, the Essential Standards identify “conflict”, “de facto practices”, and “philosophies and ideologies” as concepts that impacted African American’s quest for citizenship. The standards also acknowledge the civic and political participation of African Americans at various levels.

Unlike the Essential Standards, the textbook makes clear connections between race and citizenship. For example, the first discussion of citizenship occurs in a section of chapter 3 entitled, “Citizenship in the New Nation”. The author notes that citizenship under the creation of a new Constitution did not include Blacks, “...the institutions of slavery continued, and black people were not considered citizens at all” (Gant-Britton, p. 65). The chapter goes on to describe how the Three-Fifths Compromise ruled enslaved Blacks to be

property and not people. Chapter 5, “Steps to Freedom” reiterates the denial of citizenship to Blacks through the Dred Scott decision. In chapter 6, “Blacks in the Reconstruction Era” includes the 13th, 14th, and the 15th Amendments to the Constitution and the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1866 under President Johnson’s administration. Despite the passage of the 13th Amendment, the author notes that citizenship status for Blacks and the right to vote did not exist. She includes a quote from Frederick Douglass to highlight the importance of enfranchisement in granting civil rights: “slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot [vote]” (Gant-Britton, p.131). Lastly, in chapter 10 under the subheading “The Murder of Emmett Till”, she states, “Despite early victories against segregation, blacks remained second-class citizens to many white Americans, particularly in the South” (Gant-Britton, p. 258). Clearly, the author emphasizes the role of race in the denial of citizenship but also the importance of civic rights (e.g. voting) in the quest for freedom.

In a “Building Social Studies Skills: Distinguishing Fact from Opinion” activity, the author presents the reader with a passage from the Civil Rights Bill of 1866 and President Johnson’s rationale for vetoing the bill. The inclusion of the passage illustrates the efforts of the Radical Republicans to grant citizenship rights to African Americans yet, the power of the President in denying them citizenship. Similarly, the discussions on the 14th and 15th Amendments which granted citizenship to African Americans and the right to vote for African American men respectively, revealed the rise of increased racial tension and violence towards African Americans despite political and social gains.

The author documents the journey of African Americans pursuit of citizenship through politics in a “Building Social Studies Skills: Examining Continuity and Change”

activity at the end of chapter 12, “A Time of Transition”. She asks students to summarize African American political representation over a period of time, looking for instances of continuity and change. A replication of the chart is presented below in Figure 2.

1787	U.S. Constitution declares that slaves count as three-fifths of a person for purposes of representation.
Early 1800s	Free blacks have the right to vote in some states.
1830s	Many states restrict voting rights for free blacks.
1868	Fourteenth Amendment grants citizenship to all people born or naturalized in the United States.
1870	African Americans serve in political offices in large numbers.
1890	Jim Crow laws restrict voting rights in the South.
1965	Voting Rights Act of 1965 eliminates restrictions on voter registration.
1966	Edward W. Brooke becomes the first African American elected to the U.S. Senate since Reconstruction.
1972	Shirley Chisholm seeks the Democratic presidential nomination.
1984, 1988	Jesse Jackson seeks the Democratic presidential nomination.
2001	Colin Powell is appointed secretary of state.

Figure 2. Building Social Studies Skills: Examining Continuity and Change.

The textbook also reveals that participation in political office and the military were deemed as patriotic and honorable achievements by African Americans and some White Americans. In the section, “The Emergence of Black Political Leaders” Black men who were elected to Congress were held in high esteem. An excerpt from the Charleston Daily News in 1868 stated:

Beyond all question, the best men in the convention are the colored members...They have assembled neither to pull wires like some, nor to make money like others, but to legislate for the welfare of the race to which they belong. (Gant-Britton, p. 149)

A prominent White member of Congress in the late 1800s shared the same sentiments, “They were as a rule studious, earnest, ambitious men, whose public conduct...would be honorable to any race.” (Gant-Britton, p. 151)

In chapter 8, “A New Century and New Opportunities” the author includes two quotes by W.E. B. Du Bois in which he speaks adamantly about African Americans serving in the military. Du Bois argued, “Out of the war will rise...an American Negro, with the right to vote, and the right to work and the right to live without insult” (Du Bois as cited in Gant-Britton, 2006, p. 203). He also urged African American men to consider their service in the war as their patriotic duty:

Let us not hesitate. Let us, while the war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy. We make no ordinary sacrifice, but we make it gladly and willingly with our eyes lifted to the hills (W.E.B. Du Bois as cited in Gant-Britton, 2006, p. 203).

According to the textbook author, the continued harsh treatment and discrimination of African American men during and after World War II and the de facto segregation practices during the Civil Rights Movement left many African American leaders critical of the civic and democratic values of America. As noted in chapter 10, “First Steps Towards Equality”,

“white resistance to black equality remained strong... white citizens continued to use unfair laws, fear, and violence to try to keep black citizens from voting or for standing up for their rights” (Gant-Britton, p. 253). In addition to Du Bois’s quotes, there are select quotes from other prominent individuals (e.g., A. Philip Randolph, Malcolm X, John F. Kennedy, and Barbara Jordan) criticizing America’s failed promise of equality. Table 12 provides the quote of each individual and the time period and context in which the statement was made. These quotes are representative of the hypocrisy of American “ideals and democratic” values amidst a time of racial strife.

Table 12

Critiques of Democracy from Individuals

Philip Randolph	Access to Employment and Fair Wages, 1941	If American democracy will not give jobs to its toilers because of race or color; if American democracy will not insure equality of opportunity, freedom and justice to its citizens, black and white, it is a hallow mockery and belies the principles for which it is supposed to stand. (A. Philip Randolph as cited in Gant-Britton, 2006, p. 231)
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Table 12 Continued

John F. Kennedy	Civil Rights Address, 1963	One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons are not fully free. They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice. They are not yet free from social and economic oppression. And this Nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free. (John F. Kennedy as cited in Gant-Britton, p. 279)
Malcolm X	Address to Militant Labor Forum, 1964	Our people, 22,000,000 African Americans, are fed up with America's hypocritical democracy and today we care nothing about the odds that are against us... Our people are increasingly developing the opinion that we have nothing to lose but the chains of segregation and the chains of second-class citizenship. (Malcolm X as cited in Gant-Britton, 2006, p. 290)

Table 12 Continued

Barbara Jordan	Democratic National Convention Keynote Address, 1976	We are a people in a quandary [confusion] about the present and in search of our future. We are a people in search of a national community. We are...not only trying to solve the problems of the moment-inflation, unemployment-but on a larger scale, we are attempting to fulfill the promise of America. We are attempting to fulfill our national purpose, to create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal. (Barbara Jordan as cited in Gant-Britton, p. 306)
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Through these examples, the textbook takes a view of citizenship that mainly focuses on institutional citizenship rights meaning that institutions like state and federal governments denied citizenship to African Americans. The author also demonstrates how African Americans believed that active civic participation would counteract negative racial stereotypes and perceptions.

Resistance and Activism of Individuals and Groups

According to the textbook and standards, community efforts among African Americans to organize and plan took place through various forms of political and social activism. In addition, the author highlights the role of individuals and groups in accessing and seeking citizenship.

In the Essential Standards, there are strands and clarifying objectives that encourage the examination of African American activism and resistance to oppression. These strands

include History and Civics and Governance. Table 13 provides examples of the History strand objectives.

Table 13

Essential Standards: History

Essential Standard	History Clarifying Objectives
AAS. H.2: Understand the significance of historical personalities, groups, institutions, and events in shaping African American life over time.	AAS. H.2.3: Explain how various forms of resistance by individuals and groups have influenced change in the lives of African Americans.

Whereas the Essential Standards take a broad approach, the textbook provides specific examples of individuals and groups working towards the granting of full citizenship for African Americans. Table 14 provides a general overview of the number of individuals and groups of color represented in the passages examined in the textbook. People of color and white individuals instrumental in the fight for racial equality are also included.

Table 14

Representation of Individuals and Groups of Color

African American Men	African American Women	Individuals of Color	White Men	White Women	Groups of Color
129	57	1	16	4	21

African American men that were referenced most frequently included, Fredrick Douglass, Martin Luther King, Jr., W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey. The inclusion of African American women varied and depended on the time period in history. Most of the women were associated with politics (e.g., Barbara Jordan, Shirley Chisholm, and Condelezza Rice) and the arts including literature, music, and film (e.g., Lena Horne, Zora Neal Hurston, Bessie Smith, Maya Angelou, etc.). Ghandi was the only non-African American man of color or individual of color who was mentioned in the selected passages. His belief in non-violence and civil disobedience was credited for Dr. King's approach during the Civil Rights Movement. Most of the white men that were included in the text were Presidents or government officials viewed as instrumental in the promotion of civil rights (e.g. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Robert Kennedy, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson) along with abolitionists and philanthropists. The four white women that were noted in the selected passages were: Anna Jeanes (a philanthropists who donated a million dollars to black schools in the South), Mary White Ovington (co-founder with Du Bois of the NAACP), Eleanor Roosevelt (First Lady of the United States viewed by the author as instrumental in combating racial inequality), and Harriet Beecher Stowe (author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*).

One of the first individuals mentioned in the selected passages was Olaudah Equiano along with his description of the Middle Passage. The last individual was Senator Barack Obama. Chapter 7, "The Separation of Races," chapter 8, "A New Century and Opportunities", chapter 9, "The Great Depression and World War II", and chapter 11, "The Movement Continues" ends with a list of African American contributions and achievements.

Chapter 13, “African Americans in Modern America” lists the contributions and achievements throughout the chapter.

The textbook also included specific organizations and reform movements that were created to challenge racial and power structures that limited equal opportunities for people of color. Most of these groups emerged during the Progressive and Civil Rights Movements. Included among them were United Negro Improvement Association [UNIA], National Urban League [NUL], National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], Southern Christian Leadership, [SCLC], Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC], Black Panther Party, and Nation of Islam.

Resistant efforts against systems of oppression and racial inequality are first discussed in chapter 4, “African Americans in the New Republic”. In this chapter, the author summarizes the resistance to slavery through slave revolts led by individuals like Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vessey, Nat Turner, and the Amistad Mutiny and abolition movements. It is also in this chapter and section where “discrimination” is first defined. The author states, “...black abolitionists protested against racial discrimination, the unfair treatment of people of a certain race. Although African Americans in the North were free, they often faced unequal treatment because of their race” (Gant-Britton, p. 107).

The abolition movement was discussed in the same chapter. “Black militants” a subheading, was used to define black abolitionists who favored the use of force to resist slavery. Quotes from David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet were included as examples. Both encouraged slaves to fight and kill if necessary.

They want us for their slaves, and think nothing of murdering us in order to subject us to that wretched condition-therefore, if there is an attempt made by use, kill or be killed...Had you not rather be killed than to be a slave to a tyrant, who takes the life of your mother, wife, and dear little children. (David Walker as cited in Gant-Britton, 2006, p. 106)

“Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties...Let every slave throughout the land do this.” (Henry Highland Garnet as cited in Gant-Britton, 2006, p. 106)

White abolitionists in their fight against slavery included William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Theodore Weld. John Brown, like Walker and Garnet, was considered a militant white abolitionist. Non-violent resistance through boycotts and sit-ins were highlighted through the examples of the Greensboro Sit-in, Freedom Rides, and Montgomery Bus Boycott.

The author included the literary and artistic achievements of black individuals during the Harlem Renaissance and the Black Arts Movement to provide examples of how the arts were used to promote social change and respectability for African Americans. Excerpts from Langston Hughes, “*I, Too*”, James Baldwin’s “*No Name in the Street*”, Amiri Baraka’s “*The Legacy of Malcolm X and the Coming of the Black Nation*”, Julius Lester’s “*Sing Out*”, and Thomas Guither’s, “*Jailed In*” are included in various parts of the textbook. They reiterate the struggles of African Americans to seek full citizenship status. According to Gant-Britton, poets and writers tended to focus on themes that endorsed “racial pride and resistance to prejudice” (p.218).

The textbook also explores the resistance and activism of individuals and organizations in the quest for citizenship by discussing the differing ideologies regarding integration. For example, in chapter 7, “The Separation of the Races” the author states:

Faced with opposition from many whites, African Americans had to decide how best to work for equality. What would be the best approach toward reaching equal status? Debates raged in the black community. Most African Americans favored social integration...On the other hand, many black-and some whites-called for a racial separation, a mutually agreed upon and respectful division of the races into their own communities. Many people believed that blacks had to develop their own social, educational, and economic institutions independent of white society. Only then would they be able to gain self-respect and live free of white control. (Gant-Britton, p. 165)

Throughout the rest of the book, ideologies and philosophies from Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, the NAACP, the UNIA, Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King Jr., Malcom X, SCLC, SNCC, Black Panthers, and the Nation of Islam serve as examples of the competing and diverse approaches to achieving racial equality.

It is in the chapters dedicated to the Civil Rights Movement and Modern America where the author notes the importance of activism in the pursuit of citizenship and equality for African Americans. Chapter 10, “First Steps Toward Equality” acknowledges the role the black church played in the preparation of activists:

Black churches prepared members for activism by giving them leadership opportunities denied to African Americans elsewhere. Churches also helped

provide the support and self-respect activists needed to stand up to racial hatred and violence. Most of all, churches promoted faith in a better life, a vision that inspired countless African Americans and their allies in the struggle for equality (Gant-Britton, p. 264).

The Black Panthers in chapter 11, “The Movement Continues” were characterized as militant activists who “supported causes ranging from full black employment and housing to the exemption of black Americans from military service, the release of all black prisoners from jail, and the payment of reparations to the descendants of slaves.” (Gant-Britton, p. 289)

In the section heading “Activism Today” in chapter 13, the author states:

Although African Americans made notable improvements, many racial inequalities remained. For this reason, black activists have continued to work for full equality for African Americans...Some black leaders today are fighting discrimination by promoting activism within the black community. (Gant-Britton, p. 337)

The rest of the chapter includes activism efforts from Coretta Scott King, the Million Man March, civil protests of the Rodney King trial, and Hurricane Katrina. The author provides examples of individual and organizational leadership among the African Americans to illustrate the impact of community activism and grassroots organizing in the quest for civil rights.

Impact of Racism on Citizenship

The Essential Standards and the textbook describe the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship by focusing on how “racism” limited/limits the right to vote, access to property ownership, and an equal education for African Americans. Racism is presented here in quotation because based on the findings from the first research question, racism was not explicitly mentioned in the Essential Standards nor was it defined in the textbook. However, both sources made implicit references to racism through use of code words like “discrimination” and/or “oppression”.

Disfranchisement

Both the Civics and Governance (Clarifying Objective: AAS. C&G 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4) and the Culture Strand (Clarifying Objective: AAS.C.1.1) of the Essential Standards alludes to the impact of racism on the ability to vote. For example, the terms used in the Civics and Governance strand include “quest for electoral alliances” and “struggle for political equality” which references the quest of African Americans to gain political power. In the Culture strand, clarifying objective AAS.C.1.1 states, “analyze the impact of assimilation stereotypes, and oppression on the lives of African Americans.”

The textbook makes connections to racism and disfranchisement in the chapters on Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and the Civil Rights Movement. In chapter 6, “Blacks in the Reconstruction” describes intimidation efforts by white southern Democrats to keep blacks from voting and the U.S. Supreme Court’s limits on the 14th and 15th amendments are mentioned. Similarly, in chapter 7, the subheading “Black Disenfranchisement” discusses the implementation of poll taxes and literacy tests as means to prohibit Blacks from voting.

The author describes the impact as “...a few decades after the Civil War, many African American men were right back where they started-unable to vote and with little say in the government” (Gant-Britton, p. 169). “The Drive for Voting Rights” in chapter 10, described the right to vote as the means to true equality. Despite having the ‘legal’ right vote, unjust laws and threats kept Blacks from the voting booths.

These passages in the text illustrate the efforts of Whites to protect their interests by denying African Americans the right to vote. Granting African Americans the right to vote would have threatened power structures rooted in white supremacy and privilege and placed them at risk of being dismantled.

Property Ownership

Denial of property ownership to African Americans illustrates the benefits and protections associated with being white. Both the textbook and standards mention the pursuit of African Americans to obtain property yet they fail to critically associate how the notion of whiteness determined who gained access to and ownership of property. For instance, clarifying objectives of the Economic and Financial Literacy Strand as illustrated in Table 15 of the Essential Standards, address the impact economic policies have on the financial status of African Americans. In conjunction, clarifying objective 1.3 requires an analysis of the intersections between economics, geography, politics, etc. on the ability for African Americans to mobilize.

Table 15

Essential Standard: Economic and Financial Literacy

Economic and Financial Literacy	
Essential Standard	Clarifying Objectives
<p>AAS. E.1: Understand the ways in which African Americans addressed opportunities, challenges, and strategies concerning economic well-being over time.</p>	<p>AAS. E. 1.2: Explain how economic policies have impacted the economic status of African Americans.</p> <p>AAS.E. 1.3: Analyze various geographic, cultural, social, political, and financial factors in terms of their impact on the economic mobility of African Americans.</p>

The denial of landownership is presented in the textbook as a prime example of economic and government policies that limited the economic mobility of African Americans. During Reconstruction, “many freed-people dreamed of owning land. They saw landownership as a means to economic independence and true freedom from white control” (Gant-Britton, p. 134). However, the author mentions that the failure of the government to keep its promise to provide the newly freedmen land (i.e. “forty acres and a mule”) and to repeal the Southern Homestead Act made the dream of owning land challenging and in some cases impossible.

The author also highlights how the new agricultural system of sharecropping and tenant farming kept many freedmen in poverty: “Another problem was the government’s failure to provide adequate support to enable freedpeople to gain economic independence. Although some former slaves became successful and even grew wealthy, the majority

remained trapped in poverty” (Gant-Britton, p. 158). Although the author acknowledges the pursuit of African Americans to own property, she fails to explicitly acknowledge the connections of land ownership and citizenship status. For this connection to occur, the author needs to discuss how the privileges that came with acquiring land by Whites extended beyond the actual ownership of real property. Rather, owning land resulted in the ability to exercise various liberties and freedoms uniquely associated with being White (Harris, 1995). Therefore, those who did not have white skin were effectively excluded from certain rights and privileges, --- among them, owning land.

Education

According to the author, access to a quality education was a civil right central to the improvement of African American lives. The Essential Standards are not specific in identifying the importance and role of education in the quest for full citizenship. The textbook however, references the impact of discriminatory practices on the ability of African Americans to receive an equitable education. This is evident in the chapters dedicated to the Civil Rights Movement (Chapters 10 and 11). The impact of institutional racism through desegregation practices is explored through the example of the NAACP’s efforts to desegregate schools with key legislation like *Sweatt v. Painter* and *Brown v. Board of Education*. The inclusion of Chief Justice Earl Warren’s opinion of *Brown v. Board* is used to illustrate the impact of “separate but equal” on the educational opportunities for African Americans.

It is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education...Does segregation of children in

public schools solely on the basis of race...deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does...We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. (Chief Justice Earl Warren as cited in Gant-Britton, p. 255)

The author also presents an example of the impact of racism on schooling through state funding.

In most cases, the separate schools for black students were far inferior to the schools for white students. One reason was that states often spent far less on students in black schools than those in white schools. For example in 1940 southern states spent less than \$17 per black student and more than \$40 per white student. Because of this limited funding, black schools often had out-of-date textbooks, old and inadequate buildings, and fewer extracurricular programs. Such inequalities had far-reaching effects on black children’s later opportunities and success in life (Gant-Britton, p. 254).

Lastly, the textbook examines current educational inequities in chapter 12 and 13 that result from the impact of racism. For example, under the subheading “School Busing” in chapter 12, the author notes that many urban schools in the North remained segregated “as a result of de facto segregation” (Gant-Britton, 323). She also referenced the “A Nation at Risk” report to reveal how policy makers responded to alarming statistics regarding the quality of education among students of color. Chapter 13 “African Americans in Modern

America”, reiterates the concerns for education particularly as it relates to the resegregation of schools and neighborhoods.

More than 50 years after the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, many schoolchildren are increasingly separated according to race. In some areas, schools that had been integrated years ago are now either mostly black or mostly white, a situation that some people call resegregation. As large numbers of white and middle class black families moved to the suburbs, the tax base of many urban school districts declined. As a result, inner-city schools often lack adequate funding, which creates obstacles to effective education (Gant-Britton, p. 346).

The author implicitly shows that since *Brown v. Board* racism continues to permeate education through discriminatory and inequitable practices that in turn impact students of color.

Conclusion

My analysis of the Essential Standards and the adopted textbook, *African American History*, for African American Studies revealed several themes. First it was evident that both the textbook and the standards failed to offer explicit discussions about race and racism. Instead, these resources tended to downplay the reality of race and racism. Both the text and the standards made connections between race and citizenship by focusing on the denial of civic duties and the subsequent resistance and activism of individuals and groups. Finally, in order to express the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship the textbook and standards focused on the disfranchisement, property ownership, and access to education.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which topics concerning race and racism are incorporated in an African American Studies curriculum that serves as a social studies elective at the secondary school level in one school district. Using critical race theory as an analytic framework, a content analysis of the adopted textbook and the Essential Standards was conducted. The following research questions were addressed in this study:

- 1) In what ways are race and racism integrated in the textbooks and the Essential Standards for African American Studies?
- 2) What connections are made between race and citizenship within the context of an African American studies textbook and the Essential Standards for African American Studies?
- 3) How is the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship expressed and explored within the context of an African American Studies textbook and the Essential Standards for African American Studies?

Given that topics of race and racism are marginalized and omitted within the profession, policies, and curriculum of social studies (Ladson-Billings, 2003) I was interested in examining if these topics would be integrated and discussed in a curriculum dedicated to African Americans, a collective population for which race and racism has played an undeniably prominent role in their lived experiences. Using critical race theory as my theoretical and analytical framework, I explored both the adopted textbook and the Essential Standards to determine if the permanence of racism was explicitly addressed (Bell, 1992; Ladson-Billings, 1998). In addition I wanted to see if the resources avoided a color-blind

approach, whether counter-narratives were included to challenge dominant ideology, and if there were critiques regarding the notions of meritocracy, incremental change, and interest convergence. In alignment with my initial expectations, my findings are in accordance with the themes found in the extant literature. These themes reveal the omission of race and racism in curriculum materials (i.e., standards and textbooks). Therefore, in this chapter I will discuss the themes that emerged from my findings, their significance and implications, and provide suggestions for future research.

Interpretation of Findings

Table 16 provides a summary of the findings from a CRT perspective. This table illustrates the findings from both the textbook and the Essential Standards and what elements of CRT were present and missing from the analysis. Following the table is discussion and interpretation of these findings.

Table 16

Summary of Findings

Research Questions	Findings	Evidence	Present CRT Tenets	Missing CRT Tenets
Research Question 1: Integration of race and racism in textbook and Essential Standards	Evasiveness of race and racism	Failure of Essential Standards to include race and racism in the text	Colorblindness Meritocracy	Permanence of Racism Whiteness as Property Counter-Narratives

Table 16 Continued

		Implicit notions of institutional racism in standards and textbook		
		Race and descriptions of slavery		
		Uneven treatment of racism		
	Distorted Reality of race and racism	Critiques of Afrocentrism		
		Discussions of racial violence		
		Distortion of the endemic, "normal" nature of race		
Research Question 2 Connection between race and citizenship	Denial of Citizenship Rights	Federal and government legislation (Three-Fifths Compromise, Dred-Scott decision, etc.)	Meritocracy	Incremental change Whiteness as Property Permanence of Racism

Table 16 Continued

	Resistance and activism of individuals and groups	Racial inequality in politics and military	Counter-narratives	Intersectionality
Research Question 3: Impact of racism on citizenship	Disfranchisement Property Ownership Education		Permanence of Racism (indirectly)	Whiteness as Property Interest Convergence

Evasiveness of race and racism. The first theme to emerge from my analysis was the evasiveness of race and racism. The findings revealed that neither the Essential Standards nor the textbook promote the belief that racism is permanent or that race matters. Rather both have adopted a colorblind approach. For instance, the Essential Standards as a guide that informs curriculum and instructional methods for teaching African American Studies, provides insight into how teachers may present the curriculum to their students (Branch, 2003; Journell, 2008). As Journell (2008) notes, "...understanding how states depicts African Americans provides a better understanding of how African Americans are represented in classrooms" (p. 45). In other words, state education departments (like the

North Carolina Department of Education), which are responsible for the writing of state standards, influence how teachers may approach and teach the curriculum. Therefore if the history and experiences of African Americans as presented by the state standards does not provide an accurate portrayal of African Americans from various perspectives (i.e. social, cultural, historical, political, economic, etc.) then students will be taught the history in a superficial manner. The Essential Standards document as written by the North Carolina Department of Education (NCDI) takes a color-blind approach by failing to explicitly acknowledge and define racism and race. Consequently, instead of addressing these issues directly, code words such as discrimination or cultural and shared identity are used. This race-neutral approach sends the message that race and racism do not matter (Branch, 2003; Chandler & McKnight, 2009; Heilig, Brown, and Brown, 2012). This avoidance of race in the standards also speaks to the systematic and macro-level racist ideologies rooted in the development of curriculum and standards (Heilig, Brown, and Brown, 2012). More importantly, the control of the curriculum and the power to omit race and racism supports the notion of whiteness as property as policy makers decide what is included and excluded in the standards and curriculum (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Yosso, 2002). Ultimately, by avoiding explorations of race and racism in the standards, teachers and students fail to recognize the contradictions in the broader equality narratives that pervade many teaching-learning resources. Likewise, they miss opportunities to examine how race and racism present structural and individual barriers in the society at large (Chandler & McKnight, 2009). Heilig, Brown, and Brown (2012) add,

...the manner in which race and racism are rendered through the curriculum, affects the development of cultural memory for both students of color and White students and the ways they make meaning of race and racism in their own daily lives. (p. 408)

The adopted textbook, *African American History* by Gant-Britton and published by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston includes race and its many variations throughout the book. Despite the numerous references to race, (the “illusion of inclusion” as noted by Heilig, Brown, and Brown, 2012) the textbook does not define race. Gay’s (2003) analysis of social studies methods textbooks yield similar results. Gay found that the inclusion of the term race was seen as the author’s attempt to be “politically correct...but does not give the issues any rigorous scholarly treatment” (p. 135). Likewise, by not acknowledging the social construction of race (Omi & Winant, 1994) and the origins of its history it becomes unclear how particular groups came to be labeled and categorized as inferior to others (Nelson & Pang, 2006). For instance, the textbook mentioned that “slavery in ancient times was not based on race”; however, when discussing the institution of slavery in the U.S., the author fails to make its connection with race. Instead, the discussion of slavery as a system grounded in economics takes the focus away from the impact of race on the socio-political context of America at that time. Nelson and Pang (2006) emphasize the importance of defining race; “There is a social reality to the definition of race...that reality is the use of race as a sociopolitical marker for granting or limiting rights and privileges...that is the basis of racism...” (p. 119). Also Howard (2003) argues, “the social studies can help students move away from viewing race solely in rigid or fixed biological or genetic categories, but to

contextualize race within social, political, and economic construction in the United States” (p.30).

The avoidance of race makes it difficult to understand the system of racism. Race is central to racism in that the system works and thrives upon the power and advantage of one race over another. Race has and continues to play an instrumental role in the granting of citizenship. For example, current political discussions regarding the legal and citizenship status of Latino immigrants in the United States reintroduces the salience of race in this country. Furthermore, social, political, and economic institutions have been instrumental in the promotion of racial inequality and the full exercise of citizenship. Unfortunately, neither the Essential Standards nor the textbook *explicitly* identify these systems and ideologies as resulting from institutional racism and/or white privilege. Instead, the Essential Standards in various strands speaks of the “economic decisions that impacted the socio-economic status of African Americans”, “various geographic, cultural, social, political, and financial factors impact on economic mobility”, various philosophies and ideologies”, etc. Failure to explicitly define institutional racism prevents students and teachers from being able to see how institutions reinforce and promote discrimination and racial inequities.

Similarly in the textbook, the only form of racism that was acknowledged was environmental racism. The author defined environmental racism as “the intentional or unintentional practice of racial bias in dealing with environmental concerns. Environmental racism includes targeting minority and low-income communities for pollution sites and excluding minority community members from regulatory bodies that make such environmental decisions” (Gant-Britton, p. 348). Although this is a concern, the author’s

decision to label this practice explicitly as the only form of racism undermines the role and impact of other institutional practices (e.g. education, housing, employment, and the justice system) on the quality of life for African Americans.

Lastly, similar to Heilig, Brown, and Brown (2012), neither source examined the role Whites played in the creation and promotion of systems of inequality. For instance, in the Essential Standards the only time individuals outside of African Americans are acknowledged is in clarifying objective AAS.C&G.1.2 “Analyze the relationship between African-Americans and other groups in terms of conflict and cooperation in the pursuit of individual freedom and civil rights” (Department of Public Instruction, 2013). Moreover, in the textbook, Thomas Jefferson was seen as a champion against slavery, yet there was no mention that he himself was a slave owner. Heilig, Brown, and Brown (2012) attribute this to valorizing

..the U.S. government and its officials (e.g., president, Supreme Court justices, legislators) as agents of social change that dismantled societal institutions that denied groups of color their civil rights and social, political, economic, and educational opportunities in the United States, while simultaneously disavowing the government’s role in creating and maintaining this inequitable system in the first place. (p. 418)

Distorted Reality of Race and Racism. The second theme to emerge from the first research question was the distortion of race and racism in the textbook. For instance, the term racial stereotyping was included only during the discussion of Afrocentrism. This term was not included in the discussion of de facto segregation during the eras of Jim Crow or the

Civil Rights Movement. Despite the author's attempt to align the textbook with Afrocentrism, she presented a distorted perspective of Afrocentrism by not critiquing scholarly arguments that associate its theory and practices with a form of racial stereotyping and racism. The decision either by the author or the copy editors of the textbook to include this distorted understanding of Afrocentrism is an example of how decisions regarding what should be included in the official curriculum reflects whose knowledge is of the most worth and value, and whose is hidden (Yosso, 2002).

Through the discussion of racial violence and riots, the textbook dilutes and distorts the impact of racial violence towards blacks. The acts mentioned that occurred between Whites and Blacks appeared to result from the actions taken by Blacks to securing employment, join labor unions, etc. In addition, the "Applying What You've Learned: Analyzing Visuals" activity (Figure 1) which includes an image of a riot in Atlanta, fails to provide a real visualization of the horrors of racial violence. Brown and Brown's (2010) literary analysis of violent acts towards blacks in textbooks reports similar findings. They state, "...these representations [racial violence] fall short of adequately illustrating how racial influences operated systematically to oppress and curtail African Americans opportunities and social mobility in the United States" (p. 150).

Missing from the textbook as it relates to racial violence and riots are the counter-narratives from African Americans who either experienced and/or witnessed these forms of violence and resistance to oppression. The inclusion of these narratives could convey the personal impact of race and racism on the lives of African Americans, thus challenging misconceptions and stereotypes reinforced by the dominant majority. For instance, during

the discussions of the Watts and Rodney King riots, there are no excerpts from actual participants explaining why the protests occurred. Without such a discussion, the presentation of Blacks destroying their neighborhoods in “approximately \$1 billion in property damage...one of the most costly riots in American history [Rodney King riots]” (Gant-Britton, p. 338) does little more than undermine the frustrations regarding the racial oppression that gave rise to the riots in the first place.

Lastly, the textbook’s use of the “new racism in the North” distorts the reality of racism as a “permanent fixture of American life” (Bell as cited in Ladson-Billings, 1998). The heading suggests that racism was at one point only endemic to the South and that the emergence of racial tension after the passage of key legislation (Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965) was a “new racism” that occurred in the North.

Denial of Citizenship Rights. In both the Essential Standards and the textbook, African American’s quest for citizenship is acknowledged. The Civics and Governance strand of the Essential Standards mentions the approaches taken by African Americans to obtain full citizenship status, the conflicts and cooperation with other groups in the quest for civil rights, and the constitutional, legal, and non-legal practices in limiting citizenship. Still, there is no explicit connection made between race and citizenship in the clarifying objectives for this strand. This is problematic because race has been instrumental in the granting of citizenship. This finding however was not a surprise as many scholars have critiqued the social studies failure to make connections to race and citizenship (Epstein, 2009; Howard, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Marshall, 2003; Nelson & Pang, 2006; Tyson, 2003).

A connection that was made to my findings and the literature was the importance of African American men serving in the military. The author included quotes from Du Bois that supported the enlistment of African American men in the military in hopes of receiving respect and equal status. Brown et al.'s (2011) examination of Woodson's textbooks reveals similar findings, "African American soldiers fought for their country in the hopes that their service would open up opportunities for the disenfranchised Black community" (p. 291). However, the discrimination that resulted despite their participation in the military (a patriotic duty and symbol for freedom) illustrates the intersection between race and its impact on citizenship. Regardless of these men's participation in the military they were not given the respect and honor they deserved due to their race nor did they enjoy the benefits and privileges of serving their country (Brown, et al., 2011).

The text also explores the paradox between the democratic values and ideals upheld in the United States and the racial inequalities that existed. The chronology of historical events leading to African Americans participation in politics and the critiques of American democracy indirectly references the slow and incremental progress towards the quest of citizenship for African Americans. However, the narrative as presented in the textbook does not explicitly critique the reasons for the slow progress. Hence, there was no discussion of how the limitation of citizenship benefited those in power.

Lastly, Figure 2 which documents the "progress" of African Americans from the 1700s and identifies when slaves were declared as three-fifths a person to the appointment of Colin Powell as secretary of state speaks to the idea of meritocracy. Institutional racism still existed in 1966 (election of Edward Brooke as first African American senator) to Colin

Powell in 2001. The stories of these individuals are not the stories and experiences of the collective African American population. Therefore, the achievements of these individuals does not necessarily mean that African Americans are empowered politically.

Resistance and Activism of Individuals and Groups. This particular finding revealed the role of individuals and organizations in the pursuit for citizenship and equal rights. Unlike the failure to include counter-narratives with incidents of racial violence and riots, the author does include counter-narratives mostly from literary authors of the Harlem Renaissance and the Black Arts Movement to illustrate the intersection between race and citizenship. However, these counter-narratives mostly include the voices and experiences of male artists, intellectuals, politicians, and the like. The experiences of women and the “common man” were absent from the discussion. For instance, there are no excerpts from Sojourner Truth’s “Ain’t I a Woman too”, Ida B. Wells campaign to end lynching, or Fannie Lou Hamer’s speech at the Democratic National Convention (just to name a few). Therefore, the stories and perspectives of these men do not necessarily speak to the experiences of black women or poor blacks.

Disenfranchisement, Property Ownership, Education. These three themes served as evidence of racism’s impact on the full citizenship of African Americans. Again, critical to this discussion is the explicit acknowledgement of institutional racism and the role of whites (individually and as a collective population) in the creation and sustainment of legal and non-legal policies. White Southern Democrats and the government were mentioned as enforcers of such policies. However, the government in particular was described as “failing” to protect African Americans economic interests and land ownership instead of protecting

and maintaining the privileges associated with being white (Harris, 1995). The acquisition and ownership of land was a right enjoyed by Whites only. Harris's analysis of Whiteness as property illustrates how white racial classification guaranteed civil liberties and rights that were denied those who were not white. She states,

Whiteness conferred on its owners aspects of citizenship which were all the more valued because they were denied to others. Indeed the very fact of citizenship itself was linked to white racial identity...Whiteness as property was the critical core of a system that affirmed the hierarchical relations between white and black. (Harris, 1995, p. 285-286).

Whiteness therefore is a form of property that allowed those who held this racial classification the enjoyment of certain privileges.

Also missing are discussions concerning the passage of key legislation (e.g. *Brown v. Board* and Affirmative Action) as means to benefit the interests of whites (Bell, 1980). The author does not include the context of Communism and the world's perception of the United States as hypocrites promoting "democracy" when discussing *Brown v. Board* or the idea that white women are the primary beneficiaries of Affirmative Action.

Overall, the adopted textbook is what I characterize as a "feel good text" for both African American students and non-students of color, primarily white students. For African American students they are exposed to the richness of African culture and traditions and its impact on not only African American culture today but also on the world. They also learn about the achievements and contributions of many African American leaders and entertainers throughout history. Many African American students may walk away from this text with a

greater sense of self and pride for having gained in-depth access to their history. Students who are not students of color will also gain a greater understanding of the extensive role African Americans have played in shaping society.

All students will also understand the struggles for African Americans to gain equality and citizenship. However, what students will not fully understand and grasp is how race as a social construct has determined and assigned certain benefits and privileges to some and denial and limitations to others. They will also fail to see how a system of institutions consciously and unconsciously perpetuate racial inequities and actively discriminate against individuals based on race. As a result, students may see each other as having the same opportunities and equal protections under the law. They may fail to grasp not understanding how racial barriers prevent some from succeeding despite hard work. In turn, these future and active citizens may serve in roles that will provide them the opportunity to make policies and laws that may infringe upon the civil rights and liberties of those not in power or marginalized by society. Consequently this “feel good text” that tries to appease everyone continues to support a system grounded in racism.

Implications for Social Studies Education

The purpose of social studies elective courses like African American Studies, an ethnic studies curriculum, is to provide a space dedicated to the history of groups of color, whose stories are integral to American and world history. This course in particular should provide all students with the knowledge needed to understand the cultural traditions, experiences, contributions, social, political, and economic history of African Americans. Central to the narrative of this history and everyone’s history are issues of race and racism.

However, if these topics are not authentically incorporated in an African American history curriculum, then where? Research from the literature already shows that these topics in the standard U.S. history curriculum are not included (Epstein, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Loewen, 2009; Howard, 2003).

Hence, this research further bolsters previous writers' findings that have revealed the persistent failure of the social studies to acknowledge and include race and racism in curriculum materials (e.g., textbooks) and policies (e.g., standards) even in ethnic studies courses. Both the textbook and standards have impact on the instructional delivery of content (Branch, 2003; Gay, 2003; Journell, 2008). Therefore, if teachers are teaching African American Studies and they are uncomfortable talking about race and racism, or if they align with a colorblind ideology, then it can be assumed that the curriculum will be taught in an inauthentic manner.

Secondly, when discussions of race and racism are mentioned in scholarly literature or in classrooms it is important that we define these terms so that teachers and students understand how and why these topics are central to our historical and contemporary legacy as American citizens. Explorations of race must go beyond biological definitions and instead explore its social construction. Teachers and students can then begin to understand the systemic nature of racism and how its social construction has been used to advantage some groups, while disadvantaging others.

Furthermore, if the goal of civic education, as commissioned by the social studies, is to promote reflective, critical, and active citizens empathetic to the human condition (McKnight & Chandler, 2009), courses like African American Studies are relevant to the

success of the field. The curriculum of this course provides a perspective and narrative that is often omitted and marginalized in the standard U.S. history course. African American studies not only provides African American students with a greater sense of who they are and their history but it also presents the opportunity to teach non-African American students the accurate narrative of the African American experience. Harris (1983) adds, “the Afro-American past should be explored in a manner to help students...realize the challenges posed to the ideals of freedom, justice, and democracy and to discover the continuing quest for an equitable America” (p.49).

The field of social studies must become demonstratively more attentive to the aims and goals of ethnic studies courses like African American Studies if the field wants to truly reflect dedication to civic education.

Recommendation for Future Research

As previously mentioned, one limitation of this study was the inability to examine how the curriculum of African American Studies is taught in actual classrooms. The fact that the curricular materials (i.e., the adopted textbook and the Essential Standards) do not define and include race and racism explicitly does not mean that teachers who use these resources are not teaching in a critically conscious manner. Therefore, in order to gain a more accurate and complete picture of what students are exposed to in African American courses, it is necessary to examine the ways in which this curriculum is taught to students. Chikkatur’s (2013) ethnographic research revealed that commonly, race and racism was not taught in an explicit and critical manner simply because teachers felt uncomfortable teaching these topics. Thus, a recommendation would be that future research examine the pedagogy of teachers

who do feel comfortable teaching these topics. Researchers may employ ethnographic or phenomenological studies where they observe and interview both teachers and students about their experiences in an African American Studies course. This type of research may provide insight into how social studies can be taught in a manner that effectively incorporates discussions on race and racism. Such a research focus may also help teacher educators of social studies to better prepare teacher candidates for these discussions in their future classrooms.

Research has also shown that the omission of race and racism from the curriculum, policies, and profession is a glaring and persistent problem. Hence, another recommendation is that scholars and researchers dedicated to the explicit inclusion of race and racism in the social studies should find ways to publish or disseminate curriculum materials to practicing teachers and teacher educators. Such materials should explicitly address the social construction of race and the systemic nature of racism. Providing concrete examples of how to teach and facilitate classroom discussions about race and racism may alleviate the discomfort experienced by many teachers and teacher educators. Research could be conducted on the publishing process and experiences of authors like Gant-Britton who write and attempt to publish textbooks and other curriculum materials dedicated to topics of race and racism. Understanding their experiences may provide richer insights into the macro-level structures of educational policy making and how textbook companies and or curriculum standard writers approach these topics.

Finally, in conjunction with research conducted on the instructional strategies and methods of teaching an African American studies class, future research could examine how

students react and respond to the teaching of race and racism. Researchers may consider questions such as: what do students know about race and racism prior to instruction? What informs and guides their understandings? What new understandings do they gain from critical discussions of race and racism? What experiences do they have with race or racism? Answers to these questions may extend the discussion beyond theorizing to understanding of the actual impact these discussions have on students.

Conclusion

This study was conducted to examine the ways race and racism are integrated and explored in the adopted textbook and Essential Standards for a high school social studies elective course, African American Studies. There is a wealth of research conducted on the omission and marginalization of race and racism in the U.S. history curriculum but not African American Studies. Based on the review of literature regarding the failure to include race and racism in the social studies, I assumed that the same findings would be present in my study. The findings revealed that both the textbook and Essential Standards evade discussing and defining race and racism. When race or racism did appear, they were either distorted, diluted, and/or decontextualized. The textbook made direct connections between race and citizenship, whereas the Essential Standards failed to explicitly make the connection. Lastly, the impact of racism on the full exercise of citizenship was expressed and explored in an implicit manner in both the textbook and the Essential Standards. Despite these findings, the importance of these discussions on the mission and goal for civic education in the social studies is clear. There is an urgent need for future research that examines African American Studies beyond the curriculum but rather as it occurs in the

classroom. I am confident that these discussions centered on race and racism will continue to occur within the literature and the profession. I just hope that we can move beyond “discussion” and more into “action”.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: African American History Table of Contents

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CAUTION!!
COLORED PEOPLE
 OF SOUVENIR, WE A ALL
 FOR AN UNLAWFUL GATHERING AND
 MEETING, WE ARE ADVISED BY THE
 VARIOUS AND PAID WITNESSES
 OF THE
KIDNAPPERS
 Slave Catchers,
 who are in the habit of coming to
 the city, to catch and kidnap
 the colored people, and to sell
 them to the plantations in the
 West Indies, and to the
 West India Company, and to
 the various other places, and
 to keep a sharp look out for
 THEM, AND HAVE
 TOP EYE OPEN,
 AFTER THE MANNER





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Appendix B: Essential Standards for African American Studies

North Carolina Essential Standards Social Studies Elective African American Studies

African American Studies is a conceptually driven course that introduces students to the exploration of the rich and diverse history and culture of African Americans. The goal of this course is to broaden the knowledge and understandings of students interested in learning about the histories, cultures and economic, geographic and political realities of African Americans. This course should provide students with an opportunity to engage with the social, economic and political activities of African Americans in a way that allows them to make deep connections across the content. The historical content of this course should be taught with relevance to contemporary and current issues in order to ensure a deeper understanding for students.

The standards are organized around five strands: history, geography and environmental literacy, economics and financial literacy, civics and government and culture. The strands should not be taught in isolation, but woven together in an integrated study that helps students understand the world in which we live. Additionally, the course includes two types of essential standards – one that identifies the skills that students should master during the course of the year and another that identifies the knowledge and understandings. The skills should be taught within the context of African American Studies, applying the knowledge and understandings of the course.

Note on Strands: **H**–History, **G**–Geography and Environmental Literacy, **E**–Economics and Financial Literacy, **C&G**–Civics and Government, and **C**–Culture

Appendix B: Essential Standard for African American Studies

History			
	Essential Standard	Clarifying Objectives	
AAS.H.1	Apply historical thinking in order to understand the African American life in the United States over time.	AAS.H.1.1	Use primary and secondary sources to interpret various historical perspectives.
		AAS.H.1.2	Analyze competing historical narratives and debates among historians.
		AAS.H.1.3	Integrate evidence from multiple relevant historical sources and interpretations into a reasoned argument about the past.
		AAS.H.1.4	Analyze how historical context shape and continue to shape people’s perspectives.
AAS.H.2	Understand the significance of historical personalities, groups, institutions, and events in shaping African American life over time.	AAS.H.2.1	Analyze how key turning points in history have affected the lives of African Americans.
		AAS.H.2.2	Explain how key historical figures have shaped the lives of African Americans.
		AAS.H.2.3	Explain how various forms of resistance by individuals and groups have influenced change in the lives of African Americans.

Appendix B: Essential Standards for African American Standards

Geography and Environmental Literacy			
	Essential Standard	Clarifying Objectives	
AAS.G.1	Analyze the role of geography in the lives of African Americans over time.	AAS.G.1.1	Analyze the physical and human characteristics of various places and regions to understand the connection to African American identities and cultures.
		AAS.G.1.2	Explain the reasons for and effects of forced and voluntary migration on societies, individuals and groups throughout African American history.
		AAS.G.1.3	Analyze how environmental changes have impacted African American communities in terms of land use, settlement patterns and urban development.
		AAS.G.1.4	Explain how region has impacted political perspectives, economic decisions and cultural practices of African American communities.
AAS.G.2	Apply geographic tools to understand African American groups and societies over time.	AAS.G.2.1	Use geographic data in order to understand economic, political, cultural and social patterns within African American communities.
		AAS.G.2.2	Use maps, charts, graphs, photographs, geographic data and available technology tools to make inferences about African American life.

Appendix B: Essential Standards for African American Studies

Economics and Financial Literacy			
	Essential Standard	Clarifying Objectives	
AAS.E.1	Understand the ways in which African Americans addressed opportunities, challenges, and strategies concerning economic well-being over time.	AAS.E.1.1	Analyze the economic development of African American groups and communities in terms of challenges to standard of living.
		AAS.E.1.2	Explain how economic policies have impacted the socio-economic status of African Americans.
		AAS.E.1.3	Analyze various geographic, cultural, social, political, and financial factors in terms of their impact on the economic mobility of African Americans.
		AAS.E.1.4	Use cost-benefit analysis to assess the effectiveness of various approaches African Americans have used to solve economic issues.

Appendix B: Essential Standards for African American Studies

Civics and Government			
	Essential Standard	Clarifying Objectives	
AAS.C&G.1	Understand the African American quest for full citizenship over time.	AAS.C&G.1.1	Analyze African American politics in terms of the quest for self-governance, social separatism, contests for power, and electoral and global alliances.
		AAS.C&G.1.2	Analyze the relationship between African-Americans and other groups in terms of conflict and cooperation in the pursuit of individual freedoms and civil rights.
		AAS.C&G.1.3	Analyze political, constitutional and legal decisions and de facto practices to understand their impact on the lives of African Americans.
		AAS.C&G.1.4	Explain how various philosophies and ideologies have played a role in the African American struggle for social, political and legal equality.
		AAS.C&G.1.5	Analyze civic participation of African Americans in terms of leadership and strategic planning at various levels.

Appendix B: Essential Standards for African American Studies

Culture			
	Essential Standard	Clarifying Objectives	
AAS.C.1	Analyze the lives of African Americans to understand the impact of shared and differing experiences and identities.	AAS.C.1.1	Analyze the impact of assimilation, stereotypes, and oppression on the lives of African Americans.
		AAS.C.1.2	Analyze ways in which African Americans have retained cultural identity over time while adapting to mainstream American culture.
		AAS.C.1.3	Explain how various artistic expressions of African Americans have contributed to the shared identity of various groups.
		AAS.C.1.4	Analyze the various cultural practices that have shaped the individual and collective identity of African Americans over time to understand shared and differing experiences.