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Which Neither Devils nor Tyrants Could Remove:
The Racial-Spatial Pedagogies of Modern U.S. Higher Education

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ethnic Studies

by

Vineeta Singh

Committee in charge:

Professor Dayo F. Gore, Chair
Professor Akosua Boatema Boateng
Professor Kirstie A. Dorr
Professor Sara Clarke Kaplan
Professor Curtis F. Marez
Professor Shelley Streeby

2018

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The Dissertation of Vineeta Singh is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California San Diego

2018

DEDICATION

Because Jhalakraj Singh.

EPIGRAPH

I would crawl on my hands and knees through mud and mire, to the feet of a learned man, where I would sit and humbly supplicate him to instil into me, that which neither devils nor tyrants could remove, only with my life—for coloured people to acquire learning in this country, makes tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundation. Why, what is the matter? Why, they know that their infernal deeds of cruelty will be known to the world.

-David Walker
Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America, Written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

American Association of University Professors (AAUP)
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)
American Home Mission Society (AHMS)
American Missionary Association (AMA)
Black Student Caucus (BSC)
Black Student Union (BSU)
Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE)
Chicago City Colleges (CCC)
Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO)
Critical University Studies (CUS)
Free Speech Movement (FSM)
Grow-Your-Own (GYO)
Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU)
Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP)
Ideological State Apparatus (ISA)
Leadership Development Programs (LDP)
Logan Square Neighborhood Association (LSNA)
Lumumba Zapata Coalition (LZC)
Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA)
Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlán, formerly Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA)
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
National Teacher Corps (NTC)
No Child Left Behind (NCLB)
Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB)
Predominantly White Institution (PWI)
Recovery School District (RSD)
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Teach For America (TFA)
Thurgood Marshall College (TMC)
Universities Studying Slavery (USS)
Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)

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I know that my achievement is quite ordinary. I am not the only man to seek his fortune far from home, and certainly I am not the first. Still, there are times I am bewildered by each mile I have travelled, each meal I have eaten, each person I have known, each room in which I have slept. As ordinary as it all appears, there are times when it is beyond my imagination.[1]

There can be no account of the debts and gifts that have made this dissertation possible. But I will take this opportunity to mention some of the people whose work has allowed this dissertation to happen but who—following academic convention—do not appear in the bibliography on the other end.

My family, especially my parents Lata Dusre and Vijay K. Singh, who taught me my first lessons in feminism, and my grandmother, Jhalakraj Singh, who taught me everything else I needed to know. My muh-boli family, especially my first rakhi sisters: Farrah Al-Mansoor, Katelyn Gallagher, Nancy Wang, Nina Ren, and Mar Chiesa Barceló, I could not have written so much as an e-mail without your support. Thank you for me.

My other teachers: Mr. John Leary, Ms. Nancy Shay, and Ms. Deborah Wilcheck, who taught me to read, write, and speak up; Ma'am Meenakshi Seth, Ma'am Primrose Pepper, Professors Juan Carlos Quintero Herencia, Ana Patricia Rodriguez, Laura Demaria, Eyda Merediz, and Lucía Melgar, who made me believe my convictions were worth pursuing and my thoughts worth sharing. The Greater Cohort: LeKeisha Hughes, Robert Xachary Williams, Jason Magabo Perez, Mychal Matsemela-Ali Odom, Josen Masangkay Diaz, Carmela Capinpin, Maisam Alomar, Malathi Iyengar, Lea Johnson, Amrita Kurian, Kai Small, Bayan Abusneineh, Pricila Rodriguez, Aundrey Jones, and June Yuen Ting: y'all show me the scholar and colleague I aspire to be. Thank you for being my friend.

[1] Jhumpa Lahiri, "The Third and Final Continent," in *Interpreter of Maladies* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company), 198.

Without my Rosewood Sharks, graduate school would have been an actual eternity. Lindsay Freeman, Mimi Wang, Elizabeth Kleinschmidt, Joshua Villanueva, Rita Wama, and Sherlock Skywalker. Thank you for making San Diego home.

The Ethnic Studies and Critical Gender Studies office staff: Christa Ludeking, Damarys Alicea-Santana, Joje Marie Reyes, Daisy Rodriguez, Yvette Obando, Theresa Aitchison, and Mónica Rodriguez de Cabaza, y'all work way, way too hard. Thank you for having my back.

I have the grand fortune of an extraordinary committee of instructors, interlocutors, and genuine mentors. Professors Dayo Gore, Kirstie Dorr, Boatema Boateng, Sara Clarke Kaplan, Shelley Streeby, and Curtis Marez have all gone above and beyond any job description or reasonable expectation. They have answered (sometimes frantic) e-mails, read (sometimes sloppy) drafts, written (always generous) letters, given encouragement, criticism, and, when I needed it, assurance that everyone poops. I strive to emulate their service to our fields and students.

Financial support from the Gramercy Fellowship in Emerging Markets, a dissertation scholarship from the Department of Black Studies at UC Santa Barbara, and research grants from the UC Consortium for Black Studies in California and the Center for the Humanities at UC San Diego allowed me to research and write this dissertation the way I needed to. My GSR position with the Black Studies Project @UCSD helped me find my voice as a scholar. This dissertation would not have found its way without the BSP intellectual community, and most especially its co-conveners, my teaching role models, research #goals, basically real life superheroes, Professors Dayo F. Gore and Sara Clarke Kaplan.

Thank you.

So many have fought so hard and sacrificed so much to make my education possible. I cannot name them all, but I hope my work finds other ways of honoring theirs.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Which Neither Devils nor Tyrants Could Remove:
The Racial-Spatial Pedagogies of Modern U.S. Higher Education

by

Vineeta Singh

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Studies

University of California San Diego, 2018

Professor Dayo F. Gore, Chair

This dissertation traces U.S. higher education's contemporary 'diversity problem' to 1865 and the racialized and gendered notions of the public good, social mobility, citizenship, and self-determination that rose in the aftermath of Emancipation. It brings together theoretical and methodological tools from ethnic studies, cultural studies, critical gender studies, and feminist geography to examine higher education as a site of contest in the black freedom struggle, arguing that the modern landscape of U.S. higher education is fundamentally shaped by white 'architects' responding to the pedagogical and geographic innovations of black radical traditions.

In the opening chapter I study the history of a vocational institute for black Southerners and demonstrate that education had been a crucial element of the ‘rival geographies’ created by the enslaved, but after 1865 became a technology of enclosure, tying socially mobile black workers to underdeveloped rural areas and respectably gendered occupations. The second chapter looks at the history of a 100-year old community college in Chicago. By tracking changes in the demographics of the neighborhood it serves and relating these to changes in the college’s form and function, I demonstrate how modern U.S. notions of the public good are always-already racialized, while arguing for a defense of the community service pedagogy championed by black neighborhood organizers. In chapter 3 I examine the institutionalization of a student-created ‘Third Worldist’ college in California to illuminate how universities can mold students’ thinking about race and racism away from global political and economic structures to personal identities and individual trauma. The final chapter considers the emergence of an ostensibly color-blind, progressive-minded neoliberalism in the rise of ‘leadership development programs’ like Teach For America. I demonstrate that despite the best intentions of participants, such programs further the criminalization of urban spaces while using the language of civil rights to insinuate the privatization of public services. Throughout I demonstrate how higher education has articulated academic and common sense notions of race, space, and belonging in what I call racial-spatial pedagogies, descriptive and prescriptive theories describing racial difference and how that difference fits in the larger body politic.

Introduction

On June 11, 1963 Alabama Governor George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of the Foster Auditorium at the University of Alabama (UA) blocking the way of Vivian Malone and James Hood the 'first black students admitted to the University of Alabama.'[2] Nearly ten years after the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision desegregating public K-12 schools, Wallace's "Stand in the Schoolhouse Door" launched a national political career that would span four runs for the presidency as the face of the last days of "massive resistance," the concerted white opposition to school desegregation.[3] After his final failed presidential campaign, Wallace returned to Alabama in 1976 and began "a period of reflection" which would lead him to seek the forgiveness of the black voters he had wronged and eventually to become a born-again Christian in 1983.[4] When James Hood returned to the University of Alabama and completed a Ph.D. in interdisciplinary studies, Wallace, still "haunted" by his segregationist past and particularly by the photograph of him standing in the doorway of Foster Auditorium, personally apologized to Hood and asked to be included in his graduation

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[2] Malone and Hood are often celebrated as 'the first black students to be admitted to the University of Alabama,' but as the university's website points out, they were actually the first black students admitted since the *last* first black student to be admitted to UA in 1956—Autherine J. Lucy was expelled three days after her admission "for her own safety in response to threats from a mob. Office of Institutional Research and Assessment, University of Alabama. *Through the Doors: 1963-2013. Courage. Change. Progress.*http://throughthedoors.ua.edu/timeline.html The website differentiates Malone and Hood's admission as "[t]he first sustained enrollment of African-American students," oddly making no mention of the Stand in the Schoolhouse Door, an event of national importance that took place on their campus.
Malone and Hood had registered for classes at the courthouse that morning, but needed to enter Foster Auditorium to complete the registration process and pay their school fees. Debbie Elliott, "Wallace in the Schoolhouse Door," *NPR (National Public Radio)*. June 11, 2003.
https://www.npr.org/2003/06/11/1294680/wallace-in-the-schoolhouse-door

[3] Five months earlier Wallace's inauguration address had declared, "[i]n the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth… segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!" The line was reported in many newspapers at the time, but Wallace's face and name became widely recognized only after the stand at the schoolhouse door. See E. Culpepper Clark. *The Schoolhouse Door: Segregation's Last Stand at the University of Alabama*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[4] Maggie Riechers, "Racism to Redemption: The Path of George Wallace," *Humanities: The Magazine of the National Endowment for the Humanities*.
For the rest of his life Wallace would claim that he had been a segregationist, but never a racist. He was never, he claimed, motivated by hatred.

ceremony. In the end, his health kept him from participating in the graduation, but he did get Hood's forgiveness. [5] The next year Hood attended Wallace's funeral, praised his public apology, and issued a request for the people of the United States to forgive Wallace.[6]

Fifteen years later when Hood died, his obituary in the New York Times began with the sentence "James A. Hood, who integrated the University of Alabama in 1963 together with his fellow student Vivian Malone…" and ended "When [George C.] Wallace died in June 1988, Mr. Hood traveled from his home in Madison, Wis., to attend the funeral."[7] Hood's public life and his place in the historical record began with integration and ended with forgiveness. This narrative, starting with brave action in the face of great odds, and ending with forgiveness for past actions which, once forgiven, can be decisively be relegated to the past, is metonymic of the national memory of the Civil Rights Movement. The resolution implied in this narrative is also at the heart of how U.S. universities understand and narrate their own "race problem," beginning with brave students overcoming societal (rather than institutionally imposed) barriers, and ending with institutional celebrations of diversity. Even though Hood left campus at the end of his first year without finishing his degree, UA portrays both Malone and Hood as brave trailblazers who 'opened doors' and 'paved paths' for generations to come. [8] This celebration is an acknowledgement of their courage but it also represents a convention in institutional histories in U.S. higher education, the "African-

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[5] Dahleen Glanton, "Decades After George Wallace Denied James Hood Admission to the University, the Pair Has Developed an Unlikely Friendship," *Chicago Tribune*. Feb. 3, 1998.

[6] Richard Goldstein, "James A. Hood, Student Who Challenged Segregation, Dies at 70," *The New York Times*. Jan. 20, 2013.

[7] See also Hood's obituary in *The Washington Post* which begins with his integration of the University of Alabama and ends with Hoods's reflections on the "tremendous politics" made in U.S. race relations, noting that in a multicultural society "everyone is colored and everyone is a minority." Adam Berstein, "James Hood, who integrated University of Alabama, dies at 70," *The Washington Post*. Jan. 18, 2013.

[8] Culpepper, *The Schoolhouse Door,* 225-228.

American pioneer in integration,"[9] which sanitizes and individualizes the often horrific and always collective work of integration. The UA history website for instance, mentions Hood & Malone's integration of the school, and Hood's return for his Ph.D. but not that the NAACP Legal Defense Fund had been working with Malone and Hood for two years before the Stand in the Schoolhouse Door, nor that Hood spent his year at UA fearing for his life, living in a dormitory where he was the only student on the floor, surrounded by marshals posted for his protection. [10] Or that his hate mail included a dead black cat delivered to his dormitory door. And certainly not that when he left he said he did so "to avoid a complete mental and physical breakdown."[11] Instead the university presents what Sara Ahmed calls "a repair narrative" [12] which instrumentalizes students like Hood and Malone to tell the story of how much the institution has progressed, grown, or healed—once again marginalizing black students.

In 2004, UA law professor and legal historian Alfred J. Brophy, uncomfortable with the commonplace assertion that Vivian Malone and James Hood had been "the first African-Americans to enter the University of Alabama" in its 132-year history, began a historical investigation to dispel the myth of black absence from campus. He found that one of the first official acts of the university was the purchase of an enslaved man named Ben, and that Ben and other slaves prepared school grounds for years before the first cohort of white students set

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[9] There is even a Wikipedia entry titled "List of African-American pioneers in desegregation of higher education." The usage of the term "pioneer," generally a synonym for explorer or colonist, and deeply tied in U.S. popular imagination with the settlement of the American West, iself speaks volumes of the hailing of the black subject as a typically American subject.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_African-American_pioneers_in_desegregation_of_higher_education

[10] "History of UA." *University of Alabama.* https://www.ua.edu/about/history.
Clark, *The Schoolhouse Door*, 167-189.

[11] Hood left disillusioned with the role of students in direct actions, feeling that civil right protests had "become a matter of excitement rather than conviction for most Negroes." Bernstein, "James Hood."

[12] Sara Ahmed. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 142-143, 168.

foot on campus.[13] Black people had not only *not* been absent from the campus for 132 years, they had literally built the campus and kept it running.

Brophy's findings disrupted UA's repair narrative and brought attention to a silence and fiction at the heart of the institutional histories of many predominantly white institutions of higher education in the United States (PWIs). These universities and colleges celebrate their progress in admitting black students, but that celebration also does the work of eliding the long presence of black people on campus—whether as bondspersons and laborers, or as objects and subjects of research. They imagine the university's 'race problem' as nonexistent until the crises precipitated by the Civil Rights Movement introduced the problem of representation to the university. And they imagine this race problem resolved with the dissolution of student movements through measured concessions.

This dissertation tells another history of U.S. higher education: one that does not subsume black struggle and scholarship into the repair narrative of the U.S. academy, but positions the vexed relationship between black Americans and the academy as an engine driving the evolution of higher education in the twentieth century United States. I begin with the belief that blackness as a social/political relation, black bodies as workers, producers, and data sources, and black oppositional knowledges (particularly geographies that place blackness, the U.S. nation-state, and black communities in the U.S. and across the diaspora, in relation to each other) have always been simultaneously antithetical and integral to the reproduction of the U.S. university. Through case studies examining a range of higher

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[13] Brian Leiter, "Slavery and the University of Alabama." *Leiter Reports*. May 11, 2004. http://leiterreports.typepad.com/blog/2004/05/slavery_and_the.html
Brophy reports that Ben and other slaves built UA buildings between 1828 and 1831 and continued laboring on campus for a variety of jobs "from making bricks, carpentry, and carrying water and coal, to waiting on students. One slave, Sam, worked as a laboratory assistant." Students brought their own slaves to campus as well.

education projects inaugurated between 1865 and 2010, I ask: What role have black students and researchers, black epistemological innovations, and black geographies played in the evolution of U.S. higher education?

I look particularly at the way sites of higher education have articulated academic and common sense notions of race, space, and belonging in what I call racial-spatial pedagogies, descriptive and prescriptive theories describing racial difference and how that difference fits in the larger body politic. Following Katherine McKittrick's provocation to consider how the organization of space naturalizes racial hierarchies, creating knowledge about where different 'types' of people naturally 'belong,'[14] I look at institutions of higher education as places which teach their students where black people belong and don't belong, as well as teaching the nation where racial difference does and does not belong. Charting the emergence of new racial-spatial pedagogies across the various racial crises of the long twentieth century and the various innovations that created a stratified system of higher education in the United States allows me to demonstrate how U.S. higher education's contemporary 'diversity problem,' began in 1865, with the racialized and gendered notions of the public good, social mobility, and self-determination that arose in the aftermath of Emancipation.

Literature Review: History and Historical Sociology of U.S. Higher Education

Academic work on the history and historical sociology of "American higher education" tends to center 4-year universities and specifically predominantly white institutions (PWIs) as though they were coterminous with U.S. higher education as a whole. It also tends to focus on three historical periods: the colonial period covering approximately

[14] Katherine McKittrick. *Demonic grounds: Black women and the cartographies of struggle*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xv-xvii.

1636 (the founding of Harvard College) to 1779 (the U.S.'s first graduate degrees in law and medicine at the College of William & Mary) in which American higher education emerges as a distinctly national program; the rise of the land-grant college after the Morrill Act of 1862, which is often depicted as the period of the democratization of U.S. higher education; and the demographic boom in college enrollment after the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill), generally depicted as the period when the U.S. university confronts its 'race problem.'[15] Such work understands race and racism as epiphenomenal to the democratizing

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[15] This is not to say that there aren't historical overviews of white American higher education that look at all three moments in a teleological narrative. See for instance: Frederick Rudolph and John R. Thelin. *The American College and University: A History.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990); John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy. *Higher education in transition : a history of American colleges and universities.* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997); Allison L. Palmadessa. *American National Identity, Policy Paradigms, and Higher Education: A History of the Relationship between Higher Education and the United States, 1862-2015.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) and Christopher J. Lucas. *American Higher Education: A History*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994). On the whole such histories treat 'the woman question' and 'the race question' as supplements to the main story, a progress narrative of PWIs evolving towards more representative and democratic forms.
For the history of colonial colleges, see: Kenneth Robert Nivison. *New England Colleges and the Emergence of Liberal America, 1790-1870.* (Ph.D. Diss., Catholic University of America, 2000); J. David Hoeveler. *Creating the American Mind: Intellect and Politics in the Colonial Colleges*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002); Margaret Sumner. *Collegiate Republic: Cultivating and Ideal Society in Early America.* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014); and John F. Roche. *The Colonial Colleges in the War for American Independence*. (Millwood, NY: Associated Faculty Press, 1986).
On the period following the Morrill Land Grant Act, see footnotes 11 and 13 as well as: Richard Wayne Lykes. *Higher Education and the United States Office of Education, 1867-1953*. (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Postsecondary Education, 1975); Henry Sherman Brunner. *Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1862-1962*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1962).
For the period after the G.I. Bill, see Christopher Newfield. *Unmaking the Public University: The Forty-Year Assault on the Middle Class*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Clark Kerr. *The Great Transformation in Higher Education, 1960-1980.* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991); Henry Heller. *The Capitalist University: The Transformations of Higher Education in the United States, 1945-2016*. (London: Pluto Press, 2016); Sheila Slaughter and Larry Leslie. *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); and Henry Giroux. *The University in Chains: Confronting the Military-Industrial Academic Complex.* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2007).
Notably there is also a body of work that looks at white women in higher education, often with a chapter or section on the race question. See for instance: Andrea Lindsay Turpin. *A New Moral Vision: Gender, Religion, and the Changing Purposes of American Higher Education, 1837-1917*. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2016); Elizabeth Seymour Eschbach. *The Higher Education of Women in England and America, 1865-1920.* (New York: Garland, 1993); and Linda Eisenmann. *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); and Barbara Miller Solomon. *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

thrust at the core of U.S. higher education's unfolding progress narrative. It has little to say about Wallace and Hood outside the institutional repair narrative.

The most comprehensive and nuanced analyses of race and racism in U.S. higher education have come from black studies historians, education theorists, and sociologists. Since black education in general, and black higher education in particular, developed through separate sources of funding and leadership than predominantly white institutions, as well as distinct traditions of teacher training and curricular design, it is not surprising that their histories have created sub-fields across the social scientific and humanistic fields. [16] Within this wide-ranging literature, there are a few thematic gathering points: the history of black education before 1861;[17] chronicles of various 'firsts' and their impacts;[18] the history and sociology of HBCUS;[19] the history of student protest, particularly as it relates to the larger black freedom struggle;[20] the sociology of desegregation in higher education;[21] psycho-sociological work on the specific challenges faced by black students in white institutions;[22] interdisciplinary investigations into the founding of the identity-based disciplines;[23] and black

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[16] See William H. Watkins. *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954*. (Teachers College Press: New York, 2001), 181.
[17] See for instance: Ellen NicKenzie Lawson and Marlene Merrill. *The Three Sarahs: Documents of Antebellum Black College Women*. (New York; E. Mellen Press, 1984).
[18] See for instance: Stephanie Y. Evans. *Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850-1954: an Intellectual History*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007).
[19] See for instance: Bobby L. Lovett. *America's Historically Black Colleges & Universities: a Narrative History from the Nineteenth Century into the Twenty-First Century*. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2011).
[20] See for instance: Ibram X. Kendi. *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965-1972*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
[21] See for instance: Sam P. Wiggins. The Desegregation Era in Higher Education. (Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Pub. Corp., 1996).
[22] See for instance: Karolyn Tyson. *Integration Interrupted: Tracking, Black Students, and Acting White after Brown*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[23] See for instance: Frances Smith Foster, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, and Stanlie M. James (Ed.) *Still Brave: The Evolution of Black Women's Studies*. (New York: The Feminist Press at CUNY, 2009).

feminist intellectual history.[24] In the last 15 years another focus has emerged related to these lines of investigation as historians like Brophy, have been assisting student activists in convincing university officials to seriously investigate their racial pasts before the Civil Rights era.[25] While these efforts have proliferated in the last 15 years, the frequent use of the appellation "project" indicates the uneasy relationship between administration's desire to be absolved of past wrongdoings, historians' attempts to "narrow the range of permissible lies," and the institution's inability to reckon with the scale of the oppression they have been complicit in.[26] Yet the persistence of the scholars tasked with these efforts of memory, repentance, reconciliation, healing, and redress, speaks to their personal and collective investments in making possible another university.

This new praxis-driven history resonates with a contemporaneously emergent interdisciplinary field encompassing "critical studies about the casualization of academic labor, the privatization of the public university, and the uncertain future of U.S. higher education," calling itself Critical University Studies (CUS).[27] Yet the two subfields do not seem to overlap, possibly due to geographic and disciplinary distances: the universities

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[24] See for instance: Mia E. Bay, Farah J. Griffin, Martha S. Jones, and Barbara D. Savage (Ed.) *Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

[25] This is a rapidly growing field. In 2015, the University of Virginia's "President's Commission on Slavery and the University" established a multi-institution consortium of "Universities Studying Slavery," (USS) to allow historians to collaborate on research and share best practices for attempts at 'reconciliation.' In the last three years the consortium has grown to include 38 universities in the U.S., Canada, and Britain. "Universities Studying Slavery," *President's Commission on Slavery and the University, University of Virginia.* http://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery/

[26] The quote comes from Canadian historian, and later member of Parliament, Michael Ignatieff's 1997 book. Michael Ignatieff. *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Consciousness*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997),173.

[27] Heather Steffen. "Race and Critical University Studies," proposed session for the Modern Languages Association Annual Convention, 2019. See for instance Christopher J. Newfield. *Unmaking the Public University: The Forty-Year Assault on the Middle Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Newfield. *The Great Mistake: How We Wrecked Public Universities and How We Can Fix Them* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018); Benjamin Ginsberg. *The Fall of the Faculty: The Rise of the All-Administrative University and Why It Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Robert Samuels. *Why Public Higher Education Should Be Free: How to Decrease Cost and Increase Quality at American Universities* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013).

reckoning with their slave-holding/profiting pasts are mostly on the Eastern Seaboard of the United States and look to historians to take the investigative lead, while CUS scholarship seems to circulate more on the West Coast and among literary and cultural theory scholars involved in American Studies and Cultural Studies. This dissertation seeks to put these two bodies in conversation, positing a common ground between their interests in the political economy and ideological output of U.S. higher education in the twentieth century.

Various sources trace the intellectual genealogy of Critical University Studies to different studies of the political economy of U.S. universities[28] published throughout the 20th century, but the field did not become self-aware until universities were reeling from the Great Recession of 2008 and the tuition protests of 2009 and 2010. It acquired a name at the 2011 national meeting of the Modern Languages Association,[29] and gained widespread visibility outside language and literature scholarship with the 2012 article "Deconstructing Academe: The Birth of Critical University Studies," in which Jeffrey J. Williams and Heather Steffen coined the term "critical university studies" (CUS). As Williams describes it, practitioners of CUS and other academics see the field formation as an interdisciplinary practice drawing theory and methods from literary studies, cultural studies, education, history, sociology, and labor studies to analyze the material conditions of U.S. and European universities. The political arc of CUS is definitively grounded in labor studies, is primarily preoccupied with turning the clock back on the privatization of the United States' exemplary public good, and

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[28] For instance Sheila Slaughter and Larry Leslie. *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Marc Bousquet. *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation* (New York University Press, 2008); Henry A. Giroux. *University in Chains: Confronting the Military-Industrial-Academic Complex* (New York: Routledge, 2007); and Bill Readings. *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[29] See also: "Critical University Studies" MLA 2011. https://apps.mla.org/conv_listings_detail?prog_id=53&year=2011

bends towards a color-blind socialism to do so.[30] The field's growth is evident in the growing numbers of graduate seminars and university-funded research and working groups on the topic, special issues of scholarly journals like *Critical Ethnic Studies* and *Radical Teacher*, book series housed at Palgrave and at Johns Hopkins University Press, and most importantly for this work, in a contemporary effort of the interdisciplines which seeks to place racialized state violence at the center of the praxis of critical university studies.[31]

This dissertation occurs at the intersections of these fields. My methods and theories come from Ethnic Studies & Black Studies work on the history of race and racism in education and in other state projects, but the object of my study is primarily the schools designed by what William H. Watkins calls "white architects," the government officials, philanthropists, reformers, and pedagogues who created, funded, and shaped higher education in the long twentieth century.[32] Its audience includes Ethnic Studies and Black Studies scholars, as well as CUS practitioners, with all of whom it shares concerns about the futures of U.S. higher education. Illuminating the racial capitalist historical architecture underlying the development of the current landscape of U.S. higher education is, I hope, a step towards making U.S. universities reckon with the "race problem" as a central force in their evolution and placing the contemporary manifestations of this problem at the core of how all

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[30] See for instance Newfield, *Unmaking the Public University*; Giroux, *The University in Chains*; and Wendy Brown. *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2015) for the general political moorings of CUS debates.

[31] See for instance: Gabriella Gutierrez y Muhs et al. (Eds.) *Presumed Incompetent: The Intersections of Race and Class for Women in Academia*. (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2012); Roderick A. Ferguson. *The Reorder of Things: The University and its Pedagogies of Minority Difference*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Piya Chatterjee and Sunaina Maira. *The Imperial University: Academic Repression and Scholarly Dissent*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Sara Ahmed. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012; Stefano Harney and Fred Moten. *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study*. (New York; Minor Compositions, 2013); and Robyn Wiegman. *Object Lessons* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

[32] William W. Watkins. *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (Teachers College Press: New York, 2001).

stakeholders re-vision U.S. public higher education for this century. By centering histories of black presence in higher education as immanent critiques of the U.S. academy, I disrupt narratives that periodize U.S. higher education's "race problem" to the post-World War II period, highlight points of intersection and potential coalition currently absent in much critical university studies scholarship and practice, and return the university into a larger political economy and racialized geography throughout its history.

My primary concern with current CUS debates about the present and future of higher education has to do with the absence of race as a fundamental force shaping the language of U.S. governance. CUS work tends to characterize the neoliberal university as replacing or coopting the ideal university, a democratic and democratizing public good corrupted by the aberration of unequal access in certain historical moments, especially the post-Keynesian one.[33] For instance, Christopher Newfield's *Unmaking the Public University*, a foundational text of CUS, is subtitled "The Forty-Year Assault on the Middle Class," and periodizes the U.S. university's departure from its ideal functions as a post-WWII phenomenon. Newfield describes the purpose of the university as follows: "The university is in general not-for-profit, meaning that it exists to *spend* money on making citizens, engineers, writers, and the other forms of what is sometimes called 'human capital' and that can also be called the creative capability of always-evolving society" (emphasis in original).[34] However, it is important to remember that the concept of 'human capital' for the U.S. university has been historically constrained by the racialized ontology of the human and by its application through the racialized, gendered, and sexualized boundaries on citizenship. Since not everyone subject to the power of the state is or has been a citizen or potential citizen, the ideal of the university

[33] See for example: Carvalho and Downing (Eds.); "The Double Crisis" *Edufactory Web Journal* Issue 0.
[34] Newfield, *Unmaking the University*, 169.

Newfield describes here is not necessarily in conflict with the historical trajectory of the U.S. university or its neoliberal iteration. For non-white subjects, rather than a way of funneling public money into making citizens an end unto themselves, the U.S. university is more accurately understood in the context of Ethnic Studies work on citizenship, such as Chandan Reddy's *Freedom with Violence* and Kimberlé Crenshaw's "Mapping the Margins" that demonstrate how citizenship is not only constrained by, but also productive of, the racialized, gendered, and sexualized boundaries of state-recognized personhood.[35] The U.S. university, both as an ideal of higher education, and as specific institutions, has been dependent on the absence and presence of racialized and gendered bodies since its foundation.

Even for white citizens, the post-war Keynesian university spending money to make citizens represents one moment in a longer evolution of the U.S. university. It was rooted in the rise of a white mass middle class in the post-war period and its expectation of social mobility through higher education.[36] In other periods, the hegemonic understanding of what the university is *for* has been radically different, for example the creation of a scholarly class before 1776; social cohesion during Reconstruction, or the relief of unemployment during the Depression. Assuming that the post-World War II iteration of the university is the ideal limits the political imagination of CUS scholars to pursue a color-blind meritocracy and to unintentionally collude with institutional repair narratives periodizing the U.S. university's 'race problem' as emerging during the student protests of the 1960s and 70s.[37]

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[35] Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," in *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. Ed. Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (New York: New Press, 1996); Reddy, Chandan. *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the U.S. State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
[36] Newfield, *Unmaking the Public University*, 27.
[37] See for example: Mariscal, George. *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*. Slaughter, Sheila and Larry Leslie. *Academic Capitalism*. Chatterjee, Piya and Sunaina Maira Eds. *The Imperial University*. Melamed, Jodi.

In order to counter these limitations, this dissertation expands the 'proper object' and time period of Critical University Studies. It places the 4-year research university and its Keynesian iteration as one among many projects of higher education, including normal and agricultural 'institutes' founded after the Civil War, community colleges which gained popularity in the first three decades of the 20th century, and extra-institutional 'leadership development programs' like Teach For America which have both patronized and threatened education schools over the last three decades. And it situates the post-World War II period of U.S. higher education in a longer historical trajectory that begins with Reconstruction when higher education joined other state apparatuses in negotiating where black citizens would fit in state machines. From a legislative perspective the period of Reconstruction in higher education might be defined as the period between the first Morrill Land Grant Act (1862) which authorized the sale of federal lands for the establishment of state-sponsored higher education institutions and the second Morrill Act (1890), authorizing the use of these funds for racially segregated and substantially unequal institutions. Beginning in this moment also allows a natural articulation between the work of the Universities Studying Slavery Consortium (USS) and CUS scholars, extending USS forwards in time and CUS backwards.

Contemporary debates about the nature and values of U.S. higher education that focus on ideals such as academic freedom have a similar tendency to elide the racialized contests at the core of the evolution of the U.S. academy. Such analyses disarticulate the material privileges that are at stake in contests over the university. For instance the introduction to the anthology *The Imperial University: Academic Repression and Scholarly Dissent* examines the limitations of academic freedom as it is or is not applied to individual faculty 'speaking out'

Represent and Destroy. Ferguson, Roderick A. *The Reorder of Things*. Newfield, Christopher. *Unmaking the Public University.* Muhs et al. eds *Presumed Incompetent*.

about US military involvement in the Middle East and Israeli settler colonialism. The authors' discussion of the American Association of University Professors' (AAUP) endorsement of 'academic freedom' in 1915[38] in the context of World War I and US isolationism mentions that AAUP cofounder Arthur Lovejoy resigned from Stanford University in solidarity with a colleague fired "over a controversy regarding the abuse of immigrant labor by the industrialist Stanford family"[39], but not that the professor in question, Edward Alsworth Ross, opposed not only the exploitative conditions under which Asian immigrants were made to work, but also their very presence in the United States.[40] The essay's elision of the context of white nativism and its imbrication with settler colonialism and anti-blackness foregoes an opportunity to analyze the racialized nature of the liberal political discourse that upholds such ideals. Debates in the last two years about the limits of "academic freedom" and "freedom of speech" on campus, similarly often miss the opportunity to define the *purpose* of such values or principles in a racial capitalist state. Such defenses center the freedom of individual speakers to present controversial ideas, (conflating Keeanga Yamahtta Taylor's professional right to present her research on the Black Lives Matter movement with Milo Yiannopoulos's constitutional right to hold an unpopular view unfettered by government censorship), or students' freedom to shape their campus climate. In either approach, they center the limits of the university in *curtailing* individual civil liberties and forego the opportunity to reflect on the public university's obligations in *creating* justice on and off campus. Such framings

[38] Chatterjee, Piya and Sunaina Maira. *The Imperial University* 15, 36.
[39] *Ibid*. 15
[40] A eugenicist, Prof. Ross "had tried to show that the high birth rate of the Orient made it the land of 'cheap men,' and that if Orientals were allowed to pour into this country the American standard of living would be lowered,"
Orrin L. Elliott *Stanford University: The First Twenty-Five Years* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937). Reprint 1965, 329-30.

collude with the university's notion of diversity as an exercise of the institution's freedom to maximize its ability to compete in the marketplace of students.

Some contemporary students movements also fall into such logics, limiting their political demands to increased inclusion on campus. For instance the #GU272 student protests at Georgetown University received media attention for demanding "a novel form of reparations" asking for an endowment to hire black faculty. [41] The monetary value of the endowment would be equivalent to the present-day value of the sum university president Muledy earned by selling 272 slaves to pay off university debts in 1838. This monetization of the university's participation in the U.S. slave trade imagines the university's participation as a discrete contribution to the slave trade, ignoring the structural, symbolic, and institutional nature and profits of chattel slavery and anti-blackness in the U.S. Furthermore, it imagines the restitution the university can or should provide as being limited to the hiring of more black faculty. Inclusion itself is not radical change. It serves the repair narrative and provides positive publicity to offset the public relations crisis of such histories coming to light, and does so on the institution's terms. This dissertation therefore looks past inclusion and diversity as equity measures. I ask when, how, why, and to what degree black students, scholars, and other workers have been 'included' in higher education spaces and unpack their immanent critiques of these institutions.

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[41] Since 2015, Georgetown has issued a formal apology to descendants of the 272; renamed two buildings originally named for two university presidents who oversaw the sale; and are "offering descendants the same consideration in admissions that it gives members of the Georgetown community." But many descendants have clearly expressed that these measures are not enough.
President John DeGioia has expressed a willingness to explore further reconciliation measures, including "educational opportunities, perhaps partnerships with historically black universities, or help with college readiness, genealogy, memorials and reunion projects." Susan Svrluga. "Make it Right': Descendants of Slaves Demand Restitution from Georgetown." *The Washington Post.* Jan. 17, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2018/01/16/__trashed-2/?utm_term=.5941dcf7bea3

As Black Studies historians Donna Murch and Martha Biondi have previously pointed out in their studies of black student movements, historically, black students' contestations of their exclusion from—or selective inclusion in—the university have understood the university not as an end in itself, but as one front in multi-sited contests between the U.S. state and black intellectual and political activists.[42] Therefore this study proposes to broaden the proper object of CUS by considering how the US university is embedded in larger state projects and by looking at how the racial-spatial pedagogies formed and disseminated through universities reflect and affect academic and popular common senses about race, space, and belonging in the United States. In doing so I hope that foregrounding the off-campus implications of the reproduction of the U.S. university will help create new answers to the question of whether 'another university is possible' that go beyond a simple expansion of the university.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

In "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)", Louis Althusser identifies educational institutions as the dominant ideological state apparatus securing the reproduction of the relations of production.[43] Such apparatuses are crucial in making the belief system that maintains these social relations. Their materiality (i.e. their spaces and practices) materializes ideology and prescribes material practices which engage subjects in rituals or habits that lead the subject to identify with and feel ownership and

[42] See Donna Murch, "The Campus and the Street: Race, Migration, and the Origins of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, CA". *Souls*. Vol. 9 No. 4 (2007): 333-345 and Martha Biondi. *The Black Revolution on Campus*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

[43] Louis Althusser. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)" in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (selections). Trans. Ben Brewster. (London: New Left Books, 1971): 126-86; 149-50, 152

authorship of ideology.[44] In referencing the educational ideological apparatus Althusser is largely concerned with how primary education inculcates children with rudimentary "know-how" and corporal embodiments of discipline, preparing them to grow into the social relations of "exploiters to exploited."[45] However his discussion of how state power exercises hegemony "over and in the state ideological apparatuses" provides a way to conceptualize the university as an apparatus that reproduces particular organizations of national social life.[46] As a vital site of knowledge production that produces 'objective,' (i.e. authoritative) knowledge about the biological and social natures of race, gender, and sexuality, higher education is also a key technology for minoritizing identities and knowledges, and instituting their difference in the national imaginary. Higher education therefore not only inducts subjects into material practices that carry on social relations but also produces, renovates, and authorizes these relations. It signals where people belong in the national space and the national social order, then directs subjects to create and maintain the legal, economic, and social mechanisms that sort groups into their proper ('natural') places. The repair narratives of institutional histories for instance, produced and reinforced the common sense belief that "true" racism was a thing of the past, an aberration in the American teleology conquered during the civil rights struggle of the mid-twentieth century and that people of color in general, and black people in particular, have been fully included in national institutions since.[47]

While the idea of ideological state apparatuses is helpful in apprehending the relationships between education, ideology, the state, and capital, Althusser's shorthand for the

[44] *Ibid*., 170.
[45] *Ibid*. 156.
[46] *Ibid*. 146.
[47] While this is outside the scope of the present project, I would speculate that such narratives of overcoming and particularly of 'enough' repentance (as in the case of George C. Wallace who eventually publicly regretted his support for segregation but maintained that it was not driven by "racism" or "hatred") lay the ground for the re-emergence of a new generation of unrepentant segregationists and white supremacists.

social relations securing the relations of production as the relationships of "exploiters to the exploited" cannot fully represent the multiply stratified social formations which form the context of U.S. higher education. Cedric Robinson's elucidation of "racial capitalism" to describe how white supremacy and capitalism have evolved together creates the possibility of a more nuanced and layered explication of the relations between the "exploiters and the exploited."[48] Robinson demonstrates that since capitalism was overlaid on feudal relations, particularly racialized dispossession, colonialism, and slavery, racialization and racialized violence are at the core of capitalism. Following Robinson's opening, I consider U.S. higher education's goals to encompass the reproduction of a relationally racialized, gendered, and sexualized workforce. Therefore I include a range of technologies and techniques in my understanding of the differentiating mechanisms of racial capitalism, including Saidiya Hartman's explication of "accumulation and fungibility" as the structuring logic of the U.S. capitalist's relation to black bodies, Maria Mies's description of how feminized lives, bodies, and labor are rendered as "free goods" akin to natural resources, Mishuana Goeman's elucidation of "fixing" and "disappearance" through genocide as the structuring logic of the U.S. state's relations to Native bodies, and Roderick Ferguson's illumination of the heteronormative subject assumed and desired not only by the nation state and capital but by historical materialist thought as well.[49] Throughout the dissertation I use the terminology of 'an ideological state apparatus (ISA) of the racial capitalist state' to index these multi-layered,

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[48] Cedric Robinson. *Black Marxism*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 23.
[49] Saidiya Hartman. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Maria Mies. *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor*. (New York: Zed Books, 1986); Mishuana Goeman. *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2013); Roderick A. Ferguson. *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

overlapping, and intersecting structures of domination and oppression, teasing them apart in distinct times and places (scales) in each chapter.

A key function of U.S. higher education as an ISA of the racial capitalist state is to *place* minoritized bodies within and outside the boundaries of the U.S. university as it produces knowledge that correlates or re-directs minoritized bodies to particular locations. This 'placement' is both literal (spatial) and metaphorical (epistemological). The literal aspect of such placement covers the university's work in locating blackness in bodies (e.g. scientific racism, the geneticization of race) as well as locating black bodies in space through knowledge production that creates and upholds what geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore names 'spatial fixes' (e.g. sociological and biomedical research that supports the criminalization of informal economies and directs black bodies to the prison-industrial complex). The metaphorical aspects of placement cover the epistemological work of imagining black people inside and/or outside the US nation through the re-iteration of this imagined community over and against blackness. This dissertation traces both types of placement by tracing how specific types of institutions (a normal and agricultural school, a community college, a land-grant college, and non-profit education reform organizations) reflect and intensify popular and academic ideas about race, space, and belonging on and off campus.

In this context, black geographies can function as a "weapon of the weak," a subaltern resistance strategy that takes ideology as a terrain of struggle. Re-appropriating or re-purposing space through unsanctioned or unimagined place-making practices is political action and a mode of knowledge production. To unpack it, I draw on the methodologies of geographers such as Katherine McKittrick who studies the spatial agency of black women by examining how they repurpose dominant ideologies of gender, race, and nationality in the

geographies they create through their movement through space and in their writing. McKittrick's conjunctural reading practice deploys discourse analysis, literary close reading, and material spatial analysis to interrogate spatial imaginaries and the epistemologies that underlie the geographies produced by black women's place-making practices, especially through their writing practices. Her work, as well as that of other feminist geographers such as Mishuana Goeman, Mary Pat Brady, and Doreen Massey provide both a framework for my analysis and a methodological model.[50]

Other historians and literary theorists tracing these and similar counter-hegemonic narratives have also looked to "alternative archive[s] of the memories, hopes, and social visions" of the black freedom struggle.[51] These alternative archives generally center cultural production including music, poetry, choreography, visual and plastic arts, as well as their concomitant cultural institutions, the black press, radio, television, film, etc. In chapters 2 and 3 in particular, I look at cultural production by and for student activists engaged in place-making practices and analyze them with the help of critical tools developed in the works of Maylei Blackwell, Roderick Ferguson, Leigh Raiford, George Lipsitz, Stephanie Camp, Robin Kelley, and others who have used alternative archives for conjunctural analyses.[52] But the bulk of my materials come primarily from institutional archives and other archival materials documenting institutional histories (assembled from local and national newspapers,

[50] Mishuana Goeman. *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Mary Pat Brady, *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies: Chicana Literature and the Urgency of Space* (Duke University Press, 2002); doreen massey. *for space* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005); Ruth Wilson Gilmore. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
[51] Stephanie M.H. Camp. *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 6-7.
[52] Maylei Blackwell.*¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011. Ferguson, *Reorder of Things*; George Lipsitz. *How Racism Takes Place*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011); Camp, *Closer to Freedom*; Robin Kelley. *Yo Mama's Dysfunktional: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America*. (New York: Beacon Press, 1998).

student publications, oral histories, and popular and community histories). I read these archives with the goal of uncovering the geographies and histories occluded by repair narratives. I look for the racial-spatial pedagogies developed at each institution I study, looking for records and traces of how funders, administrators, teachers, and student bodies articulated institutionally sanctioned ideas of racial difference and national spaces, as well as looking for minoritized perspectives and practices present on campus but expunged from official institutional histories.

I consider the black experience of U.S. higher education as being placed "across" from the U.S. university, embodying an immanent critique of the white architecture of U.S. higher education. This formulation of "across"-ness comes from Katherine McKittrick's analysis of Harriet Jacobs/Linda Brent's position as a fugitive hidden in the 9'x7'x3' attic above her grandmother's house where she was situated: "across (rather than inside or outside, or inevitably bound to) slavery while in the garret. The garret locates her in and amongst the irrational workings of slavery as a witness, participant, and fugitive. These multiple subject positions—formulated in 'the last place they thought of"—gesture to several different geographic possibilities and experiences, such as places seen, remembered, hoped for, and avoided by Brent." It is important to clarify the limits of the comparison. I do not propose that black students are held captives or in the same kind of fugitivity as an escaped slave. But I do consider black scholars' (and other minoritized scholars in different ways and degrees) collective presence in U.S. higher education designed by white pedagogues and politicians as similarly occupying multiple subject positions in relation to the academy and to regimes of state violence, and the racial capitalist state designing its imperatives—witness, participant, fugitive—whether individual academics identify with these or other roles, they are

interpellated into them individual and collectively. And their records and traces left on campus similarly gesture to different geographic possibilities, campuses "seen, remembered, hoped for, and avoided." "Across"-ness also allows me to work outside the presence-absence binary that underlay the erasure of every black person on the UA campus before Vivian Malone and James Hood. It allows more nuance and contradiction than the false binaries of present-absent or visible-invisible.

For instance, chapter 3, on the Lumumba Zapata College (1969-71) at UCSD uses student publications to show that Black student activists seeking self- determination in higher education understood blackness as a transnational, relational formation and tried to transform the architecture and episteme of their university to reflect the transnational location of blackness in a Third World geography. I then use the college's archives to demonstrate how the Cold War university administration's response to student activism slowly transformed Lumumba Zapata College to Thurgood Marshall College, replacing transnational Black and Brown solidarity with a flattening celebration of cultural and ethnic difference that rendered 'African-American' one among many hyphenated identities in a 'nation of immigrants'. Such responses to black Third World solidarity paved the way for the domestic diversity paradigm popular today. Each of my chapters brings a similar conjunctural reading practice to examine the role of American higher education in articulating race, blackness, and American- ness during different historical moments and at different geographical scales.

Chapter Outline

In an effort to cover the widest variety of higher education projects without sacrificing depth of coverage, I have organized the dissertation as a series of case studies, each of which

looks at a new innovation in post-1865 U.S. higher education, studies it in the context of the racial politics of its founding, and examines the racial-spatial pedagogies embedded in its curriculum and organization and how they evolve over time. The first chapter considers Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in the context of Reconstruction; the second looks at community colleges in the context of Progressive Era municipal reforms and the demographic pressures of the Great Migration; the third considers a student-designed Third World college at the University of California during the height of the Cold War; and the final looks at Teach For America and similar 'leadership development programs' as the neoliberal alternative to education schools in the ostensibly "post-racial" moment of the 1990's and 2000s. I put the same set of questions to each school: what do these sites reveal about the role of race in the development of U.S. higher education? How do they interact with the black geographies in or around them? What does their organization posit about race, space, and belonging in the United States in their moment?

My first chapter demonstrates the role of higher education in creating new racialized and subordinate citizenships in the immediate aftermath of 1865 by following the history of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (now Hampton University) with an emphasis on its foundation and its rise to hegemonic influence in the funding of historically black colleges and universities. I argue that education had been a crucial element of the 'rival geographies' created by black people to defy the containment-based geography of plantation slavery, but became a technology of enclosure after Emancipation, tying socially mobile black workers to underdeveloped rural areas and respectably gendered occupations. Looking at the history of the Indian program at Hampton, I also argue that during the period between 1865 and 1898, blackness became the fulcrum of U.S. white supremacy. Finally, I connect this

history to contemporary debates about introducing 'career training' in liberal arts curricula, warning that doing so would further stratify already highly segregated higher education pathways.

The second chapter traces the history of Malcolm X College in Chicago from its founding as Crane Junior College in 1911 through the Great Depression, the 1968 uprising, and the Great Recession of 2008. By tracking changes in the demographics of the neighborhood one college serves and relating these to changes in its form and function, I demonstrate how the modern U.S. notion of the public good is always-already racialized and how the idealized geography of 'community' that animates the project of the community college is created over and against black neighborhoods and communities. This chapter is particularly concerned with the rhetorical tools supporters of public funding for higher education generally, and the 'liberal arts' specifically, use to resist privatization and financialization. I warn that expanding inclusion without regard to which programs of study are made available to which populations will be insufficient to counter the racial unevenness of neoliberalization. Instead I offer the model of the community service pedagogy created by student activists at Malcolm X as a defense of the benefits of higher education in the liberal arts that is accountable to local communities.

In chapter 3 I use oral histories and original activist documents to examine an "insurgent space" of black study in the short-lived, student-led Lumumba Zapata College at the University of California, San Diego—a project representative of U.S. Third Worldist student activism in the 1960s and 1970s. Tracing how this college slowly transformed into the more patriotically named Thurgood Marshall College, I illuminate how U.S. universities are guiding student activists to abandon thinking about race and racism as global political and

economic problems and instead encouraging them to regard race and racism as personal identities and individual prejudices or trauma. Being cognizant of this transformation I argue, should prepare student activists and their supporters to refuse the repair narratives offered by university officials adept at containing student dissent.

The final chapter considers the emergence of an ostensibly color-blind, progressive-minded neoliberalism in the rise of Teach For America and similar 'leadership development programs.' I examine these programs as something akin to finishing schools or credentialing programs where 'talented' college graduates earn a prestigious line for their résumés while also acquiring a training in how to treat municipal governance as management design. I demonstrate that despite the best intentions of participants to combat urban crises, particularly the school-to-prison pipeline, such programs further the criminalization of urban spaces, while using the language of civil rights to insinuate the privatization of public services. I argue that much of what CUS critics fear for the future of higher education has quietly been coming to pass with teacher training due to the rise of these leadership development programs and argue for a defense of these programs as the frontline of the fight for public education of all levels.

These case studies represent a diverse set of sites, practices, and people. As a collective however, they all demonstrate how white-designed higher education has been shaped by the question of where black Americans belong in the U.S. While I try to demonstrate how U.S. higher education has evolved in a dialogic relationship with the black radical tradition's pedagogical and geographic innovations, my focus remains on the institutions themselves. In the final analysis, this is not the story of the James Hoods and much less of the Vivian Malones of recent history. It is the story of the George Wallaces, of their stands, their apparent repentance, and the continuing complicity behind their apologies.

Chapter 1
"They Didn't Fight for This":
The Hampton Institute, Manual Training, and the Enclosure of Black Higher Education

Histories of black education during Reconstruction have identified the central role of education in abolitionist organizing and the backlash against it; as well as its role in demarcating the limits of black freedom and citizenship, creating a means of "consolidating the unpredictable newly freed slaves"; and in re-asserting a national unity by preserving Southern agriculture and the pool of cheap semiskilled and unskilled black labor underpinning it.[1] Most of these historians treat primary and general education as embodying black freedom dreams and higher education at industrial education schools, especially at the Hampton Institute in Virginia and the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, as technologies of containing visions of black freedom that centered social and spatial mobility. My study adds another dimension to these discussions by examining the history of the school before the arrival of the AMA and the manual training pedagogy it would support. I demonstrate how the re-articulation of an illegal primary school to a state-funded institution of higher education functioned an *enclosure* of the black geography developed by refugees and local black residents. My understanding of "enclosure" is grounded in Clyde Woods's analysis of how the plantation bloc attempted to arrest black critiques of the Southern political economy in the aftermath of the Great Depression. More immediately I draw from Damien Sojoyner's application of enclosures to the study of K-12 education policy. Sojoyner builds on Wood's

[1] See for instance: William W. Watkins. *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954*. (Teachers College Press: New York, 2001); James D. Anderson. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Hilary J. Moss. *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African-American Education in Antebellum America*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Ronald E. Butchart. *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

use of enclosure to index “historical contestations over power, resources, and ways of life that have ushered us to the present moment,” adding that in addition to physical barriers to free movement, enclosure also denotes, “social mechanisms that construct notions of race, gender, class, and sexuality; and just as important as the imposition of the physical and unseen, enclosure embodies the removal/withdrawal/denial of services and programs that are key to the stability and long-term well-being of communities.”[2]

Hampton was founded by Mary Peake (a free black woman) as a clandestine school for black students of all ages before the Civil War, and eventually became incorporated as the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute by the American Missionary Association (AMA) in 1868. I argue that the original iteration of the school indexes what historian Stephanie Camp, adapting Edward Said’s formulation for the U.S. South, calls a “rival geography.” Camp argues that the use of space was fundamental to slavery as “places, boundaries, and movement” disciplined space and time to naturalize racialized domination. Enslaved people responded to this fixing by creating rival geographies based on motion: “the movement of bodies, objects, and information within and around plantations.”[3] The history of Hampton demonstrates how these rival geographies continued to present a threat to white power in the post-War period and how higher education was recruited by “white architects” to discipline these spatial practices into what George Lipsitz calls the “white spatial imaginary,” an understanding of space characterized by exclusivity, homogeneity, and exchange value.[4]

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[2] Damien M. Sojoyner. *First Strike: Educational Enclosures in Black Los Angeles*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).
[3] Stephanie M.H. Camp. *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 6-7, 27-28.
[4] George Lipsitz. *How Racism Takes Place*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 28-29.

By placing paternalistic ideas about respectable gender roles and labor at the core of higher education for black citizens, Hampton simultaneously devised and enclosed black higher education. Through its near monopoly on philanthropic and federal funding, the Hampton model would foreclose the social and spatial mobility of free black women and men for decades, effectively advocating a bootstraps ideology that supported racial harmony through racial hierarchy (evocatively captured by Hampton graduate Booker T. Washington's metaphor of 'casting down one's bucket'), the displacement of existing models of black self-determination, and eventually the withdrawal of federal support for incipient black institutions in the post-War South.

It is important to point out at the outset that neither the school's philosophy nor its organization were *typical* of contemporary HBCUs. Education historian Robert G. Sherer conducts a comprehensive study of black secondary and normal schools in Alabama to demonstrate that the pedagogical philosophy enacted at Hampton and its descendant, Tuskegee, were "outside the mainstream of black educational thought."[5] Black teachers and leaders of black schools and colleges in particular were vocal in their rejection of the Hampton model as it replaced the liberal arts curriculum at the core of contemporary U.S. higher education with "manual training," a thinly veiled program of manual labor. Historian James A. Anderson argues that the black secondary schools and colleges organized by black religious organizations like the African Methodist Episcopal Church (e.g. Morris Brown College), the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (e.g. Lane College and Texas College), and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (e.g. Clinton Institute, now Clinton Junior College) specifically rejected the Hampton model of industrial training and "gave low priority

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[5] Robert G. Sherer. *Subordination or Liberation?: The Development and Conflicting Theories of Black Education in Nineteenth Century Alabama*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 146.

to all forms of industrial training." While white missionary organization leaders such as Joseph E. Roy of the American Missionary Association and Thomas J. Morgan of the American Baptist Home Mission Society held that Hampton's model of manual labor "undermined the democratic rights of blacks by assuming that black students were destined for a subordinate industrial role in the Southern economy."[6]

But if Hampton was outside the mainstream of black educational thought, it was certainly at the heart of white philanthropic thought. Its founding principal Samuel Chapman Armstrong was possibly the most effective fundraiser for black higher education among of his time. His connections across high-ranking officers in the Union army, state and national politicians, and Northern industrialists, combined with his willingness to exploit white fears of black freedom and white nostalgia for black subjugation, made him a formidable force in the world of philanthropy. So much so that other black schools, even when they had no intention of centering manual training pedagogy, found themselves taking up its language to solicit donations. The Hampton model, even if not representative was certainly *hegemonic* in that it organized black and white consent to the agrarian economy that would prevail in the South and therein lies its historical importance and its lessons for contemporary predominantly white institutions (PWIs) and efforts to expand degree granting programs and to reimagine a more *practical* liberal arts for the twenty-first century.[7] Through its history I

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[6] Anderson. *The Education of Blacks*, 67-69.

[7] See for instance former Dickinson College president William G. Durden's recent column for *Inside Higher Ed* in which Durden advocates for elite liberal arts colleges like Dickinson to "initiate a suite of trade-like programs that lead to various forms of certification and that parallel the liberal arts curriculum." He propose courses in "[e]lectronics, farming, auto repair, carpentry, coding, small business management, masonry, culinary arts, plumbing, tailoring," each of which would have a guild associated with it, allowing students to enhance their social life on campus while learning to respect the skills required for jobs in these fields. Durden's plan is modeled on his own experience in the ROTC which gave him discipline, a social circle, and an appealing option for a potential first job as an army officer. He does not take into account the already existing racial and class-based stratification between liberal arts colleges and vocational training at community colleges (discussed in

will demonstrate how black higher education became a part of the white spatial imaginary's enclosure of the black geographies after the Civil War, displaced existing black geographies and laid the foundations for a severely segregated system of higher education in the twentieth century United States.

The Peake School and the Rival Geography of the Grand Contraband Camp

The Hampton University Archives are extensive.[8] Dependent on philanthropic largess for much of its initial capital outlay and for its year-round expenditures, the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute had a strong incentive to publicize everything that took place on its campus. Founding principal and consummate fundraiser General Samuel Chapman Armstrong himself wrote regular annual reports and periodic assessments of Hampton's achievements and encouraged his majority women teaching staff to do the same. After Armstrong's own writings (reports, school and personal correspondence, and columns for the school newspaper *Southern Workman*), these women's writings are the most frequently cited literature on the early years of the school. The 1893 report compiled by long-serving teacher

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chapter 2). William G. Durden, "Bringing Guilds to College," *Inside Higher Ed*. Feb. 28, 2018. https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2018/02/28/practical-approach-reinventing-liberal-arts-education-opinion
The Hampton model might be a cautionary tale for supporters of such guilds which surely would segregate campus life more and act like the tracking (sometimes called streaming or phrasing) in K-12 schools that supposedly separates students based on academic merit but in practice is a remnant of "massive resistance" tactics to maintain school segregation and lower quality educations for black children. See for instance R.A. Mickelson, "The Academic Consequences of Desegregation and Segregation: Evidence from the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools," *North Carolina Law Review*. 81 (2003): 1514-1562 and "Teaching Inequality: The Problem of Public School Tracking," *Harvard Law Review* 102 no. 8 (1989): 1318-1341.
Support for such programs reveals a key disjuncture between critical university studies and Ethnic Studies approaches to higher education.

[8] The website of the University Archives boasts, "Among the archive's holdings are more than 8 million documentary items and over 50,000 photographs and glass negatives reflecting Hampton's role in American education, educational philosophy, political activities, labor issues, and business and international relations" and that its holdings represent "the most complete student records of any historically black college or university in the United States."
"University Archives," *Hampton University Museum*. http://museum.hamptonu.edu/university_archives.cfm

Helen W. Ludlow and the unpublished manuscript "Indian Days at Hampton" by Indian program teacher Cora M. Fulsom, are mainstays in all secondary literature on the early years of Hampton. Their perspective, both as white New England women from genteel families, and as fundraisers hoping to appeal to potential donors, shapes the narrative about the early work done at Hampton and students' acceptance of it. This section begins by examining how these writers' investments in racialized and gendered ideas of respectability constrained which history of Hampton was originally narrated in official accounts and continues to be re-told in secondary histories which look at the institutional archives. I then present a counter history of the school which focuses on the rival geography of the black settlement in Norfolk known as the Grand Contraband Camp instead of focusing on the work of the American missionaries and army men who form the core of the historical narrative originally set down by the women teaching and fundraising for Hampton Institute.

For this genre of fundraising writing, the origins of the school carry great symbolic value and are therefore frequently retold. For at least the first 30 years of the school's operation, these publicity documents began Hampton's story in 1861 with a school for Civil War refugees created by an "ex-slave," Mary S. Peake. Armstrong's introduction to Ludlow's *Twenty-Two Years' Work* notes that when he first came to Hampton, he found that the American Missionary Association, an abolitionist organization founded by former members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the American Home Mission Society (AHMS), had opened at Hampton "the first school for freedmen in the South, in charge of an ex-slave, Mrs. Mary Peake."[9] Two hundred and eighty-eight pages later

[9] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "From the Beginning," in *Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia.* Ed. Helen W. Ludlow (Hampton: Hampton Normal School Press, 1893), 4. Hampton University Archives (HUA).

in the same document, Ludlow notes: "The daughter of Mrs. Mary Peake whose noble work is noticed on page 4 calls our attention to the fact that her mother was not an ex-slave as there described. Her husband was given his freedom at the age of twenty-one. Mrs. Peake was herself always a free woman."[10] Despite Peake's daughters efforts, at least two archival sources with a publication date later than Ludlow's 1893 work refer to Peake as a free*d* woman, but the correction did eventually enter the institutional history. Hampton University's current website reads: "In order to provide the masses of refugees some kind of education, Mary Peake, a free Negro, was asked to teach, even though an 1831 Virginia law forbid the education of slaves, free blacks and mulattos. She held her first class, which consisted of about twenty students, on September 17, 1861 under a simple oak tree."[11] This paragraph does not specify who asked Peake to take on the job, but given that the paragraph immediately preceding it is a description of Brigadier General Benjamin Butler's role in establishing the Grand Contraband Camp, readers likely infer that the request came from Butler or his personnel at Fort Monroe.[12] This re-telling displaces the AMA with Butler and the Union Army as Hampton's founders, and keeps Peake in the role of its first teacher.

None of the authors who wrote these accounts for Hampton had personally met Mary Peake or encountered the school while she was alive. Her daughter does not seem to have left a written record. But outside the institutional archive, there is at least one extant record of

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[10] *Ibid.* 292. (HUA)
[11] "History," *Hampton University*. http://www.hamptonu.edu/about/history.cfm
[12] The full text on the website reads: "The year was 1861. The American Civil War had shortly begun and the Union Army held control of Fort Monroe in Hampton, Virginia at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. In May of that year, Union Major General Benjamin Butler decreed that any escaping slaves reaching Union lines would be considered "contraband of war" and would not be returned to bondage. This resulted in waves of enslaved people rushing to the fort in search of freedom. A camp to house the newly freed slaves was built several miles outside the protective walls of Fort Monroe. It was named "The Grand Contraband Camp" and functioned as the United States' first self-contained African American community.
In order to provide the masses of refugees some kind of education…"

Mary Peake's life and work written by someone who knew her in person, a 64-page tract by the Reverend Lewis C. Lockwood, titled "Mary S. Peake, The Colored Teacher at Fortress Monroe." Lockwood was the first AMA missionary sent to Norfolk, where he selected Peake's school as the site for the AMA's first war-time investment in Southern education. [13] His short narrative piece traces Peake's life from birth to death with a focus on the Christian motivations and impact of her work.

According to Lockwood's narrative, Peake was born in 1823 in Norfolk, Virginia, to "a free colored woman, very light," and "a white man—an Englishman of rank and culture."[14] From the age of 6 to 16, Peake lived with an aunt in Arlington, D.C., attending a school for girls where she received a grammar school education and training in needlework and dress-making.[15] In 1839 when the District of Columbia outlawed the education of any black person, enslaved or free, Peake left town. William Aery's unpublished manuscript, "Hampton Idea of Education 1868-1893" mentions that upon leaving Arlington, Peake studied at Oberlin.[16]

Lockwood recounts that when Peake returned to live with her mother in Norfolk, she arranged to teach her step-father and other men of the neighborhood to read and write in her parents' house.[17] By 1845 Peake was running a school for black students of all ages at the

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[13] Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt. *Black reconstruction in America 1860-1880*. (Free Press, 1999), 77.
[14] Lewis C. Lockwood, "Mary S. Peake, The Colored Teacher at Fortress Monroe." (Boston: American Tract Society, 1862). Digitized by Project Gutenberg, 2007. 5. Robert Engs refers to Peake's father as a Frenchman, Engs. *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890.* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2004).
[15] Lockwood, "Mary S. Peake," 7. David Freedman conjectures that Peake likely attended Sylvia Morris's primary school as well as "Mr. Nuthall's" school at the First Baptist Colored Church in Georgetown. The curriculum at these included "an English education (primarily reading, writing and arithmetic) along with dressmaking and needlework."
David Freedman, "African-American Schooling in the South Prior to 1861," *The Journal of Negro HistoriThe Journal of Negro History*, 84 No. 1 (1999): 1-47, 1.
[16] While Lockwood doesn't corroborate this, he also does not mention what Peake did between 1839 and 1845. William Anthony Aery "Hampton Idea of Education 1868-93" unpublished manuscript. n.d. Chapter XI, page 11. HUA
[17] Lockwood, "Mary S. Peake," 14.

family home. In 1850 she moved to her new husband's house in Hampton, where she again started teaching any black student she could recruit, particularly any enslaved children. In defiance of an 1849 state law clearly specifying that "every assemblage of negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing, or in the night time for any purpose, shall be an unlawful assembly," Peake ran this free school through Virginia's secession in April 1861, the burning of Hampton by deserting white rebels, and the arrival of Union reinforcements at Fort Monroe in August of the same year. Peake also founded a "benevolent society, called the 'Daughters of Zion,' designed for ministration to the poor and the sick" which continued even after her death in 1862.[18] When Lockwood arrived in Hampton in September 1861, Peake was teaching 40-50 pupils while working as a seamstress. Lockwood secured her a $1.50/week salary. By January of the next year, she was teaching 53 children during the day (spelling, writing, elementary arithmetic and the Lord's prayer), and 20 adults at night.[19] Since at least October of 1861 she struggled with tuberculosis but continued teaching, her students gathering around her bed when she was too ill to stand.[20]

The oak tree does not figure in Lockwood's account, but was a meeting point for black refugees living in the area.[21] The tree, now called Emancipation Oak, was the first site in the South where the Emancipation Proclamation was read aloud. The AMA went on to build the Butler School, the missionary organization's first schoolhouse for refugees in Virginia, in the shadow of the oak in 1863. It seems likely that the location of the Butler school, Peake's

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[18] Freedman, "African-American Education," 1. ; Lockwood, "Mary S. Peake," 14-20; Quotation from "Offences against public policy," Title 54, Chapter 198; "Assembling of negroes. Trading by free negroes," Section 31; in *The Code of Virginia*. (Richmond: William F. Ritchie, 1849), 747.

[19] Freedman, "African-American Education," 3.

[20] Lockwood, "Mary S. Peake," 34-35. s

[21] Lockwood does make one mention of an oak tree, when describing Peake's grave, and it is likely the Emancipation Oak: "The place of her sepulture Is about a hundred yards north of the seminary, on the bank of the inlet. A live-oak tree stands at her head, projecting its emblematic evergreen foliage over the sod-roofed tenement." Lockwood, "Mary S. Peake," 49.

burial site, and the history of the oak tree as a gathering point gave rise to the legend of Mary Peake teaching her students under the oak tree. But there is more than poetry at play in understanding why the life and work of Mary Peake were so consistently misrepresented in the school's history, particularly when it was told by white missionaries.[22]

Mary Peake's actual life militated against the narrative of humble origins Hampton's founders and early supporters desired. Her mobility, access to higher education in the liberal arts, her leadership, charity work, and her sustained commitment to contravening unjust laws were not in keeping with the gendered respectability required of a *humble* founding mother. Peake's work was clearly revolutionary. She even taught at least three black men who would occupy prominent leadership positions during Reconstruction: Thompson Walker, William Thornton, and William Davis.[23] And throughout she broke the laws which did not concord with her understanding of justice. [24] Peake's work contributed to black individual and collective autonomy, and she held herself accountable to a higher law than the state's. These were precisely the threats that Hampton's idea of black citizenship was designed to enclose in order to restore the pre-war social order. Peake's work was not *continued* with Hampton's manual training pedagogy, it was *displaced* and over time the principles underlying it, *undermined* by Hampton. Hence her silencing in the archive curated by Armstrong and his staff.

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[22] As discussed below, I use the term 'missionary' here capaciously to cover proselytization for Christianity and for labor as a moral force.
[23] Freedman, "African-American Education," 2.
[24] There is some debate about how "clandestine" her school was before the war, with Lockwood claiming that it was run in secret, and historians including Robert Francis Engs who points out that many illegal things went unchecked in antebellum Hampton provided they were "done discreetly and caused no problems." Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 13.
Even if the authorities had agreed to look the other way, with Turner's rebellion in living memory, the sanction would have been precarious at best, particularly as Peake made an effort to recruit enslaved students.

Peake's dedication to her school, even in the face of violent intimidation, the dangers of war, and of personal illness, exemplifies the importance free black women and men placed on education. While there is little documentation of the specific work Peake did in her schoolhouse, archival materials allow us to situate her educational project in the larger rival geography of the Grand Contraband Camp, the black settlement formed on the Norfolk Peninsula during the war years.

Fort Monroe on the Norfolk peninsula (3 miles from Emancipation Oak) remained under Union control even after Virginia seceded from the Union. Its commanding officer was Brigadier General Benjamin Butler, an abolitionist lawyer in his pre-war life. When black refugees began arriving at the fort, Butler reasoned that they could not be subject to the Fugitive Slave Act, as their purported owners had forsaken U.S. citizenship. Butler thus became the founding proponent of the doctrine that black refugees were 'contraband of war.' Reasoning that "the freedmen would never be suffered to return into bondage," Butler also saw no need to convey the refugees further North, but encouraged them to seek employment with the Union government and to work the abandoned rebel properties.[25] Word spread that refugees would be given shelter and work at Monroe, and a black settlement quickly formed. Du Bois cites one account of the camp's growth:

> On May twenty-sixth, only two days after the one slave appeared before Butler, eight Negroes appeared; on the next day, forty-seven, of all ages and both sexes. Each day they continued to come by twenties, thirties and forties until by July 30th the number had reached nine hundred. In a very short while the number ran up into the thousands. The renowned Fortress took the name of the 'freedom fort' to which the blacks came by means of a 'mysterious spiritual telegraph.[26]

[25] Lockwood, "Mary S. Peake," 53-54.
[26] Junius Henri Browne cited in Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 63.

From a pre-war total of 10,000, the peninsula's black population grew to 40,000 in 1865.[27] Refugees built cottages, revived the farms that fleeing white planters had burned, started dairy farms, set up an economy based on fishing and oystering, and even before Congress sanctioned their formal recruitment, collaborated with the union army in large numbers.[28] Butler and later the Freedmen's Bureau Captain C.B. Wilder, shared the refugees' belief that their homesteads would in time receive legal sanctions similar to those enjoyed by white homesteaders in Western lands.[29] Their confidence must have buttressed the refugees' belief that their use of the space would be sanctioned by the state in due time.

As this autonomous black community grew, it incorporated at least 4 schools. By 1861, historian Ronald E. Butchart notes, William Davis (Peake's former student), Lucinda Spivery, and Emma J. Williams had all begun teaching in schools which they kept open throughout the war and its aftermath.[30] With the tacit support of Fort Monroe's might and later the explicit support of the Freedmen's Bureau and the AMA which worked together to provide additional buildings, teachers, and money, these schools flourished during and after the war. Indeed, black people were in charge of their education in most of the South during this time and would be the backbone of the teaching force after the war. While it is commonplace to imagine young white women from the North as the typical teacher of black students during Reconstruction, Butchart's extensive archival research with the Freedmen's Teacher Project shows that over a third of school teachers in the South during this time period were black. Further, one in every six northern teachers was black. Between 1861 and 1876,

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[27] 7,000 of these were in the village of Hampton itself. Donal F. Lindsey. *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 7.
[28] Lockwood, "Mary S. Peake," 27.
[29] Robert F. Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893.* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 62.
[30] Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*, 21.

black teachers outnumbered white northerners four to three.[31] These numbers are particularly astounding given the severe limitations to black literacy in the time leading up to the war. Evidently education was a key element of black abolitionism and community-building.[32]

The prohibition of literacy among enslaved black people is likely the most well-known fact about antebellum black education. Yet as education historians and black studies scholars, most prominently Heather Andrea Williams and Hilary J. Moss, have demonstrated, free and enslaved black teachers and students developed literary, religious, and vocational instruction in formal and informal settings in the North and South even in the face of such laws. [33] In the plantation South, Williams explains, enslaved people "folded literacy into the store of strategies that they called upon both to challenge slavery and make slavery bearable."[34] Lacking extensive documentation of these clandestine activities themselves, Williams points to the proliferation of antiliteracy laws between 1739 and 1800, rising in the immediate aftermaths of uprisings like Nat Turner's Rebellion, as evidence of Southern lawmakers' understanding of the conjoined nature of "black literacy and black resistance", as well as their inability to effectively eradicate literacy among the enslaved.[35] Black literacy and education

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[31] *Ibid*., xii, 3, 19.
[32] For more on the centrality of education to black abolitionism and community formation before, during, and immediately after the Civil War, see also: Freedman, "African-American Schooling,"; Robert C. Morris. *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Henry Allen Bullock. *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); James D. Anderson, "Ex-Slaves and the Rise of Universal Education in the South, 1860-1880," in *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988): 4-32; and Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*.
[33] Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) and Moss, *Schooling Citizens*.
[34] Williams, *Self-Taught*, 12.
[35] Williams compares two South Carolina laws barring literacy for enslaved people, one passed in 1740, and one in 1800 to highlight how difficult it was to entirely prevent literacy. The 1800 law "broadened both the scope of prohibited activity and the categories of people involved": it barred not just teaching literacy, but any "mental instruction" (including reading, writing, arithmetic, or even memorization of any sort), not only for the enslaved but for any black person (13). Later, she describes an 1834 South Carolina law that specifically punished "any free person of color or a slave [who] shall keep any school or other place of instruction, for teaching any slave or

acquired by "slipping away" and trading goods or services for reading lessons, meeting in "pit schools" or by having white and black children "play" school,[36] were acts of stealing both the body and time of the enslaved as well as the reified *good* of literacy itself. The "rival geography" of motion was deeply imbricated with literacy, which was both an ends of mobility and a means, as written passes, even when forged, allowed a measure of freedom of movement. Literacy and education in general thus became associated with literal spatial mobility, as well as figurative social freedom of movement.

In the urban North, free black communities, often with church sponsorship, developed a wide range of educational sites "including reading clubs, debating societies, lyceums, infant schools, Sabbath schools, and academies."[37] In certain parts of the North, the apprenticeship system provided literacy and vocational instruction, and apprenticeship contracts "frequently specified that masters were to teach black men to read, write, and cipher, while they were to instruct black women in the art of reading and the mystery of housewifery."[38] Different to those in the South, black geographies in the North were not based in the complete containment of black bodies, but in the strict control of where black bodies were allowed to be, or to move through, and at what times. Here, literacy and education were tied to projected home spaces,[39] and in the acquisition of vocational skills, both of which were linked to hopes

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free person of color to read or write," indicating that not only literacy, but collective schooling persisted in the state (16).

[36] Williams, *Self-Taught*, 20, 25. Williams on the "pit school": "Slaves would dig a pit in the ground way out in the woods, covering the spot with bushes and vines. Runaways sometimes inhabited the pits, but they also housed schools" (20).

[37] Moss, *Schooling Citizens*, 10.

[38] Moss, *Schooling Citizens*, 10.

[39] The concept of home spaces is explored in chapter 2 when I take up the idea of "community" as a geographic scale. The notion originates with Eve L. Ewing. *Shuttered Schools in the Black Metropolis: Race, History, and Discourse on Chicago's South Side* (Ph.D. Diss., Graduate School of Education of Harvard University, 2016), 159-160.

See also the discussion of these authors in chapter 2.

for social and spatial mobility. As in the South, the capacity for mobility favored men, but literacy and education were again associated with freedom and freedom of movement.

During and after the war, white Southerners, willfully blind to black agency, tended to assume that black desires for education were either an unthinking desire to imitate their white betters, or the manifestation of a (pseudo-)religious faith in the power of literacy in itself to transform a disfranchised person into a gentleman. In reality, as Butchart points out black Southerners "had spent more than two centuries observing the powerful with formal learning, as well as the poor largely without it, and knew that the codes of power that lay in literacy were essential to a people who were to continue living among whites, both the powerful and the powerless."[40] Butchart collects the testimonies of hundreds of black learners expressing "the urgent importance of literacy, numeracy, and critical thinking to their individual and collective success."[41] There were many commonalities across interviews, most often expressing a desire to curb white fraud. By reading and understanding the generic conventions of contracts, scripture, and newspapers, black learners meant to curtail white exploitation. These practical benefits were inherently political, and, as Butchart points out, deeply symbolic: "[t]hey symbolized freedom from white control, and freedom to think for oneself."[42] Education and self-determination were deeply entwined for black people, as, indeed, they had been for free Americans since before the Revolutionary War.

All this was as true at the Grand Contraband Camp as anywhere else. Far from an idyllic settlement, the Camp was consistently troubled by massive overcrowding, the constant threat from slavecatchers (including Union troops looking for rewards), and harsh winters that

[40] Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*, 8.
[41] *Ibid*., 11.
[42] *Ibid*., 14.

decimated food sources. Still, the space was an experiment in legitimizing a rival black geography under the somewhat watchful eyes of the Union army, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the AMA.[43] The experiment came to an unexpectedly abrupt end in 1865, when President Andrew Johnson issued Circular Order 15 to the Freedmen's Bureau, decreeing that black refugees would have to be moved off their wartime settlements and returned to their pre-war "homes" so that rebel property could be restored to its rightful owners. Captain C.B. Wilder, a New Englander in command of the Hampton agency of the Freedmen's Bureau, found it hard to believe that the order would be enforced and so stalled its implementation.[44] Wilder reasoned that like homesteaders, black citizens would be entitled to the lands they had worked. At the very least, he felt no right to forcibly send the refugees where former masters would certainly punish them for participating in the general strike. Wilder was court-martialed on charges of "illegally retaining and selling restored Rebel property." Although he was exonerated, he was also re-assigned away from Hampton.[45] His position was turned over to Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a Union general newly appointed to the Freedmen's Bureau in March 1866.[46]

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[43] Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 25-43.

[44] By all accounts Wilder was a champion of the refugees to the best of his abilities given the non-cooperation of many of his colleagues. On Wilder's sympathy for the plight of the contraband and admiration of their courage in taking their fate in their own hands, see "Testimony by the Superintendent of Contrabands at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, before the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission." *Freedmen & Southern Society Project of the Department of History of the University of Maryland.* *http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/wilder.htm*
Wilder was distrustful of Southern whites and after seeing how Union men took advantage of the refugees, or kidnapped and handed them over to planters for money, he found himself embattled on all sides. Engs describes how "[i]n his attempts to resolve disputes, Wilder invariably placed more credence in the word of a freedman than in that of a rebel planter, and often more than that in that of a Union military officer." Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 81.

[45] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 58-62.

[46] Edith Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study*. (New York: Doubleday Page & Company, 1904), 138.

Armstrong was tasked with removing the "excess" black population of the region to "re-establish" the economy.[47] In effect his task was to dispossess black residents and discipline the rival geography of the Grand Contraband Camp into the white spatial imaginary. Raised among missionaries in Hawai'i, and having spent most of his wartime field experience commanding all-black units, Armstrong was more at ease exercising the power of life and death over free people than his abolitionist predecessor. In his military assignment preceding his work with the Freedmen's Bureau, Armstrong had been charged with taking black troops to patrol the Mexican border in Texas. Black soldiers who had enlisted to fight for their freedom and were being sent far from their families while the South was in a state of chaos, feared the worst. They would have heard of Lincoln's original plans to "repatriate" black Americans to Africa and given their exposure to wartime Confederate propaganda, had probably encountered much worse rumors about what the Union army intended to do with free blacks after the war ended. They likely believed that they were being subjected to a forced migration which would end in exile to Haiti, summary execution, or, at best, concentrate black Southerners as the Indian reservation system had been concentrating Native nations. The soldiers panicked and many tried to desert and return to their families. Armstrong understood their fears, but, moved more by adherence to his legal duty than by any moral obligation to his men, the general oversaw their court martials and executions. He wrote at the time: "In short, the moral guilt of these poor men is little; their legal guilt enormous."[48]

[47] The appropriate number of black residents was decided by bureau officials and local white residents. Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 61.
[48] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, cited in Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised,* 53.

Unlike the New England abolitionist Wilder, Armstrong felt no qualms in dismantling the black community of the camp. Raised with the Puritanical New Englander's view of native Hawaiians, he felt government rations were breeding "idleness and dependence" which would in time "destroy self-respect"; "teaching these people a terrible lesson; namely, confirmed pauperism." [49] Therefore he withheld rations for nearly all residents and disallowed family reunions, ostensibly to teach refugees the importance of "a visible means of support and fidelity to contracts" as the defining characteristics of free men. Engs recounts that Armstrong attempted to hatch alternative plans to resettle the refugees, including exploring the possibility of black reservations in Florida or Texas (as the men he had had executed had feared) or 'renting out' large numbers of black men in work gangs to travel North for short-term work. These plans amounted to little, but I contend that we should understand them as first drafts of the project that would become the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.[50] The industrial school was Armstrong's final answer to the question of how to enclose black freedom. Taking control of Mary Peake's freedom school, he would turn the school into an enclosure that used legal freedom as constraints on the social, economic, and geographic freedom of black movement. The origins of Hampton owe as much to his efforts to literally contain or extinguish black freedom as they do to Peake's commitment to expanding it. The institution of agricultural and industrial training at Hampton was an enclosure of both Peake's clandestine school and the rival abolitionist geography of the Grand Contraband Camp.

His taking control of the school would posit a clear answer to the question of where and how the black citizen fit into the reunited nation. Their literal place was in the South, in

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[49] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, letter to Jane Stuart Woolsey, March 28, 1866. Cited in Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," Chapter VII page 28-29. HUA

[50] Although the practice of "outings" would eventually be formalized in Hampton's outing system. Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 52-66.

the same "homes" and fields where they had been enslaved, carrying on the work they had done before the war, but with 'pride in their labor,' i.e. with a new ideology. Their figurative place was in service to the land and their social betters, the Southern white aristocracy.[51] Where Peake's school had been founded in the ideals of self-sufficiency, self-determination, and mobility that characterized the rival geographies of the recently enslaved, Armstrong's school paid lip service to the ideals of freedom and self-sufficiency, but worked as an ideological state apparatus of a racial capitalist state, building black subjectivity around dependency, self-denial, capitalism, and rootedness. It was an enclosure of a rival geography into a white spatial imaginary. It immediately displaced an autonomous black institution and, over time, de-legitimized its visions of education as a means to self-determination counter to the state's designs.

Over time, Armstrong maneuvered himself in position to oversee the AMA's growing school at Hampton. He convinced the AMA to buy the Little Scotland plantation and lobbied to be appointed principal. He eventually convinced the AMA not only to hire him away from the Bureau, but, by using his connections in the Freedmen's Bureau and the judiciary, also to transfer the title of the school to the Hampton Board of Trustees. Through the same connections he secured a third of Virginia's land-grant monies from the first Morrill Act to secure the presidency of the board and displace any board members who would have opposed his full and complete control of the school's operations.[52] These early machinations showed how adept Armstrong would be at manipulating men of means to support his experiment in black higher education, and consequently how his model would become hegemonic.

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[51] Engs calls this Armstrong's "lifelong infatuation with men of property and power." At least since his days at Williams College, where he first lived near wealthy whites, he had been acutely self-conscious of his outsider status among them and yearned for their acceptance. *Educating the Disfranchised*, 63, 31.
[52] *Ibid*., 81-84.

The school was divided into normal, trade, and agricultural courses, but the bulk of the programs were the same. All students attended for three years during which they received the equivalent of a high school education in arithmetic, spelling, reading, English grammar, sentence-making, geography, natural history, and U.S. history.[53] Normal students were encouraged to go home for a service year of schoolteaching between their first and second years, and in their last year were apprentice teachers at the nearby Butler school.[54] Agricultural students spent their last year receiving "lectures" on "[f]ormation of soils; rotation of crops; management of stock; fruit culture; cultivation of crops; drainage; market gardening; [and] meteorology," although these "lectures" "were in truth 'demonstrations' in the field rather than class-room or laboratory exercises, for Hampton's scientific equipment at the time was practically non-existent."[55] The agricultural program seems to have been more of a curricular fiction than an actuality, as George Phenix, Acting Principal of Hampton would point out in 1929. The first diploma in agriculture was not awarded until 1897, twenty-nine years after the school was incorporated, and only 32 were awarded between that time and 1929. [56] After 1872, the bulk of students were enrolled in the night school, a 4-year program in which students worked 6 day weeks, spending 49-hours in shop practice, 16 hours in academic pursuits, and 8 hours in activities like gymnastics and military drills.[57] For male students shop practice included carpentry, blacksmithy, shoemaking, printmaking and similar skills training, while for women it consisted of breadmaking, plain cooking, dressmaking, sewing, and household work. They were also charged with making, mending, and laundering

[53] Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," chapter X, page 4. HUA
[54] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 102.
[55] Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," ch. X, pages 4-5. HUA
[56] George Phenix cited in Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," ch. X, page 27. HUA
[57] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 103.

all the school's sheets, tablecloths, napkins, towels, and uniforms. Starting in 1884, they were also employed as the kitchen and dining room staff.[58]

Labor was the students' primary lesson. A student could be taken out of lessons to attend to the farm, or to fill large orders for the shop, but could give no reason to leave morning military drills or Sunday church service for instance.[59] The students' labors on the farms and in the trade shops were ostensibly to help them 'pay their way' through school, but even those who could afford to pay all their expenses were "advised to undertake this plan of combined work and study, because of the moral effect of work which was *done regularly and under careful supervision*" (emphasis mine).[60] Of course these labors could never rise to the level of financing the school. Despite their best efforts, the students could not undersell better quality goods available on the markets. But Armstrong did not see raising money as the primary purpose of this manual labor; rather, it was meant to teach the habits of "work which was done regularly and under careful supervision." Through a strict regimen of disciplinary acts he would create a colony of docile laboring bodies. Armstrong wrote: "More and more I believe in labor as a moral force. While its pecuniary return to the student is important and the acquired skill is equivalent to working capital, the outcome of labor, in manly and womanly quality, is, in the long run, the most valuable of all… A complete manhood is what Hampton aims for."[61] This "complete manhood" and its concomitant 'complete womanhood' are precisely the types of racialized subjects Hartman points to: subjects whose rights act as their constraints, in this case, through an education that created the subjectivity required to dutifully

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[58] Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," ch. X, pages 34-39. HUA
[59] Aery writes, "every student was liable to be called away from his academic recitations at any time during the term, as the exigencies of the farm required, for any number of days not exceeding twelve." Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," chapter X, page 2-3.
[60] *Ibid*. ch. X, page 45. HUA
[61] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, cited in Aer, "Hampton Idea of Education," ch. X, page 23. HUA

take on the roles of a sharecropping economy and celebrate it as freedom and civilization. It demarcated black freedom, citizenship, and place in the nation through its limits rather than through mutual relations and responsibilities. Although nominally teachers, Hampton graduates were in training closer to missionaries for this feudal organization of the Southern economy. In the following section I examine the life trajectory of Samuel Chapman Armstrong to illuminate how this missionary training assimilated a broad swathe of white settler imperialist ideology.

Hand, Head, and Heart: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and the Hampton Curriculum

From its incorporation until the time of his death in 1893, Hampton was so strongly identified with Armstrong that any story about one is necessarily a story of the other. Always addressed as 'the General,' Armstrong ran the school as its commanding officer, designing and controlling every detail of life on campus. Yet after 1884, when the school lost its land-grant funding to Virginia Tech, Armstrong spent most of the year away from campus on fundraising trips. The day-to-day life of the school was effectively in the hands of the young white Northern schoolteachers he recruited to staff his school. While these women appear in some accounts of the early school, and while they leave their imprint in the archive, they do not inspire the same identification with the school as Armstrong. This is in part due to Armstrong's charismatic personality and recognition, but also because 'the general' brooked no independent thinking on the part of his subordinates, especially women. He took care to recruit young women whose fathers or families he knew well, allowing him to assume something close to *in loco parentis* powers with his young staff. Even so, in the early years of the school he had to frequently replace his subordinates until he assembled a staff composed

entirely of women in agreement with his ideas about race and pedagogy.[62] Armstrong's ideas therefore were so firmly embedded at the core of Hampton's organization during his lifetime that they continued to shape the mission of the school for decades after his death.

William Watkins warns other historians from following the convention of writing Armstrong's story as that of "a humble military man who became a schoolmarm." Instead, he argues, Armstrong must be understood as "a colonial theorist, social engineer, nation builder, and patriot of the highest order."[63] In addition to a shrewd politician and theorist, Amrstorng was also a produce of various intersecting ideologies of white supremacy. Growing up as the son of a white Christian missionary in Hawai'i in the period preparatory to the kingdom's annexation, being educated in the doctrine of practical Christianity under Mark Hopkins at Williams College, and finally through service in the Union army, Armstrong encountered and assimilated a wide swathe of U.S. white supremacist ideology. In his work at Hampton, he joined threads from all these institutions to create a new kind of school. In this section I chart Armstrong's education and career trajectory to understand how Hampton represented the crystallization of relational racial formation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Armstrong's father, Richard Armstrong, arrived in the Kingdom of Hawai'i as a missionary for the ABCFM in 1832. His time in Hawai'i coincided with the greatest demographic decline in the history of the islands. White missionaries, traders, and sailors had brought measles, small pox, influenza, and a variety of other infectious diseases that killed people of all ages and depressed fertility among survivors. From an estimated 400,000-800,000 when James Cook first landed in Kauai in 1778, the Kanaka Maoli population fell to

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[62] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 88-89.
[63] Watkins, *White Architects*, 4.

40,000 by the time the islands were annexed by the United States in 1920.[64] Between 1836 and 1853 alone, the Native Hawaiian population dropped from 108,000 to 73,000; nearly a third of the population was lost in less than 20 years.[65] Witness to this devastation, Richard Armstrong concluded that it would be futile to teach a people in the midst of their extermination the gospel alone. In order to make something of their Christianity, he reasoned, the people needed an education in how to survive colonization and adapt to the new political economy it would create. Thus the thrust of his preaching shifted from the gospel to "habits of life." He also began to develop a theory of "manual labor training," an educational program for young Kanaka Maoli centered on teaching them how to operate small farms in nuclear family units.[66] Through his work on land reform (which helped create a system of tenant farming similar to the sharecropping economy that would define the post-war South), the elder Armstrong found himself appointed to the King's privy council, and eventually to the post of Minister of Public Education.[67] In this post he oversaw the opening of 500 schools, all of which included "manual training." He summarized his beliefs about education for Hawai'i's native people in 1848, writing: "This is a lazy people & if they are ever to be made

[64] Walter L. Hixson. *American Settler Colonialism: A History*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 147-148.
[65] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised,* 7.
[66] Prior to U.S. and European intervention, the Kanaka Maoli had "developed a diverse agriculture, irrigation systems, and extensive public works, all without any concept of absolute ownership of the land. The Hawaiians did, however, operate a quasi-feudal system in which the monarch possessed ultimate authority over use of the land, which he subdivide between regional chieftains, while commoners labored under often cruel and exploitative conditions." Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 146.
American missionaries like Armstrong would become deeply involved with U.S. efforts to lead "land reforms" in Hawai'i ostensibly to aid the peasant class. In 1848, they would achieve the first Hawaiian land reform, the Mahele. "Under the Mahele one third of the land was allocated to the chiefs, one third to the commoners and one third was retained by the king. Of the portion retained by the king about two-thirds was set aside for the government and designated Government Lands and the remainder was reserved to the king as his private estate and was called Crown Lands." Fee ownership opened the path for white land ownership and concentrated ownership in the hands of a few owners. By the 1950s, 12 people owned more than 50% of all privately held Hawaiian land, and 60 individuals held 80%.
John J. Hulten, "Land Reform in Hawaii" *Land Economics*. 42 No. 2 (1966): 235-240.
See also: Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised,* 7-10.
[67] Henry Pitt Warren, L.H.D. "General Samuel Chapman Armstrong: Founder's Day Address," 1913. Reprinted from *Southern Workman*.

industrious the work must begin with the young. So I am making strenuous efforts to have some sort of manual labor connected with every school… without industry they cannot be moral." At graduation these students would be prepared to return to their home communities and act as missionaries not only for the Christian gospel but for the value of labor as an economic and more importantly a moral force. He was working to train "the *heart*, the *head*, & the *body* at once" (emphasis in original). [68]

The younger Armstrong would take this philosophy to heart in training black students, adapting his father's phrasing into the more alliterative motto of Hampton, to train "the head, the hand, and the heart."[69] Samuel spoke several times of the parallels between his father's Kanaka Maoli charges and his own black students, particularly with regards to the franchise. Writing for the *Southern Workman* in 1888, Armstrong spoke of his father's education program as "[t]he bold, skillful management of a great majority of weak voters." The Kanaka commoners, he argued, "were made citizens before they were truly civilized. They were given the right to vote before they were able to use the ballot *safely*" (emphasis mine).[70] This colonial lesson was one core pillar of Armstrong's pedagogy. Armstrong cautioned that the black franchise had already "enable[d] some of the worst men who have ever figured in American politics to hold high places of honor and trust."[71] His school, however, could

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[68] Richard Armstrong to Reuben A. Chapman, Sept.8, 1848, Richard Armstrong Papers, Library of Congress, cited in Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 2.

[69] See for instance Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "From the Beginning," which begins, "It meant something to the Hampton School, and perhaps to the ex-slaves of America, that, from 1820 to 1860, the distinctively missionary period, there was worked out in the Hawaiian Islands, the problem of the emancipation, enfranchisement and Christian civilization of a dark-skinned Polynesian people in many respects like the Negro race." He goes on to explain the Hawaiian education system taking special note of the Hilo School, the specific inspiration for Hampton (1-2). HUA

Armstrong's successor, Holis B. Frissell rearranged the motto to the more honest, "hand, head, and heart." Hultgren and Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and To Serve*, 47. HUA

[70] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *Southern Workman,* Dec. 1888 c. Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," ch. XVIII.

[71] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *Southern Workman*. April 1877.

prevent such disasters, as "United States troops are not needed to guard his approach to the ballot box, but there is greatly needed a thorough system of agricultural schools, costing much less than armed men in the South that shall spread the right ideas about farming among the Southern blacks."[72] Armstrong's binary clearly demonstrates how the school was an ideological state apparatus (ISA) extending the work of repressive state apparatuses (RSA). The Northern philanthropists funding his and similar schools were literally backing a colonial educational model to contain the threats of black freedom, particularly spatial and economic mobility and the franchise. Thus in terms of their figurative place in the body politic, black citizens were to remain in a colonial relation to white citizens. But the colonization of the Southern U.S. is also fundamentally based on dispossessing indigenous claims on land and sovereignty. The black student at Hampton was thus being inducted into a wider colonial network, simultaneously being dispossessed and being interpellated as an enduring part of the mechanism of dispossessing indigenous nations.

While Richard Armstrong was developing "manual training" for Native Hawaiians, reform school on the mainland were developing a theory of "industrial education" for the industrial working classes. Started in various Northern U.S. cities in the 1820s, these "schools" rounded up children who were found to be engaging in criminal activity, generally lacking appropriate adult supervision, or exhibiting a variety of physical or intellectual disabilities and effectively incarcerated them. [73] At the schools the children learned farming,

[72] Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," ch. X, page 25. HUA

[73] James D. Anderson makes the connection between Hampton's model and reform schools in *The Education of Blacks in the South*, noting "Like the reformatories, Hampton sometimes contracted student labor to outside entrepreneurs who assigned the students routine and repetitive tasks similar to those done by unskilled factory or agricultural laborers." The comparison is apt because the reform school is the cradle of the U.S. concept of industrial education. However it is important to note that Armstrong himself credited the hiring out of slaves for short periods of labor as the inspiration for the outing model. Richard Henry Pratt disputed Armstrong's

carpentry or trade skills if they were male or cooking, sewing, washing, and general housekeeping if they were female, with a few hours of "learning," usually Bible study, but the primary lesson taught at the reform schools was deference to authority. The schools aimed to place graduates with jobs in rural settings; boys as farm-workers, and women as domestic servants in rural families, "far removed from their original, corrupting homes and communities." [74] This corrective, carceral technology was the pioneer of what was then called 'industrial education.' The reform school was in fact a response to the social pressures of increasing immigration and industrialization. [75] As non-white or destitute white families were found to be defective in producing normative laboring subjects, the reform school presented an alternative site of socialization for poor children. Industrial education was, in the final analysis, manual labor and corrective training to function as docile bodies that could be "subjected, used, transformed, and improved" by capital.[76]

The recognition of the legal doctrine of *parens patriae* in *Ex Parte Crouse* (1838) allowed government organs to incarcerate children who had not broken any laws on the

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intellectual authorship of the model, arguing that his hiring out of Indian prisoners as day laborers was the true inspiration for the outing model. Anderson. *The Education of Blacks*, 43.
In some cases the comparison might be too generous to Hampton. Descriptions of privately run reform schools make them seem less carceral than Hampton. Steven Schlossman describes the Whittier State Reform School as follows: "small cottages staffed by surrogate parents; no walls; selective admissions; no corporal punishment and a mild disciplinary apparatus; clinical diagnosis as a routine service; on-site experimentation and evaluation monitored by a research unit with strong academic links; a balance between academic and vocational instruction, with strong programs in both; highly developed athletic and recreational programs; regular exposure of inmates to outsiders through athletics and recreational events; and private-sector subsidy of institutional activities."
This Whittier School was in Whittier, California, and should not be confused with the Whittier School for black children at Hampton.
Steven Schlossman, "Delinquent Children: The Juvenile Reform School," in *The Oxford History of the Prison*. Ed. Norval Morris and David J. Rothman. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 363-389, 382.
[74] Schlossman, "Delinquent Children" 371.
[75] Paul D. Nelson, "Early Days of the State Reform School, Juvenile Distress and Community Response in Minnesota, 1868-1891," *Staff Publications*. Digital Commona @ Macalester College. Paper 4.
http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/igcstaffpub/4
See also: Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 79.
[76] See Michel Foucault, "Docile Bodies," in *The Foucault Reader*. Ed. Paul Rabinow. (London: Penguin Books, 1984): 179-187.

grounds that their families could not give them a proper upbringing. Literally translating to "parent of the nation," this legal doctrine recognized the state as the ultimate legal guardian of all its subjects, whose right to insure a ward's welfare superseded any and all parental/familial rights. Historians frequently cite *in loco parentis*, a school's ability to act as a student's parental authority to explain the lengths to which Armstrong took his authority over his students, but I argue that *parens patriae* is a more apt framework for understanding how Armstrong understood and enacted his relationship with his charges. Armstrong wrote as much: "That training of hand, head and heart which is alone true education, comes largely to the more advanced races through the influences of their homes; but… black [people] in the South must get it at school or not at all."[77] The school, like reform schools or child protective services agencies today, was exercising a right to intervene in the face of inadequate or negligent parenting to save black youth from their families and communities.

The parallels between the reform school and Hampton are striking. Both had strict codes of conduct and strictly regimented schedules. At Hampton, students would have their day divided into a strict schedule, waking ahead of morning inspection at 5:45 am, attending prayer and breakfast from 6:00 to 6:30, worked or studied under strict supervision from 6:30 am to 6:00 pm, with less than 30 total minutes of unsupervised time, attended evening prayers from 6:00 to 6:45 pm, and attend night school from 7:00 to 9:00pm.[78] Male students were issued military uniforms and arranged into a school battalion under the direction of a senior black student designated the "Commandant of Cadets" who marched them to meals, designated general guard duties on campus, and conducted weekly drills for "physical and

[77] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "The Indian and His Future" (n.d.) Box: Indian Collection 12: Indian Education, 15. HUA
[78] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 48.

moral discipline."[79] Women were "requested and expected to avoid at all times boisterous laughing, singing, or talking.. [or] slamming doors."[80] As with the reform schools, a primary goal was to remove wards from the corrupting influence of the city. Armstrong assured his funders that a rural environment was key in helping the black citizen be free from deviancy. Further, like the reformatories, and like convict-leasing arrangement in the South, Hampton was able to 'lease' students to outside employers. Starting in 1878, Armstrong arranged for individual students to spend summers on "outings" working for wealthy New England families. The students' absence from school reduced summer costs and, as most of their salaries was forwarded to the school, their labor defrayed the school's annual expenditures.[81]

The association between industrial education and "delinquency," an elastic term to justify the incarceration of minors, both eased white financiers' fears about the radical potentials of black higher education while painting higher education as the same *kind* of school as the reformatory, "a highly structured regime of discipline and instruction." [82] Teaching students to follow rules and defer to white authority and structures became the core of industrial education as practiced at Hampton. In the white spatial imaginary, it was difficult to draw a line between education and incarceration for black subjects. Replacing Peake's school with one tantamount to a reform school highlights how Hampton and its pedagogical model displaced and disarmed black visions for freedom.

Despite its charms for white backers, introducing agriculture to *higher* education was still a novel idea. In 1857, when Congress first debated and passed the Morrill Land Grant

[79] Hultrgren and Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and To Serve*, 33.
[80] Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," ch. XIII, page 32.
[81] Hultgren and Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and To Serve*, 31.
[82] It is not a coincidence that by 1930, nearly 25 percent of reform school inmates were black youth. Schlossman, 366-367, 373. Quotation from 365.

Act, President James Buchanan had vetoed it, arguing, in part, that there was no reason to believe that the college was a suitable institution for the development of agricultural and mechanical technologies.[83] In the years before the war, several 'manual training schools' for black students had opened up across the country. The founders of these institutions had hoped to use the school farm or the trade shop to defray the cost of operating their schools. But they found it impossible to make these enterprises profitable.[84] Predominantly white institutions like Amherst, Andover, Oneida, Oberlin, and Wesleyan had also experimented with school farms and shops before the war. They had hoped to give students hands-on experience and an opportunity to finance their education. Black and white schools all found the hours required for farm work were a severe impediment to classes, and the profit margins on goods crafted by students were negligible or negative as they could not compete with professionally manufactured goods on the market.[85] The black manual training schools either closed or abandoned their manual training components to focus on providing liberal arts educations.[86]

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[83] Agricultural education specialists Ray V. Herren and M. Craig Edwards explain, "a very limited knowledge bas in agriculture existed [in the 1860s], especially knowledge that was scientific in its basis." They cite Dr. S.W. Johnson, an agricultural sciences professor at Yale writing in 1873, "We are simply grinding over the old grist, which our fathers have given to us. I can go to my shelves and take down a history of Roman agriculture and can put my finger on almost all the good ideas which you will hear ventilated in any agricultural meeting in this country." Ray V. Herren and M. Craig Edwards, "Whence We Came: The Land-Grant Tradition—Origin, Evoltion, and Implications for the 21st Century," *Journal of Agricultural Education*. 43 No. 4, 2002 (88-98)c. 93-94.
Regarding Buchanan's disagreement with Morrill, Key notes two other reasons for the veto. First, and perhaps most importantly, Buchanan did not believe federally held lands could be donated constitutionally; second, he was wary of opening up large tracts of land for private ownership fearing unscrupulous speculators would buy up large areas of land and harm citizens and states. Scott Key. "Economics or Education: The Establishment of American Land-Grant Universities," *Journal of Higher Education.* 67, No. 2 (1996): 196-220, 213.
[84] Clyde W. Hall. *Black Vocational Technical and Industrial Arts Education: Development and History*. (Chicago: American Technical Society, 1973), 7-14.
See also, Carter G. Woodson. *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968), 288-300.
[85] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 79.
[86] To give a representative sample, Avery College closed its doors after 23 years of operation; the Philadelphia Institute for Colored Youth, became the Cheyney Training School for Teachers (now Cheyney University); Wilberforce University shifted its focus to the liberal arts; and Union Literary Institute became a high school. Hall, *Black Vocational Technical and Industrial Arts Education*, 10-14.

The white schools quietly closed their farms and shops. But these failed experiments did not phase Armstrong, whose commitment to agricultural and industrial education had more to do with labor as a civilizing (i.e. conservative) force, than a monetary benefit. Thus the Morrill Act provided a fortuitous opening for Armstrong. When the second bill passed, with the proviso that states "equitably divide" funding for black and white students, Armstrong celebrated both Morrill Acts, calling them "the best ever passed for our ex-slaves… that should fit [the ex-slaves] to earn a good living and get a home of his own." They funded an education that would prepare black citizens "for the lives they were likely to lead," i.e. lives that preserved the agrarian economy of the South. Although unsuitable for PWIs, school farms and shops would be useful in teaching black students to work "regularly and under careful supervision."

The final institution Armstrong learned from was the Union Army. Armstrong did not join the army out of any particular conviction. His letters to family from the time indicate a general disinterest in the affairs of a country he still did not consider his.[87] But having completed his college education and seeing no other occupation immediately at hand (and white women's general infatuation for a man in uniform), Armstrong enlisted as an officer.[88] He would later claim the Emancipation Proclamation won his loyalty to the Union cause.

His daughter's biography reproduces at length a letter he wrote his mother explaining how his campaign felt transformed in light of the Proclamation:

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[87] See for instance, his diary entry after hearing a rousing speech by an army recruiter while he was a student at Williams: "I shall go to the war if I am needed, but not till then; were I an American, as I am a Hawaiian, I should be off in a hurry." Samuel Chapman Armstrong, cited in Edith Armstrong Talbot. *Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study*. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company: 1904), 52.

[88] In a letter to his sister, he described how, when his regiment was shipped to Philadelphia, cheering crowds gathered at each stop along the way, and "I made out to kiss several pretty girls—they didn't object at all. Brass buttons and shoulder straps will take a man through."
Samuel Chapman Armstrong, letter to Clarissa Armstrong, 17 Sept. 1862, cited in Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised,* 37.

> [T]he first day of January is at hand—possibly the greatest day in American history—the sons of Africa shall be free. To wait until that day I am content, and then I shall know for what I am contending, for freedom and the oppressed. I shall then be willing to go into the fight, and you will feel the less grieved if I fall for such a cause. You and I will then have occasion to congratulate ourselves that our family is represented in the greatest struggle of modern times for the most sacred principles.[89]

This letter is often cited in subsequent biographies and histories of Hampton, and it must have presented a neat and compelling narrative for white philanthropists and reformers, but it does not paint a complete picture of Armstrong's beliefs. As late as December 1862, he wrote his brother, "These negroes—as far as I've seen yet—are worse than the Kanahas [sic], and are hardly worth fighting for."[90] Early in his war, Armstrong's unit was taken captive by Confederate troops. Armstrong's parents had raised him with Puritanical tastes and norms, but he had also grown up alongside Hawaiian royalty, so he was not a complete stranger to the trappings of aristocratic classes. Studying at Williams he would often write home asking for more money, complaining of feeling rustic next to his peers, being the only one wearing mended trousers.[91] Given this background, perhaps it is not surprising that he was moved by the gentlemanly ways of the Confederate officers, calling them, (aspirationally, given that both his parents were from old New England families) "bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh," (as opposed to his own black troops, who were not such intimates) and wrote his college friend Archibald Hopkins that "[the Confederates] shamed us; they fought, they said, not for money but for their homes, and wanted the war to cease… few of us really know what

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[89] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, cited in Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong*, 84-85.
[90] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, letter to Baxter Armstrong, 8. Dec. 1862, cited in Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 40.
[91] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 31.

we are fighting for. I felt the want of a clear apprehension of it in the hour of danger."[92] Where Wilder had distrusted the self-interested aims of the Southern land-owning class, Armstrong would make the case that Southern "men of property," unlike white workers, had common interests with the black Southerners and could be entrusted with the latter's future.

In the same letter where he expressed his feeling of kinship with Confederate officers, Armstrong also wrote of the distance and alienation he felt from black Americans and their bodies: "I am a sort of abolitionist, but I haven't learned to love the Negro. I believe in universal freedom; I believe the whole world cannot buy a single soul… and until worlds can be paid for a single Negro I don't believe in selling or buying them. I go in then, for freeing them more on account of their souls than their bodies, I assure you."[93] Armstrong maintained his admiration for "men of property" for his educational career and tried to pass his adulation on to his students. Students in his senior class on political economy were taught not to think of "the laboring classes" as a distinct element in society, as "every man who puts forth any exertion, in order to obtain something in return, is a laborer." The only distinction being that some of these men had "saved something." In fact, capital and labor inherently had the "utmost amity" and "intimate reciprocal relations."[94] They would accept their subjection to the capitalist class and work "regularly and under careful supervision."

All of these experiences informed the racial-spatial pedagogy at the core of Hampton. From his father's colonial school system, Armstrong brought a stern paternalism for less civilized races, a commitment to the "gospel of work" as the central technology to enclose

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[92] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, letter to Archibald Hopkins, 21 July, 1862, cited in Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong*, 75.
[93] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, cited in Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong*, 86.
[94] Tileston T. Bryce. *Economic Crumbs, or Plain Talks for the People about Labor, Capital, Money, Tariff, etc*. cited in Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 50. Bryce was a Hampton graduate and his book was used as a textbook at Hampton.

their freedom, and a belief in stewardship of the land as the ultimate disciplinary technology for the uncivilized, "head, hand and hear." From reform schools he borrowed the validation of manual labor as industrial education, a nostalgic belief in rural life as the cures for the deviancy of the weaker races which industrialization would exacerbate and a carceral approach to organizing education. And from the army he took a strong executive control and a severe intolerance of black knowledge and dissent. The Hampton model was effectively the deployment of a patchwork of white supremacist ideas about education to function as an enclosure of black rival geography.

"The Fox and the Stork": Indian Program and the Fulcrum of White Supremacy

The final development in Hampton's negotiation of the black citizen's place in the Reconstruction years unfolded with the implementation of its Indian program. The short-lived tri-racial experiment had white faculty, black students and staff, and Native 'students' (initially prisoners of war) living, learning, and working together for nearly 45 years. [95] The program tested theories about higher education for Native students, their assimability into the U.S. body politic, and unintentionally, their relative place in the post-war racial hierarchy of the United States. Engs cites its initiation as the final nail in the coffin on the normal school idea at Hampton. With "a significant portion of students" now in their first days of learning English, academic standards were definitively relegated to a much lower importance than

[95] Different scholars have assigned different dates to the end of the Indian program, which suffered a slow termination. In 1901, separate Indian classes were ended due to declining enrollment. In 1912, the federal government pulled funding for the program. In 1922, the last faculty member associated with the Indian program, Caroline Andrus, resigned. In 1923, Roland Sundown (Seneca), became the last Indian graduate of Hampton. See Hultgren and Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and To Serve,* 51-53. HUA

industrial training.[96] I am more interested in how it reflected and intensified national ideologies about race, space, and belonging in the post-war nation, particularly with regards to relative racial formation.

Prior to the war, federal policy towards Native American nations was molded by the strategy of "removal," which culminated in the 1830 Indian Removal Act. Between 1830 and 1861, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole nations used editorials, lobbying, petitions, and in some cases legal suits to mobilize white public opinion against this policy, and found many supporters, particularly among Northern abolitionists. However, the policy proceeded practically unchecked, and popular opinion slowly enveloped removal with "a rationalizing discourse of benevolent paternalism." Popular novels, (like James Fennimore Cooper's "Leather-stocking tales,") paintings, (like George Caitlin's "Caitlin's Lament" series), and Currier and Ives prints portrayed Indians as a race always-already on the verge of extinction, in some cases, as in Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757* (1826), having been there since before the U.S. state.[97]

The Civil War diverted public attention from removal (and depopulated the Indian Office, many of whose officials were temporarily or permanently reassigned) but brought little respite for Indian nations. The neutrality of "Indian Country" made it particularly vulnerable to sacking by troops from both sides. Scores of Indian farms, homes, schools, and

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[96] Engs notes that most Indian students learned basic English, reading, writing and arithmetic. If deemed sufficiently advanced after the completion of their three-year program, they would be introduced to book-length texts in their fourth years. Their participation thus encouraged a general devolution in the academic standards of the normal program. Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 119-121.
Notably, this trend is the opposite of what was happening at other land-grant colleges, whose recruitment problems had led to the development of preparatory programs which began to be phased out around the same time.
[97] Hixson. *American Settler Colonialism,* 63-85. Direct quotes from page 81, 85. Joseph Willard Tingey. *Indians and Blacks Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute (1878-1923)* (Ed. D. Diss., Teachers College of Columbia University, 1978), 130.

churches were destroyed in the conflict. Immediately after the war, the "great triumvirate of the Union Civil War Effort" Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, effectively created a new military extension of removal across the Southwest.[98] In addition to these military actions, the disarray of the Indian Office, increasing white migration compounded by the Homestead Act of 1862 and the completion of the transcontinental railroad, and the decimation of the buffalo population were making the (literal and figurative) relegation of Native peoples to a "permanent frontier" in the West less and less tenable.[99] Eventually the Grant administration responded by shifting federal efforts to a peace policy, which demanded the "unconditional surrender of Indian homelands and hunting grounds and relocation onto reservations." Grant offered Native people the chance to acquiesce or warned them to prepare for "a sharp and severe war policy."[100] Clearly 'peace policy' was a misnomer designed to assuage public opinion while continuing the aims of existing federal policies.

These aims were primarily to clear Native land for white settlement, but also to "civilize" Indians into the epistemology of property. The reservation was conceived as a spatial fix to the social imperative of forced assimilation and became the backbone of the "Peace Policy." Scholars of U.S. settler colonialism have demonstrated the carceral logics of reservation space. Philip Deloria characterizes the space of the reservation as one of "fixity, control, visibility, productivity, and most importantly, docility."[101] Mishuana Goeman further emphasizes the centrality of "surveillance and control" permeating these spaces and demanding a re-articulation of "[f]amily, clan, and intra- and intertribal relationships… in

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[98] *Ibid*., 87-111.
[99] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 11.
[100] Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 111-119.
[101] Philip J. Deloria. *Indians in Unexpected Places.* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 27.

ways readable to the state."[102] This forced assimilation paralleled Hampton's project for black citizens who were also being trained to re-form their subjectivities in relation to citizenship and the state. The convergence of these enclosures would fortify the hegemonic white spatial imaginary that defined the space of the state.

The "peace policy" also gave rise to streams of federal funding for Native education.[103] Education would serve a thin cover for the genocidal policy of "forced assimilation." This civilizing mission entailed the replacement of the Great Mystery with Christianity, indigenous languages with English, traditional kinship networks with the heteropatriarchal nuclear family, communal landholding with private property, and tribal identities with investments in notions of race and citizenship.[104] As in Hawai'i, the Native "head, hand, and heart" had to be re-trained if they were to survive colonization. Richard Henry Pratt was one of the key designers of the Indian education project, starting his work with prisoners of war incarcerated during the Red River War (1874-75) against the Comanche, Kiowa, Southern Cheyenne, and Arapaho in the panhandle of Texas.[105] Like Armstrong, Pratt was a great believer in the gospel of work, and in the "rehabilitation" of the savage heart, head, and hand through manual labor. He hired out his prisoners as day laborers to "polish sea-beans, work in orange groves and packing houses, and clear palmetto groves abandoned by black laborers." With the help of two white women from the North, he also

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[102] Mishuana Goeman. *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 87, 21.
[103] Cary Michael Carney. *Native American Higher Education in the United States*. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 65.
[104] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 12.
[105] General Philip H. Sheridan intended to try 72 prisoners under a military commission at Fort Sill in Oklahoma, but when the attorney general's office objected, pointing out the legal impossibility of the U.S. being 'at war' with people legally recognized as wards of the state, the prisoners were left in a legal limbo. Sheridan, wishing to keep them separate from their compatriots concentrated in the reservation, sent them to Fort Augustine in Florida.

attempted to teach his prisoners the basics of literacy, although by all accounts they made little headway across a steep language barrier.[106] What the prisoners did learn, like the literal children in reform schools, and black wards at Hampton, was subservience and deference to white authority.

Pratt had been the commander of the U.S.'s first black cavalry regiment, composed mostly of freed men from Little Rock, under the command of white officers, and working with Cherokee, Choctaw, Osage, and Tonkawa scouts. Through this assignment he had developed definite ideas about race, culture, and the capacity for civilization:

> The negro, I argued, is from as low a state of savagery as the Indian, and in 200 years' association with Anglo-Saxons he has lost his languages and gained theirs; has laid aside the characteristics of his former savage life, and, to a greater extent, adopted those of the most advanced and highest civilized nation in the world, and has thus become fitted as a fellow citizen among them. This miracle of change came from association with the higher civilization. Then, I argued, it is not fair to denounce the Indian as an incorrigible savage until he has had at least the equal privilege of association. If millions of black savages can become so transformed and assimilated… there is but ONE PLAIN DUTY RESTING UPON US with regard to Indians, and that is to relieve them of their savagery and other alien qualities by the same methods used to relieve the others.[107]

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[106]Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 28. See also, Caroline W. Andrus's claim that when the first cohort arrived, "Not one understood English" and all "were filled with had and feelings of deepest revenge for the wrongs they thought they had undergone." Cited in Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," Chapter XVI, page 1. HUA
A more optimistic Helen Ludlow recounts that the captive Indians also served as a 'living museum' of sorts. "Gentle ladies of St. Augustine—from North and South [and] Many others came to witness the transformation scene going on for three years in that historic old fortress. Real, live Indians, —braves and warriors—clothed in United States uniforms, going through military evolutions, laboring diligently and patiently, reading and writing and speaking in English, actually praying to the Christian's God, actually trusted to guard their own prison house!" Ludlow, *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 311. HUA. Hultgren and Fairbanks Molin also indicate this period of incarceration as the origin of "ledger drawings" as the inmates were "[p]rovided with art materials" and used these to "[help] ease their loneliness by drawing screens from their native cultures" (*To Lead and To Serve,* 7). HUA. The living museum would be revived at Hampton, where Sunday School classes would come "sightseeing" to marvel at the sight of Indian students sitting in classrooms, though they felt "much disappointment" for many had "fondly set their hearts upon seeing [the students] in war paint and feathers." "Indian Days at Hampton," Uncompleted manuscript, May 1918, 25-26.
[107] (capitalization in original) Richard Henry Pratt, "Report of the Carlisle School," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, 308 cited in Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 23-24.

Pratt's pedagogical philosophy was thus based in an analogy to black incorporation, and the disciplinary power of labor.[108] With the elimination of plantation slavery Pratt's hope of giving Native students the 'advantages' of slavery came through the Hampton model.

Armstrong had been exploring options that would allow him to take advantage of federal funding for Indian education for at least a year before he heard from Pratt.[109] The other principals Pratt reached out to were put off by the captured Indians' reputations as fierce warriors.[110] Armstrong however, trusted the military discipline of his black students as well as the proximity of troops garrisoned at Fort Monroe to keep the new 'students' in check. He did take the further precaution of hiring Lieutenant Henry Romeyn, a jailer from Indian Territory in case of emergency.[111] The expansion proved was well worth the risk. At the height of the program, Hampton received $20,000 per annum to teach 120 Indian students.[112] Native higher education historian Donal F. Lindsey ties half of Hampton's subsequent increase in funding to the Indian program.[113]

Pratt brought the first class for the Indian program, made up of 17 Kiowa, Comanche, and Arapaho prisoners of war, all men, to Hampton on April 13, 1878. Six days a week the

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[108] He praised black chattel slavery "as exemplifying a higher quality of Christianity than any scheme that either Church or State ha originated and carried out in massing, controlling and supervising the Indians. Slavery did not destroy the Negro race, but increased it. Yet slavery took away all the Negro's many languages, broke up his tribal relations and his old life absolutely and at once; [the slave received] in the main, kindly care, supervision, and direction, while the Indians' case has been the exact opposite." Richard Henry Pratt, "Colonel Pratt's Answer to Rev. Sanford's Letter,' *Red Man and Helper* 11 (Oct. 8, 1892): 4 cited in Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 24-25.
Armstrong apparently shared this vision, writing, tender mercies of the government to the Indians are cruel; the much talked of treatment of the slaveowners was tender by comparison." Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *The Indian Question* (Hampton, 1883), 7 c. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 72.
[109] In June, 1872 he had written his wife Emma, "'I am on the track of some more money—it will be necessary to prove that the darky is an Indian in order to get it: but I can easily do that you know… Keep dark about it and send me your thoughts on the identity of the Indian and the darky—SAME THING, aren't they?" c. Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 114.
[110] Hultgren and Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and to Serve*, 17-18. HUA.
[111] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 31.
[112] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 127.
[113] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton,* 42.

Indian students woke for military drills, spent the daylight hours on the school farm, and returned to their hall for an hour of instruction each night. Initially each Native inmate was paired with a black student to be his roommate, English tutor, and minder. Black roommates were tasked with writing daily reports on Native inmates' hygiene, grooming, and their care of their room and building.[114] Over time, government appropriations and philanthropic donations for the Indian program created an Indian Shop, where inmates learned farming, carpentry, shoemaking, tinsmithy, butchery, blacksmithy, printing, harness-making, painting and wheelwrighting—the skills needed to set up a white homestead on the frontier. On the strength of the first class's progress, Pratt and Armstrong were permitted to "catch" more students from reservations, including women. The women learned to make and mend white clothing, to crochet, knit, sew by hand and machine, wash, iron, cook, and do table duty. Like their black women peers, they cleaned the teachers' apartments, but they do not seem to have been hired in the kitchen or dining rooms.[115] Starting in 1887 they were also given instruction in blacksmithy, wheelwrighting, and carpentry, as well as assigned a collective garden plot where they grew vegetables, fruits, and flowers for sale in the local market to be able to help their future husbands spread these skills throughout their reservations. In 1892 the school added a "model homemaking cottage" for women and eventually for married couples who attended, to learn fire-making, table-setting, and dishwashing.[116] Where black students were

[114] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 95.
[115] Hultgren and Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and To Serve*, 28. HUA
Fulsom, "Indian Days at Hampton," 86. HUA
[116] Mary Lous Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks. *To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923*. (Virginia Beach: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 1989), 27-29. HUA.

given some of their wages in cash, Indian students had theirs withheld entirely and invested for them in a set of tools to take to the reservation when they 'graduated.' [117]

The Native inmates faced more blatant and visible carcerality than the black students had. Native students had a military escort every time they left campus. If they found a way off school grounds without a military escort, the sheriff would capture and return them. They were refused railway tickets without specific permission from Armstrong. Staff would open their mail or compel them to open it only in the presence of a teacher. Expulsion, which had been the ultimate punishment for black students, would have been a reprieve for Native inmates, so Armstrong designed new punishments for his Native charges, including solitary confinement in a "guard house," and arranged with Indian Commissioner Price to deny food to any Hampton returnee who did not apply their Hampton training. Black students saw their exemption from the strict code of conduct for Indians as proof of their superior status and their reward for helping 'tame' the Indian.[118]

Before the Indian program started, 12% of black students reported Indian blood in their families.[119] But when the "full-blood" Indians arrived, the question of segregating black, white, and Native populations on and off campus became a constant cause of concern for the school. Armstrong, and perhaps Pratt, originally considered the social mingling of black and Native students beneficial. In an 1889 editorial for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Armstrong argued the black student was the ideal exemplar to inspire another backward race. The black student, he wrote, "is not afraid to work, and is thankful for any opportunity to increase his limited capital by hard labor," whereas the Indian "takes to work about as cheerfully as a hen

[117] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 121.
[118] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 160, 20-21, 76160-161.
[119] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *Southern Workman,* June 1879; cited in Tingey. *Indians and Blacks Together*, 136.

takes to water." Further, the Indian's greatest disadvantage was his inability to speak English, a difficulty compounded by the fact that "[h]e is naturally very reticent and left to himself will not use a dozen English words in a day" on the other hand, "[c]olored people naturally talk a great deal" and therefore would make natural 'teachers.' At Hampton, the Indian was "brought in contact with a race as unfortunate as his own which is making its way by hard labor to a position of power and respectability."[120] Further, seeing black men and women interact, he believed, would teach Indian men the proper manners in dealing with Native women,[121] all while avoiding Indian hostility toward white teachers, and hopefully ultimately eliminating such hostility through the power of example. [122]

The black student was assigned to be the Native ward's steward into citizenship. Armstrong insisted that the two races not only had no animosity but that "[t]he mingling of students there is good for both, pushing the Indians by the force of surrounding influences quickly and naturally along and reacting finely upon the Negro by the appeal to his sympathetic and better nature."[123] Booker T. Washington, Armstrong's protégé, had his first staff position at Hampton as "House Father" of the Native men in Wigwam Hall. He spoke of the experience on several instances, in a way that might reflect his larger engagement with Armstrong's philosophy and the Hampton model. Where Armstrong believed simply in the black citizen as a role model for the Indian student, Washington spoke to how the black student's benevolence towards his less fortunate companion spoke to his generosity of

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[120] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "Summer at Hampton" *Philadelphia Inquirer* 20 Aug. 1889, Noble Hill. HUA. Box 14 Indian Education. Folder "Indian Education 1880-"
[121] Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised,* 121.
[122] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 94.
[123] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, cited in Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," Ch. XIV, page 20. HUA Indian program teacher Cora M. Fulsom also cites Armstrong saying,"Our class of Negro youth form a current of influences which bears the red children along. The latter are like raw recruits in an old regiment… This [generosity] is a feather in the colored man's cap that he was not expected to wear." Fulsom, "Indian Days at Hampton," page 6 and 6a. HUA

character, showing that "though he himself was oppressed, [the negro has] become enlightened enough to rise above mere race prejudice [and] has learned enough to know that it is his duty to help the unfortunate wherever he finds them." But Washington went further, arguing that the black student's generosity showed a greater strength of character than found among whites, noting: "I think that the treatment the Indians have received at this institution at the hands of the colored students is quite a rebuke to many white institutions both North and South… It is not difficult to imagine the result had fifty or sixty Indian or colored students been ushered all at once into one of the average white institutions of this country."[124] Washington was evidently more strategic in his approach to vocational education and to interactions with Indians, seeing both as stepping stones to greater economic independence.[125]

Both agreed however on the central analogy between Native and black charges. While (surviving) slavery had given the black race an indomitable spirit and a strong 'work ethic,' the reservation system, like the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau (under Armstrong) was teaching Indians the lessons of "confirmed pauperism."[126] In both instances, masses of people unprepared for the privileges and duties of civilization and citizenship (respectively) were

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[124] (underline in original) Booker T. Washington, "The Magnanimity of the Negro toward the Indian," *Southern Workman*. Oct. 1880.

[125] Based on Washington's engagement with the Indian program, I am inclined to concur with Sojoyner's description of Washington's motives and work which Sojoyner describes as a "[strategic attempt] to develop an economic agenda that aligned with the needs of a capitalist system in order to address issues of Black employment." Unlike the dependence on white authority that Hampton taught, Tuskegee actually prepared black students for economic independence. Washington figured that the truest expression of industrial education would revolutionize the agricultural economy of the South and therefore reasoned that an industrial education would place black citizens in a position of relative economic power in the coming years. These beliefs made his school vulnerable to "a larger industrial enclosure model financed by northern capital." Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 148-154. In a letter to his friend Archie Hopkins, Armstrong joked about how long it would take black Americans to find their place in the sun, "The parts of the 25th century will excite. The coming man will have woolly hair. The white man is intelligent but not pious—and is doomed. The races take their turns." c. Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 76.

[126] A representative quote from Armstrong: "The submissive Negro… has not thrown a pauper upon the nation. Of the proud Indians, about one-half are in the national poorhouse… The superior personality of the latter is in the body whose habits are opposed to industry and whose weakness unfits him so far for competition with any other people… the severe discipline of slavery strengthened a weak race. Professed friendship for a strong one has weakened it." c. Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised,* 126.

thrust into them.[127] Hampton was evidence that the student could be drawn out of this dangerous precipice without harming the agrarian economy or white domination.

As the experiment continued, Pratt's and Armstrong's views began to diverge. Pratt became more and more convinced that associating with black peers would educate the childlike Native to mimic backwardness. In 1879, Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, and took 13 of the 17 students he had brought from St. Augustine with him.[128] Here he took "forced assimilation" to its extreme with his dictum "kill the Indian and save the man." The racial difference of the Indian was not, for Pratt, an irreducible biological difference. Unlike blackness which marked eternal subordination and demanded supervision for each generation, Indian-ness could literally be disciplined out of the body once and for all generations. Hampton teacher Elaine Goodale Eastman expressed a similar understanding of the different natures of racialization for black and indigenous students when she approvingly reported in the school newspaper on her future husband Dr. Charles A. Eastman (Sioux)'s views that "the Indian must necessarily be absorbed in the white race." While he regretted that "the strong characteristics of the native [sic] could not be preserved and developed," this loss was offset by the greater benefit of "[t]he infusion of white blood,"

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[127] An Indian student's statement in the Hampton University Archives seems to show that the Hampton environment inculcated the same lesson in Indian students. Giving no name nor date, the student "a descendant of the aboriginal race of America," writes of the comparative advantage of the black American: "The Negro American has, as a whole, had some advantages over the Indian. He has always mingled with the white man, while the Indian had been parked on reservations. He early accepted the white man's custom of living, while the Indian remain unicivlized. The Negro, even before his emancipation, knew the value of education and strove to attain it, while the Indians did not want to have his children go to school… In 1863, the Negro was thrown upon his own resources and learned that he must work to exist, while even today the uneducated Indian has no special occupation, and his labor is of little or no value." Box: Indian Collection 12: Indian Education, Folder: Statements. No name, no date. HUA
A white teacher similarly writes, "The western reservation resembles to some extent the southern plantation, and I believe those of us hwo have to do with the education and cigviliation of Indians can learn many things from the dealings of our Southern friens with the plantation Negro." Box: Indian Collection 12: Indian Education, Folder: Statements. No name, no date. HUA
[128] Hultgren and Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and To Serve*, 57.

which “brought about a closer relation between the two races, [as] the children of such marriages appear not only to be better cared for than the pure-blooded Indians, but to grasp more readily and naturally the principles of the new life.”[129] Precisely when the black-white miscegenation taboo was acquiring its maximum legal and social expression, white pedagogues were applauding interracial unions between whites and Indians.

Throughout the 1870s national public opinion had been returning to the Indian Tragedy, and, perhaps fatigued by the destruction of the Civil War, soured at the actions of the Union triumvirate. Public opinion on the mistreatment of “remaining Indian groups” led to a proliferation of white organizations for Indian welfare. The Board of Indian Commissioners, the Boston Indian Citizenship Association, the Women’s National Indian Association, and the Indian Rights Association were all founded during this decade and reflected a heightened sympathy for the romantic figure of the struggling Indian and a disapproval of the reservation system.[130] These groups saw no contradiction between preserving an Indian past in museums and hurrying living Indians along an inevitable assimilation into whiteness.

Local whites had mixed feelings about the Indian program. Many claimed to be descendants of Pocahantas and John Rolfe, and they were pleased that their community was helping the ‘vanishing Indian.’ Yet, a vague feeling of kinship also made them uneasy to see

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[129] Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Southern Workman,* n.d. Indian Collection. Box 40: Elaine Goodale Eastman. HUA

[130] Melissa D. Parkhurst. *To Win the Indian Heart: Music at Chemawa Indian School*. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2014), 9-10. Hampton had ties to each of these organizations as well as Friends of the Indian, and other charitable white groups. Hultgren and Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and to Serve*, 55. HUA
Frissell later wrote , “Whatever there was of good in the old tribal system—and there was much—has for the most part been done away with by the reservation. Unfortunately the issuing of rations has [illegible] pauperized the Indian, and any system devised for his education must take into account the serious defects of character which are the natural result of depending upon the government for daily bread.” H.B. Frissell, “Learning by Doing,” *School Journal.* New York, July 20, 1901. Box 14 Indian Education. Folder “Indian Education 1880-.” HUA

Indian and black students being taught together.[131] Over time, in an effort to raise academic standards to parity with the original idea of high school equivalency, Hampton began recruiting students with at least one white parent, believing, as Eastman said, that they would more quickly learn the Hampton curriculum. As the proportions of 'White Indians' increased, and Jim Crow segregation became hegemonic, white locals became less and less at ease with the inclusion of Indian 'children' at a black school. Tensions reached a head in September 1887 when Caroline E.G. Colby, a local resident who had befriended some of the Indian inmates, sent a letter to President Garfield, complaining of poor diet, overwork, religious intolerance, and a general denigration of Indian students in front of black students. She wrote that one student, Albert Marshall, had been worked at the farm until "he came down with bleeding at the lungs;" that another Catholic student had been threatened with punishment if he did not attend Episcopalian services on Sunday; and most troubling, that the Indian students were made to work "under a strutting colored temporary officer with gloves & cane and umbrella in hot dusty weather."[132] Combining humanitarian concern and anti-black racism, Colby hit a chord with the President. Cleveland initiated an investigation that resulted in an inspection by Thomas Spencer Childs, a friend of Armstrong, and a Tuskegee trustee.[133]

Childs' report verified Colby's complaints and expressed added concerns about the high death rate among Indian students (mostly due to tuberculosis, which Childs linked to poor diets and a climate unsuited to their race) and the use of a guard house which he found beyond the pale, "comparable only to the Black Hole of Calcutta."[134] Defending his characterization later, Childs would write the guard house had no window "or means of light

[131] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 31.
[132] Tingey, *Indians and Blacks Together*, 283.
[133] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 221.
[134] Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," Chapter XVI, page 30. HUA

whatever;" the only ventilation was "by some small holes in the side wall at the top of the cell" not connected to fresh air; and the students confined had no idea how long their time in the cell would be when they were left there. Most damningly, he wrote to the warden of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, asking whether the prison had anything comparable to this 247 cubic-foot cell. The warden replied, "There are no cells in this institution for the purpose of special punishment. All the cells or rooms are for permanent occupancy, 8 feet by 16, 12 feet high [1536 cubic feet or more than 6 times the size of the guard house] with sky light and ventilation and light." Childs reported this response and added: "These cells, it will be remembered, are for prisoners convicted of the highest crimes (except capital offences), robbery, arson, burglary, manslaughter, murder in the second degree &c. It seems singular that the children of the 'wards of the nation' should require more severe treatment for their education than is allowed by our states to be inflicted upon the most abandoned criminals for the most atrocious crimes."[135] Childs's perspective reflects popular understanding of the Indian 'students' relationship to Hampton. Forgetting, or choosing to forget, that the first Indian students had been prisoners of war and that the current ones were, even according to Armstrong, "hostages"[136] taken from reservations—themselves an enclosure to capture and contain sovereign nations—the white public was outraged at the incarceration of Indian 'students.'

[135] T. S. Childs, letter to General Clinton B. Fisk, Board of Indian Commissioners. n.d. Box Indian Collection 12: Indian Education. Folder "Board of Indian Commissioners." HUA
[136] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "Indian Education at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural School," (New York: George F. Nesbitte & Co., Printers, 1881). Box: Indian 12: Indian Education. Folder "Biographical History- Indian." HUA

The uproar slowly died down, but was periodically revived by newspapers every year or so for the remainder of the Indian program's duration.[137] It reflected the spread of Pratt's belief that indigeneity, unlike blackness, was not reducible to a physical difference, or at least not an immutable one. When they traveled, Indian students rode in trains and stayed in hotels with whites, while black students were in separate cars and rooms. If the Indians, particularly the "White Indians" chose to seek employment off the reservation, they would have access to opportunities in schools, employment, wages, and unions that were closed to the black students. The marriages of two white teachers to Indian students (and the engagement of another whose fiancée died before their wedding date), would have driven these distinctions home. Such a union between a black student and a white teacher would surely have shuttered the school.[138]

In the immediate aftermath of Emancipation and the "peace policy," the analogy between black citizens and Native wards had been easy. Over time, this comparison was becoming strained.[139] The first celebration of the anniversary of the Dawes Act, which divided tribal lands into individual allotments and gave Indian landholders citizenship if they "adopted the habits of civilized life," was called "Indian Emancipation Day," at Hampton. By the second anniversary the celebration had been renamed "Indian Citizenship Day" and eventually simply "Indian Day."[140] A box of photographs at the Hampton University archives

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[137] See for instance, Aery, "Hampton Idea of Education," Chapter XVI, page 55. HUA

[138] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton,* 164-165.

[139] With the rise of Progressivism as the hegemonic paradigm of white charity and the relegation of abolitionism to a memory, ethnic white immigrants would become the more popular analogy for Indians wards and/or citizens.

[140] See *Talks and Thoughts* (1887-1907), the school newspaper started by the Indian literary club. Vol III No. 8 (February 1889) describes the events of "Indian Emancipation Day." In Vol. XIII No. 10 (March 1898), Dawes is compared to Lincoln: "May the names of the untiring Dawes and the immortal Lincoln live forever in the hearts of our people" (1). Vol. IV. No. 9 (March 1890) describes "Indian Citizenship Day" festivities. Starting in 1900, the event is referred to as "Indian Day" HUA.

shows Native students celebrating "Indian Day" pageants where the Native students would dress up as Natives *and* as pilgrims, Christopher Columbus, British soldiers/colonials, the abstract ideal of "Columbia," and the U.S. flag, patriotic symbols it would seem unlikely that black students would be allowed to represent.[141] After the Childs report, Armstrong too found it convenient to emphasize the difference between the two apprentice races, writing, "The intelligent reader of history knows how different they were in the savage state; and the course pursued with them by the 'white man's government' has had no tendency to improve the situation."[142]

In 1912, Congress withdrew federal funding for the Indian program. The *Southern Workman* reported, "one of the reasons, perhaps the chief reason, given for the cutting off of

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[141] Box "Native American Photograph Collection" HUA.

[142] After the Childs report, Armstrong had to defend the harsh punishment of confining Indian students in a guard house, especially when black students were not given such a punishment. He argued that supspension or expulsion were far more effective disciplinary tools for black students, but would have no effect on the Indian student who was effectively being held against their will. He continues, "After the War The negro was turned adrift in a hostile country to sink or swim, as his own effort should determine. The Indian was cooped up on a reservation, fed with government bread and covered with government blankets until he has lost all the self-supporting instincts which he ever possessed. From these two extremes they come to Hampton—the negro an independent citizen, the Indian a government ward. The negro comes of his own accord and at his own expense. He is not afraid to work, and is thankful for any opportunity to increase his limited capital by hard labor. If he does not yield a cheerful obedience to all the laws of the institution the punishment, which is at the same time most salutary and most severe, is simply to send him home. [The Savage Indian] The Indian, on the other hand, is confessedly a savage, put here for the purpose of teaching him the language and ways of the white man, and his expenses are paid by the government. He takes to work about as cheerfully as a hen takes to water, and nothing would please him better than to be sent back to his life of idleness and ignorance. By pursuing such a course with the refractory savage the authorities of the Hampton Institute might indeed heap coals of fire on his head; but the Indian scalp is not sensitive to that style of heap." Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "Summer at Hampton" *Philadelphia Inquirer* 20 Aug. 1889, Noble Hill. Box 14 Indian Education. Folder "Indian Education 1880-." HUA

Meanwhile, Washington took a similar tact, but to argue that the black citizen was less costly and more valuable for the country. He wrote: "The Government has felt under a certain moral obligation to the Indians because of the fact they were the possessors of this country when the white men came over and gradually dispossessed them, and for this reason, and because, owing to the roving, shiftless life to which Indians had been accustomed, it was not easy for them to settle down and support themselves as the whites do, that it was deemed necessary to adopt them as wards, the purpose being to gradually civilize them and fit them for self-independence. On the contrary, negroes, accustomed to the field and farm and to the trades whereby an honest support can be had, were fitted to take up these occupations immediately after they were emancipated, and the Government could have done them no greater service than in throwing them on their own resources. In this they have been taught habits of industry, of frugality, and as a result *they have acquired a greater faculty for self-dependence in less than half a century than the Indians acquired in more than four centuries*" (emphasis mine). Booker T. Washington, "Indians and Negroes" Box 14 Indian Education. Folder "Indian Education 1880-." HUA

this appropriation is the undesirability of mingling Indian and Negro students in the same school."[143] Reporting on the Congressional debate, the *Charlotte Observer* wrote: "One reason given was that Indian boys and girls could be taught more cheaply on or near the reservations. Another and doubtless more influential, was urged by Representative Carter of Oklahoma.[144] 'You ask the Indian,' he said, 'to surrender his self-respect by placing his children on social equality [with] an inferior race—a condition to which you yourself would not deign to descend.' He was loudly applauded by the House."[145] Plainly, the issue was not the crossing of racial boundaries in the absolute, as no one opposed the mingling of white and Native blood (least of all Representative Carter who himself married two white women) but specifically of black blood infiltrating Native bloodlines. The Indian students wrote a letter to Congress appealing the withdrawal, arguing along the old lines that "the thrifty, hardworking Negro boys and girls at Hampton have much of good to give us."[146] The debate might have been relatively moot since enrollment in the Indian program had not met the quota of 120 students since 1902, but its implications are important.[147] The responses of Colby, Childs, and Carter represent a broader shift in public opinion. Their relationship to blackness before and after the war had taught them a set of rules about racial difference including its irreducibility

[143] *Southern Workman*. October 1912.
[144] Carter himself was of Cherokee and Chickasaw heritage and himself a graduate of the Chickasaw Manual Training Academy at Tishomingo. Todd J. Cosmerick, "Carter, Charles David (1868-1929)." *Oklahoma Historical Society.* http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=CA066
[145] "The Indian Negro School," *Charlotte Observer*. Aug. 23, 1912. Box 14: Indian Education. Folder: "Indian Education 1880-." HUA
[146] *Southern Workman*. May, 1912.
[147] While there had been more than 120 Indian 'students' enrolled at Hampton every year from 1883 to 1902, enrollment dipped below 120 in 1902, below 100 in 1905, and in 1909 stood at just 74. Lindsey attributes the decline to the death of Armstrong, whose military standing had carried some weight among reservation inhabitants; his successor H.B. Frissell's stiffening of admission standards; and the slow dissolution of the reservation system which made it hard for the school to connect with alumni and get their help with recruitment. At the same time, Indian Commissioner Francis Leupp (1905-1909) had begun to disfavor nonreservation boarding schools. In 1908 he had banned Hampton's staff from conducting recruitment trips to the reservatins. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 247-248.

to a bodily difference which training could modulate but not extinguish. The introduction of the indigenous ward into this schema problematized these rules. Indians were apparently a distinct racial type. Yet their racial difference seemed both extractable from their bodies and culturally assimilable across generations. They overtook their black stewards to become potential citizens in ways that were closed to black subjects. In the terminology put forward by community organizer and social movement analyst Scot Nakagawa, anti-blackness was positioned as the fulcrum of white supremacy.

Nakagawa's formulation comes in response to frequent efforts to describe relational racial formation in the United States through tiered hierarchies with a clear top (white) and a clear bottom (often black), with other races ranked according to relative perceived privilege in between. Nakagawa calls this the metaphor of the pyramid. The pyramid metaphor reifies racial categories and their relative 'privileges.' Nakagawa therefore proposes a shift in focus from racial identities to the logics of white supremacy and replaces the pyramid of racial categories with a lever of white supremacy. A lever is a simple machine that translates energy to action, amplifying the energy by its use of a fulcrum that stabilizes the machine. He proposes two sides of the lever, one "with force and intention" and one on which the force of the first side is exerted. Where a group or an individual stands on the lever is contingent on the historical dynamics of interlocking structures of power. In each historical moment different arrangements on each side of the lever allow for different political coalitions to exert force on the other side. What remains constant however, is the mechanism by which the lever turns potential force into actual work, the fulcrum. The fulcrum provides the leverage for all movements of the lever, and is structurally situated at the core of the machine. In the lever of U.S. white supremacy that fulcrum is anti-blackness. It translates the force on one end of the

lever into action on the other, regardless of where individuals or groups are positioned on the lever itself.[148] Anti-black racism is what allows relational racial formations and U.S. white supremacy internal cohesion. Hampton's Indian program demonstrated how this was the case for the evolution of Native racialization at the turn of the century.

Yet Hampton, in helping place black and Indian subjects on the same side of the lever of white supremacy necessarily created the conditions for a coalitional politics between the two groups. During the early years of the program, a group of Shawnee students "adopted" six black students, whom the school thereafter counted as Indians, even though such non-normative kinship practices were one of the things the school was meant to eradicate. [149] Booker T. Washington often told an anecdote that drove home how the presence of white authority created unexpected alliances. A history teacher once asked a class of black and Native students to explain what "special contributions" the other race had made to "civilization." An Indian student stood and responded that the black race had contributed "patience, musical aptitude, and a desire to learn." A black student followed with the Indian race's "courage, sense of honor, and racial pride." When asked what the white man had contributed, the class had no answer. For Washington, this "comparatively trivial incident… [illustrated] how all the dark-coloured people of this country, no matter how different… are being drawn together in sympathy and interest in the presence of the prejudice of the white man against all other people of a different color from his own."[150] It also underlined the *political* danger of racial mixing not openly addressed by Colby, Childs, Carter, or the others discussed in this section.

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[148] Scot Nakagawa. "Blackness is the Fulcrum," *Race Files*, May 4, 2012. Accessed Feb. 26, 2018. http://www.racefiles.com/2012/05/04/blackness-is-the-fulcrum/
[149] Tingey, *Indians and Blacks Together*, 122.
[150] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*, 166.

"If you wipe the color line we are gone"[151]

At it's 2018 national meeting, the American Historical Association held a screening of Stanley Nelson's documentary *Tell Them We Are Rising: The Story of Black Colleges and Universities*. An audience member asked what lessons contemporary administrators might draw from the history of the Hampton model, comparing it to both its contemporary German gymnasium which combined the first years of post-secondary education with the last years of secondary school, and to today's increasing interest in vocational education. They appreciated the schools' focus on immediately applicable skills, comparing it favorably to humanities and liberal arts majors which they did not see as similarly practical. Such comparisons imagine the Hampton model being "ahead of its time" in a positive way (and ignore the immediate applicability of the critical thinking, writing, and communication skills taught to liberal arts majors). Knowing the intentions of Armstrong, Pratt, and their cohort to use higher education to wed U.S. democracy to a white supremacist racial hierarchy however, raises the question of whether today's vocational education boosters are hoping to re-create a similar enclosure for the fastest growing demographics of college students. In an era where "college for all" is becoming a rallying cry, what colleges will teach, and to whom, is an important question.

Studies of Hampton and other schools modeled on it are also prone to drawing comparisons between the students laboring in school farms, school shops, and in private homes to defray educational expenses to the work study model common among college students today. This comparison accepts the inevitability and desirability of students giving over a portion of their working week to pursuits often unrelated to their career goals, where all

[151] Colonel W.S. Copeland, c. Raymond Wolters. *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 240.

they learn is to do work regularly and under careful supervision, and the uneven distribution of these workloads along race and class divisions. A 2015 report by the Center on Education and the Workforce at Georgetown University found that 70 to 80% of college students are consistently active in the labor market. 40% of undergraduates and 76% of graduate students work at least 30 hour a week, and 25% of all working college students hold full-time employment.[152] 60% of working students have jobs in sales and "food/personal services" occupations unlikely to have direct bearings on their education. Half of graduating college seniors also report having worked as unpaid interns or as interns for college credit.[153] Working for less than 20 hours/week on campus tends to correlate with higher academic achievement, but students who work more than 20 hours a week experience a significant decline in grades, even when controlled for factors like parental income levels.[154] There are other indirect costs to working while studying. In a study commissioned by a wing of Sallie Mae, 40% of working students reported that work schedules limited when they could schedule classes; 36% said it limited their selection of classes; 30% said it limited the number of classes they could take; and 26% reported it limited their access to the library.[155] While these data are not broken down by race, it is well documented that white students tend to be over-represented in 'merit-based' grants and under-represented in 'need-based' financial aid, thus

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[152] Anthony P. Carnevale et al. "Learning While Earning: The New Normal," (Washington, D.C.: Public Policy Institute, 2015) 1, 11,.
In 2017, almost exactly half of all federal work-study recipients (51.5%) were enrolled in private non-profit institutions, and almost exactly one-third (32.2%) were in public four-year institutions (NASFAA). National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators (NASFAA). "National Student Aid Profile: Overview of 2017 Federal Programs," (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators), 9. These data are also not broken down by race or gender.
[153] Carnevale et al., "Learning While Earning," 25, 27, 45, 15.
[154] Gary R. Pike, George D. Kuh, Ryan C. Massa-McKinley, "First-Year Students' Employment, Engagement, and Academic Achievement: Untangling the Relationships between Work and Grades," *National Association of Student Personnel Administrators* 45 No. 4 (2008): 560-582.
[155] Jonathan M. Orszag, Peter R. Orszag, and Diane M. Whitmore, "Learning and Earning: Working in College," Commissioned by Upromise, a subsidiary of Sallie Mae.
https://www.brockport.edu/academics/career/supervisors/upromise

black and brown students are likely over-represented among working students, particularly among students who work more than 20 hours/week.[156]

Celebrations of the economic efficiency of vocational education or other elements of the Hampton model also erase the history of political and educational organization and activism that dismantled the hegemony of the Hampton model. The early years of Hampton were years of attrition. Anderson reports that only 20% of students enrolled finished their course of study.[157] Many who stayed protested against unfair treatment. While collecting primary sources from students has been outside the scope of research for this chapter, existing secondary sources have gathered a plethora of student complaints which might give contemporary vocational ed boosters pause for thought.

Student complaints from the early years of Hampton center on two basic grievances: first that their 'normal and agricultural' education was in fact, a training to be generalized handymen, not skilled laborers, and much less independent craftsmen. Relatedly, their second complaint was that they were being trained to be servants rather than leaders. William W. Adams came to learn the printing trade but found that he was "not learning anything," but rather "going over what [he] had learned in primary school." John H. Boothe, studying to become a shoemaker, complained that he had not received "any instructions on cutting out and fitting shoes." J. A. Colbert, who enrolled to learn carpentry, complained he worked "all day for six days each week," but had not been taught "the use of timber." While many

[156] See for instance: Jennie H. Woo and Susan P. Choy, "Merit Aid for Undergraduates: Trends from 1996-1996 to 2007-08," (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Education, 2011); Mark Kantrowitz, "The Distribution of Grants and Scholarships by Race," cited in Doug Lederman, "Grant Recipients and Race," *Inside Higher Ed*. Sept. 6, 2011; and Judith Scott-Clayton and Jing Li, "Black-white disparity in student loan debt more than triples after graduation," (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 2016). The next chapter takes up this question with regards to the community college and the complex of for-profit credentialing colleges that mushroomed after the 2008 economic collapse and argues that the credentials-focused revival of vocational education does in fact reassert the racial hierarchies imagined by Armstrong and his supporters.
[157] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 54.

students came to learn specific skills with the goal of becoming artisans, their actual education was meant to make them laborers. The women and men who came to become certified as school teachers presumably had similar complaints. They were being taught enough to pass the teachers' certification exams, although teaching posts were often sold for cash, awarded, for political services, or "bestowed for even more objectionable ends," so it is unclear how much their training helped outside getting them credentials. [158]

Students' dissatisfaction with trade training culminated in an 1887 petition to the faculty. Perry Shields recounted that even though every 'apprentice' (as the students in the trade programs were called) signed the document, the faculty ignored the petition entirely.[159] Students were angered at being dismissed in this manner, but this incident accords with Watkins's thesis that Hampton and similar schools were meant to create a "semieducated" class for "semicitizenship."[160] Exercising the right to petition and create change through democratic channels was well outside the parameters of black citizenship as these white architects of not only black education but black citizenship, saw it. A similar illustration occurred the one time a black student, Thomas Hebron, was confined in the guard house designed for Indian students. A large number of black students protested outside the guard house and attempted to release Hebron. Their efforts were unsuccessful and 11 black students faced court-martial-style disciplinary proceedings. Five of these left the school rather than face their 'charges.'[161] Scattered moments of student resistance continued until the school's curriculum was brought into the 'mainstream of black education': a liberal arts education.

[158] G.S. Dickerman, cited in Bullock. *A History of Negro Education*, 103-104.
[159] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 60.
[160] Watkins, *White Architects*, 175.
[161] Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton,* 161.

The program had always received vocal opposition from detractors off-campus. But the funders and administration had responded with one voice, while, with the exception of a few small-scale demonstrations such as the 1887 petition, students' opposition had been individual and scattered. It was not until the aftermath of WWI that students mobilized en masse. In the 1920s, black students across the country rose up against strict disciplinary codes and the paternalism they embodied, and the limited forms of vocational education made popular by the Hampton-Tuskegee model.[162] At Hampton, newly appointed president James E. Gregg opened the door to curricular reforms. He persuaded trustees to adopt the 2-year normal program into a four-year B.A. in education, introduced a master's in school administration, and desegregated the faculty, finally hiring black teachers in the academic program in 1927. Gregg also encouraged these teachers to offer courses in black culture, literature, and history, including an incipient program in "black and African studies," and campus-wide essay contests on topics like "The Ideals of Negro Poetry" and "The Value of the Study of Negro History," and proposed to expand student recruitment outside the South. Students, perceiving an opening for change, mobilized for larger demands.

St. Clair Drake, then a Hampton student, observed the true bone of contention for students was "the long arm of New England Puritanism." Students were subjected to much stricter codes of conduct than white collegians in the South. They could not smoke or drink, have friends of the opposite gender before their senior year, and were made to sing "spirituals and plantation melodies" before visitors every Sunday.[163] Their daily schedules were still punctuated by bells telling them to wake up, go to meals, classes, and bed. In 1919, Gregg had

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[162] See Wolters. *The New Negro*.

[163] St. Clair Drake cited in Andrew J. Rosa, "New Negroes on Campus: St. Clair Drake and the Culture of Education, Reform, and Rebellion at Hampton Institute," *History of Education Quarterly*, 53 No. 3 (2013): 203-232.

posted the following order: “students must be in bed when the lights are out, no talking or whispering is allowed… Every student is expected to bathe at least twice a week… No student is allowed north of the line passing through the center of the Principal’s house except when on school business…Rowing, sailing, and bicycle riding on Sundays, except on school duty or by special permission, is forbidden.”[164] Apparently, Gregg wanted to make sure that in the transformation of the Institute to a college, students did not lose sight of their place in the social order, nor that outsiders think they were losing sight of it.

Tensions between students and Gregg reached a breaking point in 1925, when Hampton hosted a performance by the Denishawn Dancers. The integrated audience seating led to several outraged editorials and ultimately the introduction of the Massenburg Law of 1925 requiring segregated seating at all places of “public assemblage and entertainment,” on penalty of a fine of up to $500.[165] Gregg went out of his way to accommodate the hurt sentiments of white patrons, publicly supported the Massenburg Bill, and added additional institutional fines for any person who refused to cooperate with segregated seating at Hampton. Students who had been excited by Gregg’s reforms felt betrayed and on October 9, 1927, went on strike. While they fully participated in academic activities, students refused to participate in inspections, attend church, say grace at dinner, or generally perform deference to white authority. They issued a list of 64 demands including the hiring of more black teachers and administrators, higher academic standards, firing “racist, abusive, and unqualified faculty,” student representation in school governance, and a relaxation of the strict

[164] James E. Gregg, cited in Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro*, 235.
[165] See Shirleen Teresa Judkins. *The Massenburg Law, 1925-26: Virginia Segregation at the Crest* (M.A. Diss., Corcoran Department of History, University of Virginia, 1977).

codes of conduct for both genders.[166] Outraged by the students' audacity in refusing and petitioning, Gregg refused to address student demands and promised to punish strike leaders. He closed the school and sent all students home, notifying students they would have to reapply for admission when school re-opened in a month's time, and sign a loyalty oath swearing their "obedience and cooperation." Sixty-nine students were given longer suspensions and 4 student leaders expelled. [167] A total of 200 did not return when school re-opened. Within a year, with growing resentment among returned students, and knowing that faculty were inclined to align with them, Gregg resigned. His successor, George P. Phenix, acknowledged that the traditional Hampton model "had less validity than some of us had supposed," warned against letting the "temporary situation" created by a founding father "congeal into a permanent policy," and rejoiced that the "progress of the South in general and the needs of the Negro in particular" had necessitated the college upgrading its mission from vocational to liberal arts education. [168] His work incorporated many demands from the student strike, including a fully integrated faculty, higher academic standards, and termination of the entire trade school program. [169] Re-creating Hampton-style training programs would, in fact, turn back the clock on gains hard-won by student activists.

Created as an enclosure of black freedom by white architects, this institution of higher education would ultimately outlive not just its founder, but the ideologies that shaped his generation. The school that was supposed to teach black women their place was in white people's kitchens trained Septima Poinsette Clark, the "Mother of the Movement," and the driving force behind the "citizenship schools" which taught 2,500 black adults in the Deep

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[166] Rosa, "New Negroes on Campus," 224.
[167] Rosa, "New Negroes on Campus," 222-228.
[168] George P. Phenix, cited in Wolters, *The New Negro*, 274-275.
[169] Wolters, *The New Negro*, 268, 272-275.

South to read and write and developed a class of leaders to lobby local politicians and recruit community organizers.[170] That is not to say that Hampton today is a site of unfettered liberation for its black students. Like many HBCUs Hampton has its share of problems, internal and external, but it is also a reminder that for as long as U.S. higher education has been a site for the containment of black freedom dreams, it has also functioned as a site that creates excess possibilities. In the chapters that follow, I trace that dialectic through the development of new forms of higher education designed in response to moments of intra- and international racial crises.

[170] See: David P. Levine, "The Birth of the Citizenship Schools: Entwining the Struggles for Literacy and Freedom," *History of Education Quarterly*. 44 No. 3 (2004): 388-414.

Chapter 2
"A College for All the People":
The Urban Frontier, Progressive Reform, and the Unfinished Promise of the Community College

"In the strict economic sense of the term a public good*: (a) is non-excludable—others cannot be prevented from using the good or service, (b) is non-rivalrous—use of the good or service does not prevent others from using the good or service at the same time, and (c) has externalities—provides benefits that extend beyond the person consuming the good or service.*"[1]

Defenses of public funding for higher education and for the liberal arts are a pressing concern not only for Critical University Studies (CUS) scholars, but for most acadedmics in the humanities and social sciences. Common economic arguments for higher education include individual benefits such as increased job opportunities, higher lifetime earnings, better health outcomes and even increased longevity for students who finish their degrees, as well as social benefits including the support of democracy (supposedly an economically stable political arrangement), sustainable growth, lower crime rates, and reduced state expenditures on welfare and incarceration expenses.[2] Less economically driven defenses of higher education, and particularly of liberal arts education focus on the political benefits of creating critical thinkers instead of technocrats; the epistemological benefits of training people to think of values separate from instrumental use value; their contribution to "overall human happiness"; and their utility as fields of research in themselves.[3] Neither line of argumentation

[1] Bonnie C. Fusarelli and Tamara V. Young, "Preserving the 'Public' in Public Education for the Sake of Democracy," *Journal of Thought* 46 No. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 2011): 85-96, 86.
[2] Although there does not seem to be a large field of economics devoted to the question of higher education and its benefits, economist Walter McMahon's book is often cited for its methodologically rigorous look at these benefits. Walter J. McMahon. *Higher Learning, Greater Good: The Private and Social Benefits of Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2009). One explanation for the lack of economics-informed work on the topic might have to do with the methodological difficulties of such a study. The completion of higher education is necessarily tied to a large variety of other socioeconomic variables and would be nearly impossible to accurately randomize.
[3] For a synthesis of such arguments, see Helen Small. *The Value of the Humanities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). See also Wendy Brown, "Educating Human Capital," in *Undoing the Demos:*

has tapped into the rich history of black theorization of higher education, particularly of liberal arts education as discussed in the last chapter, an omission that might explain their inability to account for the racialized and gendered disparities in the benefits accrued from access to higher education.[4] This chapter attempts to bridge this gap by broadening the 'proper object of CUS to include community colleges. These schools were originally envisioned as a public good that would spread liberal arts to the children of the working classes in industrializing cities and in remote frontier towns. Today they reach a much larger and much more diverse student body than 4-year institutions. Considering the racialized history of this public good in the United States reveals the limits of 'public good' discourses of access to higher education as an end in itself. At the same time it provides alternative models for a defense of liberal arts higher education that does not mythologize the lost Keynesian university but recovers black re-appropriation of government institutions for community service instead.

The community college (originally called the junior college) has grown four times as fast as 4-year universities in the twentieth century,[5] and has been a site of serious study for black studies scholars working on the historical emergence of black power organizing,[6] but it

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Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2015): 175-200; and Martha Nussbaum. *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[4] The most recent data set breaking down income by educational levels, race, and gender, comes from the College Board. Their data for 2013-2015 (expressed in 2016 dollars), show that the median income of a white man with a bachelor's degree was $56,500 p.a., compared to $46,000 for white women with a bachelor's, $48,500 for a black man with a bachelor's, and $41,200 for a black woman with a bachelor's. Jennifer Ma, Matea Pender, and Meredith Welch. *Education Pays 2016: The Benefits of Hgiher Education for Individuals and Society*, 21 https://trends.collegeboard.org/sites/default/files/education-pays-2016-full-report.pdf.

[5] John Hockenberry, "Community College: The New Frontier," The Takeaway, National Public Radio, New York, WNYC, Oct. 18, 2015.

[6] See for instance, Donna Murch's work on the centrality of Meritt College to the development of the Black Panther Party in Oakland: "The Campus and the Street; Race, Migration, and the Origins of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, CA," *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 9, No. 4 (2007): 333-345 and her monograph connecting Meritt to other public university campuses, notably the University of

remains on the sidelines of critical university studies. Discussions of the proper object of critical university studies might point to the lack of robust research programs at most community colleges as a reason for this relative neglect. Yet this division is also clearly racialized and classed. Research universities over-represent higher income populations, drawing 75% of their students from the top 25% of household incomes and only 3% from the bottom quartile.[7] They also drastically under-represent black college enrollment as 68% of black students begin their higher education at open-access schools.[8] Without centering the work that is done at community colleges, particularly through its transfer and community service functions, CUS scholarship gives disproportionate attention to the wealthier and whiter sectors of U.S. higher education. Similarly, community colleges have the highest proportion of black and 'Hispanic' faculty[9] and almost 4 out of 5 community college

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California, Berkeley: *Living for the City: Migration, Education, and the Rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). See also Martha Biondi's discussion of Brooklyn College in "Brooklyn College Belongs to Us: Black Students and the Transformation of Higher Education in New York City" in *Civil Rights in New York City* Ed. Clarence Taylor (New York City: Fordham University Press, 2011): 161-181. Biondi also discusses the relationship between Chicago City Colleges and student activism at Northwestern University in "A Turbulent Era of Transition: Black Students and a New Chicago" in *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012): 79-113. Jakobi Williams's monograph treats community college students (although not the campuses or institutions specifically) as key leaders and organizers in the creation of the Illinois Black Panther Party: Jakobi Williams. *From the Bullet to the Ballot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

[7] Hockenberry, John, "A Roadblock for High-Achieving, Low-Income Students," The Takeaway, National Public Radio, New York, WNYC, Jan. 10, 2016.

[8] Georgetown University's Center on Education and the Workforce finds that since 1995, 82% of new white students have enrolled in the 468 most selective colleges, while 68% of black first-time college students have attended open-access schools. Anthony P. Carnevale and Jeff Strohl, "Separate & Unequal: How Higher Education Reinforces the Intergenerational Reproduction of White Racial Privilege" (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Public Policy Institute, 2013), 7.

[9] The Department of Education's latest figures do not break down data on full-time faculty by race, but in the latest data I have found shows that in 2003, 6.9% of full-time faculty members at 2-year public colleges were black, compared to 4.0% at public 4-year research institutions and 4.6% at 4-year private institutions, and 5.5% across all institutions. 5.9% of full-time faculty members at 2-year public colleges were listed as 'Hispanic,' compared to 3.0 at 4-year public research institutions and 3.3% at private 4-year research institutions, and 3.5% across all institutions.
E. Forrest Cataldi, M. Fahimi, and E.M. Bradburn. *2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF: 04) Report on Faculty and Instructional Staff in Fall 2003*. (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education), 9. https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2005/2005172.pdf

instructors are part-time employees.[10] Given CUS's interest in recruiting and retaining faculty of color and protecting contingent faculty, making common cause with community college faculty seems an egregious missed opportunity. A Critical University Studies that is attentive to the racialized dynamics of higher education must have a robust engagement with the work of community colleges. By incorporating community colleges and the publics these colleges serve into their analyses, CUS scholars would greatly expand their potential to impact some of the most vulnerable groups in higher education.

When they first began in the early 1900s, the primary function of these colleges was to provide the first two years of an undergraduate education, either to spread higher education to the masses or to keep the masses out of true higher education (a distinction discussed below). The Midwest and West, with their low densities of universities in the early twentieth century, were particularly hospitable climes for the junior college. From a perspective cognizant of U.S. settler colonial practice, it is no coincidence that these 'frontier' places were the first to take advantage of this new innovation. As the notion of the frontier permeated U.S. settler geographies, the tenability of an 'American' culture and civilization faced a kind of existential threat. The junior college served as an outpost ostensibly 'guarding' this heritage through a basic liberal arts education but in practice *creating* it. Jesse Parker Bogue, one of the most cited historians of the community colleges, describes the community function of the junior college as giving "stability and richness to the national life of our people.[11]" In practice, the

[10] According to the Department of Education's latest figures (2015), 78% of faculty at public 2-year colleges are part-time employees, 33% at public 4-year colleges and universities, 45% at private 4-year institutions, and 85% at for-profit 4-year colleges. Thomas D. Snyder, Cristobal de Brey, and Sally A. Dillow. *Digest of Education Statistics 2016*, (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education), 401. https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2017/2017094.pdf

[11] Jesse Parker Bogue. *The Community College* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), 70. See also Cohen and Brawer on rural community college's serving as community centers and the importance of this community

community college served as an articulating node in defining what the "national life" of the United States *was* at this crucial juncture. By bringing the civilizing influence of the liberal arts as well as various 'community enrichment activities' to these locations, the junior college took on the aspect of a 'community center' and became a scale-defining institution. It helped naturalize white civilization in the frontier space and simultaneously naturalized the white working classes as the 'masses' whom public goods designed for social mobility would target.

California was the first state to create a legislative framework for the creation and accreditation of junior colleges in 1907 and it has become commonplace for early junior colleges to be considered a Western phenomenon,[12] but the junior college actually originated in Chicago, at Joliet High School in 1901. The idea caught on fast and wide within the decade. By 1909, there were 20 junior colleges across the United States, and by 1919, 170.[13] Education historian Walter Crosby Eells's authoritative 1931 history, *The Junior College* might be the first to point out what is now the starting point of every community college history—that the community college was not the result of a specific plan or project but the result of converging needs stewarded by university presidents.[14] The next section examines

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function in securing funds for new community colleges, Cohen, Arthur M. and Florence B. Brawer. *The American Community College* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1982), 18.

[12] *Ibid*, 14.

[13] Cohen and Brawer, *The American Community,* 9. The schools would see another more remarkable growth spurt during the Depression when they were re-tooled to focus on vocational education. Nancy Joan Edwards cites this as a growth from 403 colleges in 1929 to 584 in 1945. Edwards, Nancy Joan Edwards. *The Public Community College in America: Its History, Present Condition, and Future Outlook with Special Reference to Finance* (Ph.D. Diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1982), 23. Another increase followed the 1945 G.I. bill's subsidization of continuing education. A final growth spurt took place between 1965 and 1980, as baby-boomers came of age, "the number of public two-year institutions nearly doubled, and their enrollment quadrupled," Cohen and Brawer, xvi.

[14] Walter Crosby Eells. *The Junior College* (Boston: Houghton Migglin Company, 1931), 17.
The sentiment is echoed in a variety of texts by educational administration researchers. See for instance, Edwards. *The Public Community College,* 12, 15; Ralph R Fields. *The Community College Movement* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962); E. K. Fretwell. *Founding Public Junior Colleges: Local Initiatives in Six Communities* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1954); Mary Lou

the historical contexts of this emergence, asking why this time and place gave rise to this enduring U.S. higher education project. I focus mainly on the emergence of the city as an "urban frontier" in need of the civilizing influence of Progressive Era reformers. I examine the racial and spatial politics of this moment and of the ideas about the public good that coalesced in it.

I pay particular attention to the discourses and achievements of Progressive Era reformers as their theories about municipal governance and education laid the groundwork not only for the community colleges, but also the much of the current conversation around what is lost in neoliberalization. I then follow the evolution of the form and function of one of the oldest extant examples of this institution by tracing the history of one community college in the West Side of Chicago. In its century of operation, this school has been molded to very different forms and functions by different stakeholders. Originally named Crane Junior College (after plumbing magnate Richard T. Crane), the college focused on preparing the majority ethnic white residents of the West Side to transfer to universities for liberal arts or pre-professional training. Over time as the demographics of the neighborhood community changed to majority black, the school came to focus more on terminal vocational education. In 1968, a student-led campaign transformed it into a model of community-centered, freedom school-inspired higher education. Today, it functions as the health profession campus of the city-wide community college system. This chapter approaches this college's historical trajectory as representative of the dynamics that have shaped community colleges in the United States. I follow the institution from its original promise of social mobility through the transfer function, through its relegation to a 'second best' vocational education option for

Zoglin. *Power and Politics in the Community College* (Palms Spring, CA: ETC Publications, 1976); Steven L. Zwerling. *Second Best: The Crisis of the Community College* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976)

students of color excluded from that originary promise, through black students' appropriation of the school into a community-controlled institution, to its present function as a credentialing program for a city-wide network of continuing education programs.[15] On the one hand I pursue the question of how the idea of a junior, and later a community college, helped the state manage racialized populations at the scale of the city. On the other, I am interested in how students and teachers created place-making and pedagogical practices that exceeded the logics of the state and forged alternative spatial pedagogies based on community service as the key goals of the community college. Throughout my study therefore, I try to balance an institutional history which attends to how higher education institutions play a role in the development and abandonment of particular neighborhoods with a social history of how 'community members' leverage institutional resources to create practices in excess of the institutional mission. Finally, I reflect on how the evolving functions of the community college both reflect and inform changing academic and popular understandings of what constitutes a 'community,' and the role of this concept in mediating black neighborhoods' access to municipal investment. My general usage of the term follows Neil Smith's caution that a community "is properly conceived as the site of social reproduction," but I also identify how different stakeholders change the meaning of the word and to what end. [16]

[15] See Zwerling, *Second Best*. Zwerling argues that "the expansion of vocational education first in the high schools (after an aborted beginning in the land-grant colleges) and then in the junior colleges, was more an ingenious way of providing large numbers of students with *access* to schooling without disturbing the shape of the social structure than it was an effort to democratize society. What is important is the kind of education one gets, and vocational education is not the kind that leads to more social mobility" (emphasis in original), 69.
[16] Neil Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics: Homeless Vehicles and the Production of Geographic Scale" *Social Text* 33 (1993): 54-83. 70.

The Urban Frontier and the Origins of the Community College

Scholars writing about modern U.S. university campus spaces often point out that the rise of the modern campus has been coincident with the rise of the "American city," the ideal of a rural college "campus" (from the Latin *campus* for field) giving way to an urban university just as the frontier gave way to the metropolis as the land of opportunity.[17] Late nineteenth and early twentieth century U.S. cities, molded by the tensions and negotiations between 'native-born' white settlers, more recent European immigrants, and black migrants from the rural South created new patterns of racializing space which became embedded in urban geographies including the metropolitan campus. Progressive Era reformers, concerned by the increasing inequality created by industrialization attempted to foster public institutions and civic norms to counteract the industrial menace while preserving the overarching structures of U.S. capitalism and white supremacy that engendered these social relations.[18] I situate the community college represents the intersection of industrialization, the racialization of urban spaces in the early twentieth century United States, and the gains and limitations of the Progressive Era reformers—in some ways precursors to today's CUS practitioners as well as the education reform organizations discussed in the final chapter on education reform and teacher training programs.

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[17] See for instance, *Pride of Place. The Campus: A Place Apart*. Directed by Murray Grigor, Robert A. M. Stern, Stephany Marks, Russell Fenton, and Malone Gill Productions. 1986. Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 2007. DVD; Sharon Haar. *The City as Campus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xv; Paul Venable Turner. *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1984), 163-214; Richard P. Dober. *Campus Design* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1992), 73-80. Notably, the usage of "American city," in such texts does not refer to all cities in the United States (for instance colonial Philadelphia), but focuses on the mid-to-late nineteenth century as the starting point of an urban development that is distinctly *American* rather than, for instance, the colonial city, the Southern city, or the frontier town.

[18] For an overview of Progressive Era reforms and how they transformed the urban landscape in the U.S., see: Allen F. Davis. *Spearhead for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Lewis L. Gould. *America in the Progressive Era, 1890-1914* (New York: Longman, 2001); Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 1983) and the anthology *The Age of Urban Reform: New Perspectives on the Progressive Era* Ed. Michael H. Ebner and Eugene M. Tobin (New York: Kennikat Press, 1977).

At the turn of the twentieth century, the notion of a closing frontier combined with rapid urban growth and large-scale industrialism, all contributed to overcrowding, "commercialized vice," (i.e. organized operations for gambling and sex work, as well as protection racketeering) and aroused the disgust of the white urban middle and upper classes, placing cities at the forefront of the movement for progressive reform. [19] The city of Chicago, the "prototypical nineteenth-century American city,"[20] was exemplary of these trends. It was in Chicago that Fredrick Turner delivered "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." [21] The idea of the frontier was ever-present in this city that was not quite Northern, Southern, nor the frontier west. Reformer and social scientist Jane Addams, speaking of the Near West Side neighborhood where she began Hull House, echoed the sentiments of Richard Armstrong in Hawai'i. As Armstrong found Kanaka expropriation antithetical to their ability to practice the Christian faith, Addams argued that urban conditions were toxic to American republicanism and democracy: "The idea underlying our self-government breaks down in such a ward," She wrote of the Near West Side, "[t]he streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, the factory legislation unenforced, the street-lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller streets, and the stables defy all laws of sanitation. Hundreds of houses are unconnected with the street sewer." [22] Her

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[19] See for instance Allen Davis's discussion of how white reformers surrounded by "social disorder" were compelled to counter it due to their religious commitments and intellectual curiosities, *Spearhead for Reform*, 26-31; Lewis L. Gould connects these impulses to "labor unrest." Partly because events like the Haymarket affair alerted the capitalist class to offer an alternative to the rousing rhetoric of labor organizers and anarchists, and partly because devout Christians saw it as a miscarriage of justice and felt called upon to aid city residents address the grievances the political system would not address, *America in the Progressive Era,* 7-9.
[20] Haar, *The City as Campus, xxvi.*
[21] Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1894*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office: 1895): 119-227.
[22] Jane Addams. "The Objective Value of a Social Settlement," in *Jane Addams: A Centennial Reader* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 15.

description underscores how reformers connected the lack of physical infrastructure necessary for the material ideals of the 'American way of life' with the ideals of U.S. republicanism—the physical arrangement of urban life was potentially a threat not only to individual or community health and morals but even to American civilization itself. As such, and as a 'contact zone' between "native born whites" representing Protestant ethics and the American Creed on the one hand, and European immigrants and Southern black migrants, both alien and savage on the other, the city itself was a frontier space, "a space of encounter between 'civilization' and 'wilderness.'"[23] For Progressives, the reform and domestication of urban spaces, and of the new Americans in them became a pathway to reforming and domesticating the idea of the United States itself.[24] Through their work they were not only saving individual lives but creating a humane racial capitalist state. Their thought and activism molded the modern U.S. ideal of public goods as well as municipal governance. Urban planning innovations including health and sanitation rules, building codes, zoning legislation, municipal services like public libraries, playgrounds, and kindergartens, and extra-partisan organizing including civic leagues and unions, shaped the U.S. horizons of the welfare state idea throughout the twentieth century. Their reckoning with class and the inability to speak to

[23] Haar, *The City as Campus*, 5-6. The idea of a "contact zone" comes from Mary Louise Pratt's 1991 address to the Modern Language Association in which she coined the term "to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly assymetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today." Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," (keynote address, Modern Language Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, Dec. 27 – 30, 1991).

[24] Literary scholar Amy Kaplan surveys early twentieth century U.S. literature on the nation, settler colonial expansion, and domestic housekeeping to show that "[t]he rhetoric of Manifest Destiny and that of domesticity share a vocabulary that turns imperial conquest into spiritual regeneration in order to efface internal conflict or external resistance in visions of geopolitical domination as global harmony" (31). Amy Kaplan. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002). I am essentially making the same argument about white reformers operating in a city that functions as a frontier because it is populated by immigrants and domestic racial others (i.e. Southern black migrants).

race and racism as features of the urban landscape also became embedded in white urban community organizing.

In discussing their limited engagement with race and racism, many historians have characterized the Progressive Era reformers as pragmatists rather than idealists.[25] Early histories had praised a perceived racial liberalism in their efforts.[26] They argued that Progressive reformers created institutions and civic norms that improved black life in the aggregate, most visibly in the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). But recent scholarship has pointed to a more generalized indifference or hostility towards black citizens' struggles among Progressive reformers and leaders. For instance, Thomas Lee Philpott points out that social settlement workers were more interested in assisting European immigrants than black migrants[27] while Elizabeth Lasch-Quinn notes overtly racist motivations in their dealings with black migrants.[28] Historian David W. Southern makes a useful distinction between Progressive reformers' "optimism" (or idealism) about reforming society generally and their "pessimistic" (or pragmatic) views on race.[29] Many believed that white hearts and minds could be civilized but that black ones were beyond reform due to intractable cultural and biological differences.

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[25] See for instance, Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development, 1870-1950* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State College Press, 1951), and Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955).
[26] See for instance, Davis, *Spearhead for Reform* on the racial liberalism of settlement house workers.
[27] Thomas Lee Philpott. *The Slum and the Ghetto: Immigrants, Blacks, and Reformers in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1991), xvii.
[28] Elizabeth Lasch-Quinn. *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 9-46.
[29] David W. Southern. *The Progressive Era and Race: Reaction and Reform, 1900-1917* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2005), 49.
Willard H. Smith provides an exemplary manifestation of this pessimism when he cites William Jennings Bryan's response to the controversy around Theodore Roosevelt's White House invitation for Booker T. Washington: Bryan wrote that he found the invitation, "unfortunate, to say the least. It will give depth and acrimony to a race feeling already strained to the uttermost" (c. Willard H. Smith, "William Jennings Bryan and Racism," *The Journal of Negro History* 54 No. 2 (1969): 127-149, 136.

Several historians of the period have also pointed out the negative impacts of their efforts on black communities, most notably through their support for segregation.[30] John Dewey, for instance, spoke openly about racism as a "deep seated and widespread social disease" yet he did not place the onus of treating this disease on legal or political infrastructure but on "voluntary associations."[31] Prominent Progressive leaders such as William Jennings Bryan repeatedly espoused a belief in the equal rights of black citizens to every constitutional protection but actively supported voting restrictions, arguing that such restrictions helped the more qualified race take more of an active role in the governance of all the races, "not only for the benefit of the advanced race, but for the benefit of the backward race also."[32] As historian Hillary J. Moss has commented with regards to the common school movement of the 1830s, "by invoking civic inclusion rather than social justice to promote public education, [school reformers] implicitly justified denying African Americans, as noncitizens, equal educational opportunity."[33] Progressives like Bryan were not able to think past inclusion to equity, and that limitation led them to legitimize segregation and its attendant inequality, a limitation that remains present in contemporary discussions of public goods.

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[30] Amanda Seligman's history of the West Side recounts how white residents of the West Side had been campaigning for improved infrastructure in their neighborhoods during the Progressive Era. When faced with the prospect of black neighbors, these activists added keeping black residents out to their platform. Amanda I. Seligman. *Block By Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 4; 163-182.
On the continuing support of individual Progressive leaders and collective reformers for segregationist politics, see Michael E. McGerr. "The Shield of Segregation," in *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 182-220. McGerr discusses the negative effects of segregation on black communities as well as on the Progressive movement, which, McGerr posits, used such a narrow definition of who was included in "the people" that they could never build the mass movement leaders hoped for.
[31] Both quotes are cited in Sam F. Stack Jr., "John Dewey and the Question of Race: The Fight for Odell Waller" *Education and Culture* 25 No. 1 (2009): 17-35, 21, 19.
[32] Smith, "William Jennings Bryan and Racism," 139; the quotation is cited on144.
[33] Hillary J. Moss, *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Progressive Era reforms have shaped the modern U.S. ideal of the public good, public institutions, and state responsibility. Today, when defenders of public education again enshrine inclusion as the standard of racial progress, they miss the opportunity to re-imagine the state's responsibility to minoritized groups.

The crowning achievement of Progressive Era reforms was the first social settlement house, Jane Addams's Hull House, which opened in 1889. Architecture professor Sharon Haar describes Hull House as the prototype for the urban college campus: "an outpost in the urban wilderness that acted simultaneously as a residence, community space, urban service center, and research institution".[34] The institution was in fact based on another example of an innovation in higher education: East London's Toynbee Hall, a "university 'extension' [providing] an opportunity for university men to live among and work with the poor in the interest of promoting social and class understanding through social clubs, lectures, and other forms of aid".[35] That is to say, the settlement house was not exclusively for bringing relief to the urban poor, but was in fact, primarily a *site of study*, where wealthy men created and learned the modern urban instantiation of *nobless oblige* and gathered the empirical data that legitimized a positivist study of social behavior generally and school of social sciences at the University of Chicago specifically. In this they were akin to the U.S. South's Hampton-style foundation-sponsored agricultural and normal schools discussed in chapter 1 and important forerunners for leadership development programs like Teach For America discussed in chapter 4.[36] The core pedagogy of these social scientific study was built around knowledge

[34] Haar, *The City as Campus*, xxvii.
[35] *Ibid*, 10. See also, Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," in *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York: Macmillan).
[36] The U.S. version of the settlement house however, was gendered distinctly white-well-off-feminine. Haar describes the work of the social settlement as follows: "Here domestic and urban life intertwined; female urban

production as surveillance of the poor, and knowledge dissemination as their disciplining. It simultaneously taught the settler-teacher to understand themselves as the subject of knowledge, and the poor ethnic as its object. It framed government investment in previously abandoned communities as *aid* and articulated the pursuit of education as a measure of worthiness for such assistance. Most importantly its intention to *counter* the corrupting influences of the Native or the black migrant positioned these people definitively outside its scope of action. Combining Northern progressives' fears of unchecked urbanization, Western settler's apprehensions about the savage Other and the savage within, and Southern fears of mobilized freedmen, this social settlement practice also crystallized how the urban frontier drew together various regional technologies to build a particularly urban spatial solution to the race problem.

This urban frontier, which reinforced the equation of civilization and humanity with whiteness, was also the site that popularized the notion of 'community.' The language of

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'settlers' consciously advanced the connection among urbanity, the domestic environment, and the domestication of the urban immigrant to American citizenship" (Haar, 14, 30), The heteropatriarchal nuclear family, with a woman in charge of the home and hygiene, while the man of the household is presumably out making a living, essentially served as the unit of reform for the settlement house. Policing its proper function was the domain of the white woman who modeled by example 'manifest domesticity'. Amy Kaplan has argued that the development of an ideology of separate spheres in concert with American imperialism created the notion of the "empire of the mother," i.e. "the home as a bounded and rigidly ordered interior space… a stable haven or feminine counterbalance to the male activity of territorial conquest" (Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*, 24-25). Kaplan further argues that the spaces of domesticity and of Manifest Destiny were not opposed but overlapping: "woman's true sphere' was in fact a mobile and mobilizing outpost that transformed conquered foreign lands into the domestic sphere of the gamily and nation" (*Ibid*). This domestication of the home front was a way of preserving whiteness from the contamination of racialized savagery, but if the city was a frontier, manifest domesticity also describes how the savagery in the inland metropolis was colonized. The pedagogical manifestation of this manifest domesticity in the social settlement movement, and its following iterations is precisely what I mean by social settlement pedagogy. These progressives thus shared much with the Southern benefactors discussed in chapter 1 in relation to the Hampton Institute. Unchecked urbanization and industrialization were feared as the precursors of anarchy and Bolshevism, particularly when inter- and intra-national immigrants feeling alienated from the ideology of the ruling classes. Like the corporate philanthropists, the progressive reformers too sought "[e]conomic, class, and racial peace" to avert threats to the core of white supremacist capitalism (Watkins, *White Architects of Black Education*, 84-85).

creating and fostering "community" was one way of recovering the imagined lost intimacy and unity of rural social organization. German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies had introduced the notion of rural "community" as opposed to urban "society" in his influential 1887 work *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society). The work of Emile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, Max Weber, and Charles Josiah Galpin responding to these distinctions first introduced the term 'community' in U.S. academic production and urban planning at the beginning of the twentieth century.[37] A planned reconstruction of the organic intimate relationships of an imagined rural past seemed a promising cure to the problems of modern urban life. The settlement house demonstrates how Progressive reforms invested in the geographic scale of the community to counter the alienation they diagnosed in recent immigrants while also providing a meaningful occupation and community for middle and upper class educated youth who worked there. It was a consummate example of the white spatial imaginary, imposing structure, control, and "predictable patterns of design and behavior."[38]

The settlement house also promoted the identification of neighborhoods with communities—the "ethnic enclave" became institutionalized as an accepted and expected building block of the city during this period. This expectation had specifically deleterious

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[37] See: Ferdinand Tönnies. *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* Trans. and Ed. Charles P. Loomis (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2002); Emil Durkheim. *The Division of Labor in Society* Ed. Steven Lukes, Trans. W.D. Halls (New York: The Free Press, 1984); George Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in *The Blackwell City Reader* Ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002): 11-19; Max Weber. "The City (Non-legitimate Domination)" in *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978): 1212-1373. For a discussion of the intellectual history of the term community in U.S. social scientific practice, see Naóise Mac Sweeney, "Theorizing the Community," in *Community Identity and Archaeology* (University of Michigan Press, 2011): 9-21; J.G. Bruhn, "Conceptions of Community: Past and Present" in *The Sociology of Community Connections* (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2011): 29-46; and Vered Amit and Nigel Rappaport "The Trouble with Community" in *The Trouble with Community: Anthropological Reflections on Movement, Identity and Collectivity* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

[38] George Lipsitz. *How Racism Takes Place*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 29.

effects on black communities who, in these early years of Jim Crow, were most deliberately confined to their enclave. During this period black Southern farmers continued to gather in the South Side neighborhood of Chicago (and after the second World War, the West Side), especially after the summer of 1919 made it clear that the color line, although bending and buckling in the anonymity of public space, would not allow black domesticity anywhere else. This geographic containment also manifested as the economic containment of a "job ceiling" that prevented black workers from 'rising' to any position above "semi-skilled jobs, with the skilled, clerical, managerial, and supervisory positions reserved for white workers. During the peak of the Great Migration, the citywide black population of Chicago increased nearly 150% from 44,103 in 1910 to 109,485 in 1920.[39] Without any institutional recourse for employment and housing discrimination, and under threat of physical violence from 'economically anxious' whites, black migrants found collecting themselves in a physical neighborhood the best way to safeguard individual and collective rights. The community scale crafted in the Black Metropolis represents what historian and feminist theorist Elsa Barkley Brown has characterized as a "community of struggle," a mode of social organization antithetical to the "possessive' individualism of liberal democracy" developed primarily in black churches during the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras. This community scale was based on "a worldview shaped by an understanding that freedom, in reality, would accrue to each… individually only when it was acquired by all of them collectively."[40] This idea of community

[39] Christopher Robert Reed, "Beyond Chicago's Black Metropolis: A History of the West Side's First Century, 1837-1940" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 92 (1999): 119-49, 125.

[40] Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom" *Public Culture* 7 (1994): 107-146, 125.
See also: Michael C. Dawson. *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), on how Reconstruction-era black political ideologies found that "even the most individual of liberal political acts, the casting of a vote, was embedded in community relationships" (255).

is in effect a rival geography and has an alternative and parallel intellectual history to the Weberian usage, and the space of the city and of liberal democracy were not always hospitable to it. In the evolution of the community college we will see the white spatial imaginary's liberal public good with this communal rival geography.

Sociologists seeking to understand and explain black urban life, however, developed their ideas about black neighborhoods in relation to the lost "moral order" of Southern life. Historian Joe William Trotter Jr.'s introductory literature review in *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective*, points to the work of E. Franklin Frazier as exemplary of what the former calls "the social disorganization framework" for understanding the impact of the Great Migration on urban life. Summarizing Frazier's main arguments in *The Negro Family in Chicago*, Trotter writes:

> According to Frazier, the Great Migration resulted in the uprooting of southern black rural folk from a moral (even if paternalistic and racist) order, which ensured the stability of black families as viable mechanisms in the progress of the race. Massive black migration to cities like Chicago disrupted old mores, and brought in its wake a host of problems; black migrants swelled the crime, divorce, and illegitimate birth rates on the one hand, while deflating African-American urban, social, cultural, and institutional affiliations on the other.[41]

For these reformers the city was an unnatural geography for black communities. Believing that black migrants left behind all communal, cultural, and institutional ties when they left the South, these scholar-activists understood the black migrant as embodying lack, especially deficient in community ties, and particularly vulnerable to the urban frontier's threat of loss of culture and civilization. Even scholars who noted the role of urban black churches,

[41] Trotter, "Black Migration in Historical Perspective," 9. The thrust of Frazier's argument is reinforced by various contemporary social scientists taking up race relations during and immediately after the peak years of the Great Migration. See for instance: Louise Venable Kennedy. *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930) on the "Social Maladjustment of the Negro" in urban centers; or R.H. Leavell, et al. *Negro Migration in 1916-17* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919) on "delinquency in the migrant population and reports on crime, health, and housing".

newspapers, and mutual aid organizations in helping new migrants 'adjust' to city life emphasized the demoralizing effects of "loss of status," culture shock from the pace of urban life, and lack of training for industrial jobs supposedly had not only on adult migrants but also on the children raised by these adults.[42] While these arguments ignored how many migrants moved to areas where previous migrants from their hometowns had settled, and how shared institutions produce community, they gained great traction among educated whites. For instance, the report of Chicago Commission on Race Relations, constituted in response to the 1919 race riot, has a section titled "Views of Authorities on Crime among Negroes" with 37 quotes from judges explaining the delinquency of black Chicagoans and relating these to the various 'lacks' they were supposed to be experiencing in the city.[43]

The work of the Chicago school of sociology and well-meaning Progressive reformers pathologized the community scale created by black migrants. Trotter recounts how in the pre-war years, well-meaning, reform-minded analysts hoping to bring more attention to the "economic and social difficulties" of black migrants, intentionally pathologized black migrants, writing that these Southerners were "not 'the best negroes,' but the 'ill-adjusted'" to emphasize the need for urban authorities to invest in the infrastructure and reform measures that would allow black migrants to integrate into the life of the city.[44] This was not an uncommon rhetorical device. Addams's description of neighborhoods where "[t]he idea underlying our self-government breaks down," for instance, was meant to draw attention and

[42] See for instance: "Adjustments to Life in Chicago," and "Non-Adjusted Neighborhoods" in The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968) [1922].
[43] *Ibid*., 345-356.
[44] R.R. Wright. "Migration of Negroes to the North," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 27 (1906): 559-78. Trotter Jr., Joe William, "Black Migration in Historical Perspective: A Review of the Literature" in *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class, and Gender* Ed. Joe William Trotter, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991):1-21, 4.

effort to remedy a lack of physical infrastructure but to the self-interested white city-dweller, it also reads as a condemnation of the people who live there. In the long-term these good intentions contributed to culture of poverty discourses, which began to circulate in the 1920s and 30s with the Chicago school of sociology's popularization of the idea of urban "blight."[45] Haar explains that the "usefulness, power, and longevity of this word" in the call for "urban renewal" caused it to spread rapidly throughout the nation.[46] Blight indicated outsider status, biological embodiment, and the possibility of correction through extraction:

> Blight is a parasite; it comes from an outside source, often unknown, and causes disease and decay… [Urban] Blight was understood to be more than a physical characteristic of an environment; for many it also implied the character traits of a specific race, class, or ethnicity, whose members became its identifiers… Blight in this view is a state and a process, a historical devolution, from a previously balanced state, a state prior to the effects of modernity. Blight can be prevented, but when necessary, it can be removed.[47]

The articulation of "blighted areas" in social scientific literature tracks how 'community,' originally a concept deployed to place value on the intimate relationships in an area where the scale of social reproduction was congruent with a neighborhood also became a mechanism for marking black rival geographies as pathological.[48] Progressive reform measures thus placed

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[45] Along with other biological/ecological metaphors (transportation routes as arteries; the city as an organism), the idea of blight was popularized by the work of Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie. See for instance: Burgess, "The Growth of the City; An Introduction to a Research Project," in *The City* Ed. Robert E. Park et al (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), 47; McKenzie, Roderick D. "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," in *The City,* 63.

[46] Haar, *The City as Campus*, 64. As evidence of its spread we might look at Pennsylvania's 1945 Urban Redevelopment Law, which defined blight in relation to street width, lot coverage, and open spaces as well as ideas about hygiene in the domestic space, citing "unsafe, unsanitary, inadequate, or over-crowded condition" and the 1949 (federal) Urban Redevelopment Act which uses the phrase 'blighted areas' without citing any specific definition. See: David Schuyler. *A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1940-1980* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 4 and Janet L.Abu-Lughod. *Race, Space, and Riots in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 70.

[47] *Ibid*, 45.

[48] See for instance: Williams, *From the Bullet to the Ballot*. Williams, whose work on the Illinois Black Panther Party (ILBPP) points to the importance of Chicago college students in the city's black politics during the mid-twentieth century understands his work in contradistinction to "the line of reasoning fueled by the cultural

black communities in a parasitic relationship with public goods. Community colleges today are still reckoning with the legacy of this antagonism.

The investment in community worked well with another strand of reform which reached its peak around the time of Hull House's foundation, the common school movement. Horace Mann and his colleagues had developed the idea of the locally controlled school as an American institution and public good in the mid nineteenth century.[49] The Progressives were able to build on the work of the common school movement and continued to articulate education with Americanization. The work of John Dewey and Jane Addams especially figures the centrality of education, specifically of publicly funded and standardized education in the salvation of the individual. Thus this period also saw the rise of the "Great School Legend,"—public policy historian Colin Greer's term for the deeply entrenched although demonstrably false U.S. belief that the public school system has been instrumental in making over unwashed masses of immigrants into proper English-speaking, literate, civically engaged citizens— took hold.[50] Progressive reformers' belief in education provided ideological

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poverty paradigm put forth by scholars such as Gerald Horne and Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, which suggests that the Black Power movement was propelled by pathological street gangs". William's observation about Horne, Ogbar, et al indicate how the notion of 'blight' has subtly and persistently impacted social scientific and historical observers, making college-affiliated youth and adults marginal to their work. (Williams, 3) Williams further points out that "most of the Panther recruits came from neighboring colleges and universities, not from gangs—in large part as a result of strong recruitment drives targeting Illinois students. [Fred] Hampton was a student at Crane Junior College, which had a highly politically active student population. Bobby Rush was associated with UIC. Many of the ILBPP's initial members came from UIC and other city colleges, as well as from the streets of Chicago" (Williams, 66).

[49] Common schools trained children to be good citizens by developing their moral character and work habits, and drawing them into a common culture based on white Protestant ideologies, particularly Protestantism, Republicanism, and capitalism. For an overview of the ideological underpinnings of the common school movement, see Carl F. Kaestle, "Ideology and American Educational History," *History of Education Quarterly*. 22 no. 2 (1982): 123-137.

[50] See Zwerling, *Second Best.* Through a series of case studies of community colleges in New York, Zwerling deconstructs what he calls "the Great School Legend," that the public schools were the key to Americanizing and civically engaging masses of (white) immigrants in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Pointing out that "the rate of school failure among the urban poor… has been consistently and remarkably high since before 1900" (27). Greer contends that immigrants who were able to assimilate did so *despite* the public education system's

support for the establishment of junior colleges, and as discussed below, the material and moral capital to defend it when it came under attack. However, this promulgation of the education gospel was not color-blind. John Dewey and other Progressive education reformers believed in the benefit of offering all Americans access to public education, but simultaneously held that the cultural lacks of black communities made their students better suited to less 'intellectual' work.[51] Not unlike Armstrong, they felt it in the best interest of black citizens to give them aspirations "for the lives they were likely to lead."[52] Thus for such reformers, it would make sense to place junior colleges as a public good, still a limited resource, in white neighborhoods that did not have such cultural deficits and could take full advantage of 2 years of liberal arts training before transferring to a 4-yar college.

This support could not have been more timely for university presidents who were finally facing the levels of enrollment that had been projected at the passing of the Morrill land grant acts. While enrollment at many land-grant colleges had been consistently low for their first decades,[53] the slow spread of state-wide free education (which meant more high school graduates, and thus more candidates for higher education), the decline of the small

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efforts to segregate, pathologize, and criminalize them. Zwerling adds examples from the 1970s to demonstrate how Greer's thesis still stands.

[51] See: Thomas D. Fallace, "Was John Dewey Ethnocentric? Reevaluating the Philosopher's Early Views on Culture and Race" *Educational Researcher* 39 No. 6 (2010): 471-477. Fallace argues that Dewey and his contemporaries did not necessarily find non-white students *biologically* deficient but, due to their beliefs in linear historicism, genetic psychology, and social Darwinist principles, held that "[t]he savage mind had the biological and psychical potential of the civilized mind but did not achieve that outcome because of a culturally disadvantaged context" (475).

[52] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, c. Robert Francis Engs. *Educating the Disfranchised and the Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893.* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 164.

[53] Arizona opened its land-grant college before it had a single high school. When the land-grant colleges in New Hampshire and Missouri first opened, they had zero students registered for the first semester. During its first ten years of operation, the University of Maryland saw five presidents and six graduates. Even schools which saw strong initial enrollment numbers, such as Cornell, Minnesota, and California, experienced sharp declines in enrollment and took years or sometimes decades to re-build that strength. Eldon L. Johnson, "Misconceptions about the Early Land-Grant Colleges," *Journal of Higher Education*. 52 no. 4 (1981): 333-351, 336-337. Johnson also notes the lengths to which certain schools went to recruit students, including offering one month's free board to any student who brought another to enroll (North Carolina).

colleges put out of business by the new land-grant colleges, and the rise of the research university, all raised awareness of the need for, and potential benefits of, a college that would provide a basic liberal education to more people.[54] University presidents, displeased at the "democratization" or at least expansion, of their student pool, turned to the German gymnasium model which combined the first years of post-secondary education with the last years of secondary school, hoping a U.S. equivalent would ease the teaching burden at their institutions and allow more time and funds to go to the proper work of the university, research.[55] While early histories of the community college tend to portray these presidents as crusaders who forged a new class of higher education to benefit the masses, it is clear from primary and secondary literature that this group functioned more as gatekeepers of 4-year liberal arts colleges, both in intention and in impact, who introduced a more nuanced hierarchy into U.S. higher education in reaction to its increasing appeal and accessibility. [56]

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[54] John Higham's chapter on the pre-war years in *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955) traces the imbrication of public education with the preservation of a white 'ethnocentrism.' See especially pages 23-28.
See also Hillary J. Moss, *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 13. See also Lee Soltow and Edward Stevens, *The Rise of Literacy and the Common School in the United States: a Socioeconomic Analysis to 1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) and James W. Fraser, *The School in the United States: a Documentary History* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

[55] Early twentieth century university leaders/presidents including Henry Tappan (University of Michigan), Alexis F. Lange (University of California), William W. Fowler (Illinois), Richard H. Jesse (Missouri), David Starr Jordan (Stanford), and most influentially in Chicago, William Rainey Harper (University of Chicago) spoke and wrote about how they were greatly impressed by the German model which left students to acquire the first two years of their undergraduate training at pre-university preparatory schools called gymnasia, allowing the university proper to focus on more specialized research and less on introductory/generalized teaching. Harper especially believed that many students completed university degrees to save face, and were therefore drains on university resources who would be better off spared the time and expense of the last two years of a university education.

See Zoglin, *Power and Politics in the Community College*, 3; Edwards, *The Public Community College in America*, 13; Hardin, "History of the Community College," 24.

[56] On the centrality of university presidents' desires and organizing in the initial thrust to create community colleges, particularly William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago, Henry P. Tappan of the University of Michigan, Alexis F. Lange of the University of California, William W. Folwell of the University of Illinois,

This was particularly true in Chicago, where William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University of Chicago, was also the most vocal and successful proponent of separating undergraduate education into a junior academic college for preliminary training and a senior university college for more advanced study. Over time Harper hoped to offload the responsibilities of the junior college on local school boards, freeing college faculty to fulfill their highest goal of being the "priest and the philosopher" of democracy.[57] Harper was able to convince several high schools to offer postgraduate classes and several four-year colleges to reduce their ambitions to two-year courses.[58] It is difficult to prove beyond doubt that Harper specifically intended this stratification to keep minoritized youth out of 4-year universities, but certainly his cherished belief that the university was meant to produce the "priest and the philosopher" rather than the plumber—or even the engineer—was in line with creating a class-stratified system of higher education that thwarted the social mobility that Addams and her colleagues might have desired. Harper's elitism is also a cautionary tale for those defending liberal arts only in the most elite institutions today. Despite Harper's intentions, community colleges have actually had a democratizing and diversifying effect on liberal arts majors. They must figure in any defense of liberal arts.

Richard H. Jesse of the University of Missouri, and David Starr Jordan of Stanford University, see Zoglin, *Power and Politics,* 3-4; Edwards, *The Public Community College*, 12-15; Fields, *The Community College Movement,* 18-20; Zwerling, *Second Best*, 44-47.

[57] See for instance Hardin's discussion of Harper's elitist worldview and goals in *A History of the Community Junior Colleges*, 24-29. The quote is cited on page 29. As Hardin explains it, Harper saw many students 'unfit' for a college education pushing themselves to finish the full 4-year course due to family or community expectations. A junior college would give such students a "graceful" way to end their college education after the sophomore year.
Harper's Junior College at the University of Chicago effectively invented the Associate in Arts degree, Zwerling, *Second Best*, 47.

[58] Fields, *The Community College Movement*, 18-19. Harper's reasons for 4-year colleges to reduce their load is quoted at length in Eells, *The Junior College*, 60-61. While the list is long and self-important, its essential points can be boiled down to 1) lowering costs; 2) increasing efficiency; 3) allowing less talented students a natural stopping point in higher studies; 4) allowing students to live at home "until greater maturity had been reached"

Despite their sometimes contradictory end-goals, all these factors—Progressive era reform's popularization of the notion of the 'urban frontier' and its racialized blight, Progressive activists' belief in education as a protectant against such blight, and trends in university specialization—combined to make a two-year college a viable investment at the beginning of the twentieth century and to make it a racial project which stratified higher education while claiming to democratize it. In the next section I follow the trajectory of one of these colleges to show how the changing nature of local, city, and national racial politics impacted the evolving form and function of this exemplary public good and its racial-spatial pedagogies.

100 Years of 'The People's College'

The archives of Crane Junior College/Malcolm X College have been lost since its 2011 renovation and relocation. Lacking an institutional archive or even a secondary source that documents the college's complete history, I have gathered the history below from various primary sources published by Crane Junior College/Malcolm X Community College, the Chicago City Colleges (CCC), and the City of Chicago Board of Education that are held by the Chicago Public Libraries; the personal papers of 3 black scholar-activists working in the West Side of Chicago in the post-WWII period held at the Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection, which include scattered copies of student newspapers published by Crane/Malcolm X students; newspaper accounts from various Chicago newspapers, especially the *Daily Defender* and the *Tribune*, the latter of which followed the 'rise and fall' of Malcolm X College with great attention and relish; oral histories conducted with two

members of the Malcolm X College Alumni Association; and various secondary sources recording the history of public education in Chicago and student activism on the West Side.

The majority of primary sources discussing the history of the college *as* history are invested in an idea of continuity between the Crane Junior College founded in 1911 and whichever current iteration they are speaking to. Yet publications from the 1960s and 70s also work hard to champion the 'rebirth' and 'rising from the ashes' narratives that President Charles G. Hurst capitalized on to get media attention and public 'buy-in' for Malcolm X College. Similarly, documents from the last decade cannot avoid the idea of "Reinvention," as the Chicago City Colleges have embarked on a project to re-'place' each of the community colleges of the city into one streamlined vocational schooling system. Thinking away from this continuity, my history of Malcolm X College is written as snapshots of three iterations of the college: Crane Junior College (a vocational school and "the only tax-supported, tuition-free junior college in Chicago from 1911 to 1933); Malcolm X College (a 'community college' designed by student activists who had seen their neighborhoods abandoned in the 1968 uprising); and MXC (the 'reinvented' state-of-the-art college designated by the Chicago City Colleges as the city's health care professions training hub in 2011). Each of these colleges is built over the frame of the previous college, yet each is characterized by a different pedagogical racial project and a different understanding of the relationship between the neighborhood, local students, state apparatuses, and the evolving notion of community. The three colleges are distinct iterations of an ongoing project to make a "college for all the people". They reflect changing understanding of the terms community, college, and 'the people' in Chicago and across the U.S.

This history offers a foundational truth of all public goods in the U.S., especially those with roots in the Progressive Era: they worked best when they worked for the white public. In historical practice, both public education broadly and the community college specifically have served more as a technology of deferring social mobility than of creating it, especially in neighborhoods where they serve primarily students of color.[59] Recognizing this limitation in the historical formulation of what constitutes a public good can help move contemporary debates about public education away from a supposedly color-blind language of progressive reform (i.e., higher education is a public good, or higher education is a human right) to a self-consciously anti-racist formulation (i.e. higher education as a redistributive technology).

Crane Junior College: 1911-1933

The West Side neighborhoods of Chicago, namely the Near West Side, North Lawndale, West Garfield Park, Austin, and East Garfield Park, were founded primarily as residential and industrial suburbs during Chicago's transition to an industrial economy.[60] The earliest demographic records of the West Side describe it as an enclave of Southern and Eastern European immigrants, primarily Italians, and Russian and Polish Jews. According to Cayton and St. Clair Drake, this Eastern European community began to break up after 1900. Slowly the second and third generations of immigrant Jewish families assimilated into an

[59] See for instance: Jean Anyon, "Social Class and School Knowledge," *Curriculum Inquiry,* 11 No. 1 (1981): 3-42; Jean Anyon. *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Educational Reform* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997); Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Martin Carnoy and Henry Levin *Scholing and Work in the Democratic State* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985); J.S. Coleman, E.Q. Campbell, C.J. Hobson, J. McPartland, A.M. Mood, F.D. Weinfeld, and R.L. York *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966); Annette Lareau,. *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention Elementary Education* (New York: Fahner, 1989); Jeannie Oakes. *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).
[60] Seligman, *Block By Block*, 14, n. 231.

unmarked American whiteness and moved out of the neighborhood. Sociologist Janet L. Abu-Lughod describes how the slow departure of Jewish families significantly lowered the population of the neighborhood and opened up affordable housing for black migrants from the South such that by 1930, the neighborhood was one-sixth black.[61] During the Depression, the West Side population continued to drop, and the proportion of black residents continued to rise. By the time the total population returned to 1900 levels, the population was 40% black.[62]

Crane Junior College was founded here in 1911 to please several stakeholders, primarily the guardians of the ethnic whites and white working class at large. According to the history recounted in the 1974 Master Plan for the City Colleges of Chicago, the principals of two high schools in the early 1900s, including Crane High School in the West Side "were so moved by the plight of the many able, promising and ambitious young people who were denied higher education by a capricious wheel of fortune" they felt compelled to introduce post-graduate classes to give the "sons and daughters of workingmen… a basic liberal education."[63] Their vision for a junior college was in line with the hopes of University of Chicago President William Rainey Harper and his colleagues who wanted to take the work of imparting the same kind of education out of the university. But their efforts also found support from white nativists who, regardless of their beliefs in higher education, saw the need to give white working class youth an advantage over black Southern migrants.

Plumbing magnate and school namesake Richard T. Crane, for instance, despised college education, traveled around Illinois delivering talks on the "Futility of Higher

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[61] Abu-Lughod, *Race, Space, and Riots*, 84.
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] Davis Mac Connell Ralston, "Master Plan for the City Colleges of Chicago," (Sunnyvale, CA: Westinghouse Learning Corporation, 1974), 21. The firm of Davis Mac Connell Ralston have lost sight of the fact that Crane High School did not become co-educational until 1954.

Schooling," and published a 331-page book detailing the futility of every kind of higher education project from the classicist curriculum of most liberal arts colleges to professional training at law and medical schools. Crane considered any non-vocational "general schooling" after grammar school "worse than useless… disqualifying [the student] for a business career, weakening his moral structure, and highly demoralizing him in every way"[64]. Not only was a liberal arts education unnecessary for success, it was a hindrance because it taught young men "disrespect for the person who had nothing but a grammar-school education,"[65] and, by collecting together a group of young men with no adult supervision, created "moral plague spots" which corrupted all who set foot there.[66] In his 1900 book, Crane explicitly repudiated the junior college, calling it "a great humbug."[67] Yet by 1911, the seventy-nine year-old differentiated between "higher schooling," and "higher education," arguing "Higher schooling as to-day conducted consists of nothing but filling the head with a lot of impractical stuff, while education consists in knowing things of real value—especially things that will enable you to make headway in the world". [68] This higher education could happen during the grammar school years, "to train girls that may be good homemakers and homekeepers as it is to train boys that they may support both themselves and their homes". [69] Thus a vocational program housed in a high school building as Crane Junior College would be, was an

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[64] R.T. Crane. *The Utility of All Kinds of Higher Education: An Investigation by R.T. Crane* (Chicago: The H.O. Shepard Co., 1909), 329.
[65] *Ibid*, 265.
[66] R.T. Crane, "The Futility of Higher Schooling: An Address to College Students: An Address to College Students" (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1911), 13.
[67] Crane, R.T. *The Utility of All Kinds of Higher Education,* 264. He also states "I consider the manual-training school, detached from elementary education, the most injurious of any schools we have" (261). Rather than extending the years of school, Crane favored incorporating manual training (industrial/vocational education) principles throughout the grammar school years: "I maintain that no school can teach a trade; that even under present conditions no school is needed for the teaching of trades—provided a reasonable amount of manual training is given throughout the grades of grammar school" (263).
[68]Crane, R.T. "The Futility of Higher Schooling," 5.
[69] Crane, R.T. *The Utility of All Kinds of Higher Education*, 260.

acceptable compromise with junior college boosters. Possibly Crane hoped this version of higher education, imparted while students lived with their parents would be an alternative to the moral and intellectual hazards of traditional colleges. The unspoken subtext of this proposition was that it introduced a new level of job preparedness for students who were able to complete grammar school. On the West Side, this demographic continued to be largely white for decades after the founding of Crane Junior College. At the end of their education, they would be ready to take jobs a cut above the rest of the industrial and domestic working classes.

In 1917, Crane Junior College received accreditation from the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Education, making it the only tax-supported, tuition-free junior college in Chicago.[70] Buttressed by the city's tradition of progressivism and the support of the Hull House progressives, the school continued to grow, becoming the largest junior college in the United States. However, even as it grew in numbers, state investment was less dynamic, and the college continued to operate from the high school building. The inability of the facilities to keep pace with the needs of the student body alarmed the North Central Association, which eventually withdrew its accreditation in 1930.[71] In 1932, the Board of Education hired George D. Strayer, the Director of the Division of Field Studies of Columbia to conduct a survey of Chicago schools, including Crane. In his report Strayer stressed the utility of Crane's function as a junior college: "As a college for all the people Crane Junior College seems a definitely defensible project for inclusion within the city school system… the city of Chicago needs Crane Junior College as a two-year liberal and

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[70] Hardin "A History of the Community Junior Colleges," 51.

[71] *Ibid*.

preprofessional college for all the people and as a college providing terminal education in the trades and semi-professions."[72]

The repeated description of "a college for all the people" in contemporary reports and in secondary sources might lead the reader to conjure a contemporary idea of diversity, but there is no reason to believe that the school was open to any students of color in the contemporary sense of the term. A 1920 circular published by the college makes it clear that, as Crane had hoped, admissions were open to women,[73] even though the high school housing the junior college did not accept women until 1954. But I can find no evidence that the school admitted black students before its 1933 closing. As recounted above, the local population in the West Side before the Depression was primarily European, often Jewish, immigrants. Black residents lived almost exclusively on the South Side during this period. Formal school segregation had been outlawed in 1874, but even without formal restrictions, various admission requirements would have placed admission well out of the reach of the majority of "able, promising, [or] ambitious" black students.

The 1920 census demonstrated that illiteracy was 15 times higher among black Chicagoans than among "native-born" whites[74]. Even as late as 1946, when the church's push for literacy had created enough of a literate and civic-minded black population to sustain a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 5,000,[75] Cayton and St. Clair Drake were confident in the assessment that black Chicago was "essentially a community of sixth-graders".[76] Such a

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[72] C. *Ibid*, 61.
[73] Superintendent of Schools, "A Circular of Information Concerning Crane Junior College" (Chicago: Board of Education, 1920), 1.
[74] Burgess, E.W. *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1920.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), 1237.
[75] Cayton, Horace R. and St. Clair Drake. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 398.
[76] *Ibid*, 516.

community could have benefitted from a school that combined secondary education with vocational and technical specialization. R.T. Crane's educational philosophy was in line with such a school too. Yet, Crane Junior College in practice was more in line with Harper's vision of a junior college preparing students for university life. The 1924 "Bulletin of Crane Junior College," for instance, describes the following minimum admissions requirements for entrance to any course of study at Crane Junior College: 3 units of high school English, 1 unit of algebra, 1 unit of geometry, 1 lab science, and at least 9 electives for a minimum total of 15 high school units. [77] The college's curriculum was clearly focused on the transfer function. The 1924 catalogue notes, in language that reappears throughout the available course catalogs from the 20s, that the courses in the engineering major "is arranged for those who plan to take up the advanced technical studies required or the freshman and sophomore years in engineering courses at institutions of the rank of the University of Illinois." Similarly the Literature and Arts major specified which combination of available courses students should take based on which subject (English, History, or Foreign Languages) they intended to complete their bachelor's in. [78] A college preparatory school would be of little use to students who had not finished grammar school, but for the children of the white working classes that had benefitted from the consolidation of the common school movement in the preceding decades, such a school provided a way of distinguishing themselves from the rest of the

[77] Superintendent of Schools, "Bulletin of Crane Junior College" (Chicago: Board of Education, 1924), 4.
[78] For a representative sample, the Summary of Curricula in the 1924 Bulletin describe the science curriculum as follows: "Here may be done the work of the first two years of college courses with science as the major subject"; for Engineering: "This course is arranged for those who plan to take up the advanced technical studies required of the freshman and sophomore years in engineering courses at institutions of the rank of the University of Illinois"; for Pre-Medical and Pre-Dental: "In this course students may do the two years of work that are required by medical colleges of the best grade for admission to their freshman year".

working class masses. Photographs of students included in these bulletins show young men dressed in suits and ties, already looking more like the faculty than the students at Hampton.[79]

When Crane was first closed in 1933, the neighborhood and civic-minded Chicagoans from all parts of the city, including Jane Addams and celebrity lawyer Clarence Darrow, came to the defense of the school. Public pressure convinced Superintendent Bogue to ask the Board to reconsider the closing, arguing, "The welfare of this city depends, to a great extent, upon the ability of youth and adults to make wise use of leisure. The Junior College offers the best possible solution to this serious problem."[80] Even though progressive reformers were focused on producing results for individuals, they also attributed an importance to the sanitizing effect of an institution that created both individual success stories as well as a general sense of uplift in an otherwise blighted neighborhood. But as the neighborhood this college served became majority black, the college's slow death through gradual divestment and neglect did not draw such prominent supporters.

Malcolm X College: 1968-2010

"The important thing is that we are not a Ford Foundation financed experiment which either falls and is forgotten or is totally nonreproducible. We are establishing a new prototype for urban education".[81]

Amanda Seligman's comprehensive history of the West Side describes how the area's demographics shifted during the second wave of the Great Migration. In the mid-1940s, North Lawndale, formerly the point of entry for many European immigrants, became a majority black neighborhood with less residential turnover. In 1959, black residents were able to move

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[79] *Ibid.*
[80] c. Hardin, "History of the Community Junior Colleges," 66.
[81] Unnamed Malcolm X College official, cited in Rankin, Deborah. "Hurst's Vanguard Ideas Open Educational Field," *Chicago Tribune* July 25, 1971.

in to West Garfield Park, and starting in 1963, to Austin and West Garfield Park.[82] Jakobi Williams describes how the continuing black migration from the Southern United States to the West Side was supplemented by thousands of South Side residents forced to move by "urban renewal" projects.[83]

While the South Side's Black Metropolis achieved a level of stability during these years, the racism of whites departing the West Side, new black residents' relative lack of political power in city politics and inability to coax investment from the Daley regime, as well as the West Side's exclusion from postwar urban redevelopment projects, created a "second ghetto" there.[84] William Grimshaw influentially characterized the West Side's political representation as "plantation wards," i.e. wards where local politicians were completely controlled by the Democratic Party machine rather than being responsive to their constituents.[85] Throughout the 1940s, new black residents were subjected to "terroristic attacks" by white neighbors.[86] Whites also mobilized in groups, such as the Town Hall

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[82] Seligman, *Block by Block*, 2-4. Seligman notes the rapidity of this change, remarking that it was commonly held that the decennial census could not capture the speed of white flight. She writes: "The Real Estate Research Corporation, a leading investigagor of Chicago's housing market, calculated the extent of racial change by dispatching ovservers to make annual visual inspections of each block in the city. A July 1962 article in the *Saturday Evening Post* estimated that every week two or three blocks in Chicago changed from white to black occupancy" (4).
[83] Williams, *From the Bullet*, 35.
[84] Seligman, *Block by Block,* 9. The phrase "second ghetto" was coined by Arnold Hirsch in his landmark study *Making the Second Ghetto*. Hirsch differentiates between a "first" ghetto of the World War I era, i.e. in Chicago, the South Side, based on individual choices supported by real estate practices and convention; and a "second" ghetto based on preserving white wealth supported by public regulation and federal policies and investment. Hirsch, Arnold R. "With or Without Jim Crow: Residential Segregation in the United States," in *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America* Ed. Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 65-66.
See also: Hirsch, Arnold R. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
[85] William J. Grimshaw, *Bitter Fruit: Black Politics and the Chicago Machine, 1931-1991* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 120.
[86] Chicago Council against Racial and Religious Discrimination, "To Secure These Rights: The Right to Safety and Security of the Person in Chicago," c. Seligman, *Block by Block,* 167.

Assembly opposing school integration in Austin,[87] or the United Property Group in West Garfield Park and Austin to keep neighborhoods white by first lobbying against anti-discrimination housing laws and later providing support to those defying them.[88] Black residents and families trying to live in these neighborhoods found themselves forming an embattled community.

Given popular and political equations of black neighbors with 'blighting,' it was no coincidence that this white flight coincided with municipal neglect. The years between the end of World War II and 1968 also saw a remarkable explosion in college attendance due to the benefits of the G.I. bill (Servicemen's Readjustment Act).[89] As college became accessible to the burgeoning middle class, it stayed white: 95% of black veterans who used the G.I. bill's educational benefits did so at historically black colleges in the South.[90] These colleges were still run on the Hampton model with emphases on agricultural, mechanical, and teacher training.[91] Not coincidentally, the community college's vocational function became more prominent in the post-World War II period, and, as traditional college became more accessible to the white middle classes, the terminal vocational courses of the junior college superseded

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[87] Seligman, 141-162.
[88] *Ibid.,* 171-181.
[89] 2,232,000 veterans attended college with G.I. bill funding between 1945 and 1960 alone. Keith W. Olson, "The G.I. Bill and Higher Education: Success and Surprise," *American Quarterly* 25 No. 5 (1973): 596. It is conventional to stop accounting of World War II veterans in 1960. These figures do not include military personnel deployed in Southeast Asia or Korea, who were also eligible for, and took advantage of, G.I. benefits. Veterans were eligible for benefits for 10 years after the date they left the armed forces.
[90] Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 129. Katznelson calculates that twenty thousand eligible black G.I.s were turned away from overcrowded colleges and an additional fifty thousand did not seek admission due to common knowledge of overcrowded schools turning students away, 132.
[91] *Ibid.,* 133. Katznelson also eludes to a first wave of the "Lower Ed" phenomenon in which "many white and black scam artists… founded… "for profit" training schools funded entirely by tuition from GI Bill grants to individual veterans. Charging the top rates allowed by the law, many of these provate schoosl were flimsy operations that provided little or no actual training," 137. Regrettably he does not include primary sources for follow up.

the transfer function in the 1960s.[92] The changing racial demographic of community colleges brought with them a decline in prestige, and state investment, turning what was originally a stepping stone into a dead end.

Crane was no exception to these trends. [93] In 1968, the student body was majority black, but faculty and administration remained 75% white and indifferent to the needs of black students.[94] The school offered no foreign language classes (even though 2 units were required for the completion of an AB or AA degree) and no prerequisites for science or medicine classes which remained in the course catalogue. In June 1969, from a student body of 1600 students,[95] a total of 22 students completed their degrees.[96]

Crane Junior College in the '60s was failing to deliver on the junior college's original promise of social mobility and better life chances through associate degrees. However, attending the college did plug students into a network of activism for black self-determination. Students formed extra-curricular forms of study, particularly through the Negro History Club (later the Afro-American History Club) which provided a venue for students to learn black political and cultural history.[97] Martha Biondi's chapter on student activism in the city of Chicago points out that such clubs gave black student leaders for

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[92] Cohen and Brawer, *The American Community College*, 5, 286.
[93] Future college president Charles Hurst described it as "unbelievably decrepit." Manly, Chesly. "Dr. Hurst's 'Revolution' at Malcolm X: Hurst Explains the Academic 'Revolution' at Malcolm X College Revolution Places Faith in Students" *Chicago Tribune*. Jan. 4, 1970. "In a characteristically colorful turn of phrase, Hurst goes on to say, "The president's office was a place where, if you spit on the floor, it's an improvement". In another article, Hurst is quoted as saying "There were days when I first came to Crane that there were more guns in school than books". While the accuracy of the statement is uncertain, given Hurst's penchant for casting himself as the savior of Malcolm X College, certainly the campus was not a safe place. Rankin, Deborah. "Hurst's Vanguard Ideas Open Educational Field," *Chicago Tribune* July 25, 1971.
[94] "Intellectual Black Power" *Time Magazine* 1971. Reprinted in "Malcolm X College" held at Harold Washington Library.
[95] Semas, Philip W. "Malcolm X College's Aim: Black Community Self-Determination," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 31, 1971, pg. 5.
[96] Manly, Chesly. "Dr. Hurst's 'Revolution."
[97] Biondi, Martha. *The Black Revolution*, 102.

individual colleges, as well as a cross-campus network that empowered students to take control of their education.[98] The alumni I spoke with also indicated that the college was their stepping stone to participate in the SCLC-led Chicago Freedom Movement, coordinating various community organizations for housing justice and the integration of public schools.[99] Another participant in the Chicago junior college's activist network, Leonard Wash, recounts the importance of "off-campus interaction with various organizations [which] brought many of us [community college students] into contact with older social activists. Interestingly, some of these groups dated back to the period when Marcus Garvey, Noble Drew Ali, and various Hebrew Israelite sects were active."[100] The Malcolm X alumni I spoke with similarly addressed the importance of finding mentors among the older generation of activists who were invited to speak at events hosted by the Negro History Club and the largely black student government. This network allowed them to become acquainted with Dr. James Turner, who was a graduate student involved with the student activism at Northwestern University, and who allowed a group of community college students to enter the occupation of the bursar's office, which became a turning point in their own valuation of the efficacy of student protest. The college was also how they became aware of, and eventually "involved with," the local Black Panther Party chapter. [101]

These extracurricular studies and connections demonstrate how the state's (meager) investment in the community college provided an unintentional counterhegemonic community. Even though its curriculum and teaching did not live up to the college's stated

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[98] *Ibid*. 105.
[99] Names withheld. Interview with author. March 3, 2017. Recording in authors' collection.
[100] Leonard Wash, "Foreword" in "Kennedy-King College 1969-2007: An Amazing Moment in Political and Cultural Time of Day," by Robert L. Cruthird, and Jeanette M. Williams, Boz 1, Folder 14, Leonard Wash Papers 1958-2011, The Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection, Chicago Public Libraries.
[101] Interview with author. March 3, 2017.

goals of creating social mobility, the students completely reinvented the school by changing its basic purpose to community service. It did, in their words serve “as a reclamation center for the human problems created by callously inefficient public schools”;[102] i.e. it began to function as a *community* college. They changed the curriculum to incorporate a capacious formulation of black studies by tailoring the curricula of the anthropology, communications, education, history, literature, political science, psychology, and sociology courses to study U.S. and transnational black history, politics, and experience, even offering an associate degree in African-American Studies for some time[103] and creating a community extension program which offered classes in and exhibitions of carious arts including theatre, dance, and plastic arts.[104] Outside curricular matters, the students made and achieved an extensive list of demands including the removal of Chicago Police Department officers as campus security guards in favor of unarmed employees of a black-owned security firm (although undercover officers seem to have continued sting operations on campus), the expansion of work-study and student aides programs; hiring counselors, full-time nursing staff, and a part-time doctor on campus; removing mandatory attendance and grades below a C; [105] and a ‘Prison Annex’ which allowed incarcerated community members to receive credit for taking classes with visiting faculty, correspondence, or “telephone lecture-discussion programs”.[106]As a result, student enrollment at the college increased faster than at any other Chicago City Colleges

[102] “Malcolm X College” held at Harold Washington Library.
[103] Catalog of classes of Malcolm X College, 1986-88. Box 24, Folder 26, William McBride, Jr. Papers 1907-1995, The Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection, Chicago Public Libraries.
[104] Charles J. Evans, “Black Studies in the State of Illinois: A Directory,” (Chicago: Innovations Center, Chicago City Colleges, 1969), 5. Box 8, Folder 13, William McBride, Jr. Papers 1907-1995, The Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection, Chicago Public Libraries.
[105] “Dr. Hurst Speaks on Student Demands,” and “Dr. Hurst Talks to Students,” *Crane College Clarion* (Chicago, IL) Feb. 21, 1969. Box 28, Folder 25, William McBride, Jr. Papers 1907-1995, The Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection, Chicago Public Libraries.
[106]Hurst, Charles G. “Black Focus: Prison Annex,” *Chicago Daily Defender* July 29, 1970.

school and reached a higher number of full-time students than any other CCC school as well.[107] Students from Crane/Malcolm X also participated in the Congress of Black College Students which "coordinated and unified the city's various student organizations and emphatically supported the black community's civil rights struggle" primarily by developing an outreach network for black high school students who might not have considered higher education. [108]

All of these changes were initiated and executed by the student body, with the blessings of the new charismatic black president, Dr. Charles G. Hurst, and a hands-off approval from the City Colleges administration, who had been cowed by the demonstration of student strength and were wary of repeating any of the violence from the 1968 uprising. But newspaper accounts made out Hurst, who had just been hired away from Howard University, to be the hero who saved the school from its 'blight'.[109]

Hurst himself played up his heroism. In a 1972 interview he said of the task that he found at the college, "I had to start from the beginning. I had to give them the basics--not educational basics. I had to give the students here confidence as black men and women".[110] In reality, he (and all the other candidates for the president position) had been interviewed by

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[107]Page, Clarence. "Students Stampede to Malcolm X College," *Chicago Tribune* Nov. 7, 1971.

[108] Williams, *From the Bullet,* 67. It is no coincidence that this most visible takeover of a majority-black community college happened in the neighborhood with one of the most prolific chapters of the Black Panther Party. Under Fred Hampton's leadership, the Party did extensive outreach on campus. Alumni recount a 'self-defense' club begun the year before the election of Stan Willis to student body president. The students' understanding of the relationship between 'the black community' and the state shared much with the policies articulated by the Panthers.

[109] A quick sampling of headlines that come up when searching the phrase Malcolm X College attest to the popularity of this race-man-foreign-savior narrative: "Dr. Hurst's 'Revolution' at Malcolm X" in the *Chicago Tribune*, "Hurst's Vanguard Ideas Open Educational Field" in *Chicago Tribune*, "Street Moxie Helps Hurst Make his Malcolm X College Tick" in *Chicago Tribune*; "Dr. Charles G. Hurst: The Mastermind of Malcolm X College" in *Ebony.*

[110] Soll, Fredric. "Street Moxie Helps Hurst Make his Malcolm X College Tick," *Chicago Tribune*, March 18, 1972.

these very students.[111] After the assassination of Fred Hampton, who had been a student and influential student leader, he repeatedly referenced the friendship they had shared and their shared vision for black self-determination, [112] notwithstanding his own ideological alignment with Nixon's "Black Capitalism" and desire to run for office as a Republican.[113] To position Hurst as the "architect" of Malcolm X, as several accounts do, is a distortion of the college and student body's histories.

This is not to say that Hurst was all talk. His emphasis on the appearance of black excellence manifested in high visibility events that drew attention and resources for the college, and helped the students assert themselves as well. For instance, he commissioned muralist Eugene 'Eda' Wade, co-founder of the Chicago Mural Group (now Chicago Public Art Group) to design murals for the stairwell doors in the Malcolm X building.[114] The new Malcolm X campus was a "steel-and-glass international modernist" building with "block-long Bauhaus structure [featuring] a geometric minimalist style, open space, black beams, and tinted windows"—cutting edge architecture that skewed to modernity and progress, ideas not previously associated with the neighborhood or its residents. Eda's doors "not only helped

[111] "Dr. Hurst Talks to Students" Crane College Clarion, Vol 22 No. 8, Feb. 21, 1969. Box 28, Folder 25, William McBride, Jr. Papers 1907-1995, The Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection, Chicago Public Libraries.
[112] See for instance, Manly, "Dr. Hurst's 'Revolution," in which he is quoted as saying ""I told [Hampton] that I take the black community as it is. My community advisory board would include welfare mothers, because welfare mothers made up a part of the community. It would show representation from the Panthers, because they were part of the community. It would show representation from the Conservative Vice Lords, because they were part of the community. But also it would show representation from Sears-Roebuck, because they were an important part of the community. I never will forget what he said: 'Dr. Hurst, you and I are going about building a new world in different ways but we're both trying to build a new world. More power to the people and more power to you."

[113] See "Malcolm X Head Tells Fear for Life in Teacher Dispute" *Chicago Tribune*, July 19, 1972, in which Hurst speaks of his support for Nixon's re-election and "Dr. Hurst to Quit Malcolm X" *Chicago Daily Defender*, Dec. 19, 1972 on his campaigning for Nixon's and Republican Governor Richard Ogilvie's re-election and his own plans to run for Congress on a Republican ticket.
[114] Didactic panel to accompany the exhibit "Eugene Eda's Doors for Malcolm X College" shown at the Sidney R. Yates Gallery, Chicago Cultural Center, January 21-June 25, 2017. Visited on 2 March, 2017.

enliven a severely functional space; [the] art also helped serve the political, social, and educational needs of the people”. [115] The murals “included references to the ancient regions of Upper and Lower Egypt with depictions of musicians, scholars, medical and funerary practices, pharaohs, and female rulers”; popular adinkra symbols “[introducing] the viewer to symbols and signs that evolve and endure as part of Ashanti culture… [serving] as a reminder to learn from the past while progressing forward”; “African aesthetics coupled with themes involving building, creating and strengthening the family or community… themes of fortitude, unity and community”. [116] The Eda murals depict the new journey the revitalized college was committed to. Instead of turning the children of workingmen into ladies and gentlemen, these doors depict the descendants of slaves, some in literal chains, others figuratively chained to drug addiction, finding divine intervention in doves, lights, and other religious imagery, as well as temporal inspiration through successful black figures ranging from Louis Armstrong to pharaohs to black doctors and nurses. Clearly students held education in high esteem, both as an end in itself in line with the education gospel, but also as a redistributive measure as described by Du Bois.[117] The subjects of the mural, as much as the practice of mural painting itself grounded the college in a community service pedagogy which thought of social mobility at a collective level instead of a way out for individuals, and celebrated blackness and black history instead of pathologizing them.

Eventually Hurst had to resign under a cloud of corruption charges, and since the changes were over-identified with him, his departure took the steam out of their sails. Hurst

[115] *Ibid*.
[116] Michelle R. Perkins. *Ibid*.
[117] W.E.B. Du Bois presents an analysis of education as a means of redistributive justice during Reconstruction. Investing in education for black students has the traditional benefits associated with the education gospel (social capital), job training, etc., but also the additional benefit of a progressive taxed form of public education that would undermine the planter class in the South. See W.E.B. Du Bois, “Reconstruction and Its Benefits,” *American Historical Review* 15 No. 4 (1910): 781-799; 793-794, 798.

put in his resignation letter Jan. 29, 1973[118] under charges of misusing $1.3 million in federal funds allocated to MXC.[119] In his *Defender* column "Hurst Tells Malcolm X Plot" he blames his resignation on the administration becoming wary of a black man with power.[120] Regardless of the truth of the accusations, the over-identification of the reforms with Hurst meant neglect under his successors and the eventual withering away of all but the veneer of black pride. Yet the generation of students who attended Malcolm X College at its inception continued to benefit from their exposure to the workings of city politics and continued to strategically deploy their extracurricular training in grassroots training and leadership.

This iteration of the college is an illustration of how the community college, as a shared institution, creates not only a feeling of community but a genuine scale of social reproduction. Sociologist and public education activist Eve Ewing describes the importance of schools in black urban neighborhoods by relating Willard Waller's notion of schools as a "social organism" which "invit[e] a sense of belonging, through which individuals within the institution understand themselves as one of its component parts" to the insularizing effects of Jim Crow segregation.[121] Per Ewing, black city residents, spatially and socially isolated from major components of city life find a "magnified importance" in shared institutions, enveloping those institutions in their notion of 'home' and belonging more profoundly than

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[118] "Today Hurst's Last Day," *Chicago Daily Defender*, Jan. 31, 1973.
[119] "Hurst Vows Shutdown," *Chicago Daily Defender,* Jan. 15, 1973; "Head of Malcolm X College to Leave His Post in June," *New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1973.
[120] Hurst, Charles G. "Hurst Tells Malcolm X Plot," *Chicago Daily Defender*, Feb. 10, 1973. The alumni I spoke with declined to take a direct stance on the accusations, but they did repeatedly mention rampant nepotism and cronyism and a general environment in which embezzlement would not be outside the pale.
[121] Eve L. Ewing. *Shuttered Schools in the Black Metropolis: Race, History, and Discourse on Chicago's South Side* (Ph.D. Diss., Graduate School of Education of Harvard University, 2016), 159-160.
See also: Amanda Walker Johnson, "Turnaround' as Shock Therapy: Race, Neoliberalism, and School Reform," *Urban Education.* 48 No. 2 (2012):232-256 for a discussion of school closure as a civic and social death 'characterized by the loss of natality and history, a center for community development and advocacy, as well as the social and economic benefits of a nearby public school" (246).

would groups with greater spatial and social mobility.[122] These institutions reproduce social organization for the individual, creating community in the geographic sense. The actions of Malcolm X students should be understood in the context of building such an institution. While not all of the changes instituted by students produced lasting results at the college, they trained a generation of black community leaders to identify themselves with a geographic community, to locate 'blight' not in the bodies of community residents, but in power's relationship to these bodies, and to agitate for better life chances for everyone in the community. Which is to say, their praxis created a community service pedagogy that turned social settlement pedagogy on its head by trading the focus on individual transcendence with collective accountability.

MXC, 2011- .

Today Malcolm X College's PR Director encourages visitors to refer to the school as MXC.[123] The transformation of Malcolm X College to MXC is part of a larger re-branding campaign to unify Chicago's community colleges under the Reinvention Program. Where in previous years each community college affiliated with the City Colleges of Chicago was identified with a neighborhood and provided a variety of career training pathways to local residents, today each individual school is understood as one part of the larger system of the CCC. The colleges no longer have their own colors and logos, but display the CCC color and logos instead.[124] It is commonly held that the Reinvention Program was a response to the

[122] *Ibid*., 155.
[123] Daniel Sternfield, e-mail message to author, Feb. 28, 2017.
[124] Notably, MXC still flies the red, black, and green Black Liberation flag outside its main entrance.

2008 financial crisis.[125] However, as with many putatively fiscally motivated decisions in higher education during this period, the Reinvention Program fits the pattern of facilitating neoliberal goals that were already in place before the financial collapse gave them their reason to exist.[126]

The designers of Reinvention begin with the premise that "The benefits of a degree are quantifiable". They explain: "Those with at least an Associate degree garner a higher income and have a greater chance for employment than their nondegreed [sic] peers. For example, a person who has attained an Associate degree will earn on average 24% more than a high school graduate and have an unemployment rate that is nearly 38% lower."[127] In a typically neoliberal calculation, these planners count individual earnings as the sole values produced by higher education.[128] The community college, like all public colleges, provides more resources, including local expertise, libraries, medical research, and various social services (as seen in the snapshot of Malcolm X College above) that are not as easily quantified as individual credentials and earnings, but perhaps more valuable to the community as a whole.[129] These

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[125] Roy Walker (Dean, Health Career Program, MXC) in conversation with the author, March 1, 2017.
[126] I am put in mind of the New Orleans city official who admitted to researchers that members of the school board had been working on a plan to convert all city schools to charter schools well before Hurricane Katrina. See chapter 4 and discussions of Cels Sanderjin, Jorrit De Jong, and Frans Nauta, "Change on Steroids: Public Education in New Orleans," in *Agents of Change: Strategy and Tactics for Social Innovation* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2012).

[127] "Reinvention Chapter 1," *City Colleges of Chicago*, 12.
[128] They also ignore that these wage differentials are gendered and racialized. Georgetown's Center on Education and the Workforce recently released a report that does not break down findings by race, but still finds that women as a whole earn on average $10,000 to $16,000 less than men when both groups have associate's degrees, and up to $18,000 less when they have certificates. Women with a bachelor's are paid on par with men with an associate's degree. And these results do not take into account well-established wage gaps between races. Evidently the calculation of wage increase is not quite as straightforward as Reinvention holds.
Anthony P. Carnevale, Nicole Smith, Artem Gulish. "Women Can't Win: Despite Making Educational Gains and Pursuing High-Wage Majors, Women Still Earn Less than Men," (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Public Policy Institute, 2018) 5-6
https://cew.georgetown.edu/cew-reports/genderwagegap/#full-report
[129] Edwards, *The Public Community College in America*, 98. On attempts to measure the value of higher education see also: Martha Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity: a Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal*

externalities do not register for Reinvention however, which measures "four student-centered goals" to: "increase the number of students earning college credentials of economic value; increase the rate of transfer to bachelor's degree programs following CCC graduation; drastically improve outcomes for students requiring remediation; increase the number and share of adult basic education/GED/English as a Second Language (ESL) students who advance to and succeed in college-level courses".[130] While these goals demonstrate an admirable commitment to individual students' success, they clearly make no room for just the sort of community oriented programming that students at Malcolm X mobilized for. The college is spatially imagined only in the abstract space of the CCC, not in its immediate material surroundings.

As part of Reinvention, each of the CCC campuses has a specialization, including 'health careers' for MXC. The school has had a variety of health career classes and certifications since its first reinvention under Hurst. The new focus is, as Roy Walker, Dean of the Health Career Program calls it, a 'natural fit'[131] for a campus that shares an L stop with the Rush Medical Center, Cook County Stroger Hospital, the Jesse Brown VA Medical Center, and the Ruth Rothstein CORE Center (providing medical care for patients of infectious diseases). But with the downsizing and elimination of non-health science programs, the focus can be seen as a reduction of services to the local community. The South Side's Olive-Harvey College has received the transportation program (which has its maximum

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Education (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Martha Nussbaum, *Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 2010); Christopher Newfield *Ivy and Industry: Business and the Making of the American University, 1880-1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *The Humanities and the Dream of America* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011); Small, *The Value of the Humanities*; Andrew Delbanco, *College: What It Was, Is, and Should Be* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

[130] "Reinvention Chapter 1," *City Colleges of Chicago,* 6.

[131] Roy Walker (Dean, Health Career Program, MXC) in conversation with the author, March 1, 2017.

enrollment in taxi accreditation)[132] and Kennedy-King has received Culinary and Hospitality services. These colleges have continued to serve their neighborhoods but in a much more limited capacity than before. Students who wish to take classes in business management or work towards a teaching accreditation have to commute long distances, a barrier for the 'non-traditional student' Malcolm X served in the 60s and 70s.[133] In addition to routing students in particular neighborhoods away from certain career paths, Reinvention has nearly doubled tuition for full-time students, and more than doubled cost per credit for students paying by class.[134] By pitting the success of individual students against the welfare of the community as a whole, and by privileging the demands of the (labor) market above any other consideration, CCC and MXC have become exemplars of how the neoliberalization of higher education reduces education to job training and divests state monies from communities and individual students of color. Where Crane taught its community that they were entitled to aspire to a better life through assimilation into a whiter, wealthier class and Malcolm X taught its students that the community could take control of state apparatuses and have them work to uplift the community as a whole, MXC teaches individuals to use specialized educations to leave behind the 'blight' of their communities.

The Evolving Community College Promise

Cayton and St. Clair Drake wrote in 1945 that the driving engine behind the black citizen's increasing access to state resources was not "education and counterpropaganda" that

[132] In fact, "nearly 50% of the 1,870 credentials awarded to the 2007 cohort [of the entire CCC] were in the taxi driver licensure program". "Reinvention Chapter 1," 26.
[133] Yousef, Odette. "A Nation Engaged: New City Colleges Initiative Creates Barriers for Some," 91.5WBEZ, Sep. 23, 2015.
[134] Vevea, Becky. "Tuition increases approved for Chicago's City Colleges," 91.5WBEZ, July 8, 2015.

enlightened white hearts and minds, but "the demands of economic necessity and political expediency."[135] The three iterations of Crane/Malcolm X College are representatives of the local government's response to these demands. In this concluding section I trace how the college has responded to the changing demographics of the neighborhood it serves (the Near West Side in the early part of the twentieth century, the West Side in the mid-twentieth century, and the entire city of Chicago, as one node of the CCC in the last decade), how these changes have corresponded with changing ideas about what constitutes a community and what communities are for, and how these changes in its higher education mission are co-produced with knowledge about race, space, and belonging in ways that resonate with community colleges beyond Chicago.

Crane Junior College at its most successful allowed the children of minoritized whites to assimilate into whiteness and pass out of their childhood neighborhoods. This is the original promise of vocational education generally and the community college specifically: uplifting and assimilating the working poor. The junior college existed, to an extent, to dissolve the community it served. If the junior college was successful, it would remove the people it served from its physical neighborhood and allow them to insert themselves into different and ostensibly 'better,' i.e. whiter and wealthier neighborhoods. The area could continue to serve as a way station for the first generation of immigrants as their children assimilated into the white mainstream and moved out. As a scale it was long-lived but as an association of people, the community was a temporary one.

Crane's implicit ideas about community correspond with the scholarship of its time. Continental philosophers writing towards the end of the nineteenth century including Karl

[135] Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis*, 284.

Marx, Ferdinand Tönnies and Emile Durkheim, saw the community as the traditional and therefore "natural" organization of social life in the rural context disrupted by the Industrial Revolution.[136] Disturbed by the changes wrought by capitalist industrialization, these city-dwellers identified intimacy and reciprocity, the social modes they felt most absent in the city, as the most defining characteristics of rural social life.

In the United States, the difference between the rural and the urban was less pronounced in 'frontier' regions or contact zones. It seemed no American space could embody the image of an idyllic space uncontaminated by the threat of cross-racial intimacy. Plantations, frontier homesteads, and overcrowded urban landscapes were all potential sites of literal and figurative miscegenation.[137] And the new spatial arrangement of the U.S. city, particularly during the years of the Great Migration, seemed to present the greatest challenge yet. University of Chicago sociologist Louis Wirth, describing urban life in 1938, noted "[h]eterogeneity tends to break down rigid social structures and to produce increased mobility, instability, and insecurity."[138] Wirth and other Chicago school sociologists saw urban communities as a more complex version of rural communities: these were based on

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[136] Mac Sweeney, "Theorizing the Community," 10-11.
Tönnies sees community as being of three types: kinship, neighborhood, and friendship. Only the middle one is necessarily a "community of physical life," but all are understood to be naturally occurring, small-scale, close-knit, rural (Tönnies, Community and Society, 42). Durkheim understood community as a mechanism of traditional social control through solidarity and cohesion to be studied on par with the but which were interrupted by the Industrial Revolution's complex division of labor (Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, 239.

[137] The late nineteenth century in particular is notable for the popular discourse's transition from ideas about 'amalgamation' (i.e. the creation of new races from the admixture of existing racial types) to 'miscegenation' which "produces a mongrel group that makes up a 'raceless chaos,' merely a corruption of the originals, degenerate and degraded, threatening to subvert the vigour and virtue of the pure races with which they come into contact" (Young, Robert J.C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* New York: Routledge, 1994; 18).

[138] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology* 44 No. 1 (1938): 1-24; 1.

indirect relationships and group membership rather than immediate contact or shared roles.[139] Under the guidance of Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, the community scale became disarticulated from its rural and traditional roots and instead came to refer to a group of people living in the same geographic 'area' (flexibly defined) and sharing the same institutions.[140] Grounded in the early social scientists' commitment to empirical observation and scientific principles, the community was understood much as it is understood by evolutionary biologists: as "an ecological structure—an objective designation for a population of organisms living and interacting within a specific ecological niche."[141] Within this ecological circle, public institutions and public goods, including schools, served to "make live" the ideal urban subject.[142] It was the white spatial imaginary's assertion of a seemingly traditional and American order onto the threats of heterogeneity and miscegenation.

As Moss pointed out with regards to the common school movement, these reform leaders were thinking through inclusion rather than justice, a distinction that would allow for "separate but equal" institutions. In Crane's case the separation was a function of racially restrictive covenants rather than school board decisions, but the effects were the same. Reinvention's city-wide plans risk reviving this model, exacerbating the effects of continuing residential segregation rather than countering them.

The ideal of the U.S. public good is foundationally articulated with citizenship claims, which, for black subjects, as discussed in chapter 1, are always-already suspect and

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[139] *Ibid*., 3-4. See also: Burgess, "The Growth of the City, 40-41 and Park, Robert E. "Community Organization and the Romantic Temper," in *The City* Ed. Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick D. McKenzie (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925):113-122, 114-118.
[140] See especially, Park, "Community Organization and the Romantic Temper," 114-118 for a discussion of what constitutes a community in the urban context.
[141] Mac Sweeney, "Theorizing the Community," 13.
[142] Institutions which speak of, for instance, 'a campus community' have re-fitted the understanding of shared institutions producing community to their benefit, seeking to elicit loyalty to the institution itself, rather than building affinity with the people who share that institution.

circumscribed. In 1960s Chicago, these claims were particularly tenuous. Effectively excluded from the discourses and services of the idealized public good, black students constructed an alternative community service pedagogy that replaced the idea of moving 'able, promising, and ambitious' individuals out of their 'blighted' zip code with a "prototype for urban education"[143] that would invest in uplifting the community as a whole. The students who took control of Malcolm X College and set it on a new, community-service oriented path turned the social scientific pedagogy evolved in the settlement house on its head. Instead of the teacher surveilling and policing students and their community as benevolent teachers at Hull House and Hampton had done, students and community members demanded accountability and "relevance" from their teachers and the college. The ideals and praxis of black pride, black self-determination, and Hurst's pet 'black excellence' all gave lie to the assumption at the foundation of the progressive reformers' creed: that the poor must be saved from their culture, and that social mobility meant the dissolution of communities. Instead of equating blackness with blight, the students' pedagogy equated it with strength; this equation detached social mobility from literal mobility by seeking uplift not just for individuals but for the entire 'blighted' area. These students saw in the community college signs of a rival geography, the potential for creating community institutions that didn't recapitulate larger scales of social organization in the United States or in the liberal democratic tradition of public service to individual citizens.[144] Rather, their work built on the understanding of

[143] Unnamed Malcolm X College official, cited in Deborah Rankin, "Hurst's Vanguard Ideas Open Educational Field," *Chicago Tribune* July 25, 1971.
[144] The students' work is exceptional, but not unique: there are parallels to their achievements in the work of community college student organizing across the country but most of these models have been fleeting due to the high turnover of two-year colleges.
See Murch, Donna. "The Campus and the Street: Race, Migration, and the Origins of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, CA," *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society*. 9, no. 4 (2007): 333-45. Assata Shakur. *Assata: An Autobiography* (Brooklyn, NY: Lawrence Hill Books, 1987) 180, 199, 200; Biondi, Martha,

freedom and prosperity as collective endeavors, drawing on the Black radical tradition's "continuing development of a collective consciousness informed by the historical struggles for liberation and motivated by the shared sense of obligation to preserve the collective being, the ontological totality."[145] This notion of community service, grounded in resistance to racialized violence and dispossession through communal empowerment, offers today's defenders of public higher education an alternative to the public good discourse. Instead of seeking a service as white students might, minoritized students can approach higher education as redress and restitution.

MXC today is hyper-vigilant in performing its pride and gratitude to the students who created its most spectacular iteration in the 60s. The MXC campus is the only one given special dispensation to continue using its original campus colors after the Chicago City College's Reinvention Program unified all community college branding materials. The MXC building has a Pan-African/UNIA red, black, and green flag outside its front door. Walking inside the building the first thing visitors see is Malcolm X's Cadillac—donated to the college by Betty Shabazz the year after his assassination. On the right of the main entrance is an art installation that records a timeline of important events relating to the establishment and growth of Crane Junior College and Malcolm X College. To the left is a mural of text made

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"Brooklyn College Belongs to Us: The Transformation of Higher Education in New York City," in *The Black Revolution on Campus,* 114-141; Roderick A. Ferguson, "The Racial Genealogy of Excellence" in *The Reorder of Things: The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012): 76-109 for a discussion of the open admissions movement at City College, New York and how opposition to it illuminates the imbrication of academic excellence, liberal democracy, and black unfreedom.

[145] Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000) [1983], 171. While documents from the time do not use the language, Josiah Royce's formulation of the "beloved community," popularized by Martin Luther King, Jr., would have been circulating in 1968 Chicago. King's articulation of the beloved community is an act of scale-jumping based on a 'global community.' The students' work manifested its ethic but at the more manageable local scale. See for instance hooks, bell. "Beloved Community: A World Without Racism," in *Killing Rage* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995): 263-272.

up of well-known Malcolm X quotes which, seen from a distance, form a color portrait of his face. Every February the college commemorates Black History Month by having students, faculty, and administration leaders read passages from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* on the indoor steps of the main building. Performing the college's ties to the local community has become something of an imperative after the public outcry against the Reinvention program's changes to the college's curricula.[146] Which is to say, this is a repair narrative, selective in what it depicts. It emphasizes 1911 and 1968 and elides the periods of economic uncertainty and government abandonment in the school's and neighborhood's histories. The period of "urban decline" that characterized the post World War II West Side that spurred students to action in 68 is entirely absent from the timeline, as is the period of the 1980s, during which the West Side was portrayed in local and national media as "a living embodiment of the urban crisis."[147] In fact the West Side itself is rarely referenced as a physical space in the college's artworks. Rather the 'community' MXC serves seems to be a de-spatialized entity held together by loyalty to the school alone.

The financial crisis of 2008 gave the Chicago City Colleges a pretext for the financialization and streamlining of the community colleges. The cause of this need, however,

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[146] For descriptions of local residents' and faculty's objections to Reinvention, see Ylisela Jr., James. "Is City Colleges Doing the Right Thing?" Crain's Chicago Business, 20 Oct. 2012. Web. 23 Mar. 2017. http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20121020/ISSUE01/310209984/is-city-colleges-doing-the-right-thing; Vevea, Becky "Tuition Increases Approved for Chicago's City Colleges" Chicago Public Media, WBEZ91.5, July 8, 2015; Yousef, Odette "City Colleges Faculty Votes No Confidence in Chancellor," Chicago Public Media, WBEZ91.5, Feb. 4, 2016; Smith, Ashley A. "Completion and Controversy." Inside Higher Ed, 16 Feb. 2016. Web. 23 Mar. 2017. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/02/16/despite-improved-graduation-rates-city-colleges-chicago-chancellor-faces-faculty; Karp, Sarah "Aldermen Black Plan to Move Advanced Early Development Classes to North Side" Chicago Public Media, WBEZ 91.5, June 28, 2016;

[147] Seligman, *Block By Block,* 3. See also the following primary sources from which Seligman draws, all of which describe the West Side as the epitome of the "urban crisis": Chicago Tribune, *The American Millstone; An Examination of the Nation's Permanent Underclass* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1986).; David Freeman, *Chicago Politics Ward by Ward* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996); Laura S. Washington and Curtis Lawrence, "West Side Loses in Clout City," *Chicago Reporter*, Dec. 1990; "West Side Story: Flux, Poverty and Despair," *Chicago Sunday Sun-Times*, Sept. 12, 1965.

was not attributed to the financial crisis, or to the financial practices that led to the crash, but to inefficiency in the delivery of education, particularly of 'career education' (the vocational or terminal functions of the community college, including job training in the form of 'continuing education'). This inefficiency was resolved through a program of specialization that effectively segregated career paths by neighborhood. Efficiency requires giving resources to those most likely to provide greatest return on investment, not necessarily those who would most benefit from it. If higher education is judged by its return on investment as a stand-alone service, it will yield highest results in locations where students have access to other services, and lowest results where they have the least support. Under this regime, knowledge is valued not for the liberal ideals of "developing the capacities of citizens, sustaining culture, knowing the world, or envisioning and crafting different ways of life in common" helping citizens live up to their full potentials but exclusively for its contributions to "capital enhancement, whether that capital is human, corporate, or financial."[148] The community thus becomes a liability for MXC, a drain on city capital, rather than an end in itself, as it was for Malcolm X students.

A similar dynamic has been playing out across the country in the last 4 years with a wave of interest in returning to the progressive social mobility promise of the first junior colleges. Tennessee Promise, a last-dollar program (i.e. one that makes up the difference between what an individual student 'can' pay for college and the remainder of tuition fees) has become a model program for several states and the federal government's College Promise Advisory Board.[149] The independent coalition convened by President Obama in 2015 has laid out legislative measures to ensure all U.S. residents are able to get a 2-year college education

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[148] *Ibid*., 177-178.
[149] Smith, Ashley A. "Obama Steps up Push for Free," *Inside Higher Ed*, Sept. 9, 2015.

at no cost. Beginning from the premise that by 2020, 35% of (presumably U.S.) job openings will require at least a bachelor's degree, while another 30% will need "at least some college or an associate degree," the College Promise Advisory Board wants to assure all Americans access to an associate's degrees.[150] These efforts emphasize the terminal vocational education aspects of community college education even though, as of 2015 the transfer function of the community college is the most-used one: the most common major for attendees of community colleges are the liberal arts, which do not function as terminal credentials but allow students to transfer to a 4-year college for their bachelor's.[151] Up to 80% of such students need remedial classes to put them on par with students graduating from higher performing K- 12 schools.[152] The second most common use of the community college is by "mid-career professionals," i.e. students who already have a bachelor's degree but are seeking another degree in a new field while minimizing time away from work.[153] The focus on increasing vocational credentials might appeal to the neoliberal ideal of flexible workers who are responsible for their own job training, but it ignores the historical strengths and contemporary use of the community college as first and foremost an institution that prepares students to transfer to 4-year colleges.

Looked at as a whole, U.S. community colleges today find themselves in the position of Crane in the 1960's. The Georgetown Public Policy Institute's 2013 "Separate & Unequal Report," finds lower completion rates, lower rates of graduate school enrollment and advanced degree attainment, and lower future earnings among students of color who begin

[150] Executive Office of the President, "America's College Promise: A Progress Report on Free Community College," Sept. 9, 2015.
https://www.insidehighered.com/sites/default/server_files/files/Progress+Report+on+Community+College.pdf
[151] Hockenberry, John, "What Degrees Are Actually Worth the Cost?" The Takeaway, National Public Radio, New York, WNYC, Oct. 21, 2015.
[152] *Ibid*.
[153] *Ibid.*

their higher education in a community college as compared to *either* white students enrolling at highly selective 4-year colleges or white students who begin at community colleges.[154] And the students who form the 'community' in the community college are disproportionately already targets of state violence. In March 2017, the postsecondary education research group at the University of Wisconsin-Madison conducted a survey of 33,000 community college students attending 70 community colleges in 24 states and found that approximately two-thirds of community colleges students are food insecure (having "limited or uncertain access to nutritionally adequate and safe foods") about half are housing insecure ("forced to move often or cannot afford rent or utilities"), and 14% are homeless. [155] K-12 schools are more segregated than ever before, and with per-student government expenditure steady lowering in majority black school systems and schools, this disinvestment is the top rung of a longer ladder of neoliberal abandonment. Expanding vocational credentials rather than remedial and general education and community service programing for these publics is neoliberal opportunism. Defenders of liberal arts and actual higher education (not just more credentialing programs) must rally to the defense of community colleges. Rather than allowing another set of "white architects" to turn these schools into the instruction wings of corporations who do not wish to pay for their workers' training, we might rally behind the community service pedagogy developed by Malcolm X College students as an alternative model for an institution accountable to community leaders and committed to the immediate needs of its surrounding communities.

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[154] Anthony P.Carnevale and Jeff Strohl, "Separate & Unequal: How Higher Education Reinforces the Intergenerational Reproduction of White Racial Privilege" (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Public Policy Institute, 2013) 19, 17, 34.
I use the term failure guardedly because it assumes the goal of attending community college is to
[155] Sara Goldrick-Rab, Jed Richardson, and Anthony Hernandez (Wisconsin Harvesting Opportunities for Postsecondary Education (HOPE) Lab), "Hungry and Homeless in College: Results from a National Study of Basic Needs Insecurity in Higher Education," Association of Community College Trustees, 2017.

Chapter 3
"Tearing Down the House":
Third Worldist Pedagogy and the Rise of the Neoliberal Diversity Paradigm

Historians of the black freedom struggle in the U.S. have demonstrated how civil rights legislation and policy of the mid-twentieth century were related to the paradigmatic discourses of the Cold War and decolonization.[1] Preserving the U.S image abroad was a pressing need in an era dominated by the discourse of newly decolonizing nations 'falling' under the sway of communism, state socialism, and/or formations like the Non-Aligned Movement focused on resisting Western imperialism. The state mobilized many kinds of capital, including intellectual capital, to create the appearance of a harmonious, if heterogeneous nation-state. At the same time the international popularity of anti-imperialist texts such as Franz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* renewed popular interest in transnational racial formation and antiracist, anti-imperialist organizing. In the United States, such organizing revived Du Boisian ideas of race as neither biology nor culture but the "social heritage of slavery, discrimination, and insult" that organized otherwise heterogeneous groups and created the threat of a colored global majority aimed at dismantling U.S. hegemony. [2]

Thus on the one hand, the state required an assertion of the global scale, a formation that emerges from the pursuit of a world market, through "intertwined histories of conquest – enslavement, robbery, denial of property ownership, disenfranchisement [which seek] to

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[1] See for instance: Mary Dudziak. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Thomas Borsetlmann. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Penny Von Eschen. *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Kate A. Baldwin. *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain: Reading Encounters between Black and Red, 1922-1963* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Brenda Gayle Plummer (Ed). *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Prashad, Vijay. *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007).
[2] "The Conservation of Races" c. Kamala Visweswaran, "Race and the Culture of Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 100 no. 1 (1998): 70-83. p. 78.

contain incipient social struggles at a lower geographical scale, as struggles over the body or over nationalism, for example, while asserting the global claims of capital" to dissipate political formations that threatened the operations of the nation-state.[3] On the other, this moment of racial crisis presented an opportunity for new coalitions to emerge that might unsettle existing power relations in the United States. [4] This chapter examines this moment of crisis for the U.S. nation-state through its manifestation in university student activism that understood the global scale as an explicit object of contest at the U.S. university. Through a case study examining the emergence of the Lumumba Zapata College at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), I consider the epistemological and political challenges of this historical moment and the state's moves to contain such mobilization and knowledge production. I follow the career of the Lumumba Zapata Coalition (LZC) and its eponymous college through their mention in regional and student newspapers, oral histories collected in the 1990s, the archived papers of an early faculty supporter of the college, and the university's holdings of syllabi, press releases, and intra-university communication covering the period between 1969 and the present. Focusing on the place-making practices deployed by student protesters and the administrative response to these practices allows me to unpack the politics and epistemology of student activism embodying the 'U.S. Third Worldism' of the late 1960s

[3] Neil Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics: Homeless Vehicles and the Production of Geographic Scale" *Social Text* 33 (1993): 54-83, 76.

[4] Geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore builds on the work of Hall and Schwarz to characterize crises as "occur[ing] when the social formation can no longer be reproduced on the basis of the pre-existing system of social relations" (Ruth Wilson Gilmore. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007, p. 54). A crisis indexes the weakening of existing structures and the potential for new coalitions (55). In "Fatal Couplings," she argues that "[i]n times of crisis, dynamics are peculiarly apparent, and insofar as we can catch historical or contemporary shifts on the fly, we might recognize something powerful about race and freedom" (Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography," *The Professional Geographer* 54:15-24, p. 17). This chapter attempts to use the crisis of black student movements of the 1960s to demonstrate how the U.S. university, as an ISA of a racial state articulated race, gender, and nation, while also looking at the places student movements created to understand how they re-articulated race, gender, and *space* in a search for freedom.

and early 1970s, and examine how its spatial pedagogies threatened the epistemological and political imperatives of the Cold War U.S. university. [5]

I look to the crisis of this student movement at UCSD, which demanded a college dedicated to the study of communities of color across the globe and to serving local communities of color, as analogous to the demands of *Brown v. Board of Education* and highlight the similarities between the ways these crises were handled as indications of neoliberal governmentality taking hold at the U.S. university through appeals to formal diversity. I will argue that the process of transforming the students' Lumumba Zapata College into the institution's Third College conceded the desirability of an antiracist and internationalist orientation but by retaining control of the college's governance structures and processes, rendered this project untenable. In doing so, it posited a "global university" based on a (neo)liberal vision of global humanity that denied the legitimacy of the Third Worldist grievances of students by rejecting the students' vision of their assigned place in global racial capitalism, and their demands for the university to serve local populations of color. In replacing the students' demands for a focus on the Third World with one on diversity, the university replaced the students' orientations towards social justice with biopolitical and

[5] Cynthia Young. *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999). Young demonstrates that affiliating oneself with the notoriety of 'Third World' allowed local organizers to bring a sense of urgency and significance to local or national issues. Rather than speaking and working in the name of a narrow nationalism, U.S. Third World Leftists claimed affiliation with an international anticolonial community, one in which the use of the term *Third World* offered a way of interpellating and signaling a community with certain shared interests: the commitment to eradicating colonialism, imperialism, racism, class exploitation, and, in some admittedly rare instances, homophobia and misogyny" (13). Although critiques of U.S. Third Worldist organizing sometimes fault U.S. activists for metaphorizing and homogenizing the Third World as an idea rather than a place, historians such as Vijay Prashad who argue that the "actual" Third World itself was not a "place" but a "project"[5] provide a more sympathetic resolution for these Third Worldists living in the First World. But this binary is misleading as places are *always* constructed and both embedded in, and creative of, power relations, i.e. all places are political projects. My treatment of the Lumumba Zapata College understands it as both place and project authored by multiple stakeholders including radical students and liberal hegemonic administration.

necropolitical management of communities of color. I will demonstrate that the shift from self-determination to diversity as the rallying cry for racial equality has not only replaced governance with market logics (as Christopher Newfield and others have argued), but has also been concerned with dismantling the modes of thinking and organizing that animated activism for collectivist welfare around *Brown* and its aftermath.

While the historical narratives of Critical University Studies (CUS) tend to present the results of student activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s primarily or exclusively through which student demands were or were not institutionalized in courses of study, departments, programs, etc., [6] I am less interested in the product of these protests than in their process: the radical politics of black and brown students demanding research universities focusing on the specific problems faced by minoritized populations in the United States in the context of a nation fighting the evils of communism within and outside its borders. My study focuses specifically on the 'Lumumba Zapata College,' a radical internationalist college focused on the short-and long-term needs of students and communities historically underrepresented in university enrollments and expropriated by university knowledge production. The college currently called Thurgood Marshall College understands itself as the inheritor of the Lumumba Zapata College, but in practice, it does not fulfill any of the seven demands put forth by the LZC. Yet, as student organizer Angela Davis reminded a group of black students

[6] See for instance: Roderick A. Ferguson's *The Re-Order of Things* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Robyn Wiegman's *Object Lessons* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), Noliwe Rooks's *White Money/Black Power* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006). The phrase is Ferguson's. As he explains, the "will to institutionality suggests that minority difference can achieve effectiveness and agency by investing in dominant institutions, making institutionalization a historical necessity rather than one item on a menu of interventions, suggesting that minority difference can only be achieved through the forms that dominant institutions offer" (226). Centering the 'will to institutionality' centers the students' dialogue with the administration and sidelines the conversations students had amongst themselves and with other organizers as well as crowding out how students involved in this protest were active in other organizing before, during, and after their involvement with this particular effort.

at UCSD in 2011, "The revolution that one thinks one is fighting for is not always the revolution one wins. But if one did not attempt to make those radical changes, then nothing would happen".[7] Therefore I do not examine the successes and failures of the Lumumba Zapata College through the rubric of institutionalization, straying from what in CUS terminology we might understand as the "will to institutionality,"[8] but focus instead on the practices of making demands on the university itself.

Acknowledging that the Lumumba Zapata College itself existed only in the organizing, intellectual, and cultural praxis of Black and Chicanx students in the Black Student Caucus (BSC) and the Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA) and allied students at UCSD collectively calling themselves the 'Lumumba Zapata Coalition,' I ask: what was the revolution that was won in the fleeting existence of the Lumumba Zapata College as it existed as a pedagogical space on the UCSD campus? What kind of place did this coalition create for black and brown scholars through their activism? How did these places and place-making practices articulate race, gender, and nation? How did the administration's response articulate race, gender, and nation? And how did this response become instantiated in the cartography of the university? My questions foreground the coalitional work of 'drafting' another university or college as a pedagogical practice that is not only demanding an alternative higher education in the near future but is also immediately

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[7] "Angela Davis Keynotes @ UCSD Black History Scholarship Brunch," YouTube video, 20:36, posted by "Robert Harris," February 23, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xv-XKpLiOuw Note, Davis does not say "nothing would change" but that "nothing would happen," which I read as support for the notion that the process is at least as important as the outcome of student protest.

[8] Roderick Ferguson refers to the university's negotiation and incorporation of modes of difference and its creation of a calculus to determine which differences are incorporable and to what extent "will to institutionality." This will to institutionality absorbs existing modes of subjection but is also a mode of subjection in itself.

Roderick A. Ferguson, "Administering Sexuality; or, the Will to Institutionality," *Radical History Review* 100 (winter 2008): 158-69, 163.

embodying modes of study that provide precedents for the 'black fugitive study' called for by professors Fred Moten and Stefano Harney.[9]

The Cold War University

Teleological narratives of U.S. higher education today pivot on the gains of the student movements of the 1960s and 70s as the fulcrum that pushes the Keynesian university towards neoliberalization. Up until this point, CUS theorists of privatization remind us, the university had been expanding its services, attempting to live up to the promise of higher education as a public good. But in this moment, the tables turn: the university abandons its service mission and begins to embody the profit-oriented and exclusionary institution that we recognize today as the neoliberal university.

But in interpreting the significance of this moment for the governance and management of post-segregation universities, it is important to remember that from the perspective of black academics placed in and "across"[10] the U.S. university, i.e. neither fully

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[9] Stefano Harney and Fred Moten. *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study* (New York: Minor Compositions, 2013). Harney and Moten's understanding of black fugitive study presents a counter to Ferguson's emphasis on the 'will to institutionality'. Scholars/students engaging in this kind of study do not organize their efforts in relation to or through appeal to (state) institutions, but rather construct alternative uses of state spaces and resources to engage in modes of scholarship and life that neither rely on nor reproduce the social relations necessary for the reproduction of the American academy as they encounter it.

[10] This formulation of "across"-ness comes from Katherine McKittrick's analysis of Harriet Jacobs/Linda Brent's position as a fugitive hidden in the 9'x7'x3' attic above her grandmother's house: "across (rather than inside or outside, or inevitably bound to) slavery while in the garret. The garret locates her in and amongst the irrational workings of slavery as a witness, participant, and fugitive. These multiple subject positions—formulated in "the last place they thought of"—gesture to several different geographic possibilities and experiences, such as places seen, remembered, hoped for, and avoided by Brent." It is important to clarify the limits of the comparison. I do not propose that black students are held captives or in the same kind of fugitivity as an escaped slave. But I do consider black scholars' collective presence in U.S. higher education designed by white pedagogues and politicians as similarly occupying multiple subject positions in relation to the academy and to regimes of state violence, and the racial capitalist state designing its imperatives—witness, participant, fugitive—whether individual academics identify with these or other roles, they are interpellated into them individual and collectively.

inside nor fully outside, neither bound to nor completely unattached from, the U.S. academy, non-state investments in—or even ownership of, ostensibly public educational apparatuses is not novel in this moment. The Tuskegee Institute began with only a $200 per annum grant from the Alabama state legislature to pay teacher salaries: when Washington arrived in Tuskegee, the school had neither land nor equipment.[11] Washington and Assistant Principal Olivia A. Davidson pursued private donations from individual patrons and corporate philanthropists to fund the college's operation while student teachers generated revenue for the school through previously acquired skills and manual labor. The latter also took on considerable individual loans to fill school fees.[12] These 'funding packages' and the students' and administration's reliance on private loans and philanthropy pre-date the Higher Education Act of 1965 by 75 years and demonstrate that the narrative of neoliberalization as privat*ization* is only relevant to the history of predominantly white institutions (PWIs). As I argued in chapter 2, to understand the impact of privatization on minoritized students requires a re-evaluation of these historical narratives.

Given that this time period is also the era of integration, in that the college students of 1968 completed their K-12 education in the era of coerced bussing, I propose that the student movements of 1968-72 be read not just as the fulcrum of neoliberalization but also as the hinge between desegregation and neoliberalization. It is not a coincidence that the Keynesian state began to take on neoliberal aspects just as its public goods opened up to use by black students and other people of color. The state's efforts to address and contain the racial crisis

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Katherine McKittrick. *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006, 42.

[11] Helen A Ludlow. *Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School: Its Story and Its Songs* (Hampton, VA: Normal School Press, 1884) p. 3.

[12] *Ibid* 6, 21.

of the integration era are apparent at least as early as the decisions of *Brown v. Board of Education*.[13] Situating a reading of the neoliberal university in relation to this earlier moment in the trajectory of the racial state's ideological state apparatuses allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the U.S. university's articulation with state power as it is exercised over differentially racialized groups on and off campus. In this case it demonstrates how neoliberal governmentalities in the United States became articulated with a post-desegregationist color-blindness in ways that produced increasing inequality of access and outcome for students of color. As political scientist Ira Katznelson has pointed out with reference to the administration of the GI Bill, the federal government's abdication of responsibility in administering public goods is, in effect, an endorsement of the racially discriminatory administration of these goods by regional/local scales of government.[14] This racialized federalism is the historical origin of the purportedly color-blind neoliberal governmentality examined in chapter 4.

It is important to recall that the *Brown* decisions allowed school systems to literally shut down rather than desegregate. For instance, Prince Edward County in Virginia infamously complied with *Brown* by defunding all public schools between 1959 and 1963. Instead of offering public education, the school board provided vouchers to be used in private

[13] Following the convention described by communication scholars Barbara Diggs-Brown and Leonard Steinhorn, I use 'desegregation' to mean "the elimination of discriminatory laws and barriers to full participation in American life," while I use 'integration' to refer to uncoerced association; "the realm of life governed by behavior and choice," i.e. voluntary interactions, networking, and relationship-building between individuals who identify with different race (Barbara Diggs-Brown and Leonard Steinhhom. *By the Color of Our Skin: The Illusion of Integration and the Reality of Race*. New York: Dutton, 1999, p. 5). Thus desegregation creates the possibility of integration, but does not guarantee or require it. 'Separatism,' or an eschewing of integration, is only meaningful in the context of desegregation—one cannot *choose* to separate when there is no potential for integration. The *Brown I* decision requires desegregation, while the *Brown II* decision (purports to) elaborate mechanisms that will create the conditions of possibility for integration *and* separatism.
[14] Katznelson, Ira. *When Affirmative Action was White: an Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005).

schools (colloquially called "segregation academies"). Since no private schools in Prince Edward County accepted black students, this was the equivalent of conceding the principle of desegregation while not only refusing an equal education for black children but actually withdrawing all education for black children.[15] Even when schools remained open, white parents increasingly chose private education, effectively creating a distinction between 'desegregated schools' and 'integrated schools.' Communication scholars Barbara Diggs-Brown and Leonard Steinhorn gather data from Northern and Southern cities to show how the legal desegregation of primary schools led not to integration but to a more intense educational and residential segregation: for instance, they point out that the population of Washington, D.C. in the early 1960s was 54% black while its public schools were 90% black.[16] Constitutional law scholar Erwin Chemerinsky's review of available sociological data for Southern states demonstrates another significant trend: in 1954, 0.001% of black students in the South attended majority white schools, in 1964, a decade after the *Brown* decision, this percentage had only grown to 1.2%. By 1968, however, 4 years after the 1964 Civil Rights Act's Title VI tied federal funding to desegregation efforts, this number jumped to 32%.[17] Students attending schools during this period were surrounded by evidence of school systems' unwillingness to comply with desegregation, and the vast gap between desegregation that mandated the repeal of explicitly discriminatory statutes and policies and integration that would allow black students access to the quality of education that white students enjoyed. Critical race theorist Derrick A. Bell, Jr. writing in 1975, after observing two decades of its

[15] *Griffin v. County School Board*, 377 U.S. 218 (1964).
[16] Statistics compiled from various periodicals and published in Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown, *By the Color of Our Skin*, 101.
[17] Erwin Chemerinsky, "The Segregation and Resegregation of American Public Education: The Courts' Role" *North Carolina Law Review*. 81 (2003): 1602-3.

fallout, interprets the *Brown* decision as targeting the elimination of the "dual school system based on race"[18] rather than creating integration that elevated the quality of education black students received. Eliminating the lightning rod of segregated schools without creating procedures to counteract the accrued inequalities of segregation or to create quality education for all students regardless of color or parental income amounted to a mechanism for absorbing and insulating the greatest threats of the civil rights movement without creating the conditions for justice or equality. The concerted "massive resistance" of white politicians, parents, and neighbors was a constant presence for students growing up and completing their K-12 education during this period.

This is significant because neoliberalization affects U.S. black communities in specific ways – it not only defers and denies future growth, as we saw with Reinvention in the last chapter, it also withdraws past concessions and investments in structures that would make those concessions meaningful in the present. As Bell points out, black parents mobilized for integration with the expectation that integrated schools would extend the same quality of education to black children that they had been giving white students. Thus "equality of education" was expected to improve "the physical plant, teacher quality, and curriculum" for *all* students. [19] Bell estimates that the majority of black parents favored integration, but prioritized "quality education" and would prefer separate schools with increased "quality" to the obstacles presented by the fight for integration.[20] In the aftermath of *Brown*, as these parents negotiated the fallout from white resistance to integration, the distinction between

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[18] Derrick A. Bell, "Waiting on the Promise of *Brown*" *Law and Contemporary Problems.* 39 no. 2 (1975): 341-373. p. 345.
[19] *Ibid* 355.
[20] *Ibid 357-8.*

‘integration’ and ‘community control’ whereby administrative and instructional control of schools would be delegated by stakeholding community members, became an important one.

This distinction must have informed the educational formation of students who would be university students in 1968. Angela Davis, for instance, who would be a graduate student at UCSD in 1968, attended the segregated, and effectively ‘community controlled’ (barring the veto power of the white superintendent of schools) Carrie A. Tuggle Elementary School in Birmingham for most of her primary and secondary education, but finished her education at Elisabeth Irwin High School in New York. She argued that her time at Carrie A. Tuggle gave her an advantage over black students attending desegregated/integrated schools by giving her an intellectual grounding in black history and familiarizing her with pedagogical practice attentive to the needs of individual students.[21] The experience of integration as a Pyrrhic victory, if not an outright loss, would inform the planning of the Lumumba Zapata College: student activists would turn away from the segregation-integration binary and look for an option that avoided both the de-funding and disenfranchisement that came with segregation and the loss of self-determination and self-knowledge that came with integration. Students who were in college at this time were actually in two Cold Wars: one international, and one domestic. Their eventual appeal to a Third Worldist politics would locate their own positions at the intersection of both.

Third College

The University of California (UC) was initially imagined as part of the state apparatus that would turn the territory acquired through the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo into a

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[21] Angela Davis. *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (New York: Random House, 1974) 91-3.

state. UC historian Verne A. Stadtman recounts that the drafters of California's first constitution assumed that the territory being organized into a state would shortly build a public university. Stadtman emphasizes that "[t]heir assumption was based on neither invention nor foresight. They only knew that older states had provided for universities and guessed that California would do the same."[22] The originary act of place-making which created the UCs thus was an act of civilization that would contribute to transforming the wild frontier space into a U.S. territory assimilable with the rest of the settler colonial state. Civilizing frontier territory and peoples has been a foundational part of the UCs' mission and even in the 1960s key university officials continued to imagine the university as a place exercising a civilizing influence on unruly masses, particularly when they interacted with (collectives of) students of color.

The previous chapters' discussions of colonizing and civilizing universities created by missionary and philanthropic entities hinted how the humanities were an essential part of a 'liberal arts' education for free peoples to learn to govern themselves. This correlation drove newly free black citizens and later the white working classes in industrial centers to invest in higher education as paths to social mobility. By the time the University of California, San Diego was founded at the height of the Cold War, the rhetorical location of 'freedom' had shifted from the individual free person to free societies, and free societies needed technical education more than classical liberal arts. The newest campus of the University of California was designed as a research institution for researchers undertaking interdisciplinary projects in physics, biology, chemistry, and earth science.[23] The La Jolla-based UCSD campus was not

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[22] Verne A. Stadtman. *The University of California, 1868-1968* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970), 1.
[23] Nancy Scott Anderson, *An Improbable Venture: A History of the University of California, San Diego* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 39-41

concerned with producing civilized free persons but with the Cold War preoccupation of producing scientific advances to win the space and arms races. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (G.I. bill) created new markets for higher education among what Christopher Newfield terms a "mass middle class" which expected public goods from the Keynesian state, including social mobility through public higher education. [24] At the same time the vehicle of entry into the upper classes was shifting from a classical education in the humanities to specialized training in scientific, technical, engineering, and mathematical fields.

This focus on professionalization is importantly distinct from the vocational education models discussed earlier; the California Master Plan for Higher Education of 1960 designated the UC schools as the "primary state-supported academic agency for research"[25] while the state colleges had "as their primary function the provision of instruction in the liberal arts and sciences and in profession and applied fields which require more than two years of collegiate education"[26] and the junior colleges "offer[ed] instruction through but not beyond the fourteenth grade level" for transfer collegiate credit, "vocational-technical fields leading to employment" and "general, liberal arts courses".[27] One key difference between the tiers of education was the cost of attendance.[28] The costs and geographical distribution of the UCs, CSUs, and community colleges made education at the community colleges the most

[24]Christopher Newfield. *Unmaking the Public University: The Forty-Year Assault on the Middle Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008) 5.
[25] Liaison Committee of the State Board of the Education and the Regents of the University of California, *A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975* (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1960) p. 3.
[26] *Ibid* 2.
[27] *Ibid*.
[28] 'Cost of attendance' here covers tuition, which the UCs euphemistically call "student fees," and explicitly educational expenses such as books and other school supplies, when applicable, expenses created by separation from the family unit such as room and board, as well as foregone income.

accessible to all students, and the UCs the most elite arm of state-sponsored higher education. The UCSD campus specifically was built for the newest generation of what in the college's earliest days had been the white gentlemanly class and now would be an elite white technical managerial class. Furthermore these fields were best suited for students who had received robust STEM education earlier in their education, thus ruling out students from underfunded school systems who were overrepresented in junior colleges. Unlike the vocational training offered at junior colleges, UCSD's professionalization was not aimed at working class and other minoritized populations: rather, it trained a managerial class, which made its location in La Jolla, a suburb disconnected from public transportation and far from the neighborhoods of communities of color and other working classes of San Diego, tenable.

UCSD began offering undergraduate education in 1963, the year before the Free Speech Movement (FSM) began at UC Berkeley, and the early years of the administration's dealings with its undergraduates would be informed by its interpretation of the FSM. The FSM began when students attempted to raise money for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) on the Berkeley campus, and school officials called in police to forcibly move the fundraisers off campus. The school reserved the right to curtail "political" speech and activity on campus. As Steven Salaita argues in the context of campus activism in solidarity with Palestinian organizers, "[t]here is a clear demarcation for designating scholarship as 'political': academic work that systematically challenges state power and other forms of entrenched institutional authority"[29]. While Salaita's focus is on faculty research and teaching, his observation can be applied to campus activities more broadly: from the perspective of

[29] Steven Salaita "Normatizing State Power: Uncritical Ethical Praxis and Zionism" in *The Imperial University: Academic Repression and Scholarly Dissent* ed. Piya Chatterjee and Sunaina Maira (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014) p. 221.

university administration, student activities are ostensibly ‘political’ if they are in opposition to the ideological state apparatus’s reproduction of existing social relations. If we are to take seriously Michel Foucault’s formulation of governmentality as the diffusion of state power through a “downward continuity” that teaches individuals to behave as they should for the state and political economy to function optimally[30] the way individuals and collectives use any space, and particularly campus space marked off for the pedagogical use of an ideological state apparatus, is always-already political. The struggle of the FSM was between students who asserted their rights to use campus space for oppositional politics and administration that understood campus as a state space that could not be used to undermine the integrity of the state.[31] That the administration saw raising money for CORE as political indexed the political orientation of this fundraising, and more specifically its oppositional and social justice orientation.

The core contestation in the FSM has to do with what kind of *place* the university is and should be. The administration did not understand the university as a place that should support challenges to state-sponsored racism, while the students saw it as a potentially radical space which could provide support and leadership for the black freedom struggle.

The organizing of the FSM eventually transitioned to the Vietnam Day Committee opposing U.S. militarism and imperialism and during this transition period, Chancellor Martin Meyerson ‘officially’ resolved the FSM at Berkeley by designating the steps of Sproul Hall an “open discussion area”. The literal demarcation of an area of campus in which 'peaceful free speech activities' may occur could not literally confine speech and other activities designated

[30] Michel Foucault “Governmentality” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) p. 92.
[31] The UC’s directive that employees sign a ‘loyalty oath’ that repudiated the communist party and pledges allegiance to the state and the university provides precedence for my analysis here.

'political' to that area, but it did forcefully demonstrate the relationships among space, politics, and the extent of executive power the university reserved to itself. The campus as a place, as far as the university administration was concerned, was not meant for emancipatory praxes of any kind, but to consolidate and reproduce the social relations already in place. While a far cry from campuses like South Carolina State University or Jackson State (notably both HBCUs) where militarized state response to student protest clearly demonstrated how the racial state's ideological state apparatuses are backed by its repressive state apparatuses, the FSM controversy did underscore that relationship through more subtle means. Students of color, especially, used to intense surveillance from state-sponsored police and self-deputized upholders of segregationist norms, understood the administration's antagonistic response to FSM as a strong declaration that the UCs would conform to the requisites of the white supremacist state.

The same year that the steps of Sproul Hall became Berkeley's free speech zone, the UCSD administration began planning a third college for the San Diego campus. The initial plans drawn up by the College III Preliminary Planning Committee envisioned a college organized around a history department and therefore named after the Greek muse of history, Clio[32]. Due to disagreements about the structures of College III's departments, the college remained in the planning stages until 1968. [33] The local news in these three planning years was dominated by the FSM and anti-war activism at Berkeley, San Francisco State College's Third World Strike led by the Black Student Union, and the unexpected electoral victory of Governor Ronald Reagan, largely driven by his vilification of UC students, faculty, and the

[32] Bob Dorn et al *Third College Twentieth Anniversary 1970-1990 Diversity Justice Imagination* 5.
[33] Anderson, *An Improbable Venture,* 123.

leadership of UC President Clark Kerr who Reagan deemed 'soft' on student protests.[34] UCSD administration was anxious to keep their school for the technical managerial elite out of this fray. [35]

After the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., biologist Dan Lindsley drafted a proposal to change the name and purpose of College III to "honor the legacy" of King[36]. This proposed college would recruit "disadvantaged students" at higher rates (up to the 4% UC limit of students not meeting standard admissions qualifications), [37] organize seminars and tutoring off campus for children and adults, and "promote the full integration of majority and minority students."[38] With this proposal, the national crisis around civil rights and black liberation and self-determination began to visibly encroach on the space of UCSD as an ideological state apparatus of the racial state. As such the proposal presented a moment for new coalitions that could alter the understanding of the fundamental relations of race at the site of the university and challenge the privileging of research over teaching and [community] service at the UCs. The figurehead of Rev. King represented opportunities for such coalitions: his emphasis on the domestic urgency of civil rights and his articulation of the black freedom struggle to anti-imperialist struggles across the globe,[39] including poverty eradication and anti-war campaigns could lead the way in re-organizing how UCSD specifically, and the U.S.

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[34] Newfield, *Unmaking the Public University*, 28.
[35] Anderson, *An Improbable Venture*, 123.
[36] *Ibid* 6.
[37] Dorn et al. *Third College*, 6.
[38] *Ibid*.
[39] See, for instance, Nikhil Pal Singh's discussion of how "King claimed to 'speak as a citizen of the world' and 'as an American' identifying an integral connection between America's extension of colonial warfare in Vietnam and the failure to achieve racial justice and social amelioration at home" even as he "argued the urgency of civil rights as a matter of national redemption and moral regeneration" (504). In 1968, then, both the political philosophy and the figure of Martin Luther King, Jr. presented ways in which the crisis of racial politics could re-articulate a vision of the globe that did not re-capitulate the white supremacy of the capitalist scale of the global. Nikhil Pal Singh, "Culture/Wars: Recoding Empire in an Age of Democracy" *American Quarterly* 50 no. 3 (1998): 471-522.

university generically, reproduced social relations. Other tensions on campus prepared the ground for potential coalitions between students organizing around racially discriminatory policies and those pursuing other social justice projects: in 1968 students successfully agitated for the removal of marine corps recruitment officers from campus (against the faculty's endorsement of an "open campus");[40] science students and professors concerned about their research's role in supporting U.S. militarism and imperialism led work strikes and teach-ins about U.S. imperialism;[41] and students held multiple anti-war sit-ins and rallies on campus.[42] The foundation of Third College was a watershed moment for UCSD specifically and representative of the crossroads in which all Cold War U.S. universities found themselves.

Lumumba Zapata Coalition

Provost Armin Rappaport accepted the structure of the college proposed by Dan Lindsley but not the name, at least "until such time as our program does his name justice and honor"[43] and turned to professors Joseph Watson, faculty advisor of the campus's Black Student Caucus and the sole black faculty member of UCSD in 1969,[44] and Carlos Blanco, advisor to the Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA, later the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán, MECha) for their recommendations in fleshing out Lindsley's proposal.[45] The BSC had secured approval for an African-American Studies program in 1968

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[40] "Marines Arrive on Campus, Resistance Planned Today," *Triton Times* (San Diego, CA), Feb. 21, 1969.
[41] "Professors Hold 'Work Strike,' Meet to Discuss Scientists' Role," *Triton Times* (San Diego, CA) March 7, 1969.
[42] "UC San Diego Protest Ends," *Los Angeles Times*. May 1, 1970.
[43] c. *Ibid* 6.
[44] Trombley, William. "Third College' New Goal for UC San Diego," *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 8, 1969.
[45] *Ibid* 6.

and had been focusing on developing the program and recruiting faculty [46] but since "the pace seemed slow and the commitment only light and tentative",[47] the BSC approached MAYA to form a coalition of students who would work together to plan College III. Both organizations were barely a year old and had been struggling to recruit student members,[48] so their union in the Lumumba Zapata Coalition (LZC) exponentially expanded the visibility and strength of both.

In 1969, BSC founder and Philosophy graduate student Angela Davis delivered a list of demands regarding College III to the chancellor. This list included descriptions of admissions policies (minimum 35% black and 35% Chican@ students), [49] and a structure of shared governance consisting of a board of governors with two elected student representatives, one elected faculty representative, and a provost appointed by the chancellor. The student and faculty representatives would be subject to recall by their specific constituencies, and the provost's appointment would have to be approved by the student and

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[46] Dorn et al, 5. Davis also recalls how she and two other black students at UCSD, decided to find the black students on campus to organize a Black Student Union: "We began by systematically investigating the dormitories, asking whether there were any Black students on the floor. After we combed all the halls, we attacked the graduate departments… requesting the names of all Black students and employees. We also involved Black workers; if we hadn't we would have been too small to get the attention we needed to function" (*Angela Davis: An Autobiography* 156-7). Even with this concerted effort, the group started with ten members, including the three founders and Professor Watson. This origin story is a stark reminder of how dispersed and consequently invisible (or in interpersonal interactions, hypervisible) black students were made to feel. The effort of gathering twenty black people together on campus was itself a political act: it created a *place* dedicated to the interests of black students, which, in the climate of backlash against FSM might itself be seen as an incendiary act. That the BSC was able to use the backlash in its favor is a testament to the organizing of Davis and other leaders and the mobilization of the group as a whole.

[47] Watson, c. *Ibid* 9.

[48] George Mariscal. "To Demand that the University Work for Our People," in *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (University of New Mexico Press, 2005) p. 221 and Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 156-7.

[49] Contemporary conversations about increasing numbers of "underrepresented minority" (URM, i.e. Black, Chicanx, indigenous, and Pacific Islander) student numbers at UCSD involves a lot of administrative hand-wringing around 'recruitment and retention'. It is worth noting that much of the labor of recruiting and retaining black students at PWI public colleges is currently done and as Biondi's work demonstrates, has almost always been done exclusively by black and brown students. Even before the neoliberalization of the corporate university, those costs were always external to the university and uncompensated expectation from students, faculty, and staff of color.

faculty representatives, who would also have the power to recall the provost.[50] These demands made it abundantly clear that the power of the board and provost came from the consent of the students they governed, not the grace of the chancellor and his administration. The students had also drafted an extensive curriculum for what they named the Lumumba Zapata College: the study of revolutions; analysis of economic systems; science and technology for basic human needs; health sciences and public health concentrated on "diseases peculiar to oppressed people"; urban and rural development; Black and Indo-Hispanic Arts, Spanish, French, African, Indian, and Asian languages; cultural heritage of the same taught in their own frames of reference rather than from a European assimilationist framework; and white studies to provincialize Euro-American canons. [51] Chancellor William McGill declined to engage the coalition's demands.[52] Provost Rappaport, whose outreach to Professors Watson and Blanco had led to the creation of the Coalition would later say of their demands, "It was like calling in a carpenter to redo a room and having him tear down your house."[53] The proposed college was a threat to the very conditions of possibility for U.S. higher education as these administrators understood it.

In choosing revolutionary heroes as their namesakes, the authors of the LZC demands reiterated elements of the "culturally mediated concepts of masculinity such as brotherhood" that Maylei Blackwell identifies as characterizing the Santa Barbara Plan released by the newly formed Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) that same year.[54] Blackwell refers to the type of masculinity evoked in the communiqués of MEChA and

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[50] Lumumba Zapata Coalition, "Lumumba Zapata College: B.S.C-M.A.Y.A. Demands for Third College, U.C.S.D." http://libraries.ucsd.edu/speccoll/DigitalArchives/ld781_s2-l86-1969/
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] "Rappaport on Education and Third College" *Indicator* (San Diego, CA) Feb. 26, 1969.
[53] Trombley, William. "Third College' New Goal for UC San Diego" *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 8, 1969.
[54] Maylei Blackwell. *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 64.

associated activists as a “subaltern masculinity”: in the face of hegemonic constructions of race and gender that removed Chicano men from embodying proper masculinity as a way to disempower them, Chicano activists sought to appropriate the colonially fabricated concept of machismo to signify connection with a pre-colonial past and used machismo to signify their connection to ‘traditions’ that presented an anti-colonial alternative to their subjugation by the U.S. state.[55] Michelle Ann Stephens’s study of Caribbean intellectuals in the U.S. further provides a genealogy for the kinds of black masculinity invoked in citing Patrice Lumumba as what Stephens names the “worldly negro”[56] which, like the subaltern masculinity of the pachuco and the Chicano, countered dominant ideas of ineffective black masculinity with cosmopolitanism and heroism. Writing only four years after the release of the Moynihan Report, the authors of the LZC demands might also have been influenced by the report’s indictment of the inability of black men and women to conform to gender roles as the central problem of race in the US. The group’s chosen name reflects a desire to insert themselves in a gendered imagining of the globe that focused on claiming or re-claiming heroic masculinity from systematically de-valued and de-legitimized traditions rather than excavating the ways in which gender is articulated with and through racialization.

Heteronormatively gendered ideologies of liberation were common during the Cold War, and are often identified as characteristic of anti-racist organizing of the time period. As Nicholas O. Mitchell points out in his intellectual history of Black Studies specifically with respect to knowledge production, “Male leadership was not only natural, but a sign of the

[55] *Ibid* 96-7.

[56] “A leader of the black male working-class, grounded in American nationality and citizenship as either a point of origin with stable meanings or a form of naturalization with a high degree of security, this more ‘worldly’ New Negro encountered in his travels throughout the modern colonial world alternative forms and process of identification” (45).

race's progress toward freedom and self-determination"; conversely, revolutionary female leadership would reinforce popular notions of the race's moral degeneration. [57] The Lumumba Zapata Coalition however, was an outlier as it was led primarily by Angela Davis, whose name and image are still emblematic of the movement at UCSD.

As a founding member of the BSC at UCSD, and one of the few black graduate students at UCSD, Davis recalls being thrust into a leadership role she had not personally sought in the LZC.[58] As Chancellor McGill recalled twenty-four years later at the re-dedication of Third College as Thurgood Marshall College, Angela Davis was the representative of the LZC who delivered the coalition's demands to the faculty senate in 1969, and thus became the face of the coalition for administration, as much as for students.[59] Davis's organizing experience, commitment to the coalition, speeches at coalition rallies, and tactical leadership pushed her face to the front of the organizing effort. In the moment Davis became the face of the Coalition and in contemporary re-tellings, as Dorn and his students acknowledge at the beginning of their document, "Most often it is Angela Davis' [*sic*] name that is attached to the writing of the Lumumba-Zapata demands."[60] In her autobiography Davis recalls that prior to organizing on campus, her experience working in the LA office of SNCC had shown her that male activists often "wanted the credit but not the responsibility for building SNCC"—their lack of involvement however did not keep them from interrupting when women spoke at staff meetings and accusing them of being "domineering" and seeking to "control everything, including the men—which meant by extension that [the women]

[57] Nicholas O. Mitchell. *Disciplinary Matters: Black Studies and the Politics of Institutionalization.* Ph.D. Diss, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2011, 34.
[58] Dorn et al. 20.
[59] Marshall College. "Dedication of Thurgood Marshall College, 1 of 6". Filmed 1993. YouTube video, 8:46. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=im8LCjggajk The video shows William McGill's speech at the dedication of Thurgood Marshall College in 1993, including brief recollections of the student protests.
[60] Dorn et al. 7.

wanted to rob them of their manhood."[61] On campus however, Davis was by far the most experienced and qualified organizer—her mother had been a national officer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress (building alliances between Southern black youth and communist organizations) so Davis had a deep familiarity with Communist organizing strategies, which had grown through her affiliation with the Communist youth group Advance during high school in New York City, and through studying and working with Marxists and other internationalists in Paris as an undergraduate student, Frankfurt as a graduate student, and through her organizing experience as a lead organizer of the Che-Lumumba Club, a CP USA-affiliated youth collective in Los Angeles.

Davis's first autobiography was published in 1974, only a few years after the LZC protests. This account of the LZC emphasizes the importance of coalitional organizing for the handful of black and brown students at UCSD and their concerted effort to recruit white students and faculty to their cause to make up numbers. It also discusses how Davis was thrust into a leadership role by dint of experience, but does not engage the lack of a feminist analysis of power relations in the plans of the Lumumba Zapata College. This elision is especially striking because earlier in the same chapter, Davis recounts how she and three other black women working "full time" at the SNCC offices "always had a disproportionate share of the duties of keeping the office and the organization running" but still had to navigate the "bitter condemnation" of a handful of male members who "came around only for staff meetings (sometimes)" but considered the leadership of the three women a "matriarchal coup d'état."[62] The juxtaposition of her experiences in the L.A. SNCC office and the LZC suggests that the

[61] Angela Davis *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* 181.
[62] Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 181.

LZC's embrace of female leadership might in itself have seemed a feminist approach to antiracist organizing.

Given this disconnect between rhetoric and praxis we might understand the organization as operating in the tradition of Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association, which built itself around heteronormative and patriarchal ideals and discourses, but gave women leadership positions and a platform to criticize sexism within the organization and more broadly.[63] But reading the LZC's analysis of power relations, it is evident that the group's praxis did not intentionally and vigorously engage an intersectional praxis, and without this intentional engagement, it is quite possible that the initial stage set for feminist/female leadership might not have stayed embedded in their praxis. In fact, the syllabi for Third World Studies courses offered at Third College after the dissolution of the LZC did reproduce a 'great male heroes of revolutionary history' model of study, teaching the lives and works of Nkrumah, Castro, Huey Newton, Malcolm X, Ho Chi Minh, Lenin, and Mao ubt no women or feminist leaders or theorists. The Woman Question does not appear on syllabi until 1974, when Marxist literary scholar Rosaura Sanchez came on as lead instructor of a Third World Studies course.[64] The LZC's silence on gender and sexuality effectively conceded that the terrain of racial politics did not include gendered and sexualized (dimensions of) relations of power. A future cadre of scholars had to use the opening provided by the LZC to overlay a feminist argumentation on their analysis.

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[63] Eric McDuffie identifies Amy Ashwood Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey, and Henrietta Venton Davis as part of a "cadre of talented black women leaders" who "gain[ed] international fame within the [UNIA]" as he argues that "despite its masculinist limitation, the Garvey movement was far more successful than its left-wing counterparts in creating formal structures that provided black women opportunites for uplifting the race and voicing their issues". Eric McDuffie. *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

[64] Carlos Blanco Aguinaga Paupers. MSS 647. Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego.

Today, Davis's visibility as an icon of broad-based organizing in the sixties brings a greater seriousness and longevity to the ephemeral organization of the LZC, making her image an icon of student resistance on the campus. It is far more present and recognizable for today's students than the icons the LZC students themselves used for the college (including images of Patrice Lumumba and Emiliano Zapata, or the stylized rendering of the African and South American continents as one overlapping land mass), where it continues to provide an opening to link the history of UCSD and the students being trained there to a feminist analysis of the power relations first called into question by the Lumumba Zapata Coalition.

Lumumba Zapata College

Geographer Katherine McKittrick points out that "hierarchies are naturalized by repetitively spatializing 'difference'… repetitively spatializing where nondominant groups 'naturally' belong." [65] The university, a spatialized institution, participates in this naturalization of people in places both immediately by naturalizing a common sense idea of what a college student looks like and who is 'out of place' on campus and at a distance through the knowledge production it makes possible, and whose political economic effects differentially make higher education accessible and inaccessible to different groups. The LZC demands brought attention to the racial borders of the university and proposed alternative spatial practices to address both the immediate representation of minoritized communities on campus and long-term access for historically underserved groups.

The demand for a college that was 35% Black and 35% Chicanx challenged the naturalization of who was out of place at UCSD. If institutionalized, it would have addressed

[65] McKittrick *Demonic Grounds,* xv.

the long-term access of underserved students but in immediate practice the demand made visible the absence of black and brown scholars on campus. As Angela Davis points out in her autobiography, this absence was overwhelmingly present in the lives of black students, [66] but likely did not register at all with white students at this PWI. White students and scholars, particularly those who thought of themselves as liberal-minded,[67] had to confront their implication in the naturalization of black and brown groups as inherently unscholarly. For instance, when Chancellor McElroy told the *Los Angeles Times* that "[t]here just aren't enough qualified minority students around" to implement and maintain a 70% minority college, [68] the *Triton Times* rhetorically asked its readership why, and offered the LZC's answer: because the state was failing its black and brown youth.[69] The LZC's recruitment demands thus shifted the conversation about race and representation from a preoccupation with individual 'merit' to structural failures.

Furthermore, the LZC's demands for close pedagogical and economic ties between the projected college and black and Chicanx communities across San Diego County challenged the distancing of the technologically-oriented La Jolla campus from communities of color in downtown and Southeast San Diego. LZC demands included architecture and landscape "of Mexican and African style"; that "architects, general contractors, sub-contractors, and all supervisory personnel… be from the minority community"; and that "bonds for financing the construction of Lumumba-Zapata College must be held by minority financial institutions, and must be offered in such denominations that members of the minority community may

[66] Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 156-7.
[67] For instance Provost Rappaport, in the same interview in which he compared getting input from BSC and MAYA on Third College to having a carpenter tear down his house, said of his initiative to get their input: "I thought that was a fine thing for a middle-class white to do". Trombley, "Third College' New Goal".
[68] Trombley, William. "UC San Diego Plans to Boost Enrollment to 14,000 by 1980" *Los Angeles Times*. Nov. 20, 1972.
[69] Duncan, Birt. L. "Social Pathology, Racism, and Munsinger," *Triton Times* (San Diego), Dec. 4, 1970.

participate in the funding of the college."[70] The architectural and landscape demands recast what the university campus as a place can and should be: rather than a space that makes students of color look and feel 'out of place,' students envisioned a campus that made them feel at ease while reminding everyone on campus that knowledge production does not naturally 'belong' to a particular people or region of the world. Further, this college would not be subject to the governance of the rest of the university.[71] With a board of governors including elected student and faculty representatives who could override the desires of the nominal provost and a guarantee that the college's budget would be allocated to fully meet its needs before the rest of the university's funds were allocated, the college's students would essentially govern themselves. Nor would they be subject to structures of student debt: it would be the university's responsibility to provide all minority students in the college with enough funds to prevent their having to work or take out loans while completing their studies.[72] The Lumumba Zapata College would disrupt the notions of U.S. universality and beneficence justifying the U.S. state's projection of itself as the vanguard of knowledge. The financing demands also envisioned a place that was literally owned by people of color, perhaps even middle class or working class people of color. Instead of being 'out of place,' people of color would be indisputably invested in the university. Being material stakeholders would give people of color (at least a collective) voice in the administration of the university that would be difficult to dismiss. While these plans were not realized, the existence of a collective on campus that had the conversations that resulted in these demands, the pressure they maintained on the administration for years to address these demands, and the debates and

[70] Lumumba Zapata Coalition, "Demands for Third College" 2-3.
[71] *Ibid*, 4.
[72] *Ibid,* 5.

conversations they created in student and local newspapers radically altered the kind of place the UCSD campus was. Rather than the "cathedral on a hill," the founders had imagined, this campus was in the thick of the black freedom struggle and anyone on campus had to, in some way, reckon with, or at least become consciously aware of, their participation in the disenfranchisement of minoritized peoples kept off campus.

The coalition itself gave the few Black and Chicanx students on campus at the time a consciousness of their disruption of the naturalized hierarchies of race, gender, and nation. Concentrating their bodies and efforts into a single 'college' was in itself a cultural nationalist pedagogical practice that taught students the value of self-determination. Early administrative objections focused on the separation of students of color in a college of their own; UCSD Chancellor McGill "noted the admissions plan as proposed [35% Black, 35% Chicanx, and 30% others] would, in effect, ghettoize Third College."[73] He countered with a proposal for "an experimental junior college" for minority students that would allow for the courses of study proposed by the LZC to exist without the "general lowering of academic standards" faculty in departments like Anthropology and Sociology feared.[74] McGill did not clarify why this method of segregating students into a junior college would not have a "ghettoizing" effect on the campus, but the LZC's response spoke to this contradiction, arguing that "[a] junior college for minority students would put us in the back of the bus once again", pointing out that funneling minority students through a junior college would make them vulnerable to drafting during their first two years of college, and that if the university wanted to use a partnership with an existing junior college as an outreach effort, coalition members' High

[73] "Prospects Appear Good for Third College Approval," *Triton Times* (San Diego, CA), Feb. 20, 1969.
[74] "BSC-MAYA Press Release," *Indicator* (San Diego, CA), April 16, 1969; Trombley, William, "Minorities' College Called too Radical; Regents to Decide," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 11, 1970.

School Program already operating at Lincoln High School provided a viable alternative for the university to invest in preparing minority students for a "quality education."[75] The students' arguments confounded the terms of the integration vs. segregation/ghettoization debate by demonstrating the importance of the third term animating this debate: self-determination. These college students had completed their K-12 education in the post-*Brown* years and understood that integration could be used as a tool to separate black students from radical politics and prepare them for Nixon's Black Capitalism.[76] From the start they had argued "The selfindictment of the American educational system lies not so much in the quantitative exclusion of people of color as in the quality of what is taught—to the White as well as to the Brown and Black student." [77] What they sought throughout their protest years was not just greater *inclusion* but *control* of their education.[78] And while they did not ultimately gain the right to make curricula and hire faculty, for the duration of their organizing they were effectively in control of what they learned on campus, not necessarily in the classes they took at Muir and Revelle, but in their work at the Lumumba Zapata College.

If we understand the university campus as a place controlled by the university administration, the extra-institutional organizing and mobilizing space of the Lumumba Zapata College operates according to the logic of the freedom schools temporarily erected in Southern states during the summer of 1964, and the Los Angeles based SNCC Liberation School which Angela Davis was entrusted with directing in 1968.[79] While other community

[75] "BSC-MAYA Press Release" *Indicator* (San Diego, CA), April 19, 1969.
[76] Lumumba Zapata Coalition, "Demands for Third College," 1.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*, 198. Recalling the students' awareness that the revolutionary college they sought would not be made real in its ideal version, but the two goals they were most invested in were increasing the enrollment of students from minoritized groups, and giving these students control over their education.
[79] *Ibid* 171.

leaders criticized Davis for designing a curriculum that was fundamentally a political education rather than vocational training, Davis defended her work in her autobiography, noting: "My overall vision of the school I directed was of a place where political understanding was forged and sharpened, where consciousness became explicit and was urged in a revolutionary direction. This is why I taught and found others to teach courses on such topics as Current Developments in the Black Movement, Liberation Movements in the Third World, and Community Organizing Skills."[80] This focus on political education and social movement history and praxis is evident in the Lumumba Zapata College curriculum as well. In the context of a university campus, this pedagogical praxis becomes a way of contesting the purpose of the campus—that is to say, it is a place-making practice that challenges existing ideas or assumptions about the primary purpose of the university and of a university education. Students were learning 'consciousness' by creating language to address the institutional inequalities and injustices they were made to suffer and being guided to develop this consciousness through activist praxis and continued study. Using university space for teach-ins and rallies modeling the curriculum of the Lumumba Zapata College disrupted the traditional spatial organization of campus classrooms, highlighting the disciplinary controls inherent in the classroom space and made the students participating in the LZC conscious of the different kinds of knowledge production they could participate in on campus grounds. The naturalization of this protest pedagogy on college campuses across the nation should be understood as a major gain of this wave of student activism, particularly in the contemporary moment when neoliberalization, austerity cuts, and white supremacist populism is rolling

[80] *Ibid* 183.

back these gains and de-naturalizing this function of the U.S. university.[81] Additions to the UCSD campus since this time, for instance, disallow spaces amenable to large groups of students gathering outside of class.

Third (World) College

The students of the Lumumba Zapata Coalition tied their demands for the re-conceptualization of the purposes of the university to the larger context of a globe framed by the geopolitical concerns of the Cold War at the height of the war in Vietnam, global decolonization struggles, and internationalist anti-imperialist organizing. Therefore, in addition to the immediate threat to the space of the UCSD campus their college is representative of a broader wave of student activism that re-imagined the relations between race and nation. Rather than thinking of racial groups as a subset of the U.S. nation-state, these students understood race as a transnational formation, an understanding that allowed them to dis-place the state as the horizon of antiracist organizing. As with other students organizing at this time, the LZC students' articulation of race, gender, and citizenship focused on national and global scales, and the university administration's response was geared to disarticulating these connections. These responses displaced ideas of self-determination with a corporate model of diversity as a market advantage and profoundly affected the way middle class Americans apprehend the logics of race and racism through neoliberal ideologies.

[81] At the height of the wave of student activism inspired by the University of Missouri protests in 2015, UCSD's Black Student Union, which traces its genealogy to the Black Student Union founded by Angela Davis, held a rally that culminated in the 'action' of students standing with linked hands closing their eyes to "imagine another university" as the administration couldn't be counted upon to create one in the real world. The practice of student activism has evidently suffered great setbacks at UCSD, and as I demonstrate at length later, these setbacks are calculated direct and long-term responses to the gains made by the existence of the Lumumba Zapata College.

The students' demands posed a threat to the traditional relationships between the nation and the university. Historian Martha Biondi chronicles the trajectory of black student movements across U.S. universities in the late 1960s and early 70s and describes black students' attempts to create programs of study around African American, Africana, and African Diaspora Studies as working towards several interrelated goals: generating leaders for black communities, sharing intellectual resources with black communities, and intervening in campus politics which many students and student leaders saw as "a significant space: a means of racial domination, on the one hand, or a path to black empowerment on the other"[82] i.e. as an ideological state apparatus (ISA) of the racial state. She points out that these movements coincided with black anticolonial struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, southern Africa, and a widening solidarity movement across the globe.[83] In other words, demands for African American studies in particular were articulated with larger political projects, thereby assembling scales that could de-naturalize the inevitability of the global world order and the privileged position of the solitary sovereign nation-state (as opposed to, for instance, the pan-Africanist African Union). Brent Hayes Edwards's discussion of Diaspora Studies in the U.S. affirms the existence of discursive and material political connections along these lines and adds that these programs were proposed as "an epistemological challenge, explicitly staked out through a politics of diaspora that rejects Western assumptions about a link between knowledge production and the nation."[84] The university is the key site articulating this link between knowledge and nation—Roderick Ferguson reminds academics, "[t]he modern

[82] Martha Biondi "Controversial Blackness: The Historical Development & Future Trajectory of African American Studies" *Daedalus, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences*. 140 no. 2 (2011): 226-237,. 227-8.
[83] *Ibid* 231.
[84] Brent Hayes Edwards "The Uses of Diaspora" *Social Text* 19.1 (2001) 45-73. 56.

Western academy was created as the repository and guarantor of national culture."[85] Historically the university has served as the archive and index of all the disparate elements that constitute the nation and has helped the nation assert its dominion over these, and, as historian Craig Wilder argues, the study of racial types has been the fundamental means of authorizing the lay academy in the U.S. [86] The LZC students challenged the idea that the nation was bigger than 'racial difference'. Even the name of the coalition, referencing Congolese nationalist and Pan-Africanist leader Patrice Lumumba (whose execution 8 years previously had led to public demonstrations in Belgrade, London, and New York City) and Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata, and later Third World College, evinces a genealogy of Third World revolution that understands racial formation as trans-national and pan-African. Chancellor McGill specifically objected to the name in his memoir saying, "The hyphenation did not appeal to me. It would also have been more appropriate to suggest a single American minority figure".[87] His discomfort registers a distaste of foreign revolutionaries and the administration's comfort with racial difference as long as it is clothed in national belonging and the un-threatening numerical promise of 'minority.'[88] The LZC was based on a post-desegregationist outlook that understood that being a 'minority' was not primarily a question of numbers but of power, and in response, they intended to minoritize whiteness, American-ness, and bourgeois-ness not only through future enrollment but through the allocation of fiscal and administrative control to black and brown students and locals.

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[85] Ferguson, *The Re-Order of Things,* 12.
[86] Craig Steven Wilder. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013) 11, 225-6
[87] McGill, William. Letter to B.S.C.-MAYA, dated April 7, 1969. Special Collections: RSS 1, Box 28, Folder 4L. Third College, General Correspondence, 1969.
The remarks seems almost ironic recalling that Rappaport had opposed Lindsley's proposal to do just this by denying to name the college after Martin Luther King, Jr.
[88] Recall however, that Lindsley's plan to name the college after Martin Luther King had not seemed appropriate to Rappaport.

The college the black and Chicanx students at UCSD demanded and pursued was the institutionalization of these trajectories, but in the pre-institutional stages it demonstrates place-making practices that, following Neil Smith's terminology, 'jumped scale,' i.e. "organiz[ed] the production and reproduction of daily life and [resisted] oppression and exploitation at a higher scale"[89]—the students' demand that their daily education taking place at the University of California, San Diego be organized around transnational or translocal Third Worldist pedagogies jumped the local scales that were to give meaning to their training at an ideological state apparatus. Rather than being subjects of the U.S. state who would be the benefactors of the regions the U.S. was trying to influence, these students positioned themselves as the beneficiaries of the revolutionary praxis of heroic male figures from those 'underdeveloped' areas, effectively demonstrating invaginations within the flat globe pursued by U.S. state and capital. The campus space the LZC imagined for a Lumumba Zapata College evoked the peoples and places of the Third World in its name, architecture, landscape, and financial structure. [90] The architecture and landscape of the college were to embody "Mexican and African style", and all 'minority' students attending the college were to be provided with enough funds that they would not need to seek work or loans during their training. [91] Knowledge production too was structured around the non-white, non-bourgeois subject characterized by difference rather than identity and contesting the university's desire to know and classify difference for the nation. Every aspect of the Lumumba-Zapata College would be a jarring disruption of the rest of UCSD and create another college – a place that took transnational racial formation as an *a priori* principle and organized resistance to U.S.

[89] Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics," 60.
[90] Lumumba Zapata Coalition, "Demands for Third College," 2-3.
[91] *Ibid,* 5.

racism and imperialism around this knowledge. Challenging the institution was, for the students, a direct challenge to "a system which thrives on military technology and imperialist profit". [92] Thus the organization of the day-to-day of student life, as well as the practices of knowledge production resisted what the students called the "miseducation which has caused us to unconsciously sever ourselves from our communal and cultural roots",[93] challenging U.S. imperialism and the understanding of the global world order as a division between the two worlds of capitalism and communism by placing racial (capitalist) cartographies ahead of the ostensibly non-racialized cartographies of Cold War politics. While the state invested in projects as diverse but unified as the Marshall Plan and the Peace Corps to position itself as the spreader of, if not exactly 'civilization' in the sense discussed in chapter 1, at least democracy and the benevolence of recognizing universal humanity that it supposedly conferred. The LZC students' geographic imaginary countered both this statist imagination of a globe divided into two superpowers and various 'spheres of influence', and the ideologies of Samuel Chapman Armstrong and the philanthropists behind social settlements who fixed minoritized peoples in place, only to pathologize the place, 'its' people, and their inability to leave it. The students' Third Worldism created spatial proximity from historical and political economic proximity. Placing themselves in Hubert Harrison's "colored majority" allowed students to strive for alternative ways of knowing and of organizing knowledge production at the institutional scale.

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[92] *Ibid*, 1.
[93] *Ibid*.

Third College Revisited

Soon after the LZC demands began to circulate at UCSD, the Third World Liberation Front at Berkeley began protests on a larger scale and, likely pressured by the national attention to issues of university governance generated by the Berkeley group's escalation, the chancellor created another Planning Committee for College III headed by Bob Frazer, which produced a plan similar to the LZC's. Following a stalemate in the Faculty Senate and a 90-minute occupation of the Registrar's Office, the issue of governance was moved to an appendix instead of being included in the main body of the plan. This arrangement, called the Varon Resolution, meant that when the Faculty Senate ratified the plan for College III, the governance structure became a suggestion without any official standing. The plan received approval from the Senate and initial financial backing from the Ford Foundation in 1970 and Third College began operation in AY 1970-1. Facing backlash from within the campus and outside forces, possibly including FBI informants working through COINTELPRO, the college's programs were implemented slowly.[94]

The Board of Governors operated as the informal governing body of the college, but for all official intents and purposes, chemistry professor Joseph Watson, provost of Third College, was the sole governing figure. By the beginning of 1972, disagreements between Watson and student and faculty representatives dominated meetings of the board and the general assembly.[95] Major contentions were around hiring decisions: Watson wished to smooth relations with antagonistic departments outside Third by hiring faculty acceptable to them; student and faculty representatives disagreed and wanted Watson's explicit recognition of their authority to veto his decisions. In February, the publication of poison-pen pamphlets

[94] Dorn et. al. *Third College* 74.
[95] Carlos Blanco Aguinaga Papers. MSS 647. Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego.

accusing black students and Watson of selling out, as well as being "drug users who preferred sex with whites," raised tensions between black students and students from MEChA and white allies, who collectively referred to themselves as "the Others," to a new high. Dissatisfied with his ability to mend these ties, Joseph Watson submitted his resignation. The BSU then withdrew from the LZC, with the President[96] issuing a statement that the remainder of the Lumumba-Zapata Steering Committee, now composed of "the Others," had attacked Watson's character, and therefore all black UCSD students. Chancellor William McElroy convinced Watson to continue as provost to hold the peace. Watson's retention caused great resentment among "the Others," and precipitated a hunger strike by MEChA students. By 1973, when the students called off their hunger strike, enrollment in Third College had dropped precipitously and graduation requirements had been loosened to the point that students could graduate without taking a single class in Third World Studies[97]. The "experiment" had ended, partly due to administrative negligence and outside pressures on the coalition, and partly due to the underlying fissures that had made the coalition tenuous throughout its existence.

The incompatibility of the Lumumba Zapata College and formal institutionalization demonstrates the incommensurability of black students' demands for self-determination with the Cold War U.S. university. This deferral of self-determination is the hinge between the desegregation of public goods and utilities and the rise of U.S. neoliberalization. In understanding the university administration's response to the demands raised by its students, there are important parallels between Third College and the College for Ethnic Studies at San

[96] Apparently popular opinion outside the BSU suspected the president of the BSU to be a police agent on campus.
[97] *Ibib* 12-86.

Francisco State College created in 1968. As Biondi explains, "the students [at SFSC] failed to achieve either autonomy for the department from university oversight, or student control of departmental affairs and governance"; at the same time, President S.I. Hayakawa benefitted from his role in the confrontation as "[t]he strike increased his administrative power on campus, propelling him into the political limelight and into the U.S. Senate in 1976[98]. The self-determination that LZC students had aimed for was similarly denied them, while Rappaport's role as the arbiter of conflicts between Watson and his advisory board essentially strengthened Rappaport's executive privileges in campus politics. As with the *Brown v. Board* decisions, the university administration made a concession at the level of principle, accommodating the idea that it was desirable for the university to devote resources to educating underserved students and researching the problems of minoritized communities. But this acceptance was accompanied by an abdication of administrative responsibility that actively undermined the petitioners' ability to implement what the state apparatus had affirmed in principle: without the university's investment in creating departmental and college-wide infrastructure to support the work of the students and faculty of Third College, the project did not have a real chance of becoming permanent, let alone growing on its own terms. Rather the Third Worldist politics of self-determination espoused by the Lumumba Zapata Coalition became 'absorbed and insulated' through a diversity paradigm of multicultural tolerance and understanding. Their material demands for representation in the political sense were slowly separated from, and replaced with, a formalized cultural representation of the aesthetic sense.

[98] Biondi, Martha. *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) 72.

Thurgood Marshall College

Contemporary institutional histories subsume the student movements of the 1960s and 70 as a period of growth in the university's history, akin to what Sara Ahmed calls a "repair narrative". For Ahmed, a repair narrative is "a way of recentering on whiteness" either as the subject who is injured by a lack of diversity or accusations of racism, or whose generosity permits the inclusion of scholars of color.[99] Narrating from the present moment, institutional histories confound historical subjects and representational categories rendering administrators and students who operated in antagonism as collaborators for progress towards increasing inclusion. The power relations that permeated their interactions are erased in the past and elided in the present as institutions privilege color-blind language of student community premised on continuously healing from past and present encroachments of white supremacy. Third Worldist and other cultural nationalist student protests are narrated as a turning point in the (racial) progress narrative when the specific institution, like the U.S. nation itself, confronted the presence of racism within its boundaries and overcame this shortcoming.

The Thurgood Marshall College History Project initially compiled by Kate Pillion (TMC class of 2006), currently maintained by the TMC webmaster, and hosted by The Official Web Page of the University of California, San Diego exemplifies the conventions of this kind of institutional history. The history titles a section describing the Varon Resolution (plans for the Third College without the admissions and governance requirements the LZC

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[99] Sara Ahmed. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 168.

demanded) as a fulfillment of the goals of the LZC demands[100] when in effect the resolution meant the Senate could claim support for the LZC's goals without actually having to support their demand for autonomy. The TMC History Project's chronology also places the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and Dan Lindsley's proposal to change plans for College III to honor King submitted in April 1968 *after* the Senate's adoption of the Varon Resolution in May 1969.[101] While this shift in chronology can most likely be attributed to an unintentional error, its persistence for 9 years should be attributed to how much sense this narrative makes. University administration can be cast in the most positive light since it accepts the students' demands, and the changes between what the students asked for and "What Third Really Looked Like in the Fall of 1970" are attributed to 'honoring King's legacy.' Furthermore, the bitter divisions between students and administrators including allegations of criminal misconduct on both sides, are reduced to a brief section titled "Controversy Over a Name." The events of 1969-1972 appear as a series of disagreements over how to increase inclusion rather than the revolutionary struggle that even the white college paper of the time described it as.[102]

In a telling sentence in "Controversy Over a Name", the student-writer explains that in 1993, when the idea of naming the college after Thurgood Marshall was circulating, students "actually protested." Pillion finds this to be something that needs explanation, writing: "While it is surprising that students would protest naming the college after someone as worthy of

[100] Under the section title "The Students Take Action… and Are Victorious" Pillion et al. write about the Varon resolution, "The resolution passed 94-5-7 and the students had their college," even though the plan passed relegated the Board of Governors to a suggestion.

[101] "The Students Take Action… and Are Victorious," is followed by a section listing the demands of the LZC. The list of demands is followed by a section titled "Plans Change for Third" describing events that preceded Rappaport's approaching Watson and Blanco.

[102] Triton Times Editorial Board, "Third College—The Quiet Revolution," *Triton Times* (San Diego, CA), Nov. 25, 1969.

being our namesake as Justice Marshall, students were concerned that their history would somehow be lost along with the name Third." Taken together, the error in chronology and the incredulity over people doubting Marshall's merit make evident the author's[103] position in 2006 as being at a point of resolution that simply cannot believe in white supremacy outside the specific spheres where neoliberal logics locate it. In 2006, white supremacy as an object of knowledge could only be recognized in its proper political terrain: discriminatory action that denies the civic rights of an individual. The institutional contests that drove the confrontation of the 1960s[104] were outside the individualized demands of increased admission or recruitment and retention that students of the last decade have accepted as the proper terrain of campus racial politics. For instance, the convention of calling for the disciplining of individual students or student groups in response to 'racist incidents' on campus generally ignores how the university's fostering of certain kinds of social clubs, particularly Greek life, for their market advantage and philanthropic alumni is a response to the withdrawal of state and federal funds for public higher education. Actually confronting the white supremacist logics at the core of such organizations risks alienating wealthy alumni and their children.

Since the action of racism is reduced to individual actions without institutional or structural support, and it is fixed through individual punishment, student organizing for anti-racist measures can also be reduced to individual demands for individual rewards without

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[103] Authorship should include not only Kate Pillion who compiled the research, but also the college itself ("TMC gratefully acknowledges the following office and individuals for the help and hard work they contributed to the creation of the Thurgood Marshall College History Project" implies ownership of the content).

[104] Recall, the original B.S.C.-MAYA demands began by rejecting "the entire oppressive structure of America. [Because] Racism runs rampant in the educational system, while America, in a pseudo-humanitarian stance, proudly proclaims that it is the key to equal opportunity for all. This is the hypocrisy our generation must now destroy". These students clearly understood 'racism' as a structural and institutional phenomenon. While they recognized the prejudice and bigotry of, for example, the individual police officers who arrested three black men students for just being in La Jolla, their protests did not seek redress from these individuals but indicted American policing and the university's refusal to protect its students from the presence of police officers.

institutional or structural change. Student demands for self-determination and self-government can then be re-framed as demands for inclusion and representation, with the aesthetic sense of 'representation' crowding out the political sense. In this way contemporary institutional histories domesticate – i.e. make familial and intranational, the radical internationalism of these student movements, and disarticulate the attributes of student activism ('to be an activist') and the achievements of student activism ('to do activism') in a consummately neoliberal move. In a far cry from the coalitional solidarity politics of Third Worldist student formations, the kind of activism visible in popular cultural representations today is more about *performing* student activism as an *identity* (putting the activist on par with other campus archeyptes like the nerd, the jock) rather than *participating* in collective action for the redistribution of material resources.

The understanding of activism as an identity assumes and informs students' attempts to engage the university on the administration's terms; terms that replace the institutional, cultural nationalist, and Third Worldist language deployed by student such as the LZC activists with individualized remedies ranging from multicultural counseling staff to recreational spaces for students of color and queer students on campus. While such steps are crucial to the retention and success of individual students who have the odds stacked against their graduation, they do not make the university accountable to anyone except the students pre-selected for inclusion by the university. We might gauge the difference in the political horizons of student activists by comparing the students of the Lumumba Zapata College, who saw their protest as a pedagogical practice that gave them a measure of control over their university education with a student protest during 2016 in which BSU leaders called on students to link arms and close their eyes to imagine another university, as the current

administration was unwilling to help them create one in the present moment. Students complained of how making time for activism and service in addition to their study and workloads was making them sick and tired, but struggled to articulate the horizons of their struggle. Even the idea of demanding free tuition for the 2% black students currently enrolled at UCSD appears "unrealistically radical" to current student leaders. The focus on teaching each other political education and social movement history is also being supplanted by a politics of individual survival—tips for navigating the inevitable anti-blackness and racism of the university in the short-term, rather than strategies for dismantling the same in the long-term. The administration has effectively transformed student protest from thinking of the university as a site of struggle for self-determination and reparations to a site where the university administration is the final arbiter of concessions to student desires.

TMC's participation in creating a coherent narrative that positions the university as ultimately the benefactor rather than the antagonist of the Lumumba Zapata coalition resonates with what Roderick A. Ferguson identifies as the archival nature of the university. In theorizing the function of the national university as it is concatenated with state and capital, Ferguson proposes that "the American academy help[s] inform the archival agendas of state and capital—how best to institute new peoples, new knowledges, and cultures and at the same time discipline and exclude those subjects according to a new order." [105] As Third Worldist student activism forced the university to reckon with a new set of peoples, knowledges, and cultures as *subjects* of knowledge production who understood themselves not only as individuals but as part of minoritized collectives ("on the campuses and in the streets") [106] the

[105] Ferguson, Roderick A. *The Re-Order of Things* 12.
[106] Lumumba Zapata Coalition, "Lumumba Zapata College: B.S.C-M.A.Y.A. Demands for Third College, U.C.S.D."1.

university, in its function as the most advanced pedagogical ideological state apparatus, moved to individualize not only race (as identity) but racism (as discrimination). Whereas the LZC had built its activism on a coalition that understood racialization relationally and on a global scale, the contemporary push to collect data on individuals' experiences of race and racism under the 'campus climate' paradigm shifts attempts to transform race into data and information to be analyzed and resolved on the individual scale. A 'campus climate' paradigm emphasizes celebrating 'exceptional' or 'extraordinary' individuals such as Thurgood Marshall, incorporating 'cross-cultural understanding' and 'multicultural education' into mission statements, and pathologizing racism as individual trauma (i.e. a pathology of the individual discriminated against, as well as a cognitive shortcoming, 'ignorance' in the individual perpetrator). These strategies overdetermine race, gender, and sexuality as identity classes (even when understood as multiple intersectional identity classes) and racism as prejudice between individuals. The 'diversity paradigm' is thus about domesticating racism, keeping it 'all in the family' by privileging the scale of the body over any collective. The rise of the interdisciplines as an archival logic, pace Ferguson, has been part of that same desire to domesticate the demands of student activists. This domestication renders the complaints of the disaffected into pain and trauma that are logged, categorized, and resolved at the interpersonal scale and has made the individualization of obstacles to recruitment and retention a part of the training that URM students receive at the university. Individualizing merit and discrimination at the same time in effect insulates the university from charges of institutional racism or collusion with racist power structures. The rise of the 'mass middle class' has helped this academic epistemology of race and individual merit take root across U.S. common senses. The advent of social media has hastened and deepened these connections.

The global scale that LZC students invoked to strengthen their case as a 'global majority' is also evoked by diversity practitioners seeking to disarticulate non-capitalist transnational formations. Neoliberal deployments of the 'global' presume a global community or global citizenship as universally homogenizing identities and are calculated to replace the cartography of the Third World project—which divided the world into historical colonizers and colonized, allowing for the latter to make common cause amongst themselves and against the former—with an aspirational assumption of equal and fungible participation in a shared humanity. If the concession of intranational civil rights was a strategic move for the Cold War United States, humanizing the globe is the political economic equivalent for neoliberal globalization. Appealing to color-blind ideals sanctions the withdrawal of state investment in, and the availability of, public goods while 'humanizing' the Other as suffering *individuals* rather than social groups such that they become objects of individualized philanthropy rather than state support or investment. The deployment of the 'global' evokes a new-ness that has more to do with the re-organization of knowledge, particularly, as Newfield argues, the privileging of fields that are positioned as globally/universally applicable at the expense of fields concomitantly parochialized as nationally relevant (whose utility too is visualized primarily through their preparation of multicultural U.S. citizens to participate in global economies.)[107] It draws attention to common sense understandings of how scientific practice, particularly research and development, bring about progress for an undifferentiated global population, while humanities-based research is properly understood as luxury goods. At the same time it works with the paradigms of multiculturalism and diversity to posit desegregation as the national institutional resolution to the crisis of race and attributes

[107] Newfield, *Unmaking the Public University,* 26-7.

lingering inequality to individual shortcomings or lingering geographic pockets of 'racism', understood as individual prejudice. In part, the articulation of the knowledge economy and multiculturalism/diversity works to displace the internationalist emphasis on social justice championed by students of color in the 1960s and 70s with an international orientation that buttresses the U.S. state's geopolitical and economic interests in the global scale while minimizing the scope and impact of racialized difference. That is, a reassertion of the global scale that pre-empts other political and epistemological geographies. The prominence of discourses of the global university thus work to nationalize *and simultaneously individualize* the problems of gendered and sexualized racial difference.

The rise of former Secretary of Homeland Defense, Janet Napolitano to the office of the President of the University of California and the Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs' assertion that "the UC is no longer a California university, it is a global university"[108] demonstrate how the 'global' university draws on imperialist projects that have historically targeted people of color across the globe. Such evocations of the global scale does not take into account internationalist or Third Worldist histories that deployed the global scale to contest the political economic, pedagogical, ontological, and ethical projects of minoritizing racialized and gendered difference that were consolidated at the U.S. university. Thus state-backed ways of making sense of race, gender, and sexuality within the specificity of neoliberal knowledge formations highlight the discontinuities of neoliberalism with the economic and political order(s) preceding it, but without acknowledging the continuity of the grammars that underlie its representational restructuring. The work of remembering and re-

[108] c. Mariscal, Jorge. Lecture, UC San Diego, June 1, 2016.

arming those disruptive scales requires histories of race and racism in higher education that disrupt the progress and repair narratives put forth by the institutions themselves.

Chapter 4
"Relentless Pursuit":
Teach For America, Progressive Neoliberalism, and the Criminalization of Urban Space

The heart of the problem is law-and-order in our schools. Discipline in the classroom is essential if our children are to learn.

-Richard Nixon, 1969[1]

On the last day of his first Black History month in office, President Donald J. Trump addressed a joint session of Congress and echoing at least three presidents before him, announced, "Education is the civil rights issue of our time."[2] Trump called upon legislators to "pass an education bill that funds school choice for disadvantaged youth including millions of African-American and Latino children." He reasoned that by having the freedom to choose the "public, private, charter, magnet, religious, or home school that is right for them," black and brown children would be empowered to break cycles of poverty and violence. In this endeavor, Trump paired school choice with increased and "better" ties with law enforcement: "[T]o create this future, we must work with — not against — not against — the men and women of law enforcement."[3] The phrase "Education is the civil rights issue of our time," has been used by previous administration to do everything from increasing standardized testing and "accountability" measures (No Child Left Behind) to protective trans students' rights on campus, Trump's articulation of students' civil rights with "school choice" and cooperation with law enforcement is a reminder that education reform, even when understood as a "civil rights issue" is not *inherently* anti-racist. Rather, it can bring the moral capital associated with

[1] c. Naomi Murakawa. *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 8.

[2] "Trump's Speech to Congress: Video and Transcript," *New York Times*. Feb. 28, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/28/us/politics/trump-congress-video-transcript.html

[3] "Victims Of Immigration Crime Engagement (VOICE) Office" *Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security.* https://www.ice.gov/voice He goes on to link this support with a new office in the Department of Homeland Security, "Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement," (VOICE) which works with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to "acknowledge and serve the needs of crime victims and their families who have been affected by crimes committed by individuals with a nexus to immigration."

defending black children to further their marginalization. In this chapter I trace this metalepsis to Teach For America (TFA) and the slew of non-governmental non-profit organizations that have been shaping the contours of U.S. education reform debates for the last three decades, and demonstrate that the proliferation of such non-profits purportedly seeking to help black children have actually been using black children to create profits for white "thought leaders."[4]

Teach For America is a 501(c) 3 non-profit organization that operates by recruiting 'talented' college students during the last year of their undergraduate education and contracting them for two years as teachers for K-12 classrooms in so-called "high-needs" schools,[5] including positions in English as a Second Language and special education. TFA trains each recruit through a 5-week summer teachers' institute, in which the recent college graduates learn the basics of pedagogy, with a focus on their subject areas as well as the culture of the regions they will be working in, and the challenges particular to working in a "high-needs" school, where most students' backgrounds will be different from those of the recruits. It is the "largest single source of new teachers for classrooms in low-income communities," likely the single largest teacher placement program in the United States today, [6] and most importantly for this study, it is the prototypical example of a recent higher education phenomenon, the leadership development program.

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[4] Teach For America founder Wendy Kopp frames education reform as "a civil rights issue," and TFA recruits frequently refer to the organization as "the civil rights movement of our time." Wendy Kopp. *One Day All Children: The Unlikely Triumph of Teach for America and What I Learned Along The Way* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2003) xii, etc.; https://www.teachforamerica.org/top-stories/civil-rights-movement-our-time-not-yet

[5] There does not seem to be a particular measure for how schools are determined to be 'high needs.' When the program began, founder Wendy Kopp would personally mail and call school districts to ask them to take on TFA recruits to fill gaps in the teaching labor force. As the program's reputation, size, and revenue have grown, districts have begun contacting TFA to fill staffing gaps.

[6] "Teach For America Welcomes 25th-Anniversary Corps, Bringing Its Total Leadership Force to More than 50,000" *Teach For America*. Aug. 11, 2015. https://www.teachforamerica.org/about-us/media-resources/news-releases/teach-america-welcomes-25th-anniversary-corps-bringing-its

I take the term "leadership development program" from Teach For America founder Wendy Kopp's description of her organization.[7] I Leadership development programs (LDPs) are rooted in, and productive of, a neoliberalizing labor market, embodying the principles of contingency or "fluidity," and piecemeal work. These short-term programs provide participants with subsistence-level wages for 1 to 2 years in return for their "service" towards an "unmet social need." They institutionalize the class of resume-building service activities that have been expected of applicants to professional schools for several decades.[8] Their operations create the infrastructure to match recent college graduates with under-staffed schools in places identified as being in need of charitable intervention. AmeriCorps[9] partner

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U.S. News and World Reports records that the education school with the highest total enrollment in 2017 was Liberty University with 6,018 *total* students (4.060 Master's students and 1,105 doctoral students). Liberty's Master's degrees are only available online. The largest non-virtual program is Teachers College of Columbia University with 4,892 total students (3,599 Master's, 1,293 doctoral). Even if half the master's students at Liberty graduate each year, they would not equal one year's TFA corps.
"Teach For America Releases Its 2017 Corps Profile." *Teach For America*. Sept. 18, 2017.
https://appalachia.teachforamerica.org/top-stories/teach-america-releases-its-2017-corps-profile
"Welcoming Teach For America's 2016 Corps!" *Teach For America*. Sept. 19, 2016.
https://www.teachforamerica.org/top-stories/welcoming-teach-americas-2016-corps
"Which Are the Largest Education Programs?" *U.S. News and World Report*.
https://www.usnews.com/best-graduate-schools/top-education-schools/program-size-rankings
[7] Alison Damast, "Q&A: Teach for America's Wendy Kopp," *Bloomberg.* March 26, 2012.
https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2012-03-26/q-and-a-teach-for-americas-wendy-kopp
These should not be confused with their "lower ed" 'leadership training' versions – courses and seminars purporting to teach entrepreneurial or leadership skills which charge for admission and completion.
Following public policy scholar Melissa Bass, I use "institution" here both in the sociological sense of "a stable, structured pattern of behavior broadly accepted as a part of a culture" and in the political science sense of a "long-term policy option for addressing the nation's needs," Melissa Bass. *The Politics and Civics of National Service: Lessons From the Civilian Conservation Corps, VISTA, and AmeriCorps* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013). In the sociological sense, leadership development programs are an institution in that they are edging out the informal window of 'finding oneself' that characterize popular cultural understandings of white, upper-middle-class college graduates. In the political science sense, these programs offer an avenue of gainful employment for these and other college graduates particularly significant when market growth does not absorb their increasing supply.
[8] Kopp, for instance describes her vision for the organization as follows: "The teacher corps would make teaching in low-income communities an attractive choice for top grads by surrounding it with an aura of status and selectivity," Kopp, *One Day All Childrens*, 8.
[9] Established in 1993 by the National and Community Service Trust Act, AmeriCorps is currently the largest national service program since the early Peace Corps. The AmeriCorps programs, a self-described "network of local, state, and national service programs that connects more than 70,000 Americans each year in intensive service to meet our country's critical needs in education, public safety, health, and the environment" are the largest umbrella organization of leadership development programs. Americorps website, c. Epstein, *Long-term*

programs such as Teach For America, City Year, and the International Rescue Committee, are the most prominent examples of such institutions, but they also include shorter-term programs such as Habitat for Humanity or the Alternative Spring Break Programs.

The previous chapter discussed the emergence of the diversity paradigm in higher education as an important technology for establishing multiculturalism as a nominally anti-racist but fundamentally anti-black hegemonic ideal. Political scientist and Left philosopher Nancy Fraser developed the notion of "progressive neoliberalism" to describe how "new social movements" operate to [celebrate] diversity,' meritocracy, and 'emancipation' while dismantling social protections and externalizing social reproduction. The result is not only to abandon defenceless populations to capital's predations, but also to redefine emancipation in market terms. [10]

TFA alumni and education scholars Randall Lahann and Emilie Mitescu Reagan describe the progressive neoliberal who approaches education as perfectable by market maneuvers, "the 'commodities' of education are not just test scores and knowledge, but equity and justice." [11]This approach relies on a neoliberal iteration of the social mobility gospel that seeks to save the individual from their race.

Teach for America, City Year, and similar leadership development programs are nominally AmeriCorps programs, but maintain executive control of their functions and

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impacts, 1. And while not every AmeriCorps program or every leadership development program operates in the same way, they are all, at the very least part of what Urban Planning scholar Jennifer Wolch terms the "shadow state," i.e. the "voluntary sector that is involved in direct social services previously provided by wholly public New Deal/Great Society agencies". Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "In the Shadow of the Shadow State" in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* Ed. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2009): 41-52 (45).

[10] Nancy Fraser, "Contradictions of Capital and Care," *New Left Review* 100 (July-Aug 2016): https://newleftreview.org/II/100/nancy-fraser-contradictions-of-capital-and-care

[11] Randall Lahann and Emilie Mitescu Reagan, "Teach for America and the Politics of Progressive Neoliberalism," *Teacher Education Quarterly* 38 no. 1 (Winter 2011): 7-27, 13.

operate as “public-private organizations.” TFA, for instance, receives 70% of its funding from private individuals and corporations, with the remainder coming form public entities such as AmeriCorps, the Department of Education, and state and school district partners which hire recruits.[12] Corporate sponsors provided the seed money and office space for TFA at its inceptions, and corporate philanthropies including the Walton Family Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and the Broad Foundation, have been key to its growth.[13] Like Hampton, therefore, this program has had to ‘market’ itself to corporate philanthropies more than the needs of schools, students, or prospective teachers. While TFA’s use of corporate monies might seem to reverse neoliberalization’s channeling public monies to private hands, the monies obtained from corporate philanthropies are not in fact used for exclusively public ends, but, as I argue in section 4 of this chapter, to neoliberalize the labor market for teachers, foster the growth of charter school companies, and buttress the neoliberal ideologies of the market-based education reform movement. These operations are in fact, to use David Harvey’s language, “accumulation by dispossession” – the deregulation and privatization of a previously public sector (education) is redistributing assets previously held by local school systems to a new class of education reform leaders.[14] In addition to being problematic in itself, this neoliberalization is, as I demonstrate in my discussion of New Orleans in section 5, a helpmate of the criminalization of urban public spaces, especially K-12 schools.

TFA uses the state’s failure to provide a quality education for all children as proof that the state *cannot* and *will* not provide this public good, and therefore ought to be replaced by

[12] Lahann and Reagan, “Teach for America,”,17; “Support Us” *Teach For America.* 2017 https://www.teachforamerica.org/support-us

[13] Beth Sondel, “Raising Citizens or Raising Test Scores? Teach For America, ‘No Excuses’ Charters, and the Developemnt of the Neoliberal Citizen,” *Theory & Research in Social Education* 43 No. 3 (2015): 289-313, 292.

[14] Kristen L. Buras discusses the charter-ization of New Orleans schools as an example of “accumulation by dispossession” in Kristen L. Buras. *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space: Where the Market Meets Grassroots Resistance*. (New York: Routledge, 2015) 15, 39.

for-profit or nominally non-profit market actors.[15] TFA alumni have created a web of interconnected leadership development and education reform foundations that work in concert on "coordinated campaigns to dissolve school boards, bust teachers' unions, and secure public funding for charter schools," and, in doing so, to spread these beliefs beyond the immediate school systems that allow TFA to place teachers in their schools. TFA alumni have gone on to found multiple charter school organizations including Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP, infamously nicknamed the Kids-In-Prison Program by students) founded by Dave Levin (TFA '94 corps) and Mike Feinberg ('94); Michelle Rhee ('94) founded TNTP (formerly The New Teacher Training Program) to train "mid-career professionals" to transition into teaching, expanding the TFA model to older people. As of 2013, TFA alumni headed more than half of all Achievement Charter schools, half of all KIPP schools, and held the superintendencies of D.C., Louisiana, and Tennessee.[16] While TFA presents itself as a solution to the perennial teacher shortage, it is in fact, a resource for the neoliberalization of the labor market in the teaching sector. Alternative certification programs have, of course, existed as long as typical licensing, but the rise of Teach For America to become the country's largest school of teachers has made alternatives the typical case. In addition to depleting investment in teacher training, it creates a contingent labor force of temporary teachers who have little incentive to participate in union organizing (especially given TFA's vociferous opposition to unions[17]) or

[15] Empirical evidence about the benefit of charter schools is difficult to come by and heavily contested. See for instance, Pamela N. Frazier-Anderson, "Public Schooling in Post-Hurricane Katrina New Orleans: Are Charter Schools the Solution or Part of the Problem? *The Journal of African American History* 93, No. 3 (2008): 410-29, 418. However the salaries of charter school entrepreneurs evidently channel public monies into private hands.
[16] James Cersonsky, "A Break in Teach For America's Ranks," *The American Prospect*. http://prospect.org/article/break-teach-america%E2%80%99s-ranks Aug. 14, 2013.
[17] See for instance Michelle Rhee's description of Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, as the foil to her own persona in *Radical*. Where Rhee is a rogue individual who dares to dream, Weingarten is characterized as "a powerful and legendary union boss" (81). Rhee is also careful to make the point that teachers' unions represent the interests of teachers *not students*, and that these interests are non-

to invest in retirement pensions, contribute to continuing education, fight for laddered pay, or any long-term investment for the teaching profession. Proponents of TFA's and similar alternative certification models refer to such programs as "deregulating" teacher education: "freeing the market to find, train, and place the nation's teachers."[18] Education scholar Linda Darling-Hammond points out that this projection of teaching credential as essentially a "barrier to entry" is a uniquely neoliberal idea.[19] And its impact is felt disproportionately by communities of color: for instance in the 2013-14 school year, minority majority schools had four times as many uncertified teachers as white majority schools nation-wide.[20]

As a result,] "[d]iscourse is moving away from public education—*by the people and for the people* toward an emphasis on public education—*for the people*."[21] Students too are understood as consumers or design users rather than the citizens that Hampton trained teachers might have seen them as, or future community leaders, as the students of Malcolm X College would see them, or potential revolutionaries, as the students of Lumumba Zapata College might have believed. Leadership development programs disseminate this "progressive neoliberalism," i.e. the disarticulation of the performance of social justice goals from organizing for structural change, in favor of market reforms.

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overlapping. Recounting an earlier conversation with a philanthropist she writes: "The teachers' unions have millions of dollars and millions of members to bring to bear in political and legislative battles. They are very effective. Good for them. They do a great job of representing the special interests of their members. But who is standing up for the special interests of students and parents?' I asked. 'No one. They have no way to balance the union's clout, no way to compete at the state and national level" (180). Michelle Rhee. *Radical: Fighting to Put Students First* (New York: Harper Collins, 2013), 180.

[18] Lahann and Reagan, "Teach for America," 10.

[19] Linda Darling-Hammond, "Teaching and Knowledge: Policy Issues Posed by Alternative Certification for Teachers," *Peabody Journal of Education* 67, No. 3 (1992): 123-54, 141.

[20] Leib Sutcher, Linda Darling-Hammond, Desiree Carver-Thomas, *A Coming Crisis in Teaching? Teacher Supply, Demand, and Shortages in the U.S.* (Learning Policy Institute: Palo Alto, CA, 2016), 5.

[21] Fusarelli, Bonnie C. and Tamara V. Young, "Preserving the 'Public' in Public Education for the Sake of Democracy," *Journal of Thought* 46 No. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 2011): 85-96, 90.

In this chapter I approach Teach For America as a pedagogical institution and a representative of similar LDPs recruiting 'talented' college graduates. I tease out the specific lessons about race, labor, service, citizenship and governance such programs impart to their participants and, as these youth are cast as exemplary citizens, to their class-peers across the country. I begin by analyzing the organization's emergence, organization, and ideology, then placing it in a longer history of teacher training institutions in the U.S., and end with a case study that demonstrates how TFA and similar leadership development programs are shaping the futures of urban governance, place-based teacher training, and higher education more generally. A variety of reports by government entities and conservative/neoliberal think tanks have presented New Orleans as a model for other cities struggling with reforming their education systems,[22] as have mainstream newspapers and magazines,[23] therefore the role of Teach For America and other leadership development programs in this city is a crucial case study of the impact of these programs.

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[22] Professor of urban educational policy, Kristen L. Buras compiled the following list of reports that present the 'new' New Orleans as a model for other cities to emulate: *Born on the Bayou: A New Model for American Education* by Third way (Osborne, 2012);*The Louisiana Recovery School District: Lessons for the Buckeye State* by the Thomas B. Fordham Institute (Smith, 2012); *Creating Opportunity Schools: A Bold Plan to Transform Indianapolis Public Schools* by the Mind Trust (2011); *Portfolio School Districts for Big Cities: An Interim report* by the Center on Reinventing Public Education (Hill et al., 2009); *After Katrina: Rebuilding Opportunity and Equity into the* New *New Orleans* by the Urban Institute (Hill & Hannaway, 2006); and *From Tragedy to Triumph: Principled Solutions for Rebuilding Lives and Communities* by the Heritage Foundation (Meese, Butler, & Holmes, 2005)." Karen L. *Charter Schools, Race, and Space*, 3.

[23] See for instance Walter Isaacson, "The Greatest Education Lab," *Time Magazine,* Sept. 6, 2007 http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1659767,00.html ; Paul Tough, "A Teachable Moment," *The New York Times*, Aug. 14, 2008 http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/17/magazine/17NewOrleans-t.html; Matthew Kaminski, "The Big Easy's School Revolution," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 10, 2011 https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203388804576616802947504250; Jo-Annm Armao, "The Big Easy's School Revolution," [sic], *Washington Post*, April 27, 2012. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-big-easys-school-revolution/2012/04/27/gIQAS4bDmT_story.html?utm_term=.d2649e04fe3b ; *PBS News Hour*. "New Orleans Rebuilds Education System with Charter Schools." Judy Woodruff. Public Broadcasting Service, June 5, 2014.

Underlying these discussions is the overarching questions that animate each of my case studies: what are the place-making practices this site produces and reproduces? What does it teach its students and other stakeholders about race, space, and belonging? In this chapter I look at two sets of learners, the college graduates recruited by leadership development programs, and the K-12 students whose school organization is impacted by TFA and similar LDPs. I find that leadership development programs harness the moral panic around education reform to usher in neoliberalization and carceral pedagogical practices as guarantors of civil rights. In doing so I am building on the work of scholars of the prison-industrial complex like Naomi Murakawa and Elizabeth Hinton who have demonstrated how "race liberalism," the political imaginary that responds to racial injustice with law-and-order measures and what Ruth Wilson Gilmore calls a surplus of state capacity—the "fiscal, institutional, and ideological" implements, including bureaucratic and fiscal state apparatuses—collude to spread carceral technologies through new or expanded institutions.[24] As such they are a key linkage in the emergence of what Julia Oparah has termed the academic-military-industrial complex: "an interdependent and mutually constitutive alliance whereby corporate priorities and cultures, including the intellectual needs of the military-industrial complex, increasingly face the shape of academia," which in turn brings the liberal arts "into alignment with global relations of ruling, enforced by the U.S. military-industrial complex." She argues for critics of higher education to recognize U.S. educational apparatuses on a "continuum of surveillance, punishment and incapacitation" in order to fully

[24] See Murakawa, *The First Civil Right*; Elizabeth Hinton. *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime; The Making of Mass Incarceration in America*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016); Ruth Wilson Gilmore. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

apprehend institutional complicity in the militarized policing of domestic minoritized populations. [25]

“Meaning and Direction”: Teach For America and the Leadership Development Mission

Teach For America began as the 1989 senior thesis of Princeton undergraduate Wendy Kopp. Kopp used her thesis to outline a national teacher “corps” which would recruit “top undergraduates” to fill the teacher shortage in “high needs” schools across the country. Beginning in 1990 with a corps of 489 college graduates who worked in 6 districts, Teach For America has grown steadily over nearly three decades to a current strength of 6,400 active corps members working in 53 ‘regions’ (most of which encompass multiple school districts). 50,000 young people are TFA alumni, and per the organization’s own calculations, 390,000 students have been taught by at least one Teach For America teacher.[26] It has become the single largest recipient of K-12 philanthropic contributions in the United States and arguably its largest postsecondary teacher training programs.[27] It has also inspired a slew of similar programs which I consider a new institution of higher education, the leadership development program.

Leadership development programs have three primary characteristics: (1) they operate as brokers between organizations with staffing needs (e.g. schools needing teachers,

[25] Julia Oparah, “The Neoliberal University and the Prison-Industrial Complex,” in *The Imperial University: Academic Repression and Scholarly Dissent*. Ed. Piya Chatterjee and Sunaina Maira (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014): 99-122, 101.
[26] “Our History,” *Teach For America*. 2017. https://www.teachforamerica.org/about-us/our-story/our-history
[27] Sara Mead, Carolyn Chuong, and Caroline Goodson, “Exponential Growth, Unexpected Challenges: How Teach For America Grew in Scale and Impact.” Retrieved from *Belweather Education Partners* website: https://bellwethereducation.org/sites/default/files/Bellwther_TFA_Growth.pdf
TFA does not always present itself a teacher training program (rather, it trains “leaders” who “serve” as teachers), but its placements speak for themselves. See footnote 7 for figures showing that TFA’s corps are more than twice as large as the largest cohorts of students getting masters’ or doctorates in education.

counselors, and other staff) and the unemployed—this makes them distinct from true voluntourism organizations that create "needs" which they charge clients to fill; (2) they clothe their operations in ideas of service and volunteerism—this makes them distinct from seminars or credentialing courses purporting to teach entrepreneurship-as-leadership; and (3) they avowedly bridge a "distance" between the privileged and the underprivileged—they are not meant to bring employment to depressed areas but to provide eye-opening experiences for youth of means who carry these experiences into future careers as leaders in various fields. Many incentivize participants to pursue an advanced degree during or after their "service" with deferrals, fee waivers, or scholarships,[28] lending a vocational or military tinge to participation. In speaking of LDPs as institutions of higher education, I am not referencing these credentials acquired from other institutions. Rather, programs like TFA are themselves a kind of vocational or avocational education experience which have specifically pedagogical impacts on their recruits and to their peers. Participating in a leadership development program distinguishes the service-minded among 'emerging adults,' affectively and/or academically unprepared to commit to a particular career path from the unemployed masses.

It is tempting to link leadership development programs with previous iterations of national service programs such as Franklin D. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Lyndon B. Johnson's Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA –currently an AmeriCorps program). These comparisons can be illuminating in thinking through the funding and priorities of federal investment in local and national infrastructure and community 'revitalization'. But they can also be misleading, and—when made by leaders of

[28] "Graduate School Partners" *Teach For America*. https://www.teachforamerica.org/join-tfa/after-the-corps/grad-school-and-jobs
The City Year website also boasts of a 15% discount "their highest available" on Kaplan Test Prep courses. https://www.cityyear.org/blog/thinking-about-graduate-school-city-year-can-help-get-you-there

contemporary programs—self-serving in their elision of the neoliberal conditions of possibility that enable today's programs and their impact on dismantling unions and public services. Political policy scholar and historian Melissa Bass notes that previous iterations of national service programs functioned not only to meet "a public need"[29] (through, for instance conservation or direct service projects) but also as part of larger networks of programs (the New Deal and Great Society respectively) to provide "relief" for unemployed and/or underemployed people, as well as "depressed areas" (especially VISTA, which focused on bringing relief to specific neighborhoods). [30] Unlike these programs, a leadership development program such as Teach for America distances itself from the idea that it is providing temporary jobs for the otherwise unemployed.[31] The wages lend the position the air of a job, but the youth they are meant to serve are expected to have access to other forms of income/wealth. This means the position is closer to a paid internship than a low-paying job. The original public Kopp set out to serve was a generation of "top" college graduates, whom she considered outside the reach of other teacher training programs.[32] She specifically noted in her 1989 senior thesis, the first prospectus for Teach For America, that her program "is different [from Lyndon B. Johnson's National Teacher Corps (NTC)] in that its primary goal

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[29] Bass reviews social science literature on "unmet social needs" which could benefit from federal intervention in the form of national service programs. She notes that even researchers favoring national service, "acknowledge, the whole concept of 'unmet social needs' is open to challenge, given that 'neither the marketplace nor our political processes have so far found [them] more pressing than other claims… In the absence of evidence of [market and political] failure… the net benefit of meeting any such unmet need… is presumptively negative."

Bass, *Politics and Civics of National Service*, 24.

[30] *Ibid*, 1-3.
[31] Yet it is indisputable that leadership development programs serve as stop-gaps to employ recent college graduates, particularly in low-growth years. For instance, Epstein describes the single largest jump in applications to AmeriCorps programs as coinciding with the market crash of 2008:"Applications to AmeriCorps jumped from 3,159 in February 2008 to 9,731 in February 2009" Epstein, *Long-term impacts*, 3.
[32] Kopp, *One Day All Children*, 6, 8, etc.

is to address teacher shortages rather than poverty problems".[33] Kopp uses the phrase "best and brightest" and derivations of it 29 times in her 1989 senior thesis. The same document references African Americans twice, and Hispanics three times.[34] Given its intended audience, I argue it is more accurate to understand leadership development programs as a new form of higher education credentialing than as a national service program.

In fact, leadership development programs have more in common with the traditions of missionary work discussed in chapter 1 and social settlement houses discussed in chapter 2 than with New Deal or Great Society national service programs. Leadership development programs echo the desire to 'serve' the most destitute populations and based on a charity model of relief work, as exemplified in the work of the Northern abolitionists working with the American Missionary Association who traveled great distances from their homes in order to "help feed the hungry, clothe the naked and to nurse the sick"; the missionaries visited freedmen homes to write and read letters, giving "counsel," "companionship," and "oral instruction in housekeeping, sewing, [and] gardening." [35] They can also be read as a reflection of the post-1965 nationalization of the city-wide discontent Jane Addams pointed out in wealthy young whites "bound to regard the entire life of their city as organic, to make an effort to unify it, and to protest against its over-differentiation.[36]" She framed this desire to counter the "over-differentiation" of increasingly class-stratified and race-segregated communities as a "reciprocal need" between the working poor who experienced the

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[33] Wendy Kopp, "An Argument and Plan for the Creation of the Teacher Corps," (undergraduate thesis, Princeton University, 1989), 2.

[34] Michael C. Barnes, Emily K. Germain, and Angela Valenzuela, "Teach For America's Long Arc: A Critical Race Theory Textual Analysis of Wendy Kopp's Work," *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 24 No. 14 (2016): 1-36, 13.

[35] Maxine Deloris Jones. *"A Glorious Work": The American Missionary Association and Black North Carolinians, 1863-1880* (Ph.d. Diss., The Florida State University, 1982), 8, 12, 19-20.

[36] Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," in *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York: Macmillan), 126-7.

"objective problems" of tenement life and the "subjective problems" of college graduates "[longing] to give tangible expression to the democratic ideal," without recourse to "political or social propaganda." [37] Addams and her colleagues pointed to proximal causes for this overdifferentiation (i.e. rapid industrialization and immigration). Among leadership development programs, the rhetoric of "unmet social needs" removes focus from who or what is responsible for creating or filling an absence and focuses on the people who "need". It elides state responsibility in creating certain needs, or, in Kopp's words, "poverty problems," in particular locations and communities, instead focusing on problems of design and delivery abstracted from the context of racial capitalism. Absent any historical critique of the postwar white flight to suburbs and the associated depletion of inner city tax revenues, deindustrialization, the withdrawal of the social wage, the war on drugs, its concomitant overhaul of sentencing guidelines, a growing law-and-order presence in city spaces generally and schools specifically, the disfranchisement and disemployment of the formerly incarcerated, or even the normalization of the trauma of losing caretakers to incarceration, blackness and location become inherently tragic circumstances. The effect of such discourses is to keep the focus on naturalizing a sense that black communities are incapable of doing for themselves, shifting attention away from how they are systematically denied public and private services or investment.

Unlike the abolitionist AMA or the white feminist Progressive reformers however, Teach For America has been designed to "add meaning and direction to an often aimless time," without risking major political economic changes.[38] In her memoir recounting the "unlikely success" of TFA, Kopp lays out the program's conservative political philosophy by

[37] Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements."
[38] Kopp, "An Argument and Plan," 10.

identifying the investments needed to make a school system flourish, concedes that they are theoretically desirable but ultimately defers them for another person at another time:

> There are many other changes that would alleviate the pressure on school systems. A change in the economic circumstances in inner-city and rural areas would clearly make it easier for schools and teachers to succeed. Greater prosperity would lead to more jobs and less financial pressure for overstrained moms and dads and guardians. More money would mean more comfortable living arrangements, better health care, and better nutrition. It would mean more resources for better preschools and more supplementary learning opportunities for children. Barring a dramatic immediate change in the economics of low-income areas, there are improvements in numerous sectors that could make the jobs of schools easier. Better social services, better low-income housing, and universal public preschooling would go a long way.
>
> We should *commit ourselves* to making these changes happen. *And until we do*, there is one *feasible goal* we should pursue: We should build public school systems that have the mission, resources, and capacity to put children born into significant disadvantages on equal footing with other children. (emphasis mine)[39]

In the few occasions in which Wendy Kopp's memoir refers to the students she seeks to help, she repeatedly uses the phrases "children *in* low-income areas" and "children *in* low-income communities."[40] This is a curious turn of phrase given that children are not passing through or contained *in* areas, but are constitutive parts *of* the neighborhoods and communities they are *from*. The language betrays another basic lesson of leadership development programs, a renewal of Armstrong and Pratt's idea that the child can be saved from the race. Situating these children's families and communities as the background to their real subjectivity allows each individual child-as-student to appear as a unit of human capital worth investing in while everything around the child is expendable. It also allows for the

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[39] Kopp, *One Day All Children*, 178-179. In her thesis she more myopically and explicitly called these "factors that may never go away –dangerous working conditions, poor location, lack of community and parental support, and scarcity of financial resources" Kopp, "An Argument and Plan," 29.
[40] Kopp, *One Day All Children*, xi, xii, 5, 109, 174, 191. Emphases mine.

background criminalization of all the people, spaces, and practices who surround the child. As is characteristic of what Naomi Murakawa calls racial liberalism this reform program further criminalizes the race from which, echoing the ideas of Armstrong and Pratt, the child is to be saved.[41]

In TFA's discourse, to save the child from the race is, per the TFA discourse, to save it from the "culture" of the school.[42] In practice, this means the disciplining of school cultures tends to mean the dismantling of black institutions. Ethnographic research finds the majority of TFA alumni attribute underperforming schools' failures to their "leaders' poor management of financial resources and an inability to effectively create instructional capacity in teachers;" to their "low expectations"; and to "a fundamental lack of stricter accountability."[43] They understand teachers' and school administrators' interests to be fundamentally at odds with the best interests of the students they educate.[44] Black institutions and communities "in need" therefore cannot be trusted to contain the cultural pathologies that at worst cause, but at the very least compound, black failure. Their recognition of the state's failure is coupled with a belief in the ability of the market, guided by their correction to the supply and demand curve, to restore fairness.[45] Thus they look for solutions in "stronger management and accountability inside schools," specifically advocating for trimming

[41]Murakawa, *The First Civil Right*, 12-19
[42] See for instance, Michelle Rhee on the "culture" of D.C. schools failing students, Rhee, *Radical*, 112-13 and on teaching's culture writ large failing children, Rhee, *Radical*, 142. See also Kopp on the alternatives of "strong cultures" that TFA intends to create in failing schools, Kopp, *One Day All Children*, 176.
[43] *Ibid*, 59.
[44] The anti-unionism of TFA alumni is exemplified by the removal of all collective bargaining agreements in New Orleans by 2011. Andre Perry and Michael Schwam-Baird. "School by School: The Transformation of New Orleans Public Education" in *Resilience and Opportunity: Lessons from the U.S. Gulf Coast after Katrina and Rita*. Ed. Amy Liu, Roland V. Anglin, Richard M. Mizelle, and Allison Plyer (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2011): 31-4432.
[45] This parallels the tendency of legislators and reformers working in the criminal justice system to "displac[e] questions of justice onto the more manageable, measurable issues of system function." Murakawa, *The First Civil Right*, 154.

collective bargaining agreements; tying teacher compensation to student performance [presumably as measured through standardized test scores]; hiring “better ‘talent’”; standardizing curricula and assessments; and incorporating more technology and data use in schools.[46] This is neoliberal governmentality taking over teacher training and municipal governance. Such practices, as we will see in the New Orleans example, displace place-based pedagogical practices grounded in local cultural practices and, given TFA’s racial make up, put ‘white architects’ firmly in control of shaping black education once again.

Based on its acceptance of market logics, TFA takes ‘competition’ as the ultimate measure of quality—in corps member recruitment, in the promotion of charter schools, and in the evaluation of student-, teacher-, and school-performance. Michelle Rhee, exemplary TFA alumna (former D.C. school chancellor, and founder of two education reform non-profits) even draws on the rhetorical undercurrents of MAGA in her 2013 memoir, arguing “We have to make America competitive again. The best place to start is in the public schools.”[47] This formulation of competition as inherently desirable and *moral* serves to legitimize and stabilize both the ideological underpinnings of neoliberalism with market principles and force structuring evermore arenas of sociality, as well as the precarity of the administrative and teacher workforce associated with it. For schools in general, this means that TFA’s civil rights rhetoric becomes a cover for replacing the state as the guarantor or horizon of appeal for civil rights with the market.

For students, competition means standardized testing. The effectiveness of testing as a measure of learning or of teacher effectiveness is much debated among education scholars,

[46] *Ibid*, 60.
[47] Rhee, *Radical*, 272. Unsurprisingly, president-elect met with Michelle Rhee in November 2016, presumably to offer her the position of Secretary of Education.

teachers, and testing companies and is generally outside the scope of this dissertation. Still it bears mentioning that various curricular changes associated with the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) have received much criticism from black parents and community organizers.[48] Test scores, which are generally “insensitive to instruction” and correlated more with household income and white middle class values of “compliance, motivation, and individualism” than future academic achievement, mark black and other working class children as drags on school resources.[49] Thus, it is not remarkable that part of the way New Orleans schools raised test scores under TFA alumnus John White’s tenure as State Superintendent was by simply pushing out students who would not perform well on standardized tests. During his tenure, nearly 20% of K through 12 students in New Orleans were given at least one out-of-school suspension each school year. Schools designated as problem could expect 31-40 security guards, 1 to 2 NOPD officers, and only 21 to 30 teachers present at any given time.[50] Competitive outcomes are thus guarantors of ‘law-and-order’ measures, complicit in the criminalization of educational spaces in urban neighborhoods.

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[48] Sojoyner presents a succinct summary of these sentiments: “testing prevents Black and Brown students from learning.” Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 182.
It is also worth remembering that to the extent competition means “choices,” having to choose among options they do not know much about is one among “a host of new problems and confusion for families already struggling through massive change in the city’s housing and medical infrastructure, Rasheed, Aesha. “Education in New Orleans: Some Background,” *The High School Journal* 90, No. 2 (Dec 2006/Jan 2007): 4-7, 6.
On the adverse effects of increased high-stakes testing, particularly on poor and/or black students, see Linda McNeil, “The Educational Costs of Standardization,” in *Contradictions of School Reform: Educational Costs of Standardized Testing* (New York: Routledge, 2000): 229-272 and Alfie Kohn. *The Case against Standardized Testing: Raising the Scores, Ruining the Schools* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2000).

[49] See for instance, Jason Stanford, “Mute the Messenger,” *The Texas Observer*, Sep. 3, 2014. Stanford explains the research of statistician and education school professor Walter Stroup, who found that 72% of a given student’s test scores measure nothing outside the student’s ability to take tests. Regardless of the students’ comprehension of the material on which she is being tested or quality of instruction she receives, her scores will only fluctuate by, at most, 10 to 15%. 72% of her score is invariable. See Sondel, “Raising Citizens or Raising Test Scores” on the personality markers measured by test scores.
[50] Ellen Tuzzolo and Damon T. Hewell. “Rebuilding Inequity: The Re-emergence of the School-to-Prison Pipeline in New Orleans” *The High School Journal* Vol. 90, No. 2 (Dec. 2006-Jan. 2007): 59-68, 64, 60. The

The Children's Defense Fund has tracked the disproportionate expulsion of black students since 1975.[51] Students who are expelled are more likely to find themselves in heavily-policed locations, and to be labeled delinquent.[52] But the criminalization of urban space extends to the space of the school itself. Rather than speaking of a "school-to-prison pipeline," many education scholars have shifted to speaking of how "the criminal justice system operates within the public education system, and with greater degrees of power."[53] Ruth Wilson Gilmore has pointed out the neoliberal specificity of this militarization of urban spaces, arguing that neoliberal governmentality reimagines and reorganizes all public institutions, especially educational ones to emulate the prison.[54] A broadening police presence, on-campus security, including armed guards and roving metal detectors, and

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authors continue to describe surveillance at NOLA schools: "all of the schools operated by the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB) have police officers on-site, supplied to the schools by the NOPD. The OPSB and the Algiers Charter School Association, another governing entity, as well as a host of schools that were chartered by OPSB, have adopted zero tolerance discipline policies. OPSB members have expressed a desire to institute mandatory drug testing, install surveillance cameras, and maintain a significant police presence at their schools" (64). Students report being suspended for petty shit like being tardy or not having their shirts tucked in (64). "The security guards, according to a one [sic] RSD employee receive a two-hour video training from the contracting agency hiring them" (66). One high school suspended 52 students in one day for being tardy. In 2006, 6 students were arrested for gambling in class (66). Many of these students have various disabilities (67). Evidently students who have been recently and repeatedly displaced by the storm's effects on the city's infrastructure all ought to be treated as potentially suffering from PTSD, instead, much as was the case in the immediate aftermath of the hurricane, when FEMA director Michael Brown directed emergency aid to "security enhancements." On the criminalization of displaced peoples, especially black victims, after the storm, see Jordan Camp, "What's Going On? Moral Panics and Militarization in Post-Katrina New Orleans," in *Incarcerating the Crisis: Freedom Struggles and the Rise of the Neoliberal State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).

[51] For an overview of the literature documenting the racial disproportion in "school exclusionary discipline," see: Sean Nicholson-Crotty, Zachary Birchmeier, and David Valentine, "Exploring the Impact of School Discipline on Racial Disproportion in the Juvenile Justice System," *Social Science Quarterly* 90 No. 4 (2009): 1003-1018.
[52] See for instance, Miroslava Chavez-Garcia. *States of Delinquency: Race and Science in the Making of California's Juvenile Justice System*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).
[53] Lizbet Simmons, "End of the Line: Tracing Racial Inequality from School to Prison," *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 2, No. 2, (2009): 215-241.
[54] Gilmore. *Golden Gulag,* 242.

surveillance equipment, have created a carceral space *in* public schools.[55] This model of the school as proto-prison is contemporaneous with the rise of leadership development programs and informs the entire culture of the neoliberal education reform movement, especially in charter schools.

"Let Us Make the Teachers and We Will Make the People"[56]: Teacher Training and Racial-Spatial Pedagogy

Kopp's rationale for TFA is based on the oft-cited shortage of qualified teachers in the U.S. There appears to be a consistent shortage of teachers nationally, especially in "hard-to-staff" schools.[57] According to news articles and trade publications from every decade of the twentieth century, a continuing lack of incoming teachers is exacerbated by high attrition rates

[55] See Sojoyner, *First Strike*; Ronnie Casella, "Punishing Dangerousness through Preventive Detention: Illustrating the institutional link between school and prison," *New Directions for Youth Development*, special issue, Deconstructing the School to Prison Pipeline (2004): 55-70.; Paul Hirschfield, "Preparing for Prison: The criminalization of school discipline in the U.S.A." *Theoretical Criminology* 79 No. 12 (2008): 79-101; Aaron Kupchik and Torin Monahan, "The New American School: Preparation for post-industrial discipline," *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27 No. 5 (2006): 617-631; Torin Monahan, "The Surveillance Curriculum: Risk management and social control in the neoliberal school," in *Surveillance and Security: Technological Political and the Power of Everyday Life*, ed. Torin Monahan (New York: Routledge, 2006): 109-124.

[56] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "From the Beginning" in *Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia* ed. Helen W. Ludlow et al. (Hampton: Normal School Press, 1893), 11.

[57] The American Federation of Teachers reports that 3 out of 10 education school graduates do not go on to teach. A variety of scholarly sources corroborate the common sense idea backed by Teach For America that there is in fact a teacher shortage, and that it is most acute in "hard-to-staff" schools in inner cities and remote rural districts, and certain content areas, most notably English as a Second Language and Special Education. See for instance: American Association for Employment in Education. *Educator Supply and Demand in the United States* (Evanston, IL: AAEE) 2006; Linda Darling-Hammond, "The Challenge of Staffing Our Schools" *Educational Leadership* 58 No. 8 (2001): 12-17; Lynn Olson "Quality Counts 2000: Finding and Keeping Competent Teachers," *Education Week* 19 No. 18 (2000): 12-18.
Education Secretary Arne Duncan in speech on Oct. 9, 2009: "Many ed schools do relatively little to prepare students for the rigor of teaching in high-poverty and high needs schools" (c. Skinner, 155). [It is worth mentioning that Duncan is also a supporter of zero tolerance policies, data-driven instruction, merit pay, standardized testing, charter schools, and paying students, all tactics espoused by the neoliberal education reform movement in general and Teach For America in particular.] In 2004, education reformer Kati Haycock demonstrated that nationwide, the number of teachers with alternative or emergency certification were 61% higher in high-poverty school districts. Kati Haycock, "Thinking K-16, *Education Trust* 8 No. 1, 1-36.

(up to 50% in 5 years in cities),[58] and in recent years, the retirement of baby boomers to create a perpetual shortage of teachers. [59] Most of the literature on the history of teacher training in the United States emphasizes that this is not a new phenomenon. [60] Since shifting of teacher training to the university began in the 1890s (as the concept of professional schools was taking form[61]), excepting the Great Depression, no period of U.S. history has *not* had reports of a teacher shortage.[62] This perpetual shortage of adequately trained and certified teachers has in turn created a variety of 'alternative certification' pathways to fill gaps in teacher staffing at the beginning of the academic year. Teach For America is one such alternative certification pathway.[63] Partly spurred by the popularity of TFA among schools, by 2006,

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[58] Irving Sam Schonfeld and Samantha J. Feinman, "Difficulties of Alternatively Certified Teachers," *Education and Urban Society* 44 No. 3 (2012): 215-46, 216.

[59] Some researchers estimate that 30-50% of teachers leave the classroom within five years of starting. They also speculate that baby boomer retirement has intensified this teacher flight. But despite stakeholders bracing for a mass retirement of the baby boomer generation for at least the last 15 years, retirement still constitutes at most one-third of overall teacher attrition. See for instance, Richard Ingersoll, "The Teacher Shortage: A Case of Wong Diagnosis and Wrong Prescription," *NASSP Bulletin* 86 No. 631 (2002): 16-30; National Education Association, c. Lisa Lambert, "Half of Teachers quit in 5 Years," *Washington Post.* May 9, 2006 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/08/AR2006050801344.html; Sutcher e al. *A Coming Crisis in Teaching*, 4.

[60] For an overview of fifty years of independent researchers and educational organizations reporting teacher shortages, see Peter B. Swanson, "Georgia's Grow-Your-Own Teacher Programs Attract the Right Stuff," *The High School Journal* 94 No. 3 (2011): 119-133.

[61] The first M.D. in the United States was awarded in 1770, and the first law degree in 1792. These degrees functioned as accreditation to operate in professions, but in today's sense they were more comparable to vocational high schools than professional schools. The modern medical degree came into being after the Flexner Report of 1910, and the first J.D. was awarded by the University of Chicago in 1902.. It was only during this period that professional degrees became earned in addition to a bachelor's rather than in lieu of one. For an overview of the history of U.S. professional schools, see Jurgen Herbst, "Rethinking American Professional Education," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21 (2001): 137-148.

[62] See for instance, Ellen Berhstock-Sheratt, *Creating Coherence in the Teacher Shortage Debate: What Policy Leaders Should Know and Do* (Washington, D.C.: American Institutes for Research, 2016), 5-6; "Voices in Education: Teacher Shortage: Myth or Reality?" *The Teacher Educator*, 51 (2016): 175-184. Behrstock-Sherratt presents an overview of lamentations on teacher shortages from colonial times through the present.

[63] On the long history and varied content and assessments of alternative teacher certification, see Linda Darling-Hammond, "Teaching and Knowledge."

every state and the District of Columbia offered a version of alternative certification.[64] Yet, based on the number of graduates from education school who are of pre-retirement age, there should be a surplus of teachers.[65] Still, the shortage discourse seems to be the most potent rhetorical figure in any discussion of U.S. teacher training today. In this section I trace the history of teacher training programs in the post-Reconstruction United states, with an eye to what lessons about race, space, and belonging were embedded in the organization of teacher training programs. I demonstrate that the emergence leadership development programs in the service of teacher training, coincident with the emergence of a neoliberal carceral state serves the larger project of what historian Helen Ann Thompson calls the "criminalization of urban space."[66]

Formal teacher preparation first gained recognition in the antebellum North and West. Its original proponents came from two camps: middle and upper class white feminists who wanted to make a new career opportunity for women; and white 'nativists' supporting the common school movement as a way to create a standard American national identity based in the English language.[67] While historians have emphasized the normal school as the first institutional setting of American teacher training, far more teachers were trained in the female seminaries founded by Emma Willard, Zilpah Grant, Mary Lyon, and Catharine Beecher than

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[64] C. Emily Feistritzer and Charlene K. Haar. *Alternate Routes to Teaching*. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008). Feistritzer and Haar point out that alternative certification programs tend to produce more teachers of color than traditional ed schools, but as discussed later, TFA bucks that trend.
[65] The American Federation of Teachers (2001) claims that the 1,300 schools and colleges of education in the US already produce enough teachers to cover all unfilled teaching posts. c. Richard Ingersoll, "Is There Really a Teacher Shortage?" *A Research Report Co-sponsored by The Consortium for Policy Research in Education and The Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy* (Seattle: University of Washington) 2003.
[66] Helen Ann Thompson, "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History," *The Journal of American History,* 97 No. 3 (2010): 703-734; 706.
[67] For Beecher's approach to teacher training as a tool for advancing women's life chances and/or civic rights, see Catharine Beecher. *The Duty of American Women to Their Country* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845). For more on the Whig philosophy guiding Mann and Barnard see Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 21-45.

in normal schools.[68] Emma Willard seems to have single-handedly invented the notion of teacher education as a professional school and the role of white women as America's teachers (outside the narrow limits of the dame school) through her work at the Troy Female Seminary in New York. [69] Taking up much of Willard's message, Catharine Beecher toured the western frontier (now the states of the Midwest) between 1843 and 1846 advocating for teacher training for women to inculcate a sense of American citizenship in the frontier lands. Teacher training in the U.S. is thus foundationally imbricated with the 'white woman's burden.' White women, as the heart of the frontier homestead, as schoolteachers traveling South with the AMA, or as missionary wives traveling across the empire, were in the frontlines of civilizing the (poor and/or ethnic) white child, the black citizen, and the poor and/or immigrant working classes in the "urban frontier." Beecher even set up a Board of National Popular Education that resembles the structure of Teach For America: young white women signed up to teach for 2 years on schools set up by the National Board on the frontier, with the Board acting as the intermediary connecting Western schools to Northern teachers.[70] These women represented the ideology of education as a civilizing influence. Literacy, hygiene, and general housekeeping skills, including the inculcation of normative gender roles, were the primary tools of 'domesticating' the savage within, and assimilating them into the newly crystallizing racialized and gendered hierarchies of all these spaces. Following in their footsteps, today's Teach For America recruits counter the barbarous school "cultures" of urban and rural schools

[68] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 41.
[69] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 28-41. While Troy, Mount Holyoke, and other similar institutions were called "Female Seminaries" this title did not reflect a particularly theological inclination, but rather seems to have served to allow for the existence and fundraising for the schools which actually modeled their curricula, classes, and four-year plans on colleges such as Middlebury, Brown, Amherst, or Dartmouth. See especially, Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 31.
[70] Kathryn Kish Sklar "Education at the West, 1843-1847" in *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976): 168-184. See also Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 38-41, for a discussion of the National Board's impact on the feminization of teaching.

by bringing the neoliberal iterations of civilization (transparency, competition, efficiency through the market) to the schools and areas where they teach.

The Southern counterpart to the female seminary, particularly for black teachers, was the county training school. These schools were "centrally located" in rural areas with the intention of improving the quality of teacher working in rural schools. Most teacher trainees who did teach were from rural areas, taught in rural areas, and used the normal school course as a form of continuing education to become familiar with recent advances in pedagogy and subject matter.[71] Only the most talented students left home, often with the combined financial efforts of family, church, and community members, to seek an education in towns like Charleston, Atlanta, New Orleans, Nashville, Berea, and Memphis and "give back" to their communities 'back home.'[72] Education historian James W. Fraser disparagingly describes the county training school model as the extension of the Hampton-Tuskegee paradigm into a public classroom.[73] But Joan Malczewski's case studies of county schools in North Carolina indicates that the actual classroom curriculum focused on "traditional academic subject matter (such as reading, writing, and arithmetic)" more than on industrial training.[74] These black teachers, Northern as well as Southern, were the bridge between the "self-taught" teachers like Mary Peake and her co-conspirators in Norfolk who ran the contraband schools discussed

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[71] Christine Ogren. *The American State Normal School: An Instrument of Great Good* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2005).
As discussed in chapter 2, many normal schools were precursors to the community college precisely because the academic work done at these schools was comparable to the gymnasium model Harper and other university presidents aspired to. See Walter Crosby Eells. *The Junior College* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931) 58-9; E.K. Fretwell. *Founding Public Junior Colleges: Local Initiative in Six Communities* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1954), 17- 24; and Ralph R. Fields *The Community College Movement* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 21-22.
[72] Henry Allen Bullock. *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 53.
[73] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 109.
[74] Joan Malczewski, "Black Educators as Change Agents: Frame Alignment Processes and North Carolina Education Reform," unpublished paper, The Steinhardt School of Education, New York University, March 2005, 33. c. Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers,* 111.

in chapter 1, and the community service pedagogy embodied by the efforts of the Malcolm X College student government in chapter 2. Before the Civil War, education had been about mobility, now it was about settlement and investment. They linked local talent, local capital, and local effort to invest in local infrastructure, particularly when state authorities recused themselves. As the first generation of "self-taught" Southern teachers and Northern volunteers were supplemented and replaced by normal and county school trainees, part of their training was to carry on their work without being, as Samuel Chapman Armstrong put it during the first Capon Springs meeting, "obnoxious" to Southern whites.[75] This meant teaching their students to observe the literal and figurative *containment* formalized in Jim Crow laws. Instead of creating pathways to freedom of movement as it had seemed to promise before the War, education now definitively signified conformity to restricted post-war geographies but through community control, held the possibility of contradicting its conditions of possibility, as in the example of the Malcolm X College.

This beginning of institutionalized teacher training was also the beginning of reports of teacher shortages. At the third Capon Springs meeting, G.S. Dickerman reported that teachers and superintendents in "four or five different states" had reported to him that teaching posts were often sold for cash, awarded, for political services, or "bestowed for even more objectionable ends."[76] Dickerman blamed this corruption on the lack of trained and certified teachers in the South, particularly black teachers.[77] This teacher shortage did not result in the expansion of normal schools to keep pace with the rapid growth of primary (and later secondary) schools, but instead functioned to increase the executive power of school

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[75] National Educational Association. *The Addresses and Journal of Proceedings of the National Educational Association* (Peoria: N.C. Nason Printers, 1872), 175.
[76] C. Bullock, *A History of Negro Education*, 103-104.
[77] *Ibid*., 103.

superintendents and to reinforce the white desire to shape "general training" away from the literary and towards subjects like woodwork and needlepoint. At the core of this shortage was the state's abdication of its responsibility to emancipated citizens. By the 1930s, as states became adept at channeling money away from black primary schools,[78] many county training schools were converted into segregated high schools. [79] Teacher training apparently became less of a concern as general literacy rose. Like their antecedents, these schools too, met aspirations for literal and social mobility with containment.

At the same time, teachers' institutes, state- or district-run programs credentialing teachers after 2-6 weeks of training became popular for pre-service training and in-service continuing education. These institutes are ostensibly the model for Teach For America's brief preservice teacher training program even though recruits only attend one institute in their lifetimes. It is touted for its efficiency, but it also builds teacher training around contingency and a disregard for a thorough study of pedagogy. Indeed a focus on managing recruits' anxieties about 'classroom management' makes the institutes more about deputizing teachers to contain and discipline students than training to teach them.[80]

At the turn of the twentieth century, the high school concept also spread across the country, nearly all cities and most rural schools began to provide a normal 'track' in h

[78] For detailed histories of how separate schools were made systematically unequal by reducing taxation, diverting monies to white schools, and increasing the discretionary powers of school boards and superintendents, whose power steadily increased after *Plessy v. Ferguson*, see Bullock, *History of Negro Education*, 60-88; Meyer Weinberg, *Race and Place: A Legal History of the Neighborhood School* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967); and Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of* Brown v. Board of Education *and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2005) 50-172.
[79] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 112.
[80] See for instance James Horn's report on a KIPP school which made students sit on the floor 8-10 hours/day for the first two weeks of school until they 'earned' the right to sit at a desk by proving they could quietly SLANT (Sit, Listen, Ask questions (when prompted), Nod their heads, and Track the teacher with their eyes). James Horn. *AlterNet.* "KIPP Forces 5th Graders to 'Earn' Desks By Sitting On the Floor For a Week" Dec. 17, 2013.

teachers. By 1914, "virtually every city in the United States with a population of 300,000 or more and 80 percent of those over 100,000 maintained its own teacher preparation program as part of the public school system". [81] Thus, during the Great Depression, the supply of teachers trained at institutes and high schools outpaced the demand for teachers, and made a university education in teaching to become a tenable credential for teachers.

The benefits of this shift to the university included the incorporation of new requirements such as the completion of a high school degree, longer training time, and 'college-level' study of both subject matter and pedagogy. Thomas Jesse Jones's history of teacher training in the U.S. argues these changes were particularly drastic for black teachers in the South by referring to a 1917 U.S. Bureau of Education report that 70% of black teachers in Georgia and Alabama were teaching on the strength of a temporary or emergency certificate and less than an 8th-grade education.[82] Clearly their students had the most to gain from increasing teacher training standards, but were the least likely to receive its benefits while alternative certification programs continued. Due to the uneven distribution of college-ready high school graduates and the inverse distribution of these certificates, such areas would experience a perpetual shortage.

In 2015, every U.S. state except Pennsylvania reported experiencing teacher shortages in at least one area, most commonly in science or math fields, special education, and English as a second language.[83] But since at least the 2008 financial crisis, there is no longer an absolute shortage of teachers. Today there are demonstrably more trained teachers who are

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[81] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 92.
[82] c. Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 71.
[83] U.S. Department of Education. "Teacher Shortage Areas Nationwide Listing: 1990-91 to 2015-15" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education Office of Postsecondary Education, 2016) https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ope/pol/tsa.pdf

unemployed, underemployed, or pushed into other lines of work in the U.S., especially in its cities, than there are vacancies in teaching appointments. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities reports that 324,000 teaching positions were eliminated between 2008 and 2013.[84] At least 7,500 of these jobs were in New Orleans,[85] and 3,500 in Chicago[86] alone. But Teach For America continues to thrive based on a perceived absolute shortage of teachers. There is general agreement among scholars that teacher shortages have never been an 'across-the-board' problem as depicted by Teach For America. Rather they are unevenly distributed across students, schools, and subjects. Many districts have simultaneous teacher shortages and "surpluses" in different subject areas. The question of shortage is not a simple absolute shortage as the TFA narrative suggests and cannot be solved simply through indiscriminately recruiting more temporary teachers.

In the last ten years, a slew of education researchers have dissected the difficulties of empirically measuring a teacher shortage and consequently rejected the ide of using supply and demand curves to understand the teacher labor market. Teaching is an unmanageably large sector of the labor market; teachers account for 4% of the entire civilian workforce.[87] Different stakeholders use different measures to make the case for a shortage, each of which has its limitations: the number of vacancies in teaching appointments (which is difficult to

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[84] C. Alexandra Hootnik, "Teachers are losing their jobs, but Teach for America's expanding. What's wrong with that?" *The Hechinger Report* April 21, 2014. http://hechingerreport.org/teachers-losing-jobs-teach-americas-expanding-whats-wrong/

[85] Danielle Dreilinger, "7,500 New Orleans teachers, laid off after Katrina, win court ruling," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, Jan. 16, 2014. http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2014/01/7000_new_orleans_teachers_laid.html

[86] Chicago Teachers' Union Communications, "CPS continues its attack on teachers, students and public schools by laying off more than 2,000 educators," *Chicago Teachers' Union Blog*, July 19, 2013. https://www.ctunet.com/blog/cps-continues-its-attack-on-teachers-students-and-public-schools-by-laying-off-more-than-2000-educators

[87] Richard M. Ingersoll, "The Teacher Shortage: Myth or Reality?" *Educational Horizons*, 81 No. 3 (2003): 146-152. Ingersoll includes the following helpful comparisons: "There are for example, more than twice as many K-12 teachers as registered nurses and five times as many teachers as either lawyers or professors," 148.

measure as districts will cancel or consolidate classes rather than allowing a class to begin without a teacher in place); number of applicants who apply for each classroom position (most districts do not track this information, so it is difficult to estimate accurately); student-teacher ratios (a standard ideal ratio is difficult to determine, and might fluctuate by subject area or grade level); number of emergency certificates issued (a particularly flawed measure given that TFA gives college students a less time-intensive and more prestigious alternative to teacher education);[88] number of new or total teachers certified overall (but certification itself is not a guarantor that the teacher will take a job in the classroom).[89] Sociologist Richard Ingersoll's 2003 formulation of the revolving door and the leaky bucket have both become popular metaphors to describe what the shortage discourse leaves out: the problem of teacher shortfalls is one of *retention,* not recruitment. Compared to other professions, teaching has a significantly higher turnover rate.[90] The enormity of the retention problem is evident in teacher training programs themselves: since the 1980s, only about half of all students to complete an education degree have even *begun* classroom teaching.[91] Even the Learning Policy Institute, which calculates a current absolute shortage of 64,000 teachers and projects

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[88] Education historian David F. Labaree relates a compelling anecdote about a celebration of the 125th anniversary of the School of Education at the University of Michigan: "At a banquet for the participants that evening, the featured speaker was the university provost. He congratulated the School of Education for its high standing across the country and its great contributions to education research and teaching progression, and he noted that the university continues to have a strong commitment to serving American public education. His prime piece of evidence? The University of Michigan sends more graduates to TFA than any other college in the country… Here is one of the country's most distinguished schools of education (ranked 10th that year by *U.S. News & World Report*), but large numbers of University of Michigan students turn their backs on the school's TE program to pursue TFA. And the provost brags about this to his own education faculty. If TE at the University of Michigan cannot compete with TFA, then who can?" Teach For America has evidently cornered the market on 'elite' teacher training. David F. Labaree, "Teach For America and Teacher Ed: Heads They Win, Tails We Lose," *Journal of Teacher Education* 61 No. 1-2 (2010): 48-55, 53.

[89] See for instance: Berhstock-Sheratt, *Creating Coherence in the Teacher Shortage Debate*, 180; Ingersoll, "The Teacher Shortage: Myth or Reality?"; Richard Ingersoll and David Perda. *The Mathematics and Science Teacher Shortage: Fact and Myth*. (Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education, 2009), 4.

[90] Ingersoll, "The Teacher Shortage: Myth or Reality?" 147.

[91] James Cowan, Dan Goldhaber, Kyle Hayes, Roddy Theobald, "Missing Elements in the Discussion of Teacher Shortages" *Educational Researcher*, 45 No. 8 (2016): 460-2.

an absolute shortage of 300,000 teachers by 2020, acknowledges that "reducing attrition *by half* could virtually eliminate shortages"(emphasis mine). [92]

Less experienced teachers; teachers "teaching students who are less matched to the teacher's own racial or ethnic identity"; teachers with less than two years of academic teacher training preparation; and teachers in schools with majority students of color are two to three times more likely to quit teaching within their first five years.[93] Teach For America recruits have the further burden of being the face of the program, which makes them less likely to seek mentors among local teachers or to ask for help as they do not wish to be "vulnerable to appearing incompetent to the individuals who make decisions bearing on job security." [94] The failure of individual recruits to live up to the larger-than-life narrative of hero teachers in the mold of the cinematic version of Jaime Escalante (made famous in the film *Stand and Deliver* (1988), leads to even greater burnout and attrition among TFA recruits than among traditionally certified teachers, which contribute to the instability of the educational environment.[95] The phenomenon is widespread enough to have its own nickname "churn and

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[92] Sutcher et al., *A Coming Crisis*, 1, 4.
[93] Strunk and Robinson, c. Schonfeld and Feinman, "Difficulties of Alternatively Certified Teachers," 216; Sutcher et al., *A Coming Crisis*, 4.
[94] Schonfeld and Feinman, "Difficulties of Alternatively Certified Teachers," 237.
[95] Sarah Matsui, *Learning from Counternarratives in Teach for America: Moving from Idealism Towards Hope* (New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers, 2015), 148, 162.
Furthermore, Teach For America has recently been working to increase the proportion of recruits placed in English learning or special needs classrooms at the rate of 15-20% per year. Recruits receive no additional training for these assignments. Hootnick, "Teachers Are Losing their Jobs."
An alternative vision of the teacher shortage addresses the lack of black teachers. At the time of the last census, black students made up 16% of public school enrollments, while black teachers made up 8% of the teaching workforce. Tia C. Madkins, "The Black Teacher Shortage: A Literature Review of Historical and Contemporary Trends," *The Journal of Negro Education*, 80 No. 3 (2011): 417-37, 417.

The percentage of black teachers in classrooms has steadily declined since the advent of desegregation programs, when 39,000 black teachers were displaced in the ten years after 1954. In the past 10 years, Teach For America has made a concerted effort to make its corps less white. In 2017, 17% identified as African-America, and 14% as Latinx. " Teach For America Releases Its 2017 Corps Profile," *Teach for America.* Sept. 18, 2017. https://appalachia.teachforamerica.org/top-stories/teach-america-releases-its-2017-corps-profile These numbers compare favorably to the figure for the national teaching population, which hovers around 80-90% white. (The

burn" – the term career teachers use for TFA-staffed, and especially charter schools extracting as much labor as possible from recruits, with the confidence that burned out teachers will be replaced by fresh recruits at the end of their two-year tenure.[96] According to its own data, about 63 percent of its alumni stay in education for at least 5 years, but only 30% stay on in classrooms – the rest become education "leaders," (administrators, policy workers, non-profit sector workers), not teachers.[97] Rather than alleviating the teacher shortage, TFA might actually contribute to it by turning students away from traditional teacher education pathways and making these programs untenable for universities in the long term. Retention, the most acute facet of teacher shortages is evidently the facet TFA is *least* suited to ameliorate.

The 'churn and burn' model enabled by Teach For America also creates a racial-spatial pedagogy in itself. Poor, usually black students are constantly told that the institutions they most intimately know and identify with, and the adults they know best outside their families, are failing, academically and morally bankrupt, and generally "in need." Churn and burn schools teach students about white mobility as obviously ambitious and supposedly talented college graduates come and leave their institutions and neighborhoods regularly. At

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last time the U.S. Department of Education collected data on the racial demographics of teachers was in AY 2011-2012. That data showed an 82% white teacher force.
"The State of Racial Diversity in the Educator Work Force," Policy and Program Studies Service, U.S. Department of Education, July 2016.
https://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/highered/racial-diversity/state-racial-diversity-workforce.pdf) Yet, schools staffed by Teach For America have more white teachers than comparable "high-needs" schools. A 2004 study of schools which placed Teach For America teachers alongside traditionally certified teaching staff found that within any one school TFA teachers were, on average 67% white, while the rest of the schools' teachers were 13% white. Paul T. Decker, Daniel P. Mayer, and Steven Glazerman, "The Effects of Teach For America on Students: Findings from a National Evaluation," (Princeton, NJ: Mathematica Policy Research, 2004). That is to say regardless of total numbers, TFA's placement practices mean it puts white teachers in schools otherwise staffed by teachers and administrators of color.

[96] Chad Sommer, "Teach For America's pro-corporate, union-busting agenda," *Salon* Jan. 13, 2014. https://www.salon.com/2014/01/13/teach_for_americas_pro_corporate_union_busting_agenda_partner/
[97] Hootnik, "Teachers Are Losing Their Jobs." Hootnik further argues, "Where the organization has been most successful is in meeting its ambitious alumni leadership goals. It has increasingly prioritized helping alumni find jobs once they leave the classroom, with its most robust efforts set on influential careers in politics."

the same time school spaces generally become more and more carceral, meaning they reproduce black containment at the same time as white mobility. While the post-Civil War shift in teacher training swapped the association between black education and freedom of movement for an association with limited mobility, the current shift to neoliberalization is supporting a shift to black education *as* containment. Charter schools present the most acute facet of this containment strategy.

Despite the rhetoric of "school choice" as a civil rights issue, there is ample evidence of a profit-motive in the conversion of private schools to charter schools. Hofstra University's Alan Singer assembled an instructive outline of charter school executives' personal incomes, comparing the salary of New York State Education Commissioner who oversees the education of 2.7 million students ($212,00) to that of the founder of Success Academy Charter Schools which oversee the education of 6,700 students ($485,000), the head of the Harlem Village Academies overseeing 1,355 students ($499,00), the head of the Bronx Preparatory School of 651 students ($338,000), and the New York head of the KIPP Charter Network serving 2,796 students ($235,000). Charter school not only create a new market where there wasn't one before, they also re-direct public monies into individual profits. They are neoliberalization in practice.[98] The next section's discussion of how New Orleans whites fought desegregation will also demonstrate how 'school choice' operates as a contemporary analogue of the 'massive resistance' designed by Senator Harry F. Byrd to fight the Supreme Court's decisions in *Brown. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al* (1954).

Charter schools often maintain or exacerbate the problems they are supposedly responding to, particularly for students of color and students in low-income neighborhoods.

[98] Alan Singer, "Big Profits in Not-For-Profit Charter Schools," *The Huffington Post*, April 7, 2014. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-singer/charter-school-executive-profit_b_5093883.html

Nationally, charter schools suspension rates are 16% higher than non-charter school suspension rates.[99] This is particularly troubling as charter schools, unlike public schools, are able to turn away many 'high needs' students, so the higher suspension rates are applied to an already select population. In 2010, 70% of black students in charter schools attended 90-100% minority schools, compared to 36% in traditional public schools. Of that 70%, 61% were in schools with at least 99% students of color.[100] 25% of students in majority-minority charter schools are expelled every year.[101] Furthermore, without fear of oversight, charter schools have also been at the forefront of experimenting with new disciplinary techniques and technologies. KIPP schools infamously pioneered the "calm-down room" in elementary schools, a padded room "about the size of a walk-in closet" with a single, partially covered window, which allows adults to see in, but does not allow students to see out. Children who are misbehaving are confined in this room for 15 to 20 minutes at a stretch.[102] KIPP schools are also known for embedding market exchange principles into daily behavior, for instance by having students begin the school year on the floor then 'earn' desks through good behavior, or rewarding good behavior with 'paychecks.'[103] Theoretical commitments to excellence or

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[99] Daniel J. Losen, Michal A. Keith II, Cheri L. Hodson, Tia E. Martinez. *Charter Schools, Civil Rights and School Discipline: A Comprehensive Review*. (Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project, University of California, Los Angeles, 2016), 2. https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/resources/projects/center-for-civil-rights-remedies/school-to-prison-folder/federal-reports/charter-schools-civil-rights-and-school-discipline-a-comprehensive-review/losen-et-al-charter-school-discipline-review-2016.pdf

[100] Erica Frankenberg, Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, and Jia Wang, "Choice without Equity: Charter School Segregation," *Educational Policy Analysis Archives*, 19 No. 1 (2011): 1-96, 38.
Of Latino students in charter schools, 50% attend 90-100% minority charter schools, compared to 38% in traditional public schools

[101] Losen et al. *Charter Schools, Civil Rights, and School Discipline*, 2.

[102] Rachel Monahan and Ben Chapman, "Padded 'calm-down' room at charter school drives kids to anxiety attacks," *New York Daily News*. Dec. 11, 2013.

[103] James Horn, "KIPP Forces 5th Graders to 'Earn' Desks by Sitting on the Floor for a Week," *AlterNet*. Dec. 17, 2013; Leonie Haimson, "Why Students Call KIPP the Kids in Prison Program," *Schools Matter Blog*. March 23, 2012. http://www.schoolsmatter.info/2012/03/why-students-call-kipp-kids-in-prison.html ; Jeff Bryant, "The Truth about Charter Schools," *Salon* Jan. 10, 2014.

performance are, in practice, reduced to narrow focuses on correcting children's behavior, literally punishing them into being proper market actors. KIPP is one of a myriad of charter school organizations founded by the leaders developed in Teach For America which expand the reach of Teach For America by placing their recruits in classrooms all over the country but also by exporting this ideological commitment to neoliberal market principles as moral philosophy at the cost of turning public schools into carceral spaces and criminalizing the children who attend them.

"Preparation Meets Opportunity": Teach For America and Disaster Capitalism

The impact of TFA's pedagogical and economic philosophies can be seen all over the country, but perhaps the most instructive case study is its entry into New Orleans, a city whose 'rebuilding' might be the vanguard of education reform across the country. In December 2005 nearly four months after Hurricane Katrina made landfall, the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB), without the funds to pay teachers on "disaster leave without pay" issued a press release announcing the termination of 7,500 employees. Even as local teachers were being fired, the Recovery School District (RSD) was offering inexperienced teachNOLA and TFA recruits signing bonuses and moving benefits to take on the jobs "vacated" by the fired employees, many of whom had been tenured teachers with senior standing.[104] teachNOLA boasts that it "eliminated the city's teaching shortage so that there can now be an increased focus on long-term quality." In face, this shortage was manufactured precisely so leadership development programs could solve it.[105] In this section I demonstrate that the

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https://www.salon.com/2014/01/10/the_truth_about_charter_schools_padded_cells_corruption_lousy_instruction_and_worse_results/

[104] Civil District Court, *Oliver v. OPSB* 2012.

[105] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 135-136.

(unevenly distributed) devastation wrought by the hurricane served as an excuse to sanction pre-existing plans to gut the city's public school system and re-imagine public services in the city along the lines modeled by leadership development programs. In order to understand the effects of the hurricane on the educational topography of the city, it is important to begin with a historical note on the abject failure of school integration in New Orleans.

Before the Civil War, educating enslaved people was expressly prohibited in New Orleans. Free blacks, mostly Afro-Creole, funded and ran a handful of schools for free black children. During Reconstruction, the city's black population fought to integrate schools, but without the state's support, could not overcome white opposition.[106] When Andrew Johnson's veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill terminated the funding of freedmen's schools, schools implemented tuition to maintain funding and enrollment fell from 5,330 in December of 1865 to 1,395 in February of 1866.[107] After *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), black public schools in New Orleans, like many across the country, remained "few in number and located in poor facilities; they were grossly underfunded; black teachers were unequally paid in comparison to white teachers; and school days were often part-time due to overcrowding."[108] These conditions, including the selective government neglect of black schools that created them, would again be plainly visible in the aftermath of Katrina. They are also reminders of how the selective distribution of teacher shortages does not occur in a vacuum but through racial capitalist structures.

According to a comprehensive study of New Orleans public schools during 1938-1939 headed by Alonzo G. Grace of the Citizens' Planning Committee for Public Education,

[106] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 17.
[107] John W. Blassingame. *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 111.
[108] Donald E. DeVore and Joseph Logsdon. *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991.* (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1991).

Valena C. Jones Normal School supplied the majority of teachers for the school's black children, and received the majority of its trainees from McDonogh No. 35 High School's education track. The 2-year curriculum prepared teachers for 35 different specializations, but the school lacked "a library, laboratories, recreations rooms, gymnasiums, [an] auditorium, and other essential facilities for the adequate preparation of teachers."[109] Of the 42 graduates in the class of 1937, 13 found employment by the end of the academic year. The report cited overcrowded classes as the primary reason for the teacher surplus. The continuing popularity of the track, despite the high rate of unemployment speaks to its importance as a means of social mobility and inclusion in the black middle class. In her analysis of the report, New Orleans-based scholar and activist Kristen L. Buras points out that the median length of classroom experience for black high school teachers was 12 years, 17 years for female high school teachers, and 22 years for female elementary school principals.[110] Veteran teachers were at the heart of black education in New Orleans between *Plessy* and *Brown*, and at the heart of the black middle class. From the inception of the Louisiana Colored Teachers Association in 1901, the group organized to "support black teacher preparation, publish an education journal, create libraries, in black schools, review textbooks for racially distorted representations, equalize teacher salaries [across black and white schools], provide teacher pensions, train community leaders, and challenge white supremacist legislation," mostly with an eye to creating equality in segregated services and spaces.[111] Throughout the 1960s and 70s, school consolidations and closures cost many black teachers their jobs, but they

[109] c. Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 21-22.
[110] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 22.
[111] Ernest J. Middleton. *History of the Louisiana Education Association*. (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1984) 106-107.

continued to be the largest sector of the city's black middle class. [112] In 1978 when teachers in the integrated United Teachers of New Orleans went on strike, they represented the third largest union in New Orleans, and were supported by students from high schools across the district who held their own rallies supporting the striking teachers, while the Parent-Community Coalition began proceedings to recall several board members. Community pressure was key to the resolution of the two-week strike.[113] Teachers are a convenient scapegoat for the TFA narrative, but in fact are parts of the communities they serve. Investing in their retention would go much further in serving students than their replacement.

When the *Brown* decision came to New Orleans, white parents pulled their children out of school.[114] Public schools began to desegregate one grade per year starting in 1960. By the end of the 1960s, black public school students outnumbered white students 2 to 1.[115] By 2004, the city was 68% black, while public schools were 94% black. 73% of all public school students qualified for free or reduced-price lunches,[116] meaning their family income was under 185% of the federal poverty level.[117]

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[112] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 131.
[113] DeVore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools*, 102; Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space,* 132.
[114] Public education activist and historian Aesha Rasheed recounts that "The New Orleans white power structure did not move to desegregate the city's schools until 1960," 5 years after *Brown II* was decided. In 1960, the School Board made 137 black kindergarten students who wanted to attend a white school sit for an admissions test and eventually selected 5 girls ("boys were deemed too threatening") to attend kindergarten in 2 white elementary schools, William Frantz and McDonogh No. 19. Presumably students over the age of 5 would also have been "too threatening" as well. 1 girl was sent to Frantz (Ruby Bridges, the subject of Norman Rockwell's "The Problem We All Live With"), and the remaining 4 were sent to McDonogh No. 19. No white parents sent kindergarteners to school at Frantz that year, leaving Bridges the only child in her year at school, and white parents boycotted McDonogh No. 19 entirely, leaving the 4 black children as the *only* students at McDonogh No. 19. Rasheed, "Education in New Orleans: Some Background," 6.
[115] *Ibid*.
[116] Perry and Schwam-Baird, "School by School," 32.
[117] Food and Nutrition Service, U.D. Department of Agriculture. "National School Lunch Program." USDA Food and Nutrition Service. https://www.fns.usda.gov/sites/default/files/NSLPFactSheet.pdf
Louisiana also ahs the highest rate of incarceration in the U.S.; 72% of the incarcerated are black, from a state population that is 32% black. Camp, "What's Going On?" 117.
The New Orleans figures seem stark, but they are not beyond the pale in major U.S. cities. For example, 90% of

As in other cities, the increasingly non-white public school population of New Orleans became slowly construed as “high needs.” By AY 2002-03, 18.8% of all New Orleans public school students were suspended at least once during the school year.[118] In 2003, two years before the hurricane, the state legislature and voters gave the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE) the authority to “take control of” schools that had been identified as “failing” for four or more consecutive years under a new state-run agency called the Recovery School District (RSD) which could continue to run the failing school or transfer its control to a charter school organization.[119] To reiterate, the ‘recovery’ in the Recovery School District refers not to damage associated with the storm but to the “chronic failure” of majority black K-12 schools preceding Hurricane Katrina.

The Orleans Parish School Board had reached out to the Louisiana Department of Education for help with its $30 million deficit earlier in 2005. In June, the state contracted with the private accounting firm of Alvarez and Marsal, which in turn suggested that the district privatize food service, payroll, and transportation. [120]The same means of privatizing university services that have infiltrated the post-Keynesian public university were gaining ground in New Orleans’ K-12 system.

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black students in Washington, D.C. attend majority black schools. See: Alice Yin, “Education by the Numbers,” *New York Times*. Sept 8, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/08/magazine/education-by-the-numbers.html

School district secession – the practice of creating independent school districts for the wealthier and whiter parts of a particular district, has become the tool of choice for maintaining “segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever” under reacial liberalism. Since 2000, 71 communities have attempted to secede. Only 9 of these secessions has been definitively denied as of 2017. See: Alvin Chang, “School segregation didn’t go away. It just evolved.” *Vox* July 27, 2017. https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/7/27/16004084/school-segregation-evolution

[118] Tuzzolo and Hewell. “Rebuilding Inequity,” 62.
[119] Sanderijn, Cels, Jorrit De Jong and Frans Nauta. “Change on Steroids: Public Education in New Orleans,” in *Agents of Change: Strategy and Tactics for Social Innovation* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2012): 154-172, 159.
[120] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space,* 38.

Leslie Jacobs, who was a member of BESE in the early 2000's and is credited as "one of the early architects" of the RSD describes it as follows:

> The RSD was modeled, in my mind, after bankruptcy laws. When a business is in Chapter 11 bankruptcy, a court allows it to make sweeping changes to help the business survive. When *academically bankrupt schools* entered the RSD, they were removed from the control of the local school board, [including] its central office, its policies, [and] its contracts (including the collective bargaining agreement)… Inside the RSD the new school operator was left with the building, the students, and the money to educate the students—and was given a fresh start.[121]

The concept of "academic bankruptcy" succinctly demonstrates the progressive neoliberal philosophy of education reform: it collapses all distinctions between government and market as "failure" is individualized to schools rather than districts or neighborhoods; schools are understood as corporations rather than state apparatuses, even though their output cannot be quantified through profit margins. And as a result of poor market performance, they are subjected to greater market control, instead of less. It also ties "failure" to a punitive forfeiture of control, denying self-determination at the institutional level for schools, the most affectively resonant local institutions. The RSD thus shares much of the ideological underpinnings of Teach For America's progressive neoliberalism, and its later synergy with leadership development programs is a scalable precedent for progressive neoliberal education reform.

When the storm hit and devastated the city's infrastructure, Jacobs says, "Preparation met opportunity… We had done a lot of preparation. What Katrina allowed us to do was to put this change on steroids". [122] The purview of the RSD increased, although not drastically,

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[121] Emphasis mine, c. Sanderijn et al. "Change on Steroids," 160.
[122] c. *Ibid*, 170. Education Secretary Arne Duncan famously called the storm "the best thing that happened to the education system in New Orleans," see, for instance, Nick Anderson, "Education Secretary Duncan calls

as 64% of NOLA schools had already begun the transfer to RSD control in 2004. [123] By the 2004-2005 academic year, public schools were 94% black overall, with many schools serving only black students. Teachers in the Orleans Parish were 90 percent black.[124] Jacobs and other "change agents" who saw the storm as an opportunity to change the way New Orleans schools ran, put out a call for national charter organizations and education reform programs to set up schools in New Orleans. Jacobs describes reaching out to TFA and other AmeriCorps service programs, saying, "[P]art of the pitch I made to all these educational, entrepreneurial people is, 'Why don't you all get in the same city? We have the scale; we will welcome you and prove that your models can work'". [125] The disproportionately black, brown, and poor children who were already the products of government neglect were effectively offered as laboratory subjects for a cohort of leadership development programs headlined by Teach For America.[126] At the same time, a special session of the Louisiana Legislature authorized an increase in the purview of the RSD, increasing the requirements schools had to meet to retain their autonomy, and giving the RSD the power to take over entire school districts in addition to individual schools.[127] A court case eventually brought to light communication that showed the state "analyzed school performance scores in Orleans Parish to provide a listing of the scores to be used in drafting the legislation so that the highest number of OPSB schools could

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Hurricane Katrina good for New Orleans schools**,"** *Washington Post,* Jan. 30, 2010
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/01/29/AR2010012903259.html
[123] Perry and Schwam-Baird, "School by School," 34.
[124] Adrienne Dixson, "Whose Choice? A Critical Race Perspective on Charter Schools," in *The Neoliberal Deluge: Hurricane Katrina, Late Capitalism, and the Remaking of New Orleans*. Ed. Cedric Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011):130-151;133.
[125] c. Sanderijn and Nauta, "Change on Steroids," 171.
[126] In her ethnographic work with TFA recruits she taught in their institute, Barbara Torre Veltri heard from several teachers who "wrestled with the long-term impact of their learning to teach on poor, urban students." Barbara Torre Veltri, "Teaching or Service? The Site-Based Realities of Teach for America Teachers in Poor, Urban Schools" *Education and Urban Society* 40 No. 5 (2008): 511-542, 531.
[127] Dixson, "Whose Choice?" 134-5.

be taken over."[128] The storm gave cover and speed to a long-term plan to relieve the local school board from controlling local public schools.

Former RSD superintendent Paul Vallas unintentionally expressed how the elimination of unionized, vested teachers after the storm was another instance of preparation meeting opportunity, explaining his vision of an ideal teaching staff: "I don't want the majority of my teaching staff to work more than 10 years. The cost of sustaining those individuals becomes so enormous. Between retirement and healthcare and things like that, it means that you are constantly increasing class sizes and cutting programs in order to sustain the cost of a veteran workforce".[129] The RSD itself had been a means of eliminating benefits, even before the storm as veteran teachers hired by RSD were treated as first-year employees with regard to pension and health benefits.[130] The storm provided a justification for implementing the superintendent's best case scenario: starting over with a fresh batch of teachers who had no ties to local communities and little incentive to organize for long-term benefits.

At the same time, the Department of Education offered to waive the normal community and parent approval measures that charter school operators must obtain before converting a public school to a charter. Education Secretary Margaret Spellings wrote in an open letter dated September 14, 2005 that "Because charter schools are exempt from many State and local education rules, they may be uniquely equipped to serve [storm affected]

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[128] Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans. *Eddy Oliver et al. v. Orleans Parish School Board et al.* [Reasons for judgment.] (New Orleans, 2012). https://theneworleansimperative.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/reasons-for-judgment-june-20-2012.pdf
[129] c. Zoe Conway, "Education 'revolution' in New Orleans," *BBC News.* April 8, 2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/8608960.stm
[130] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space,* 134.

students."[131] The same letter announced that $20 million in relief funds would be made available to the RSD and charter schools. Thus, after the storm, the vast majority of relief funds were distributed through the RSD and not the Orleans Parish School Board, and funneled away from traditional public schools to charter schools run by education reform entrepreneurs, without community input. The teaching labor market and black community control of (admittedly 'failing') schools were razed and re-constituted through the concerted efforts of local and federal officials, and the national network of education reform entrepreneurs underwritten by TFA. Wendy Kopp, Mike Feinberg, and Sarah Usdin (Michelle Rhee's co-founding partner in the New Teacher Project), became key advisors for Mayor Ray Nagin's Bring New Orleans Back Commission.[132]

The OPSB meanwhile had placed 7,500 tenured school employees on "disaster leave without pay" (a designation a judge would later call "fictional") when the storm struck. The school board was legally required to maintain a recall list to give fired teachers first priority when schools re-opened and even before the storm had passed, on Aug. 31, Alvarez & Marsal had set up a call center to locate displaced teachers and determine if they would be returning.[133] While the list reassured teachers that they would have jobs to come back to, it would never be consulted by the RSD.

Normally, when Teach For America enters a city, it contracts with the school board to provide a certain number of teachers in particular schools. In New Orleans, the contracts went to an intermediary founded by Leslie Jacobs: New Schools for New Orleans. [134] With the

[131] c. Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 44.
[132] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 50.
[133] Campbell Robertson, "Louisiana Illegally Fired 7,500 Teachers, Judge Says," *New York Times*, June 21, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/22/education/louisiana-illegally-fired-7500-teachers-judge-rules.html
[134] Sanderjin and Nauta, "Change on Steroids," 164.

Department of Education's blessings, this arrangement effectively bypassed the teacher's union's ability to have a say in the running of most schools as Jacobs's organization, along with Teach For America, and KIPP controlled most schools in New Orleans parish by 2012.[135] By 2007, no New Orleans schools, public or charter, had a collective bargaining agreement.[136]

The overhaul of New Orleans public schools has been clearly racialized. In the year before the storm, approximately 75 percent of the city's teachers were black, by the 2009-2010 school year, this figure had dropped to less than 50 percent.[137] Meanwhile, the percentage of white teachers rose from 24 percent to 46 percent. 5 years after the storm, 40% of teachers in classrooms had less than 3 years of experience, indicating that 'churn and burn' was becoming a standard model in the New Orleans teaching labor force.[138] As of 2015, one in five New Orleans Students were being taught by one of 400 TFA corps members and 830 TFA alumni in the region. The labor market for teaching in the city is now entirely run along the model of leadership development. [139]

Fired teachers brought a class-action lawsuit against the school board alleging that they had been the victims of a conspiracy by local and state education officials who "conspired to and committed wrongful conduct that included the wrongful termination of tenured employees and intentional interference with [their] employment contracts and/or

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[135] *Ibid.*
[136] Dixson, "Whose Choice?" 135.
[137] F. Howard Nelson, "Teacher Quality and Distribution in Post-Katrina New Orleans," Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, D.C. Feb. 2015. http://www.aftacts.org/storage/documents/New_Orleans_Miracle_Debunked.pdf
[138] Jaclyn Zurbzycki, "TFA Alumni Aid New Teachers in New Orleans," *Education Week.* April 19, 2013. https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2013/04/19/29neworleans_ep.h32.html
[139] Sondel, "Raising Citizens or Raising Test Scores?" 292.

property rights."[140] A civil district court affirmed that the teachers had given no occasion for their termination, that they were "in good standing" and "met or exceeded state requirements," and that the schools identified as failing by Act 35 had in fact been "making documented progress," particularly the 88 of 120 schools which had met or exceeded the state's requirement for adequate yearly progress in the academic year leading up to the storm. [141] It conferred a settlement package on fired teachers. In 2014, the Supreme Court of Louisiana overturned this decision in a 5-2 ruling, finding that the firings and termination of benefits did not constitute a deprivation of property rights. The teachers appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court citing a violation of their Fourteenth Amendment rights to due process, but were turned down in 2015.[142]

In 2011, John White, a TFA alumnus, was appointed superintendent of the Recovery School District, and under his leadership, New Orleans became the first city in the United States to convert 100% of schools to charters, while Louisiana became the only school system in the country to allow selective admission standards for charter schools. White summarized his administrative philosophy in a 2014 publication co-authored with his Assistant Superintendent Adam Hawf, writing: "our experience in Louisiana shows that a better system is one that gives schools autonomy as a contractual right of their existence, and holds them

[140] New Orleans Public School Employees (NOPSE) Justice. "Frequently Asked Questions," *NOPSE Justice*. 2010. www.nopsejustice.com/faq.htm

[141] c. Dreilinger, "7,500 New Orleans teachers,"

In 2014, the Louisiana Supreme Court reversed the original ruling and an appellate court ruling to rule that the teachers' due process rights had not been violated.

"Eddy Oliver, Oscarlene Nixon, and Mildred Goodwin *v.*Orleans Parish School Board, 2014-C -0329 C/W 2014-C -0330 (La. 2014)," *Court Listener*.
https://www.courtlistener.com/opinion/2747401/eddy-oliver-oscarlene-nixon-and-mildred-goodwin-v-/

[142] See for instance: Mark Walsh, "Justices Decline to Hear Appeal of Dismissed New Orleans Teachers," *Education Week*. May 19, 2015.
http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/school_law/2015/05/justices_decline_to_hear_appea_1.html

accountable for specific outcomes on a tight timeline."[143] Autonomy, accountability, specific outcomes, and tight timelines all reflect how Teach For America's managerial pedagogy is becoming cemented into U.S. public school systems, even as they are privatized from within by the class of leaders trained directly by TFA or by the web of leadership organizations started by its alumni.

TFA and the Future of Teacher Training

Education historian and geographer Kristen L. Buras, who has written the first and so far only monograph on the charterization of New Orleans public schools, points out that many of the strategies that were originally used to defer and deny the *Brown* rulings have been revived in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina: special legislative sessions, "new and capricious legislation," the political and economic evisceration of local school boards by the state, removing or threatening to remove local school superintendents who wouldn't fall into line with massive resistance tactics, firing or threatening to fire teachers, and closing select public schools.[144] For Buras the scapegoating of teachers is part of a "second Reconstruction" which is currently decimating black institutions and communities across the South to replace them with for-profit structures that redirect community wealth to white companies and individuals. This is the peak of the racial neoliberalism I have tracked across the last two chapters. In addition, the assault on K-12 public schools is also a decimation of teacher

[143] John White and Adam Hawf, "A Playbook for a New Approach in New Orleans," in *20 Years of Expertise: Transformative, Evidence-Based Research.* Ed. Center on Reinventing Public Education, 34.
Kopp also refers to the lucky timing of Katrina, which allowed change agents to create "a new system that is dramatically different from the one washed away by Katrina," Wendy Kopp , *A Chance to Make History: What works and what doesn't in providing an excellent education for all* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2011), 84.
[144] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 23-24.

training, threatening to replace ed schools with an institutionalization of 'churn and burn' compatible leadership development programs.

By welcoming leadership development programs and their young recruits to re-imagine and re-settle New Orleans, local government officials have also begun a process of 'whitening' the city, what one LFT representative calls the "re-engineering of a [Republican] city" as relatively large numbers of black and traditionally Democratic-voting citizens have been displaced permanently. [145] Another long-time resident described the abandonment of schools as a means to displace black residents saying, "If we close down all of the high schools, and you know your children have nowhere to go to school, [policymakers presume] then you'll leave… They've tried everything that they can to get people out,"[146] while, of course, bringing in new (mostly white) young, upwardly mobile "leaders" to replace them.

The New Orleans model has specific repercussions for how the relationship between the university and teacher training could be structured in accordance with neoliberal norms. Tulane University, a PWI located in the uptown, historically white Audubon neighborhood, is the city's largest employer. It joined in the reconstruction of schools, especially for children of the university's faculty and staff, in the immediate aftermath of the storm by supporting Mayor Ray Nagin's Bring New Orleans Back initiative. In March 2007, when the mayoral election threatened to end BNOB, the program was, for all intents and purposes,

[145] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 45.
See also: TFA's current work on the "Teacher's Village" in Newark. Based on recruits' dissatisfaction with having to *live in* the neighborhoods they were supposed to be saving their students from, TFA has backed a private housing development for teachers to live in while they complete their service. The mixed-use development in Downtown Newark began renting in early 2017 and "includes 3 charter schools, 65,000 square feet of ground-level retail space, and a total of 204 apartments with a preference for educators, all housed in a cluster of buildings in a four-block area surrounding the intersection of Maiden Lane and Halsey Street, a block from Prudential Arena." If the Newark development is successful and profitable, it could become a model to be copied in other cities with a TFA presence. *Teachers' Village* http://www.teachersvillage.com/
[146] c. Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 57.

institutionalized at Tulane University as the Cowen Institute for Public Education. The Cowen Institute is an "action-oriented think tank that informs and advances solutions—through policies, programs, and partnerships—to eliminate the challenges impeding the success of K-12 education."[147] It acts as an incubator that provides physical offices, networking opportunities, and other economic, political, and social capital for education reform organizations including Teach For America; the New Teacher Project; teachNOLA; New Leaders for New Schools (a leadership development program to recruit principals and charter school board members); New Schools for New Orleans (itself a charter school incubator); and the New Orleans Parent Organizing Network (which organizes parents for 'school choice').[148] Institute representatives boast that no one in the organization has any background in education, rather their staff is "able to think about [education] from a business perspective because [they] have MBAs working who've studied corporate America and franchising."[149]

New Orleans has become a hub for new innovations in teacher training. Tulane is taking advantage of this interest to expand its own course offerings. The university does not, in fact, offer en education major or higher degrees in education, but as of 2016 it has received accreditation for a "Teacher Preparation and Certification Program,"[150] a "post-baccalaureate program that offers alternative certification" in early childhood education, PK-3, and specific content areas for secondary education. The program began operating in 2005 immediately after the storm, and has had "over 180 program completers." Its website explains the program is for people holding at least a bachelor's degree, encourages them to obtain a LA (Louisiana)

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[147] 2010 Cowen Institute publication c. Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 51.
[148] Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 52.
[149] Cowen Institute representative interviewed by Kristen L. Buras, c. Buras, *Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space*, 51.
[150] "Teacher Preparation and Certification Program," *Tulane University.* http://www2.tulane.edu/teacher/

Practicioner's license, obtain a teaching position, and take courses while they are working.[151] It is functionally identical to Teach For America, but with the backing of a nationally recognized 4-year private university. Tulane's example shows that U.S. higher education, even in the humanities or liberal arts, is not merely a *victim* of neoliberalization, but often *colludes* with private interests to further its own cannibalization. A privately endowed PWI largely disconnected from the larger city, this institution has enthusiastically participated in the neoliberalization of the teacher labor market, and the criminalization of urban space, supporting the 'bringing New Orleans back' to a pre-civil rights era, when black teachers with master's degree were earning less than white teachers with no credentials.

For critics of neoliberalization and historians of higher education, Teach For America is something of a worst-case scenario on the path to hegemony. Yet this hegemony is not inevitable. Another approach to education reform that does not rely on the "non-profit industrial complex," or the "shadow state"; which does not defund schools of education; and most importantly which buttresses community control of public education, is the "Grow-Your-Own" (GYO) model of teacher education which creates a vocational pipeline, recruiting high-performing high school students for education degrees. Education studies scholar Eric Toshalis describes the general usage of the term grow-your-own as covering a variety of programs "designed to recruit, support, and prepare educators to return to teach in the communities from which they spring" through a concerted collaboration between legislatures, school districts, universities, and community or parents' organizations, and often with a focus on "culturally responsive pedagogy."[152] Arising in response to local needs, GYOs are

[151] "Teacher Preparation and Certification Program," *Tulane University.* 2017. http://teacher.tulane.edu/
[152] Eric Toshalis, "Grow Your Own Teachers for Urban Education" in *Handbook of Urban Education* Ed. H. Richard Milner IV and Kofi Lomotey (New York: Routledge, 2014): 217-238, 217.

heterogeneous organizations, but they are increasingly identifiable as a particular strand of teacher education through the characteristics that place them in opposition to programs like Teach For America, that is, local talent, local investment, and local control.

The term itself is traced back to the Logan Square Neighborhood Association's (LSNA) 1995 Parent Mentor Program and the "Grow Your Own" legislation it inspired in Illinois,[153] but the GYO model is generally traced to the Teacher Cadet Program started in South Carolina in the late 1980s. The program began as a social studies elective called "Experiencing Education" spearheaded by foreign language teacher Bonner Guidera of Conway High School in Horry County, South Carolina. [154] Working with two other teachers, Guidera wrote a funding proposal that caught the attention of Patricia Graham, the special projects director of the Winthrop College School of Education, which had just received moneys from a special legislative appropriation to support a task force on teacher recruitment. Through their combined efforts, a pilot program came into operation at 4 South Carolina high schools in the 1985-1986 school year. Since then, the program has expanded to 170 South

[153] The program began as an effort to involve local parents in their childrens' schools. The LSNA hired parent mentors, trained them to work in classrooms, and held weekly workshops to "build their skills as tutors and community leaders." Several parent mentors expressed an interest in pursuing further training but did not consider a degree from a four-year university a feasible option due to time and money constraints. LSNA organizers reached out to the Bilingual Education Program at Chicago State University. With the aid of a federal Title VII grant, the LSNA and CSU collaborated on a program called Project Nueva Generación, to give parent mentors the resources and support to acquire teaching credentials. The project became the inspiration for an Action Now (AN, then a part of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, ACORN) campaign that resulted in a statewide program called Grow Your Own Illinois and a 2004 Grow Your Own teachers bill that created a "pipeline" of teachers of color training for "hard to staff" positions. To be eligible for GYO funding, candidates must demonstrate that they represent an equal partnership between a college of education and a community-based organization. Elizabeth Skinner, "Project *Nueva Generación* and Grow Your Own Teachers: Transforming Schools and Teacher Education from the Inside Out" *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 37 No. 3 (Summer 2010): 155-167. See also:

[154] Anne Lewis, "The South Carlina Teacher Cadet Program," *Phi Delta Kappan* 73 No. 6 (Feb. 1992): 482-485. See also: CERRA 2009 and Center for Public Information cited in Toshalis, 226.

Carolina high schools, graduated 60,000 'cadets', and been replicated by 38 other states.[155] Participating high schools are paired with local colleges who provide faculty mentors, 'bridge' programs for students considering education degrees, and activities on the college campus to promote their recruitment. Their stated goals tend to coalesce around the same problems identified by Teach For America such as ameliorating achievement gaps and problems with teacher qualification/quality and attrition but they look to local culture and community as the solutions to, rather than causes of, these problems.[156]

They are thus marked, by teaching as the end-goal for recruits (rather than leadership positions), by collaboration between various stakeholders which entails a more diffused decision-making structure, and by the desire to retain local talent. Arising in response to local needs, GYOs are heterogeneous organizations, but they are increasingly identifiable as a particular strand of teacher education in their commitment to training local talent to teach locally and attempts to incorporate 'critical pedagogy' tenets in their training.[157] These efforts can be read as antithetical to the racial-spatial pedagogy of Teach For America. Rather than being told their neighborhoods are characterized by failure or bankruptcy, students are encouraged to think of them as sites worthy of investing their time and efforts. Rather than a revolving door of white teachers, students are exposed to local teachers whose pedagogical practices can draw on place-based histories and cultural practices. Rather than carceral, such

[155] Toshalis, "Grow Your Own Teachers," 226; "Teacher Cadet Sites," *Teacher Cadets.* https://www.teachercadets.com/teacher-cadet-sites.html

[156] Toshalis, "Grow Your Own Teachers," 218.

[157] Brian D. Schultz, Maureen D. Gillette, and Djanna A. Hill. "Teaching as Political: Theoretical Perspectives for Understanding the Grow Your Own Movement," in *Grow Your Own Teachers: Grassroots Change for Teacher Education*. Ed. Elizabeth A. Skinner, Maria Teresa Garretón, and Brian D. Schultz (New York: Teachers College Press, 2011): 5-21, 10-11. See also: Mary Harrison, "Homegrown Solutions," *Teaching Tolerance*, 13 (1998): 1-4; Dorothy Hines and Kayla Mathis. *Regional Specific Incentives for Teacher Recruitment and Retention*. (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina State Board of Education, 2007); Rural School and Community Trust. "Homegrown Teachers," *Rural Policy Matter.* December 2008. http://www.ruraledu.org/articles.php?id51999

spaces might be imaginative. Rather than containment, they might teach freedom of social and spatial movement.

When CUS scholars speak of their hopes to leverage university resources and "the things that universities are good at" for social justice, teacher training seems to be the obvious answer. The U.S. Census Bureau holds that about 33.4% of U.S. Americans complete a college degree (including 23% of black Americans and 16.4% of "Hispanic Americans") but 89 percent complete high school degrees or equivalency (including 87.1% of black Americans and 68.5% of "Hispanic Americans).[158] Teacher training is one of the largest and most effective ways in which the impacts of colleges or universities impact people who might never choose to attend college. The Teacher Cadet Program and the Cowen Institute at Tulane are both examples of how university resources can be leveraged for education reform. CUS ought to help the university choose wisely among possible futures for teacher training.

[158] Reid Wilson, "Census: More Americans have college degrees than ever before," *The Hill.* April 3, 2017 http://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/326995-census-more-americans-have-college-degrees-than-ever-before

Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the history of U.S. higher education as an ideological state apparatus of a racial capitalist state. I have tried to disrupt the repair narrative of institutional progress by pointing out how black workers, scholars, and bodies of knowledge have not only been present in these histories, but have shaped the evolution of U.S. higher education. I have also tried to emphasize how institutions of higher education are embedded in larger racial capitalist political economies, and how they have been used to expand and contain ideas about black freedom. This conclusion briefly reiterates key findings from each chapter and overarching arguments made throughout the dissertation, discusses limitations in the scope and methods of the work as it currently stands, and presents directions for future research and programming.

Summary of Findings and Arguments

The first chapter of this dissertation followed the trajectory of the Hampton Institute to demonstrate the role of higher education in creating new subordinate forms of citizenship in the aftermath of 1865. I demonstrated that the Hampton model was created through a patchwork of white supremacist ideas about education as incapacitation so it would to function as an enclosure of black rival geographies and argued that higher education for black Southerners served as an ideological state apparatus to tie socially and spatially mobile black workers to underdeveloped rural areas and respectably gendered occupations. My visit to the Hampton University Archives on campus however, coincided with the university's homecoming week festivities and the contrast between the school I read Armstrong imagining and describing in the archive and the institution I could see could not have been more striking.

Generations of alumni gathered on campus to celebrate an institution that continued to give them a sense of belonging and a source of black pride and black excellence that Armstrong could not have apprehended. The university's and the campus's role in creating and celebrating black history and cultural expression are not only in excess of, but antithetical to, Armstrong's vision. Surely Hampton's most enduring lesson must be, that even in the most extreme cases, another university is possible.

The second chapter traced the history of Malcolm X College from its founding as Crane Junior College in 1911 through its "reinvention" as MXC in 2011. I used this case study to investigate the roots of the "public good" discourses popular in CUS today and demonstrate their limited utility in moving towards racial equity in higher education. I argued that this specific college, and community college in general, have primarily served to increase *access* to higher education for minoritized students while simultaneously limiting curricula and community control. However, these schools do represent the widest reach of a liberal arts higher education of all institution in the U.S. today. The defense of community control of schools—community colleges as much as K-12 schools—must be the frontline of a Critical University Studies committed to racial equity. The Malcolm X College students who took control of the school's direction in 1968 provide a blueprint of how to expand the community college while imbuing it with an abolitionist pedagogy and making it accountable to the local community.

Across chapters 2 and 3 I also made the case that privatization and disinvestment in U.S. public goods have causal links with desegregation. The third chapter examined the insurgent space of the Lumumba Zapata College at UC San Diego and its slow transformation into the Thurgood Marshall College. Through that history I demonstrated how administrative

ideas of diversity and representation are meant to replace self-determination with visibility and to exceptionalize U.S. blackness as a national formation. The chapter also spoke of the difficulties of cross-racial organizing on campus. Yet Thurgood Marshall College also contains the contradictions that could undo these conclusions. In 2007, a group of UCSD graduate and undergraduate students calling themselves the Lumumba Zapata Coalition presented the Marshall College administration with a list of demands, chief among them the return of a social justice focus for the first-year writing courses taught at Marshall. Their demands were supported by a cross-cultural coalition of student organizations which included the BSC and MAYA's successors, the Black Student Union and Movimiento Estudiantil Chican@ de Aztlán, as well as the Asian and Pacific Islander Student Alliance, Kaibigang Pilipino, the Muslim Student Association, the Native American Alumni Association, and the Students with Disabilities Coalition. As a result of their work, Thurgood Marshall College today is home to a writing program based on anti-racist and feminist pedagogical lenses. The living history of the Lumumba Zapata College, preserved in campus spaces and courses is an inspiration for minoritized students to organize on a campus which is still only 2.59% black, and 18.84% Latinx.[1]

The final chapter considered the emergence of an ostensibly color-blind, progressive-minded neoliberalism in the rise of Teach For America and similar leadership development programs. I demonstrated that despite the best intentions of participants to combat the urban crises of our time, particularly the so-called "school-to-prison pipeline," such programs further the criminalization of urban spaces, while using the language of civil rights to insinuate the privatization of public services, especially the defunding and de-

[1] "UC San Diego Undergraduate Enrollment by Ethnicity." *Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion*, *UC San Diego.* https://diversity.ucsd.edu/reports-and-data/undergraduate-dashboard.html

professionalization of teacher training. Despite the apparent hegemony of TFA in the teacher training sector, however the contemporaneous growth of Grow-Your-Own teacher programs also demonstrates the survival of a pedagogical tradition not co-opted by the non-profit industrial complex. These programs model how higher education institutions can serve as "incubators" not only for neoliberal innovations, but for other public institutions and a community service pedagogy. Teacher strikes in West Virginia, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Colorado, and a narrowly averted strike action in Arizona (all in the first 3 months of 2018) have also made it clear that career teachers are political actors willing to take drastic action to protect their profession.

Institutions have the advantage of having and writing their own histories. Yet student activism, black studies scholarship, and even diversity initiatives have extra-institutional histories, whose surfaces this dissertation has merely begun to scratch. Still I hope my chapters made clear that the state's efforts to contain and domesticate black youth, black epistemologies, and black bodies of knowledge have always had to contend with black radical traditions of study evolving apace with these attempts at containment. I hope I have made clear not only that these dissident knowledges exist, but that the challenges they posed to 'white architects' are at the (unspoken) core of institutional histories and therefore cannot be subsumed into a teleological institutional history which celebrates difference without acknowledging the dangers the institution created for its bearers.

In selecting a variety of higher education sites to dialogue with Critical University Studies scholarship, I have also hoped to counter some of the hand-wringing about 'what is to be done' that emerges in certain strains of CUS scholarship and across think pieces in popular magazines and news outlets after every wave of 'budget cutbacks' or after every student

protest. These histories have offered cautionary tales (for example, how extracting vocational education from a liberal arts context is dangerous for a racial democracy), or models to emulate (for example UCSD STEM students and faculty organizing anti-war teach-ins). Others have made a case for universities partnering with other public institutions, educational and otherwise, to leverage their resources to work for people who by choice or circumstance, might never enroll in a college course (for instance South Carolina's Teacher Cadet Program). All have encouraged greater attention to the leadership of minoritized students and higher education's role in redistributing life chances in the future.

Limitations and Future Directions

While the case study format has allowed my dissertation to address an extended time period and a disparate set of institutions, time constraints have kept me from fully situating these cases in a unified narrative. In future iterations I hope to bridge the temporal and geographic gaps between case studies by supplementing my primary argument about the racial-spatial pedagogies embedded in various higher education projects with a broader historical overview of how educational and carceral spaces designed by white architects in the U.S. have been in close dialogue throughout the twentieth century.

As mentioned in chapter 4, I find Julia Oparah's explication of the "academic-military-industrial complex" a helpful tool for articulating the location of higher education, among larger state projects. But I also find it limited in its ability to account for how this complex grows and changes in response to black epistemological innovation and political mobilization. From Mary Peake's school to Teach For America, I have tried to show that

higher education is rarely entirely carceral or entirely emancipatory, but rather a dynamic site of contest between radically opposed ideologies.

Though I have tried to include examples of black people, epistemologies, and geographies taking control of institutions where my materials have allowed, my reliance on institutional archives and the inevitably top-down histories that they produce has left insufficient room for counter histories. I am particularly troubled by the lack of student voices in the Hampton and TFA chapters. The Hampton chapter can be easily remedied with further archival research at Hampton and in the Library of Congress's collections. The TFA chapter similarly might incorporate a diversity of responses to the rise of leadership development programs by looking either more deeply at Grow-Your-Own programs and their implementation in Louisiana outside the Recovery School District.[2] Other chapters should have deeper engagements with local traditions and organs of black politics, especially the Chicago Freedom Movement and the Democratic and Black Panther Parties in Chicago for chapter 2, CORE and the Afro-American Studies program at San Diego State University founded and led by Peace Corps Lesotho alumnus Howard K. Brown for chapter 3.

Going forward then, I intend a deeper engagement with the intellectual genealogies that connect both white and black architectures of higher education spaces, examining the state's reliance on schools as containment (as evidenced by the history of Native American prisoners of war being sent to the Hampton Institute for re-education, or the so-called 'school-to-prison pipeline' that directs students of color, and/or students with non-normative gender presentation or learning styles into corrective spaces within and outside their schools) as well

[2] While I am wary of joining the rush of experts and ethnographers mining the region, Georgetown University's program to make amends with the descendants of the 272 slaves sold by the university, most of whom live in southern Louisiana, might provide an opportunity to create alternative relations between Recovery-impacted communities and CUS practitioners.

as black radical traditions of study that have used higher education as the antithesis of unfreedom (for instance through the Malcolm X Community College's Prison Annex or the Chicago Teachers' Unions program to train K-12 teachers in abolitionist pedagogy).

Developing this idea past a crude binary of carceral versus abolitionist will require bringing in more sites to supplement my case studies. Thus the Hampton chapter could use a section on how contemporary HBCUs, reform schools, and convict-leasing effforts gave meaning to 'manual training'; the community college could be placed alongside other municipal public goods, especially Chicago Public Schools (which shared a governing body with Crane Junior College until 1969); and the Lumumba Zapata College along similarly autonomous Third World institutions, particularly the Institute of the Black World in Atlanta. Situating my case studies in this way will allow me to tell a dialectical history of race and racism in U.S. higher education that offers a sweeping counter narrative for the repair narrative of inclusion and progress.

A final avenue I would like to develop in future research is a transnational lens, particularly in relation to teacher training during Reconstruction and the early twentieth century. I had originally intended to include the American University of Beirut (founded as Syrian Protestant College, 1865) as a case study in this dissertation, but this proved unfeasible. Yet in reading secondary literature on the college I learned how missionaries who arrived in Syria to preach Christianity ultimately found themselves preaching the gospel of Anglo-American modernity as the rise of pan-Arab nationalism in the *nahda* (awakening) dramatically changed the political environment of local and global politics. I was struck by parallels between their mission and those of Northern missionaries working in freedmen's schools during Southern Reconstruction, as well as social settlement house workers like Jane

Addams working in industrializing cities. I could return to these sites and study them with contemporaneous teacher training programs that prepared U.S. American schoolteachers as stewards of modern civilization for non-white students in Hawai'i and the Philippines.[3] These sites would be particularly helpful for CUS, most of whose transnational work focuses on the Anglophone world, particularly Britain and Australia. Teacher training is nearly absent from CUS dialogue and practically invisible in the STEM versus liberal arts binaries even though it provides a clear answer to the question of how we might leverage university resources and expertise to impact minoritized people off campus. Combining data already acquired during my trips to the University of Hawai'i, Hampton University, and the Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature with new historical research into the lives of women schoolteachers at the turn of the twentieth century, this project could help elucidate how teacher training embedded U.S.-based iterations of white supremacy and heteronormativity in the core processes of twentieth century globalization.

Final Reflections

As should be evident by now, this dissertation and its author are deeply invested in the institution of higher education itself. Access, limited and circumscribed as it may be, has been hard-fought and hard-won by individual subaltern scholars and communities across the world. Yet there is a streak of nihilism in some critiques of the U.S. university, particularly as a site of racial subjection. I would like to end, therefore, on a hopeful note, returning to the

[3] I recently came across a brief biography of Betsey Stockton, a woman born into slavery in the 1790s, given in dowry to the president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), manumitted in 1817, eventually sent to Hawai'i as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' first single woman missionary sent overseas in 1822. After teaching commoners and training teachers for 2 years, Stockton went on to start a school for Indians in Canada, before returning to Princeton to set up the town's first colored church. Following her career trajectory would provide a new window into relational racial formation that would complicate the conclusions in the first chapter.

Universities Studying Slavery Consortium mentioned in the introduction and explaining why, despite their uneasy relationships with institutionalization, I believe they bode well for the future of racial equity in U.S. higher education.

Since the 2003 convocation of the Brown University Committee on Slavery and Justice and particularly since the publication of Craig Steven Wilder's widely read monograph *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*, many U.S. colleges and universities in the East and the South have seriously investigated their own histories with slavery. Some schools have used this interest to create more expansive investigations into the history of race and racism on university campuses. Rutgers for instance, sponsors the Black and Scarlet Project, which explores the university's involvement in slavery and settler colonialism simultaneously. The College of William & Mary's Lemon Project examines the "300-year relationship between African Americans and the college," with a dual emphasis on slavery and Jim Crow. The "Race and Racism at the University of Richmond Project" has investigated student, faculty, and staff experiences of racial discrimination on and off campus through the present day and modeled how to position student-led research at the forefront of these investigations.

Certainly universities are not the only U.S. institutions to have their origins in the slave trade, nor the only institutions which continue to profit from their complicity in racialized dispossession and racist capitalism. Yet universities, and publicly funded universities in particular, occupy a unique space in the public imaginary in the United States, whether they are HBCUs, HSIs, or PWIs. They experience a degree of public buy-in that is rare in the neoliberal moment. Especially when they have a successful sports program, colleges and universities are very visibly present in local communities and often follow K-12

schools as the most obvious public good and site of public investment. Their work thus can be a model from which other institutions learn.

While histories are not in themselves apologies, and apologies themselves are not reparations, these efforts *do* represent a new development that goes beyond the simple repair narrative. The funding for such programs, is often a result of student activism and student leadership. Through their work they create networks between faculty, students, administrators, off-campus community organizers, academics, and artists who might take the lead in expanding such efforts off campus, while creating answers to the question of whether another university is possible that do not simply make *more* university but genuinely change how higher education relates to its stakeholders.

There is no shortage of people who wish to dismantle U.S. higher education and the liberal arts and humanities in particular. To dismantle the institution just as it is beginning down the long road to equitable representation in student bodies and faculties is a neoliberal project not a radical leftist critique.

Counter to what university public relations departments might say or hope, apologies for past wrongs or inclusion in the institutional narrative are not necessarily signs of progress. But when they open the way for students, faculty, and community stakeholders to be included in institutional decision-making, they are worth fighting for.

Whose university?

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