

African-centered Theory and Methodology in Africana Studies: An Introduction

by

Sekhmet Ra Em Kht Maat, Ph.D.
(Cher Love McAllister)
University of Nebraska at Omaha
cmcAllister@unomaha.edu

&

Karanja Keita Carroll, Ph. D.
State University of New York at New Paltz
carrollk@newpaltz.edu

Sekhmet Ra Em Kht Maat (cmcAllister@unomaha.edu) is currently an Assistant Professor of Black Studies at the University of Nebraska Omaha. Receiving a Ph.D. in African American Studies from Temple University, her major research areas include Asantean Afrocentric philosophy and African metaphysics as theory and research methodology for Africology.

Karanja Keita Carroll (carrollk@newpaltz.edu) is currently an Assistant Professor of Black Studies at the State University of New York at New Paltz. He holds an MA and PhD in African American Studies from Temple University. His teaching and research interests include: intellectual history within Africana Studies, the disciplinary structure of Africana Studies, the contributions of Cheikh Anta Diop to African-centered thought, African/Black Psychology, African-centered Social Theory and African-centered Theory & Methodology. His publications have appeared in the *Journal of Pan African Studies*, *Journal of the International Society of Teacher Education and Race*, *Gender & Class*. He is also Associate Editor of the *Journal of Pan African Studies*.

African-centered (and its variations as Africa-centered, Afrocentric, Africentric, Afrocentricity, Africentricity, and African-worldview) theory and methodology within the discipline of Africana studies is at a crossroads. Africana studies, in this special issue, is understood as the critical analysis of Africana life, history and culture from the perspective of Africana people, with the ultimate goal of changing the life chances of Africana people.¹ With

now eleven doctoral programs in Africana Studies, the most recent emerging in the Department of Pan African Studies at the University of Louisville beginning Fall 2012, students and practitioners in the discipline continue to have critical conversations around and develop theory within Black feminist, Black queer, post (post) modern, critical race theory and historical materialist frameworks, most times at the exclusion of African-centered theory and methodology.² Dismissed by many contemporary Africana studies scholars as essentialist³ and vindicationist⁴ at best and heterosexist,⁵ patriarchal⁶ and race-based⁷ at worst, African-centered theory and methodology, for them, neither accurately explains the racial and cultural particulars of African continental and diasporan experiences, nor provides tenable approaches for research that can bring about solutions for “real life” 21st century sociological, political and economic concerns.⁸ African-centered thought, then, that is, relying on continental African conceptions of the universe and human existence as an approach to ways of making meaning of the human condition, is far from interesting to most scholars and students developing grand theories, subject/content area theories or multi-area theories and research approaches and methodological assumptions in Africana studies. Therefore, issues around the viability of African-centered scholarship are therefore a pressing concern for scholars in Africana studies. This special edition of the *Journal of Pan African Studies* on “African-centered theory and methodology” is our humble attempt to bring together fresh, reflective, critical and creative writings from this generation of scholars that address reconsiderations of how one can *do* African-centered research within the 21st century.

In Africana studies, theory types range from grand theories, subject/content area theories to multi-area theories.⁹ Each provides a particular manner of engaging and explaining phenomena within Africana studies. For example, grand theories come in the form of Afrocentricity, Black Feminism and Black Marxism. Each of these theories has disproportionately focused on questions and issues of perspective. Used interchangeably with the term “paradigm,” grand theories within Africana studies provide disciplinary holism and are useful when attempting to clearly discuss the overall interpretation of knowledge and orientations to data within the discipline. Thus, while grand theories provide overall interpretations within the discipline, they inadvertently impact theory production in subject/content area and multi-area theories. Theories that generate out of one of the various disciplinary subcomponents of Africana studies (Africana psychology, Africana sociology, African history, etc.) are best understood as subject/content area theories. For example, within African/Black psychology, we have such theories as Baldwin’s theory of Black personality,¹⁰ Wright’s mentacide,¹¹ Kambon’s cultural misorientation,¹² Azibo’s psychological misorientation,¹³ materialist depression,¹⁴ and a host of other theories which all attempt to deal specifically with the psychology of African people. Baldwin argues that African/Black psychology is concerned with “the interpretation, articulation, institutionalization and perpetuation of the African Survival Thrusts as it relates to psychological phenomena in particular, and the universe in general.”¹⁵ Thus, each of these theories is concerned with the mechanisms by which we are able to survive and perpetuate ourselves as African people.¹⁶ Finally, a multi-area theory within Africana Studies functions between a grand theory and a

subject/content area theory. The term “multi-area theory” refers specifically to a given theoretical construct within the discipline of Africana Studies. Therefore, a multi-area theory within Africana Studies relies upon three sub-disciplinary components of Africana Studies. By recognizing the interdisciplinary organization of knowledge in Africana Studies, multi-area theories support the current organization of knowledge within the discipline. Multi-area theories also negate subject/content area tunnel vision, are not caught in theories of perspective and have applicability to the lived conditions of Africana peoples. African-centered theory production in Africana studies works to develop theories within this broad framework. While the majority of the articles in this special issue engage questions of grand theories through an African-centered approach, many attempt to expand previous discussions going beyond Afrocentric theory production in Africana studies.

New Africana studies scholars who define themselves as African-centered must continue to develop African-centered discourse, with little disciplinary support. The Department of African American Studies at Temple University is the only program- the first Africana studies doctoral program in the country- where students still have the option to train on the doctoral level in African-centered thought, in particularly the “Asantean School of Thought,”¹⁷ and those variants that center on the centrality of the African worldview as a methodological framework. Master’s level training in African-centered thought is available in several Africana studies departments, while there are numerous undergraduate programs as well that include faculty that teach African-centered thought and have produced critical writings that define the discourse.¹⁸ It is therefore the responsibility of the current generation of African-centered scholars to continue to train with these elders and build upon and apply their ideas, theories, concepts and methodologies. In a time of much needed social justice perspectives that consider the human condition inseparable from the inner workings of the universe, African-centered scholars of this generation must be self-critical of the discourse and advance African-centered theory and methodology in specific domains relative to the life chances of Africana people, lest we remain tied to what Ama Mazama warns as the, “ideas[,] theories [,] [and behaviors] that have invaded our lives as ‘normal’, ‘natural’, or even worse, ‘ideal’”¹⁹

As assistant professors with doctoral degrees in Africana studies with teaching and research areas within African-centered philosophy, theory and worldview studies, we take seriously the question of theory and methodology, as both are central to disciplinary endeavors, doctoral training and the communities in which we serve. It is our hope that these articles within this special edition will provide insight for readers to think about the major terms, concepts and perspectives that frame assumptions for African-centered research and writing in Africana studies, locating this tradition within continental African conceptions of reality and 19th and early 20th century African diasporic cultural nationalist and revolutionary nationalist thought and struggle.

Origins of African-centered Thought: Implications for Africana Studies

African-centered thought among Africans in America and other parts of the diaspora expresses itself in response to what Clovis Semmes defines as European “cultural hegemony.”²⁰ David Walker, George Washington Williams, Maria Stewart, Henry Highland Garnet, Edward Blyden, Drusilla Dunjee and numerous other 19th and early 20th century orators, writers and self-trained historians called for a cultural nationalism²¹ through which Africans in the diaspora could redress the effects of cultural hegemony. In the tradition of many diasporan and continental Africans before them whose actions expressed the vocal and written ideas of cultural nationalism, 19th and 20th century nationalists overtly called for enslaved and quasi free Africans in the crucible of the West to begin to (re) define themselves in relationship to a collective ancient cultural heritage, a unified philosophical approach to reality, and a collective experience of overcoming oppression. Biblical readings on and Greek historians’ references to ancient African civilizations often became sources for their strivings. Although some prophesized about God’s willingness to bring about these freedoms because “all people” have a divine contribution to the world, others signaled a direct call for diasporan Africans to educate themselves for occupations and professions in the name of community uplift.²² Yet, still others vied that emigration to Liberia, Sierra Leone, Canada, Mexico, South America or elsewhere was the only viable way that Africana people could escape possible (re)enslavement, violence and death, segregation, and economic suffering.²³ Their collective objectives, however, in spite of the varying approaches taken, were to bring about abolition of enslavement, encourage pride in the anteriority of ancient African cultures, and convey a belief in a divine providence that guaranteed social, economic and political emancipation.²⁴

It is no surprise, then, that cultural nationalism and its counterpart, revolutionary Black nationalism,²⁵ resurged in the writings and actions of architects constructing the degree granting discipline of Black studies during the late 1960s and early 1970s. As the academic arm of the community based revolutionary insurgence for self-determination, students and practitioners in the emerging discipline of Black studies began to rely on a “black perspective” to research, teach and transform their communities.²⁶ The call for a “black perspective” was in fact a search for theory and methodology that would define Africana studies as a discipline that could best address pressing economic, social and political concerns within communities that the passing of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts did not alleviate.²⁷ Nathan Hare contended that the cultural and revolutionary nationalist thrust of the discipline is the extent to which scholars and students should be, “testing out theories learned (in the laboratory of life against experiences and observations and experimentation in his [or her] community). As education is made more relevant to the black community and its needs, the community, is so to speak, made more relevant to (or involved in) the educational process.”²⁸ Hare therefore urged scholars and students to develop theories about police brutality, housing, adequate food, health resources, education resources, etc. by immersing one-self within the community milieu. Approaches, then, for solving problems occur on the communities’ terms.²⁹ Molefi Asante suggests that the “black

perspective” Hare was seeking came to fruition in the articulation of an Afrocentric perspective (and its variations as Africa-centered, Afrocentric, Africentric, Afrocentricity, Afrocentricity, and African-worldview), among scholars within the “institutionalization”³⁰ phase of Africana studies and ancillary disciplines.³¹

Contemporary expressions of African-centered theory and methodology in the writings of Africana studies scholars (or those who do Africana studies in other disciplines) can be categorized within and across four schools of thought. Scholars contributing to the discourse in the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations (ASCAC) posit that an African-centered methodology attempts to locate, in the tradition of 19th and 20th century cultural nationalist historians, African classical civilizations within the expanse of world history. By examining the breadth of continental African and diasporic history, one can discover the workings of a universal and timeless African worldview that is reflective of continental and diasporic Africans’ orientation towards existence.³² In other words, the African worldview *defines* how Africans on the continent and the diaspora, across time and space, struggle to bring about peace, harmony, balance and justice in the midst of continuous social and civil injustice.³³ Recent writers emerging from this school take seriously the business of either applying concepts employed by the late Jide Shemsu Jehewety (Jacob Carruthers) and other African-centered writers to interpret solutions to current community issues or teasing out historical methodologies from close readings of ancient African and contemporary African diasporic history.³⁴

Similarly, scholars comprising the Black/African psychology school of thought suggest that an African worldview is, “a distinct conceptual-operational orientation to reality (or the Universe or Cosmos)...represent[ing] the distinct unifying cosmological, ontological, epistemological and axiological principles,”³⁵ all of which reflect the force of unity inherent within the universe and therefore within continental and diasporan conceptions of reality. In spite of the Maafa, therefore, diasporan African culture is another manifestation of the African worldview in particular geographic contexts. In fact, continental and diasporan Africans continue to think about and experience the world through an African worldview, whether they are aware of this process or not. African and diasporic religious (spiritual) proclivities, social connections, language patterns, musical inclinations, kinetic performance, etc. exemplify this point.³⁶ On the other hand, scholars in this area rely on the components of the African worldview to diagnose what is then normal, optimal, and healthy mental, emotional, familial, and relationship based functioning. African-centered psychologist Daudi Azibo initially urged Africana studies scholars to use this interpretation of the worldview construct as the primary conceptual framework through which Africana studies can in fact operate as a discipline.³⁷

Consistent with the previously discussed schools of African-centered thought is the work generated by scholars within African-centered education. Resting on the importance of education as a means of liberation and social action for people of African descent, those within African-centered education posit that k-12 education of African descended youth becomes a primary means of transforming the current realities of African people. Kofi Lomotey argues,

“African-centered education enables African American students to look at the world with Africa as the center. It encompasses not only those instructional and curricular approaches that result in a shift in a student’s worldview, but engenders a reorientation of their values and actions as well.”³⁸ African-centered education is contingent upon an accompanying African-centered pedagogy that focuses upon generating self-knowledge, critical thinking and conscious action in the midst of a white supremacist reality.³⁹

African-centered scholars often borrow varying interpretations of the African worldview as a lens to ground theory development from within the Asantean Afrocentric school of thought as well. Although Asante hints towards an African Cultural System (ACS) (or unifying cultural sensibilities) that informs African and diasporan people’s thought and behaviors, regardless of geography and epoch, the concept is not a lens of analysis through which one should develop theory and methodology.⁴⁰ Instead, the Asantean scholars must, “...plac[e] African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior.”⁴¹ Searching for exactly what comprises these African ideals and developing theory and methodology out of these ideals, seems, however, to be the ultimate charge of the Afrocentric project, although Ama Mazama suggests that Asantean Afrocentricity embodies the “affective, cognitive and conative aspects”⁴² on which a paradigm for the discipline of Africology rests.⁴³ While most scholars within all four schools of thought use the term “African-centered” and its variations interchangeably, the term “Afrocentric” is more frequently used by writers attached to the Asantean school of thought.

It is within these four schools of thought that the writers within this volume situate their contribution towards furthering African-centered discourse in Africana studies. While the contributors within this volume may not consciously situate themselves within either of these schools, our reading of their work situates them as such, although some clearly intersect between various schools. However, our intention of differentiating these different schools of thought is to bring clarity to the expansive nature of African-centered thought, which is all too often collapsed into one variant of Afrocentric scholarship.

Contents

This special issue of the *Journal of Pan African Studies* begins with a 20-year retrospective essay by Daudi Ajani ya Azibo which builds off of his seminal work “Articulating the Distinction between Black Studies and the Study of Blacks: The Fundamental Role of Culture and the African-Centered Worldview,” originally published in *The Afrocentric Scholar* in 1992. In his current contribution “Africana Studies Moving Toward Dereliction, Savaged by Invisible Jim Crow, Warrior-Scholars in Chaos: What to do? Embrace the Irrefragable African-centered Worldview,” Azibo attempts to assess the current state of Africana studies and maintains that many of the issues that Africana studies scholars face rely upon the inability of those within the discipline to ground their research and scholarship within the African-centered worldview.

We follow Azibo with a contribution by Kamau Rashid. Rashid, trained within the traditions of ASCAC and Jacob Carruthers, provides a timely analysis on the intersection of culture, power and knowledge production. Relying upon the scholarship of Jacob Carruthers to ground his work, Rashid builds upon Carruthers' original argumentation that knowledge production is connected to power and thus is an essential relationship to understand in the development of African-centered discourse for Africana studies.

Josh Myer's "The Scholarship of Cedric J. Robinson: Methodological Considerations for Africana Studies," looks at the work of Africana political theorists Cedric Robinson and attempts to glean the methodological contributions he can provide for Africana scholars. Myer's reliance upon Robinson as an exemplar within the Africana studies intellectual tradition contributes to the continued expansion of the discipline and the foundational thinkers that we rely upon to methodologically inform the discipline.

As many African-centered scholars have maintained, the spirituality of African descended people is a defining characteristic that uniquely reflects our lived reality. Thus within African-centered scholarship reflections upon the role of spirituality and cosmology become important elements of this discourse. Denise Martin contributes to this discussion by developing an argument for an African mythic science that applies common understandings of myth within the African world as the basis for understanding Africana experiences.

Nikitah Imani's "The Implications of Africa-centered Conceptions of Time and Space for Quantitative Theorizing: Limitations of Paradigmatically-Bound Philosophical Meta-Assumptions," relies upon similar understandings of African spirituality and African cosmological orientations to the universe in his critique of Eurocentric constructions of time and space. Imani compares such notions as circularity, holism, and continuity as found commonly within African cosmological and ontological conceptions of reality, in contrast to linearity, disjunction, and discontinuity that is predominately found within European oriented ways of constructing the universe and reality.

The experiences of Africana people throughout the African world are an essential component to the expansive nature of Africana studies. The experiences of Afro-Latino/as and their relationship to other African descended communities in the United States of America has received much attention from a variety of perspectives. Milagros Denis-Rosario attempts to extend this analysis through an Afro-centric perspective as she analyzes the socio-political organizing of New York-based Puerto Ricans.

Christel Temple in "Ancient Kemet in African American Literature and Criticism, 1853 to the Present," focuses upon the anteriority of ancient and classical African civilizations within the work of Africana literary scholars and thinkers. By focusing upon those scholars that engaged the centrality of ancient and classical African civilizations prior the 1980s, Temple's essay contributes to clarifying the importance of ancient Africa to African-centered conceptual frameworks.

Building upon the Asantean Afrocentric tradition is the work of Marquitta Pellerin. Pellerin reviews theoretical and methodological arguments advanced by Afrocentric scholars within the tradition of Molefi Kete Asante, including Ama Mazama, Ruth Reviere and Danjume Sinue Modupe. Through this foundation Pellerin contributes to clarifying the parameters that must inform Afrocentric social research, especially for those within the Asantean tradition of Afrocentric thought.

Justin Gammage's investigation of African-centered economics within Africana studies is a preliminary analysis on the role that economics, within an Afrocentric frame, can play within the discipline. Gammage's focus is upon the infusion of economic research and theory into Africana studies' curricula and he provides a compelling rationale for doing so.

We conclude this special issue with a reflective essay by Josef Ben Levi of the Jacob H. Carruthers Center for Inner City Studies at Northeastern Illinois University and the Kemetic Institute of Chicago. Ben Levi is a long-standing member within the Chicago School of African-centered thought and within this essay he engages the important role of Ancient Nubia to the classical African paradigm relied upon within certain schools of African-centered thought in Africana studies.

Conclusion

It is our hope that the articles within this special edition will inspire readers to think about the major terms, concepts and perspectives that frame assumptions for African-centered research and writing in Africana studies. The articles included reflect variants of the major schools of African-centered thought within Africana studies today, showing that the African-centered perspective cannot be limited to one school of thought. Instead, an African-centered perspective within Africana studies must be seen as expansive and expanding. We hope that this humble attempt at providing these examples for the readership of the *Journal of Pan African Studies* will be expounded upon by peers and future scholars, alike.

¹ Karanja Keita Carroll, "Africana Studies and Research Methodology: Revisiting the Centrality of the Afrikan Worldview in Africana Studies Research and Scholarship," *Journal of Pan African Studies* 2(2), 4-27; Karanja Keita Carroll, "A Genealogical Review of the Worldview Concept and Framework in Africana Studies Related Theory and Research" in *African American Consciousness: Past and Present*, ed James L. Conyers, Jr. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publisher), 23-46.

² Editors reviewed course offerings of the eleven African American doctoral programs.

³ Tunde Adeleke, *The Case Against Afrocentrism* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2009), 151-171.

-
- ⁴ Cloves Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony and African American Development* (Westport: Praeger, 1995), 15.
- ⁵ Ryan Jobson, "Afrocentricity and Commodity Fetishism: Cultural Objectification and the 'New' African Diaspora," *Penn McNair Research Journal* 2, no.1 (2010): 2, http://repository.upenn.edu/mcnair_scholars/vol2/iss1/3.
- ⁶ Barbara Ransby, "Afrocentrism, Cultural Nationalism and The Problem with Essentialist Definitions of Race, Gender and Sexuality," in *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, ed. Manning Marable (New York: Columbia, 2000), 217.
- ⁷ Melba J. Boyd, "Afrocentrics, Afro-elitists and, Afro-eccentrics: The polarization of Black Studies Since the Student Struggles of the Sixties" in *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, ed. Manning Marable (New York: Columbia, 2000), 208.
- ⁸ Anthony J. Lemelle, *Black Masculinity and Black Sexual Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2010).
- ⁹ Karanja Keita Carroll, "Models of Theory in Africana Studies," unpublished manuscript.
- ¹⁰ Joseph A. Baldwin, "African (Black) Psychology: Issues and Synthesis," *Journal of Black Studies* 16, no. 3 (1986), 235-249.
- ¹¹ Bobby Wright, *The Psychopathic Racial Personality and Other Essays* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1984).
- ¹² Kobi K. Kambon, *Cultural Misorientation* (Tallahassee: Nubian Nation Publications, 2003); Kobi K. K. Kambon, "The Cultural Misorientation Construct and the Cultural Misorientation Scale: An Africentric Measure of European Cultural Misidentification among Africans in America," in *Afrocentric Traditions*, ed. James L. Conyers (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 15-34.
- ¹³ Daudi Ajani Ya Azibo, "African-Centered Theses on Mental Health and a Nosology of Black/African Personality Disorder," *Journal of Black Psychology* 15, no. 2 (1989): 173-214.
- ¹⁴ Harun Black, Harold Braithwaite and Kevin Taylor, *First Aid for the Mind*. Atlanta: Authors; Daudi Ajani ya Azibo & Patricia Dixon, "The Theoretical Relationship Between Materialistic Depression and Depression: Preliminary Data and Implications for the Azibo Nosology," *Journal of Black Psychology*, 24, no. 4 (1998): 211-225.
- ¹⁵ Baldwin, "African (Black) Psychology," 131.
- ¹⁶ DeReef F. Jamison, "Through the Prism of Black Psychology: A Critical Review of Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Africology as Seen Through the Paradigmatic Lens of Black Psychology" *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2, no. 2 (2008), 96-117.
- ¹⁷ Danjuma Sinue Modupe, "The Afrocentric Philosophical Perspective: A Narrative Outline" in *The Afrocentric Paradigm*, ed. Ama Mazama (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003), 67.
- ¹⁸ Africana studies programs that offer undergraduate and master's programs through which students are introduced to African-centered theory from African-centered scholars, most of whom have contributed to the development of African-centered discourse, include: San Francisco State (the first B.A. granting department), Howard University, Chicago State, Cornell University, Olive Harvey College, State University of New York at New Paltz, State

University of New York at Albany, San Diego State University, California State Northridge, California State Long Beach, University of Cincinnati, Morehouse College, University of Louisville, Northeastern Illinois, Hunter College, Ohio State University and Georgia State University, for example. Students can receive undergraduate and master's level training in African/Black psychology at either Howard University or Florida A & M University.

¹⁹ Ama Mazama, "The Afrocentric Paradigm" in *The Afrocentric Paradigm*, ed. Ama Mazama (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003), 4.

²⁰ Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony*, 12.

²¹ William Moses, ed. *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University, 1996).

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ One can locate the origins of Black revolutionary nationalism in the American experience among enslaved Africans who relied on "any means necessary" to escape from plantations; the objectives were self-governance beyond the humanly oppressive feudal plantocracy. Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosser, etc. are familiar examples. The settlement of maroon communities is another example. David Walker and other 19th and early 20th writers also rationalized in text the possible necessity of exterminating slaveholders as a means to overthrow the political economic order. One may call the emergence of revolutionary nationalism in the 1960s, then, the third wave of revolutionary nationalism, as it sought to transform capitalism- the source of which is the feudal plantocracy- into a more socialist order in which African Americans (and other third world and poor people) could determine their social, economic and political destiny. See Stokley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Vintage House, 1967); William L. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

²⁶ Nathan Hare, "The Case for Separatism: The Black Perspective" in *Black Power and Student Rebellion*, eds. James McEvoy and Abraham H. Miller (Berkeley: Wadsworth Publishing, 1969), 233-35; Nathan Hare, "What Should be the Role of Afro-American Education in the Undergraduate Curriculum?" in *New Perspectives in Black Studies*, ed. John Blassingame (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 3-15; Nathan Hare, "Questions and Answers About Black Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader 2nd Edition*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 16-24.

²⁷ Stokley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Vintage House, 1967).

²⁸ Nathan Hare, "Questions and Answers About Black Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader 2nd Edition*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 16.

²⁹ All scholars, of course, did not agree with these ideas. For example, these ideas were in contrast with Martin Luther King's ideas, whose writings also dominate the intellectual landscape at this time. Writing from Harvard, he proposed that utilization of a "black perspective" was unfounded for two reasons. First, a significant amount of historians, sociologists and anthropologists relied on traditional disciplinary theories and methodologies to examine African phenomena, which sets the precedence for the existence of African studies with its attendant subject

matter, theories and methods. Second, the only way that students could help to ameliorate the social ills within Africana communities was for each university student to major in science and technology and become economically successful; this was liberation. See Martin Kilson, "Reflections on Structure and Content in Black Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader 2nd Edition*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 34-43.

³⁰ See Nathaniel Norment Jr., "Introduction" in *The African American Studies Reader 2nd Edition*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), xxxii-xxxiii.

³¹ Molefi Kete Asante, *Afrocentricity* (Trenton: African World Press, 1988), 58-89.

³² Jacob H. Carruthers, *Intellectual Warfare* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1999), 21-29.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Jacob H. Carruthers, "Introduction," in *African World History Project: The Preliminary Challenge*, ed. Jacob H. Carruthers and Leon C. Harris (Los Angeles: The Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations, 2002), 1-5.

³⁵ Kobi K.K. Kambon, *African/Black Psychology in the American Context: An African-Centered Approach* (Tallahassee: Nubian Nation Publications, 1998), 120.

³⁶ Ibid., 134.

³⁷ Daudi D. Azibo, "Articulating the Distinction Between Black Studies and the Study of Blacks: The Fundamental Role of Culture and the African-centered Worldview," *The Afrocentric Scholar*, 1, no. 1 (1992): 64-97.

³⁸ Kofi Lomotey, "Independent Black Institutions: African-centered Education Models," *Journal of Negro Education*, 61, no. 2 (1992): 456.

³⁹ Kwame Agyei Akoto, *Nation Building: Theory & Practice in Afrikan Centered Education*. Washington, D.C.: Pan Afrikan World Institute, 1992; Kwame Agyei Akoto, "Notes on an Afrikan centered Pedagogy," in *Too Much Schooling, Too Little Education: A Paradox of Black Life in White Societies*, ed. Mwalimu Shujaa (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1994), 319-337; Carol D. Lee, "Profile of an Independent Black Institution: African-centered Education at Work - New Concept Development Center," *Journal of Negro Education*, 61, no. 2 (1992), 160-177. Carol Lee, "Synthesis of Research on the Role of Culture in the Learning among African American Youth: The Contributions of Asa G. Hilliard, III," *Review of Educational Research*, 78, no. 4 (2008), 797-827; Carol D. Lee, et al, "How Shall We Sing Our Sacred Song in a Strange Land? The Dilemma of Double Consciousness and the Complexities of an African-centered Pedagogy," *Journal of education* 172, no. 2 (1990), 45-61; Peter C. Murrell, *African-centered Pedagogy: Developing Schools of Achievement for African American Children*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002.

⁴⁰ Modupe, "The Afrocentric Philosophical Perspective," 56-72.

⁴¹ Molefi Kete Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia: Temple, 1998), 2.

⁴² Mazama, "The Afrocentric Paradigm," 9-22.

⁴³ Ibid., 3-34.