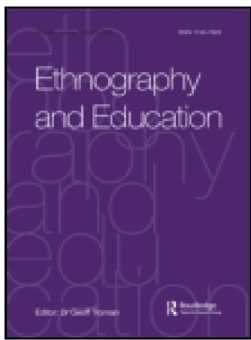

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Ethnography and Education

ISSN: 1745-7823 (Print) 1745-7831 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/reae20

Black emancipatory action research: integrating a theory of structural racialisation into ethnographic and participatory action research methods

Antwi A.A. Akom

To cite this article: Antwi A.A. Akom (2011) Black emancipatory action research: integrating a theory of structural racialisation into ethnographic and participatory action research methods, Ethnography and Education, 6:1, 113-131, DOI: 10.1080/17457823.2011.553083

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2011.553083

Published online: 15 Apr 2011.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 570

View related articles

Citing articles: 2 View citing articles

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=reae20

Download by: [Library Services, University of the West of England] **Date:** 11 August 2016, At: 10:42

Ethnography and Education
Vol. 6, No. 1, March 2011, 113–131

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Black emancipatory action research: integrating a theory of structural racialisation into ethnographic and participatory action research methods

Antwi A.A. Akom*

College of Ethnic Studies, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA, USA

The central purpose of this article is to introduce Black Emancipatory Action Research (BEAR) as a framework that will allow social scientists to explore the implications that 'racing research and researching race' have for methodological practices and knowledge production in the field of education and beyond (Twine and Warren 2003). Drawing on critical race theory (CRT), participatory action research (PAR), Critical Africentricity, and feminists scholarship (FS), the BEAR framework questions notions of objectivity and a universal foundation of knowledge by breaking down the barriers between the researched and the researcher and underscoring ethical principles such as self-determination, social justice, equity, healing and love. With its commitment to community capacity building, local knowledge, asset based research, community generated information and action as part of the inquiry process – BEAR represents an orientation to research that is highly consistent with Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy aimed at creating effective strategies of liberation from multiple forms of domination experienced by African Diasporic peoples.

Keywords: structural racism; emancipatory action research; indigenous research methods; Chicago school; participatory action research; critical ethnography; racism; pigmentocracy; researching race

Introduction

For decades, Black scholars across the Diaspora have written about the need to incorporate issues of race, class, gender and culture into qualitative research methodologies. Generally there has been a great deal of resistance to accepting indigenous/African centred (AC) research orientations. Indeed, methodological practices and knowledge production that emphasise cultural concepts regarding African, African-American, Caribbean, Latin American, Asian American and indigenous cultures are still not considered 'mainstream' but rather 'post-colonial' or 'decolonising researching methodologies' (Smith 1999).

BEAR begins to challenge and expand this methodological 'black box' by integrating a theory of structural racialisation into ethnographic and PAR approaches. BEAR builds upon the insights of Professors John O. Calmore and john a. powell by integrating a structural model for conceptualising racism into contemporary qualitative research orientations (Calmore 1998; powell 2008).

*Email: akom@sfsu.edu

ISSN 1745-7823 print/ISSN 1745-7831 online
© 2011 Taylor & Francis
DOI: 10.1080/17457823.2011.553083
http://www.informaworld.com

Structural racialisation challenges researchers to extend our traditional understandings of racism in which one individual intentionally or unintentionally targets others for negative treatment because of their skin colour or other cultural characteristics (powell 2008). In a BEAR framework, this individualistic conceptualisation is too limited. Instead of being whetted to an individual conceptualisation of racism or an institutional analysis of racism that recognises the ways in which institutions and cultural practices can perpetuate racism without relying on racist actors – a BEAR framework utilises a structural model for conceptualising racism in its contemporary form (Bonilla-Silva 2001; Omi and Winant 1986).

Structural racialisation refers to the interaction of multiple institutions in an ongoing process of producing cumulative, durable, racialised outcomes (powell 2008). According to powell:

> [R]esearch in the field of dynamic and complex systems theory teaches that structures matter. The structure of a system gives rise to its behavior. A systems approach helps illuminate the way in which individual and institutional behavior interacts across domains and over time to produce unintended consequences with clear racialised effects. (powell 2008, 791)

By embedding a theory of structural racialisation as a core principle of the BEAR methodological framework, researchers are able to analyse how historical legacies, individuals, structures and institutions work interactively to distribute material and symbolic advantages and disadvantages along racial lines (Omi and Winant 1986; powell 2008).

From the BEAR perspective, structural racialisation, including pigmentocracy,[1] not only figures prominently in the collective identities of Black working people but substantially shapes and reshapes the entire Diaspora's access to institutional resources and privileges and conceptions of social status, class, gender, and other axis of social difference. One of the central arguments of this article, then, is that researchers and scholars need to rethink how we conduct research with Black populations and be mindful to deal with questions of contemporary Black mobility from the perspective of structural racialisation as well as from the perspective of Black people as centred, located, oriented and grounded (Asante 1988; Kwate 2005; powell 2008). Key questions that this article addresses are as follows: How do we integrate a theory of race into qualitative research methods? How do communities respond to ways of knowing that appear to threaten their legitimacy? How can the largely male-driven, phallocentric models of Chicago school ethnography and individual models of critical ethnography be challenged by gender, linguistic and race-conscious community-driven participatory approaches. How can a BEAR approach be used as a theoretical, methodological and pedagogical tool to challenge racism, sexism and classism and work towards social justice?

The purpose of this article is to not merely reveal the shortcoming of Chicago school ethnography or critical ethnographers, but rather, to draw together and disseminate an inter-disciplinary approach that lays the groundwork for further theoretical and methodological advancement. A new generation of qualitative researchers will have to move beyond theories of social production/reproduction towards other methodological approaches and levels of analysis (Anderson 2002). This relatively 'newer' scholarship will involve rigorous collaborations between

academics and communities (Minkler 2005; Wallerstein 1992), academics and youth (Akom, Cammarota, and Ginwright 2008; Cammarota and Fine 2008), problem-solving using 'street science' in communities of colour (Corburn 2005), collaborations between school professionals around practitioner research (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 1993; Morrell 2007), community activism and advocacy (Ginwright and Cammarota 2007), and highlight the racial realities and dynamics facing communities of African descent across the Diapsora (Akom 2009; Ani 1994; Asante 1988; Karenga 2006; Kwate 2005; Mkabela 2005).

The following discussion of criticism and new directions for researching race and racing research will be divided into the following sections: Section one critically examines the Chicago school of ethnography and its role in beginning the researching race revolution. Section two provides an overview and critique of critical ethnography movement in education, which emphasises human agency and subjectivity. Section three reviews the history and origins of participatory research, action research (AR) and African-centred research approaches as they inform the development and implementation of a BEAR framework. Section four introduces a BEAR orientation as a way to explicitly integrate a theory of structural racialisation into qualitative research framework. And finally section five ends with a discussion of the conclusions and implications for further research.

The Chicago school: the beginning of researching race revolution

From 1892 to 1942 the University of Chicago towered over the landscape of urban sociology training over half of the sociologists in the world by 1930 (Deegan 2001). Scholars such as Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, R.D. McKenzie, introduced the intellectual apparatus that is now commonly referred to as urban ecology while W.I. Thomas, George Herbert Mead, and John Dewey introduced Chicago symbolic interactionism (Deegan 2001; Flanagan 1993). This homogenous group of White male scholars fundamentally shaped the discipline through their teaching methods, mentorship and training of doctorial students who produced thousands of books and manuscripts that depicted everyday life from the standpoint of an outsider looking in. During this time, the Chicago school viewed the city as a laboratory for exploring social interaction and over the years several themes emerged that guided their approach to the growth and evolution of urban space (Lutters and Ackerman 1996). These include, but are not limited to the following four themes. (1) Urban ecology – the notion that the physical environment is the expression of a rational order governed by socially Darwinist principles. (2) Social worlds – or the belief that the best way to describe complex inter- or intra-group patterns was to embed the research in local communities with the express purpose of learning about the people residing there. (3) Social disorganisation – the theory that neighbourhood poverty (among other factors) produces socially disorganised communities (Akom 2007). And finally (4) perhaps the most enduring legacy of the Chicago School's influence was the ways in which the sociology of race was embedded in human ecological frameworks (Anderson and Massey 2001).

Yet for all of the important contributions of the Chicago school there are some key criticisms. In particular, the invisibility of women in Chicago school research – as subjects, authors and colleagues – was unacceptable, even for the time (Deegan 2001,

21). The invisibility of woman and sexist practices by the Chicago school is perhaps best expressed by Deegan (2001) when she states:

> Woman as half the population in everyday life are severely understudied and under-represented in the core of Chicago school ethnographies. The topic selections are also male-biased focusing on populations where males predominate: Hoboes, juvenile delinquents, the male patrons of dance halls and gang members. (Deegan 2001, 21)

Another important critique of the Chicago school is their lack of self-reflexivity about their own race (White) and gender (male) privilege and their place in the lives of the urban poor. As a result, even though the legacy of urban ethnography at the University of Chicago is well documented, what is less well known is that the work of Du Bois represents the first true example of 'American social scientific research', preceding the work of Park and Burgess and the Chicago school by at least two decades (Anderson and Massey 2001, 4). According to Anderson and Massey:

> Were it not for the short-sighted racism of Penn's faculty and administration, which refused to acknowledge the presence – let alone the accomplishments – of a Black man or to offer him a faculty appointment, the maturation of the discipline might have been advanced by two decades and be known to posterity as the Pennsylvania School of Sociology. Instead, Du Bois went on to a distinguished career as a public intellectual, activist, and journalist, and the University of Chicago, not the University of Pennsylvania, came to dominate the field.

Key contributions of the Chicago school, initially introduced by Du Bois, include the use of multiple methods – now called triangulation. Additionally, Chicago school ethnographers often lived in the setting studied, walked the streets, worked for local agencies, kept detailed field notes and entered the field armed with what C.W. Mills referred to as a 'sociological imagination' so that as fieldwork proceeded questions concerning the social organisation of the subject and their setting could be connected to larger issues of public and social policy (Anderson 2002).

Perhaps the major Achilles' heel of the Chicago school interpretation of how to conduct qualitative research was fundamental lack of recognition of the role of research in constructing the 'Other' and the failure to accurately depict the institutionalised nature of social inequality when representing communities of colour. The tension between the role of social structure and the nature of culture was addressed in part in the late 1960s and early 1970s by the critical ethnography movement in education that sought to converge the 'natives point of view' with structural explanations of persistent social class and gender inequality (Geertz 1983).

The origins and status of critical ethnography in education

The critical ethnography movement in education began during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The works of Erickson (1986); Henry (1963); Jackson (1968); Ogbu (1974) and others served as early examples of a genre that later educational ethnographers would emulate and hybridise. Influenced by methodological paradigms in the fields of sociology and anthropology – particularly phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, ethno-methodology – critical ethnographers raised fundamental questions about the practice of ethnography, the role of social structure, and

the nature of culture (Anderson 1989). Symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology brought to critical ethnographers a concern for social interactions as a means of negotiating meanings in context. Anthropology and phenomenology brought an interpretive lens that focused on human agency and local knowledge (Geertz 1983).

The interpretive focus on local knowledge, human agency, and cultural context, appealed greatly to neo-Marxists and feminists who were trapped in the epistemological silo of structural determinism. An impressive critical ethnography of gender and schooling began to emerge with important contributions from scholars such as McRobbie (1978); McRobbie and Garber (1976); Nihlen and Bailey (1988); Okazawa-Rey (1987); Wilson (1978) to name a few. These scholars along with the British 'new sociology' challenged patriarchical and economic determinism as inadequate societal explanations for persistent gendered, class and sexual orientation inequalities. During the 1970s, scholars such as Bowles and Gintis's (1976) structural account of the role of American schooling in the social reproduction and the theoretical and epistemological critiques that followed it – Apple (1982); Cohen and Rosenberg (1977); Giroux (1983); Weiler (1988) – accelerated the search for research methodologies capable of representing the dialectical relationship between social structure and human agency.

During this time, Paul Willis's (1977) grounded version of resistance theory greatly influenced American critical ethnography and became a standard bearer in the field. In *Learning to labour*, Willis analyses the attitudes and behaviour of the 'lads' and demonstrates how they both resisted the educational system that they perceived as oppressing them, while at the same time, reproducing the class structure that confined them to 'dead-end' jobs. Although Willis brilliantly emphasised the ways in which social class is reproduced from one generation to the next, he underanalysed the complex ways in which race and gender intersect with social class to reproduce structures of domination in society.

MacLeod (1987/1995) attempted to build on Willis's theory in a multiracial American context by studying two groups of male adolescent 'hallway hangers' and 'brothers' in a Boston housing project. He found that the Hallway Hangers, a neighbourhood clique, were often cynical and self-destructive. The other group, the Brothers, took the American Dream to heart and aspired to middle class social status. MacLeod's findings were surprising to some because the Hallway Hangers were mostly White; while the Brothers were mostly Black. By comparing the two groups, MacLeod provided a provocative account of how race, language, and ideology help perpetuate poverty from one generation to the next.

My own research, *Re-examining resistance as oppositional behaviour: The nation of Islam and the creation of a Black achievement ideology*, builds from Gibson (1988); MacLeod (1987/1995); Ogbu's (1974, 2004); Willis (1977) research – by examining the achievement ideology of Black female students in an urban community (Akom 2003). This research not only nuances resistance theory, but begins to incorporate a theory of race and culture into qualitative research methods in three ways: (1) by demonstrating that through the religious tenants and practices of the nation of Islam (NOI), young female members develop a Black achievement ideology, resulting in the adoption of the kind of studious orientation to school that is usually demonstrated by voluntary immigrant groups; (2) by demonstrating the ways in which Black people differentially make sense of and enact what it means to be Black that

challenge binary or dichotomised accounts of black oppositional social identity; and (3) by illustrating how resistance for NOI young women is transformative, as well as reproductive, of existing patterns of social, racial and gender relations.

Although each of these research accounts, and others, in the critical ethnography genre are important, serious questions remain about the compatibility of 'theory-driven social agendas on the one hand and phenomenological research methods on the other' (Anderson 1989, 252). Two of the central challenges facing critical ethnography in the twenty-first century are as follows: (1) critical ethnographers have a tendency to over rely on abstract social theories and categories such as 'class' and the 'state', while under-theorising the organisational dynamics, specific historical, and inter-institutional arrangements of race, racism and pigmentocracy; (2) critical ethnography needs to work on becoming more collaboratively engaged. For example, Wexler (1987) 'has criticised critical ethnographers for acting like voyeurs, view their research subjects' lives with the detachment characteristics of television viewing' (Anderson 1989, 262). In other words, although top-down, outside approaches to critical ethnography are still the rule, a movement towards collaborative AR will help critical ethnographers achieve a more ground analysis in the 'trenches' of educational practice (1989, 262). A BEAR framework is an important step in this direction.

Historical roots and origins of BEAR

The BEAR traces its epistemological and ontological origins from three distinct but related research approaches: the 'Southern tradition' of participatory research (PR), the 'northern tradition' of AR, and AC research and scholarship. The term participatory research was born in Tanzania in the early 1970s with revolutionary roots tied to emancipatory movements of resistance, agency and political contestation to colonisation and conquest (Park et al. 1993). During the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, variations of participatory research developed throughout Africa, Asian and South America, often independently from one another.

The central methodology to promote community empowerment comes from Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970), who advocates a liberatory education based on dialogue, mutual respect and belief that people can listen to their own experiences, discuss common interconnections and create actions to change the lives of their communities (Wallerstein and Auerbach 2004). Energised by the political urgency of the times, Freire, Fals-Borda, Fanon, and other scholars from developing countries created an alternative method of inquiry as a direct counter to the ways in which knowledge about people of colour was being collected, classified and characterised by the West, and at times, mis-represented by those who have been colonised by the West (Smith 1999). In his seminal article on participatory research, Hall (1981) identified its central goals and key characteristics. The goal of PR is community transformation and its target of focus is 'exploited or oppressed groups; immigrants, labour, indigenous peoples, women' (Hall 1981, 7). Additionally, Hall observed that, 'although those with specialised knowledge/training often come from outside the situation, they are committed participants and learners in a process that leads to militancy rather than detachment' (Hall 1981, 8). In the years that followed, feminist, womanists and critical race theorists added further conceptual depth and richness to the PAR approach (Akom 2008a; Chávez and Soep 2005; Smith-Maddox and Solorzano 2002).

In North America, a distinct but interrelated action research school began in 1946 when Kurt Lewin emphasised active involvement in the research processes by those affected by the problem being studied through a cyclical process of fact finding, action, and reflection. During the 1940s, a parallel and independent AR movement developed in Britain (Holter and Schwartz-Barcott 1993; Khanlou and Peter 2004). What made these two AR movements distinct from traditional positivist science was how each paid careful attention to developing methods in which 'the background and context of the actors themselves' could be used to derive meaning from their social environment (Peters and Robinson 1984, 116). However in America, long before Lewin, the Chicago school of ethnography and critical ethnographers, scholar/activists such as Carter G. Woodson, St. Clair Drake, W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary McLeod Bethune and others provided critical grounding for the development of community based participatory research (CBPR) precisely because of their determination to give primacy to 'community issues', apply alternative conceptual frameworks and research methodologies to explain racialised opportunity gaps and unfair working conditions, and a determination to use scholarship for the purpose of 'community uplift' embedded in the research process.

In addition to these scholars, the BEAR framework is indebted to those earlier pioneers of AC who approach questions of Black identity from the perspective of African-descendent people as 'centred, located, oriented and grounded' (Mkabela 2005). In particular BEAR owes a great deal to Cheik Anta Diop, Chancellor Williams, Ida B. Wells, CLR James, Frantz Fanon, Ella Baker and Marimba Ani to name a few. In recent years, AC scholarship as a theoretical and philosophical paradigm has been most visible in the works of Molefi Asante's *Afrocentricity, the Afrocentric idea and Kemet*, *Afrocentricity and knowledge* (1990). Asante, Maulana Karenga, and other proponents of AC scholarship are important to a BEAR approach because their framework demonstrates the necessity of examining all data from the perspective of subjects and human agency rather than examining individuals, communities, and resources as 'things' to be possessed – which has often been the case in the European frame of reference (Cesaire 1972; Fals Borda 1987; Freire 1970). In this manner the Afrocentric method differs markedly from what some have called a European or traditional research paradigm by highlighting the importance of cultural and social immersion as opposed to scientific distance as the best approach to understand African Diasporic culture and behaviour (Mkabela 2005).

By requiring that the researcher understand the subjective point of view, an AC research approach has the ability to address questions that traditional ethnographic methods tend to overlook or ignore such as cultural specificity, researcher judgement, how the researcher's experiences and histories impact the research process itself, and perhaps most importantly, the communities perspective of the social situation. According to Mkabela, the AC research paradigm embodies the following key principles:

- The researcher uses an interpretive lens that focuses on 'centredness', human agency, local knowledge, and subjectivity.[2]
- The Indigenous community controls the research process.
- The indigenous community is involved in the research process from data collection, to analysis, to dissemination.

- The researcher has a deep familiarity with history, language, philosophy and myths of the community.

However, while action research, participatory research, and African-centred research share core values, they differ in their intellectual genealogies and how these values can best be applied (Khanlou and Peter 2004). All three value local knowledge, community generated information and community capacity building. Differences in epistemologies between AR, PR and AC arise from their academic training and the context in which the research was developed (Brown and Tandon 1983). Historically, action researchers have been clinically trained in disciplines such as social psychology, nursing, public health, medicine and management theory. Their epistemological views therefore emphasise 'individual, inter-personal and group levels of analysis' (Khanlou and Peter 2004, 2335). While participatory researchers are usually adult educators, activists and community organisers drawing from a range of disciplines including: sociology, social work, anthropology, community studies and education, with a focus on transforming individual, community and institutional social structures. Finally, AC researchers have been trained in Africana studies, Black studies, Black psychology or another school of thought known as 'transformationalist' that incorporates basic historical and cultural facts and insights from African-centred frameworks with a focus on the concrete social and material conditions of Black communities in this historical moment (Hall 1992).

Introducing Black Emancipatory Action Research

Given its historical, epistemological and ontological origins, BEAR is a research orientation aimed at creating strategies of liberation from intersecting forms of oppression experienced by people of African descent across the Diaspora. Since BEAR has roots in critical Africentricity and Africana womanist scholarship, it deals with the question of race, gender and other forms of identity from the perspective of Black cultures being centred, located and grounded (see T'Shaka 2004). In this manner, BEAR encompasses a theoretical and philosophical perspective derived from an understanding of pre-colonial African experiences as well as the collective lived experiences of Black people across the Diaspora.

Because BEAR utilises theories of empowerment education, problem-posing education, and popular education its implementation within educational and community settings expands the goals of positive youth development (PYD) to include personal and community transformation (Freire 1973, 1996; Ginwright and Cammarota 2006; Rappaport 1987; Wallerstein 1992; Zimmerman 1999). By providing participants with opportunities for meaningful engagement in problem identification, analysis, planning, civic engagement and community-led evaluation, BEAR teaches communities to 'read the world' and develop skills, which can contribute to a sense of mastery, power and control over their environment.

The aims of BEAR are similar to CBPR – to engage community members as equal partners alongside scientists in problem definition, information collection and data analysis – geared towards local relevant action for social change (Corburn 2002). As summarised by Israel et al. (2006), the fundamental principles of such research are that

- It is participatory
- It is cooperative, engaging community members and researchers in a joint process to which each contributes equally
- It is a co-learning process
- It involves systems development and local capacity building
- It is an empowering process through which participants can increase control of their lives
- It achieves a balance between research and action

However, an important difference between BEAR and other approaches is its explicit focus on race. The emphasis on race and racism brings its own set of opportunities and challenges. By repositioning Black people as researchers, rather than the 'researched', and enabling Black communities to interrogate and denaturalise the role of racism in the conditions of our oppression, BEAR inspires collective empowerment, the deepening of community knowledge, and a movement towards racial and other forms of social justice (Torre and Fine 2006, 271).

Thus, for the purpose of a BEAR framework, the term 'Black racism' refers to the internationalisation of white skin privilege and is thus a racial concept rooted in the social construction of race and pigmentocracy (Gardell 1996). As a result, many Latino/a, Native Americans, Asians, Pacific Islanders and other people of colour experience 'Black/Brown' racism at different times and under different circumstances at home and abroad at this level of meaning (Gardell 1996). Where BEAR departs from Afrocentric research methods is that 'Afrocentricity', according to Asante, 'is not colour-conscious, it is not a matter of colour but of culture that matters in the orientation to centredness' (Asante 1988, 3). Whereas in the BEAR methodological approach, borrowing and extending critical race methodology: (1) foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process while challenging separate discourses on race, class, gender, religion, nationality, sexual orientation and special needs, by illustrating how these forms of oppression interlock creating a system of oppression (Hill-Collins 1990); (2) challenges traditional research paradigms and theories used to explain the experiences of Black people; (3) utilised an asset building approach to systems of oppression by focusing on problems as well as transformative solutions and community capacity building; (4) focuses on the experiential knowledge of Black people as sources of strength; and (5) uses an inter-disciplinary knowledge base of Africana studies, ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, psychology, history, humanities and the law to better understand the experiences of Black people (Yosso and Solorzano 2002, 24).

Indeed, BEAR's greatest attribute is perhaps its potential to democratise the research process as it intersects with race, class, gender, language, religion, sexual orientation, special needs and other axis of social difference. Overall, BEAR is not a method per se but a research orientation that may employ a number of different qualitative and quantitative methodologies. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes, what is distinctive about BEAR is the understanding that marginalised communities harbour critical social knowledge and should empower themselves, and be empowered, to determine what is valid or useful knowledge. Smith offers several key questions, which are important to incorporate into a BEAR approach:

> Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interest does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated? What are the barriers to participation? How meaningful will the participation be at each stage? What are the limitations to this project? How flexible is this project? What are the possible negative impacts of this project? Is the researchers' spirit clear? Does s/he have a good heart? What baggage are they carrying? Is the research useful to our community? Can it get the environmental pollution out of our community? Can it actually do anything right here right now that can help us grow? (Akom 2008b, 2009; Smith 1999, 10)

Overall, BEAR is a blended approach that combines the 'transformationists' approach with AR and PR so that the concrete issues and conditions of mind, body, and spirit in Black communities can be transformed. The knowledge that Black communities have about their experiences overcoming multiple environmental and educational health hazards and chronic disease is one of the fundamental assets they bring to the research process, and is often a key resource the community organises to resist social toxins (Corburn 2002; Corburn, Osleeb, and Porter 2006). When communities engage in BEAR research, their primary goal is often to help themselves by generating usable or actionable knowledge – information that goes beyond description and analyst and suggest proactive or precautionary intervention strategies. In the following section I further explain the key characteristics that define BEAR paradigm.

Articulating a Black emancipatory action research framework

It is important to articulate a BEAR framework by defining racism. For the purposes of this article, Calmore (1998) and powell's (2008) structural racialisation framework is a useful model for conceptualising racism in its contemporary form. Structural racialisation extends traditional understandings of racism as 'either a product of individual intentional racism or formally race-neutral policies and practices that have the effect of disadvantaging certain racial or ethnic groups' (powell 2008, 791). Instead, structural racialisation emphasises 'the interaction of multiple institutions in an ongoing process of producing racialised outcomes' ideologically, institutionally, inter-personally and internally (powell 2008, 791). Building on Professor Calmore and Professor powell's work, this article advances a structural model for conceptualising racism in its contemporary form that will help us realise both an environmentally, economically, educationally and racially just society. The core principles that characterised the BEAR model are as follows: (1) structural racialisation, (2) intersectionality and the social construction of knowledge, (3) the development of critical consciousness (4) love, healing, and a commitment to social justice.

Structural racialisation

Informing the BEAR research orientation is the view that racism is not perpetuated solely by individuals but also through our societal organisation and cultural understandings (Calmore 1998). At the level of societal organisation, the structural racialisation model helps us analyse the ways in which housing, education, employment, transportation, health, wealth, the built environment and other systems

interact to produce racialised outcomes. Such a model requires that our thinking expands beyond merit-based, individualised understandings of social mobility to include how all groups are interconnected and advantaged and disadvantaged through inter-institutional arrangements that shape life chances and command over resources. At the level of cultural understanding, structural racialisation shows how 'the structures we create, inhabit, and maintain in turn recreate us by shaping identity and imparting social meaning' (powell 2008, 792). Chief among the processes in a BEAR framework that connect institutions to identity formation are the relationships between race, space, place, and waste. In the United States, spaces are raced and races have spaces precisely because according to Calmore, residential location is racialised and 'assumed to be an index of attitudes, values, behavioural inclinations and social norms of the kinds of people living there' (Calmore 1998, 1121). This holds true in other racial democracies as well as socialist and communist-oriented countries such as Brazil, France, Cuba and China (Sawyer 2006; Twine 1998; Washington 1990). If left uninterrupted, these social structures and habits of living are reproduced and naturalise social meanings. A BEAR research orientation is committed to transforming these social structures as well as the internal and external meanings that are associated with them.

Intersectionality and the social construction of knowledge

Although race and racism are at the centre of a BEAR research orientation, the BEAR framework also views race at the intersection of other forms of oppression such as class, gender, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, immigration status, surname, phenotype, accent and special needs, by illustrating how these forms of oppression interlock creating a system of oppression (Hill-Collins 1990). Thus, informed by the intercentricity of racialised oppression BEAR challenges traditional claims towards objectivity, meritocracy, colour-blindness and neutrality and argues that traditional research methods often mask self-interest, power and privilege of dominant groups (Solorzano 1997). In an effort to challenge traditional research paradigms, texts and theories used to explain the experiences of people of colour, the BEAR framework seeks to expose 'deficit-informed research and methods that silence and distort the experiences of people of colour' and instead focuses on an asset-building approach that views their racialised, gendered and classed experiences as a source of strength (Ginwright and Cammarota 2006; Yosso and Solorzano 2002, 26).

The development of critical consciousness

By encouraging a deep participation of the community in every aspect of the research process, including design, development and dissemination, BEAR enables everyday people to deconstruct the material and ideological conditions that oppress them and to transform the underlying causes into opportunities for community building, policy change and knowledge production. Paulo Freire termed this method of social inquiry as pedagogy of the oppressed – a social praxis where we learn to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality. At the core of Freire's work was the belief that transformative education for the poor and disempowered begins with the creation of pedagogic spaces where marginalised people are enabled to gain a consciousness of

how their own experiences have been shaped by larger social institutions. Through a counter-hegemonic research orientation that focuses on race, culture and resistance; womanism, sexism and sexuality (Gordon 2000; Hill-Collins 2005; Hudson-Weems 2000); and counter-narratives (Akom 2008b; Solorzano and Delgado Bernal 2001), communities of colour are able to provide alternate explanations of social inequality as well as gain a critical perspective of their world.

Healing and a commitment to social justice

The indigenous and modern world of Africa have much to offer the developing world, in terms of ways to combat bitterness and cynicism by more deeply understanding, embracing, and practicing concepts such as love, healing, ritual and community (Kelley 2002). Healing is central to Black community development because of the historical trauma White supremacy has and continues to inflict upon our communities as well as the inter-personal and internalised ways we have and continue to inflict trauma upon ourselves. Love is 'the will to extend one's self for the purpose of nurturing one's own or another's spiritual growth' (Peck 1978, 69). Yet with the notable exception of Vincent Harding, few Black social scientists since W.E.B. Du Bois have been bold enough to assert a connection between the spirit and spiritual world of African Diasporic peoples and the realm of socio-political struggle (Kelley 1993). Du Bois in Black Reconstruction had the audacity to boldly include freed people's narratives of divine intervention in the struggle for liberation and emancipation from White supremacy and, in doing so, gave future researchers insight into how spaces of marginalisation were at the same time spaces of hope, healing, resistance, and community building.

It follows that a BEAR agenda is focused strategically on the goal of self-determination of Black people. Self-determination, love and healing when embedded in research agendas become something more than socio-political goals, rather they offer a liberatory and transformative response to racial, gender and class oppression, across a wide range of social, political, psychological and economic terrains (Matsuda 1995; Smith 1999).

Figure 1 is a simple representation of a BEAR agenda. Following J.L. Matory's live '"Afro-Atlantic dialogue" in which the Diaspora and Africa itself are united by a "discontinuous" and mutually influential dialogue that has continued long beyond the end of slavery', the chart uses the Yoruba metaphor of a river. The Yoruba religion is perhaps the largest African born religion in the world (Awolalu 1996). Born in the soil of West Africa (mainly in Nigeria and Benin) yet practiced all over the world, especially in the Caribbean (Haiti, Trinidad) and Latin America (Columbia, Venezuela), the Yoruba cosmology has given birth to several African–Atlantic religions such as Santeria in Cuba and Candomble in Brazil (Awolalu 1996). The Philosophy of Yoruba is that all human beings have Ayanmo (manifest destiny) to become one in spirit with Olódùmarè (the divine creator and source of all energy). Each person in Ayé (the physical realm) uses thought or action energies to impact the community of all other living things including the Earth, and so to move towards destiny. As a result of the power of action and thought in Yoroba cosmology, one's destiny is in one's hands.

For Yoruba practitioners, a significant deity of the river is Osun (or Oxum, Oshun). Although there are multiple directions that can be taken, the chart takes the

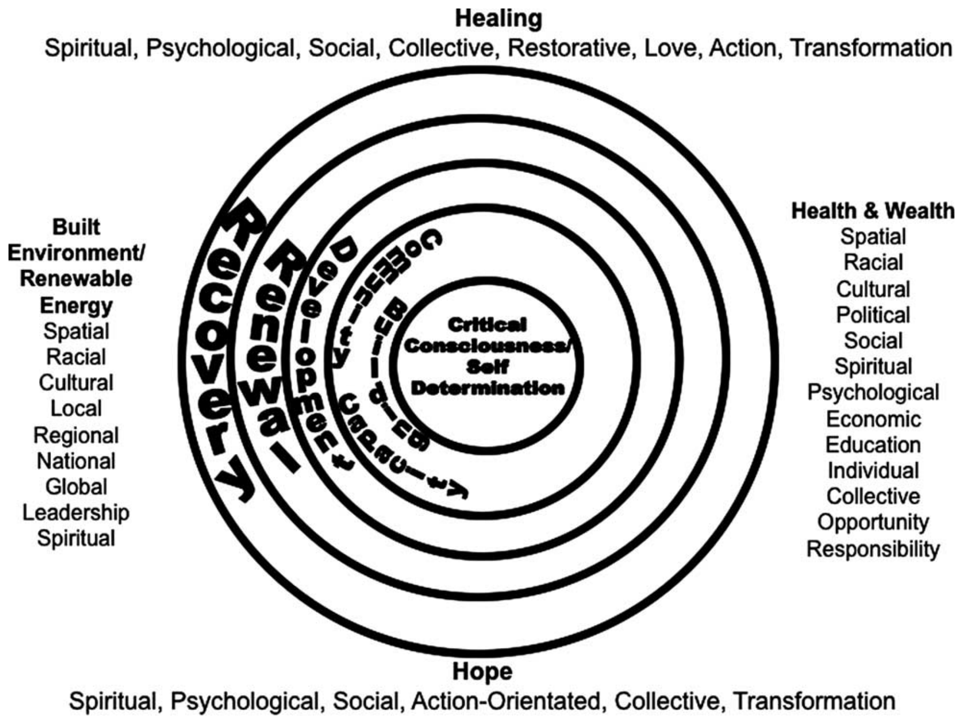

Figure 1. Black emancipatory action research agenda adapted from Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies*, 1999. Original figure copyright © Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1997. Reproduced by permission of Zed Books, London & New York.

Yoruba equivalent to the four points of light. The number four is extremely consequential in Yoruba culture, which emphasises four directions or corners of the world (Fatunmbi 2005). In Yoruba culture it is believed that there are four gates from the outer world to the earth. The four directions named here – Healing, Hope, Health/Wealth and well-being, Built environment/community activism – are not goals in themselves but rather represent processes that can be incorporated into research practices, models and orientations (Smith 1999, 116). The four major currents are represented in the chart as: recovery/renewal, development, community capacity building and self-determination/critical consciousness. These are non-linear conditions and states of being through which Black communities across the Diaspora travel in and out of across different points in time and space.

Overall the BEAR agenda is broad in scope and ambitious in its goals. There are many elements, which make this agenda very different from a typical Western research agenda, as well as some elements that are shared in common. The most important differences can be found in keywords such as: love, healing, health, spiritual, transformation, recovery and renewal. These terms appear to be at odds with a great deal of Western research terminology because they appear to be politically and spiritually motivated rather than neutral and objective (Smith 1999, 117). However, a BEAR framework emphasises community-engaged research driven by local and experiential knowledge. In sum, although the four pillars of BEAR are not collectively new, due to the emphasis on structural racialisation; intersectionality

and the social construction of knowledge; the development of critical consciousness; and love, healing and a commitment to social justice – BEAR represents a challenge to existing research orientations (Yosso and Solorzano 2002, 27).

Conclusion

The BEAR approach combines several overlapping traditions. I have combined these under BEAR to emphasise the commonalities in their research programmes and to highlight those areas where they can learn from one another. The largely phallocentric, distancing techniques of much of neo-Marxist ethnography are increasingly challenged by the merging, collaborative tendencies of CBPR in a BEAR framework (Anderson 1989). Likewise, some African-centred scholars struggle with the ways patriarchy intersects with race, class, and culture in women's oppression. While critical feminists often times ignore the powerful role of race and social class in the liberation of women, which is often highlighted in Africana womanists' scholarship (Bellgrade-Smith 2004; Hudson-Weems 2000; McBride 2004). In a BEAR framework, intersectionality and the cumulative effect of inter-institutional arrangements are central.

The purpose of creating a new research orientation is not to completely dismiss the old ones, but rather, to integrate a theory of structural racialisation into qualitative research methods. Some of this important work has already begun in the fields of critical discourse analysis and critical sociolinguistics (cite); however, if universities and communities do not continue to rethink the role of race and intersectionality in the research process then the fragile and often hostile relationship between schools, universities and communities remains in the balance both in the United States as well as abroad – and the ongoing development of CBPR will take place outside of institutional structures rather than working with each other in a collaborative process of mutual engagement.

With the increased emphasis on partnership approaches to improving adolescent and community health, CBPR approaches are experiencing an explosion of renewed interest and unprecedented new opportunities for scholarly recognition and financial support, particularly in the field of public health (Minkler 2004, 686). For example,

> [T]he Institute of Medicine named community-based participatory research, as one of the eight new areas in which all schools of public health should offer training; and the NIH has infused significant resources to expand the reach and scope of this research orientation. (Gebbie, Rosenstock, and Hernandez 2003; Minkler 2005, 5)

However, other important fields that employ this approach, such as sociology, education, anthropology, urban planning, and ethnic studies, have been slow to develop new standards for PAR so that faculty members who engage in this work with community partners 'are not penalised by a university reward system that has tended to devalue such collaborative endeavors' (Minkler 2004, 686).

A bridge must be built between the expert knowledge of indigenous communities and low-income communities of colour and the scientific driven expertise of academic institutions. This bridge must allow researchers, scholars and activists with different epistemological, ontological, axiological, cosmological points of view to be acknowledged and rewarded by academic institutions and communities – while

maintaining high standards and rigorous scholarship. It is ultimately out of this struggle to bring marginalised academics and communities together at the same table with those who are in power, that more nuanced definitions of 'what counts as research', including expanded definitions of validity and reliability, will be built that are strong enough to interrupt current forms of academic and methodological imperialism.

While the impact of these dynamics is often racialised and uneven, a BEAR framework cautions against ignoring the needs of all groups precisely because such an approach is often unsustainable. Instead the BEAR framework advocates for what powell calls 'targeted universalism'. The goals of targeted universalism are high quality housing, education and health care for all. However, the approach is targeted because groups are situated differently in relation to the opportunity structure in both the United States as well as abroad (powell 2008). Targeted universalism in national and international contexts will require a research orientation that empowers marginalised and vulnerable populations but is also sensitive to the needs of different communities. When this approach is implemented effectively, the concerns and needs of marginal communities are at the forefront while the dominant group is not ignored or privileged. The universal focus is emphasised as a goal; however, it is important that all strategies and processes are led and controlled by indigenous/African Diasporic communities. Failure to implement such an approach may result in limiting our ability to use local knowledge to meet the challenges and opportunities of an increasingly diverse and globalised world. I am hopeful that future researchers will continue to employ and expand the BEAR framework in order to empower marginalised communities around the world. It is ultimately through liberatory frameworks such as BEAR that a new scholarship is destined to emerge.

Notes

1. Pigmentocracy refers to a system of advantages or disadvantages based on various phenotypes or skin pigmentations within a racialised hierarchical society (Akom, 2008b).
2. According to Mkabela: 'to be centred is to located as an agent instead of as the "Other"' (2005, 180).

References

Akom, A.A. 2003. Reexamining resistance as oppositional behavior: The Nation of Islam and the creation of a Black achievement ideology. *Sociology of Education* 76, no. 4: 305–25.

Akom, A.A. 2007. Cities as battlefields: Understanding how the Nation of Islam impacts civic engagement, environmental racism, and community development in a low-income neighborhood. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 209, no. 6: 711–30.

Akom, A.A. 2008a. Critical race theory meets participatory action research: Creating a community of youth as public intellectual. In *Social justice in education handbook*, ed. W. Ayers, T. Quinn, and D. Stovall, 508–21. New York: Erlbaum Press.

Akom, A.A. 2008b. Ameritocracy and infra-racial racism: Racializing social and cultural reproduction theory in the 21st century. *Race and Ethnicity in Education* 11, no. 3: 205–30.

Akom, A.A. 2009. Research for liberation: Du Bois, the Chicago School, and the development of Black emancipatory action research. In *Education as a practice of freedom: African American educational thought and ideology*, ed. N.S. Anderson and H. Kharem, 193–212. New York: Lexington Press.

Akom, A.A., J. Cammarota, and S. Ginwright. 2008. Youthtopias: Towards a new paradigm of critical youth studies. *Youth Media Reporter* 2, no. 4: 1–30.
Anderson, E. 2002. The ideologically driven critique. *American Journal of Sociology* 107, no. 2: 1533–50.
Anderson, E., and D.S. Massey. 2001. *Problem of the century: Racial stratification in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Anderson, G.L. 1989. Critical ethnography in education: Origins, current status, and new directions. *Review of Educational Research* 59, no. 3: 249–70.
Ani, M. 1994. *Yurugu: An African-center critique of European cultural thought and behavior*. Trenton, NJ: African World Press.
Apple, M., ed., 1982. *Cultural and economic reproduction in education: Essays on class, ideology and the state*. New York: Routledge.
Asante, M.K. 1990. *Afrocentricity, the Afrocentric idea and Kemet, Afrocentricity and knowledge*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
Asante, M.K. 1988. *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press
Awolalu, J.O. 1996. *Yoruba beliefs and sacrificial rites*. New York: Athelia Henrietta Press.
Bellgrade-Smith, P. 2004. Hormones and melanin: The dimensions of 'race,' sex, and gender in Africology. In *The Black studies reader*, ed. J. Bobo, C. Hudley, and C. Michel, 329–42. New York: Routledge.
Bonilla-Silva, E. 2001. *White supremacy and racism in the post civil rights era*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
Bowles, S., and H. Gintis.. 1976. *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.
Brown, L.D., and R. Tandon. 1983. Ideology and political economy in inquiry: Action research and participatory research. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 19: 277–94.
Calmore, J.O. 1998. Race/ism lost and found: The fair housing act at thirty. *University of Miami Law Review* 52: 1121–2.
Cammarota, J., and M. Fine. 2008. *Revolutionizing education: Youth participatory action research in motion*. New York: Routledge.
Cesaire, A. 1972. *Discourse on colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review.
Chávez, V., and E. Soep. 2005. Youth radio and the pedagogy of collegiality. *Harvard Educational Review* 75, no. 40: 409–34.
Cochran-Smith, M., and S. Lytle. 1993. *Inside/outside: Teacher research and knowledge*. New York: Teachers College Press.
Cohen, D., and B. Rosenberg. 1977. Functions and fantasies: Understanding schools in capitalist America. *History of Education Quarterly* Summer: 113–37.
Corburn, J. 2002. Environmental justice, local knowledge and risk: The discourse of a community-based cumulative exposure assessment. *Environmental Management* 29, no. 4: 451–66.
Corburn, J. 2005. *Street science: Community knowledge and environmental health justice*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Corburn, J., J. Osleeb, and M. Porter. 2006. Urban asthma and neighborhood characteristics in New York City. *Health and Place* 12: 167–79.
Deegan, M.J. 2001. The Chicago school of ethnography. In *Handbook of ethnography*, ed. P. Atkison, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, and L. Lofland, 11–25. London: Sage.
Erickson, F. 1986. Qualitative methods in research on teaching. In *Handbook of research on teaching*, ed. M.C. Wittrock, 119–61. New York: Macmillan.
Fals Borda, O. 1987. The application of participatory action-research in Latin America. *International Sociology* 2, no. 4: 329–47.
Fatunmbi, A. 2005. *Inner peace: The Yoruba concept of Ori*. New York: Athelia Henrietta Press.
Flanagan, W.G. 1993. *Contemporary urban sociology*. London: Cambridge University Press.
Freire, P. 1970. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continum.
Freire, P. 1973. *Education for critical consciousness*. New York: Continuum.
Freire, P. 1996. *Pedagogy of hope: Reliving pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum Press.

Gardell, M. 1996. *In the name of Elijah Muhammad: Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam*. Durham, NC: Duke University.

Gebbie, K.M., L. Rosenstock, and L.M. Hernandez. 2003. *Who will keep the public healthy? Educating public health professionals for the 21st century.* Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

Geertz, C. 1983. *Local knowledge.* New York: Basic Books.

Gibson, M. 1988. *Accommodation without assimilation: Sikh immigrants in an American high school*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Ginwright, S., and J. Cammarota. 2006. Introduction. In *Beyond resistance: Youth activism and community change*, ed. S. Ginwright, P. Noguera, and J. Cammarota, xiii–xxi. New York: Routledge.

Ginwright, S., and J. Cammarota. 2007. Youth activism in the urban community: Learning critical civic praxis within community organizations. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 20, no. 6: 693–710.

Giroux, H.A. 1983. Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analysis. *Harvard Educational Review* 53, no. 4: 257–93.

Gordon, V.V. 2000. Black women, feminism and Black studies. In *Out of the revolution: The development of Africana studies*, ed. D. Aldridge and C. Young, 165–76. New York: Lexington Books.

Hall, B.L. 1981. Participatory research, popular knowledge and power: A personal reflection. *Convergence* 14, no. 3: 6–19.

Hall, B.L. 1992. From margin to center? The development and purpose of participator research. *The American Sociologist.* 23: 15–28.

Henry, J. 1963. *Culture against man*. New York: Random House.

Hill-Collins, P. 1990. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness and politics of empowerment*. New York: Routledge.

Hill-Collins, P. 2005. *Black sexual politics: African Americans, gender, and new racism*. New York: Routledge.

Holter, I.M., and S. Schwartz-Barcott. 1993. Action research: What is it? How has it been used and how can it be used in nursing? *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 18: 298–304.

Hudson-Weems, C. 2000. Africana womanism: An overview. In *Out of the revolution: The development of Africana studies*, ed. D. Aldridge and C. Young, 205–17. New York: Lexington Books.

Israel, B.A., J.W. Krieger, D. Vlahov, S.J. Ciske, M. Foley, P. Fortin, J.R. Guzman, R. Lichtenstein, R. McGranaghan, A.G. Palermo, G. et al. 2006. Challenges and facilitating factors in sustaining community-based participatory research partnerships: Lessons learned from the Detroit, New York City, and Seattle urban research centers. *Journal of Urban Health* 83, no. 6: 1022–40.

Jackson, P. 1968. *Life in classrooms.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Karenga, M. 2006. *Maat, the moral ideal in ancient Egypt: A study in classical African ethics.* Los Angeles, CA: University of Sankore Press.

Kelley, R.D.G. 1993. Afterword. *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 1: 168–71.

Kelley, R.D.G. 2002. *Freedom dreams: The Black radical imagination*, chap. 1. New York: The Free Press.

Khanlou, N., and E. Peter. 2004. Participatory action research: Consideration for ethnical review. *Social Science & Medicine* 60, no. 2005: 2333–40.

Kwate, N.O.A. 2005. The hersey of African-center psychology. *Journal of Medical Humanities* 26, no. 4: 215–35.

Lutters, W.G., and M.S. Ackerman. 1996. *An introduction to the Chicago school of sociology.*

MacLeod, J. 1987/1995. *Ain't no makin' it: Aspirations and attainment in a low-income neighborhood*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Matsuda, M. 1995. Looking to the bottom: Critical legal studies and reparations. In *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement* ed. K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, and K. Thomas, 63–79. New York: The New Press.

McBride, D. 2004. Can the Queen speak: Racial essentialism, sexuality, and the problem of authority. In: *The Black studies reader,* ed. J. Bobo, C. Hudley, and C. Michel, 343–58. New York: Routledge.

McRobbie, A. 1978. Working class girls and the culture of femininity. In *Women take issue: Aspects of women's subordination,* ed. Women's Study Group, 96–109. London: Hutchinson.
McRobbie, A., and J. Garber. 1976. Girls and subcultures. In *Resistance through rituals*, ed. S. Hall and T. Jefferson, 209–22. London: Routledge.
Minkler, M. 2004. Ethical challenges for the 'outside' researcher in community-based participatory research. *Health Education & Behavior* 31, no. 6: 684–97.
Minkler, M. 2005. Community based research partnerships: Challenges and opportunities. *Journal of Urban Health* 82, no. 2S: 3–12.
Mkabela, Q. 2005. Using the Afrocentric method in researching indigenous African culture. *The Qualitative Report* 10, no. 1: 178–89.
Morrell, E. 2007. Critical literacy and urban youth: Pedagogies of access, dissent, and liberation. New York: Routledge.
Nihlen, A., and B. Bailey. 1988. Children's display of gender-schemas through interaction with nontraditional workers. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 19: 155–62.
Ogbu, J. 1974. *The next generation: An ethnography of education in urban neighborhood*. New York: Academic Press.
Ogbu, J.U. 2004. Collective identity and the burden of 'acting White' in black history, community, and education. *Urban Review* 36, no. 1: 1–35.
Okazawa-Rey, M. 1987. Teaching for liberation and for social change: An ethnographic study. PhD diss., Harvard University.
Omi, M., and H. Winant. 1986. *Racial Formation in the US: From the 1960s to the 1980s*. New York: Routledge.
Park, P., M. Brydon-Miller, B. Hall, and T. Jackson, eds. 1993. *Voices of change: Participatory research in the United States and Canada*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Press.
Peck, S. 1978. The road less traveled and beyond: Spiritual growth in an age of anxiety. New York: Touchstone.
Peters, M., and V. Robinson. 1984. The origin and status of action research. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 20, no. 2: 113–24.
powell, j.a. 2008. A tribute to Professor John O. Calmore: Structural racism: Building upon the insight of John Calmore. *North Carolina Review* 86, no. 3: 791–816.
Rappaport, J. 1987. Terms of empowerment/exemplars of prevention: Toward a theory for community psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 15: 121–48.
Sawyer, M.Q. 2006. *Racial politics in post-revolution Cuba*. London: Cambridge University Press.
Smith, L.T. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous people*. New York: Zed Books.
Smith-Maddox, R., and D. Solorzano. 2002. Using critical race theory, Paulo Freire's problem-posing method, and case study research to confront race and racism in education. *Qualitative Inquiry* 8, no. 1: 66–84.
Solorzano, D.G. 1997. Images and words that wound: Critical race theory, racial stereotyping, and teacher education. *Teacher Education Quarterly* 24: 5–19.
Solorzano, D.G., and D. Delgado Bernal. 2001. Examining transformational resistance through a critical race and latcrit theory framework: Chicana and Chicano students in an urban context. *Urban Education* 36: 308–42.
Torre, M.E., and M. Fine. 2006. Researching and resisting: Democratic policy research by and for youth. In *Beyond resistance: Youth activism and community change* ed. S. Ginwright, J. Cammarota, and P. Noguera, 269–85. New York, NY: Routledge.
T'Shaka, O. 2004. *The integration trap; the generation gap*. Oakland, CA: Pan Africanism.
Twine, F.W. 1998. *Racism in a racial democracy: The maintenance of White supremacy in Brazil*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Twine, F.W., and J.W. Warren, eds. 2003. *Racing research, researching race: Methodological dilemmas in critical race studies*. New York: New York University Press.
Wallerstein, N. 1992. Powerlessness, empowerment, and health: Implications for health promotion programs. *American Journal of Health Promotion* 6, no. 3: 197–205.
Wallerstein, N., and E. Auerbach. 2004. *Problem-posing at work: Popular educator's guide*. Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: Grass Roots Press.

Washington, R.E. 1990. Brown racism and the formation of a world system of racial stratification. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 4, no. 2: 209–7.
Weiler, K. 1988. *Women teaching for change: Gender, class & power*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.
Wexler, P. 1987. *Social analysis of education: After the new sociology*. London: Routledge.
Willis, P. 1977. *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Wilson, W.L. 1978. *The declining significance of race*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Yosso, T., and D. Solorzano. 2002. Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 8, no. 1: 23–44.
Zimmerman, M.A. 1999. Taking aim on empowerment research: On the distinction between individual and psychological conceptions. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18: 169–77.