

WOMEN IN THE MIRROR: SEEING OURSELVES ANEW
A NARRATIVE INQUIRY AND AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATION OF THE
HBCU RELATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL IMPACT ON THE
SOCIAL JUSTICE DISPOSITIONS OF WHITE FEMALE EDUCATION GRADUATES

A Dissertation
by
FRAN BATES OATES

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Abstract

WOMEN IN THE MIRROR: SEEING OURSELVES ANEW A NARRATIVE INQUIRY AND AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATION OF THE HBCU RELATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL IMPACT ON THE SOCIAL JUSTICE DISPOSITION OF WHITE FEMALE EDUCATION GRADUATES

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Historically Black colleges and universities have long been recognized for their mission and rich legacy of providing education for African American students. Traditionally known as HBCUs, these Black colleges and universities have been the heart of Black racial identity development with their distinctiveness and unique ability to raise cultural awareness of Black students. The literature indicates that HBCUs have traditionally provided positive and stimulating environments for both Black and White students. Accordingly, HBCUs may serve as institutions that can help White students develop positive social justice dispositions for an inclusive society.

The purpose of this research was to learn how matriculation at one HBCU impacted White female education graduates as they developed their social justice dispositions to teach all students. I argue that much can be learned from exploring the experiences of White females and their perceptions of race and racism when they become temporary minorities at

HBCUs. Research confirms that we know little about the stories of White female education graduates and how the HBCU impacted their beliefs and values about teaching African American students and other students of color.

This study is a narrative inquiry and autoethnographic examination of the historical racial identity impact one Southeastern HBCU had on its White female education graduates' social justice disposition for teaching. To ascertain the impact, White female education graduates tell their stories about their racial development before, during and after attending the HBCU. As a participant and the researcher, I parallel my story of racial identity development and write my autoethnography about the impact of attending the same HBCU as an African American female education graduate. I examine how I raised my level of consciousness and cultural awareness of my Blackness to prepare to teach White students. Coupled with that is an examination of White female education graduates' level of consciousness of their Whiteness and their preparation to teach African American students and other students of color. I conclude that the stories contain valuable insights for HBCU teacher education preparation programs regarding their impact on White female education graduates' social justice dispositions. In particular, the research examines how White female education graduates learned to see themselves as White, and see their Whiteness from perspectives of people of color; how they look into the mirror, see themselves, and through the image they see, reframe their lens to see and understand others.

Dedication

And what is it to work with love?

It is to weave the cloth with threads drawn from your heart, even as if your beloved were to wear that cloth.

It is to build a house with affection, even as if your beloved were to dwell in that house.

It is to sow seeds with tenderness and reap the harvest with joy, even as if your beloved were to eat the fruit.

It is to charge all things you fashion with a breath of your own spirit,

And to know that all the blessed dead who have gone on are standing about you and watching.

Excerpt from “On Work”
Kahlil Gibran, 2014
The Prophet, p. 38

For my Father, Fermon Alexander Bates (1927-1968)

My God Father, Wyatt U. Collins (1927-1997)

My Brother, Edgar L. Murchison, Jr. (1949-1992)

My Friend, Larry D. Fields (1947-2002)

Thank you for showing me how to work with love!

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I begin with acknowledging God's presences in this work. He has given me an incredible mind for which I am grateful. Two pieces of literature have been my guide as I made this journey. The first is Jeremiah 29:11 "For I know the plans I have for you, declares the LORD, plans to prosper you and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and a future" (New International Version). The second one describes me as I am becoming the woman I long to be with beautiful gray hair expressing the depths of my wisdom and my heart and soul with which I have plenty, plenty to share. I find myself being more and more comfortable with my life and my soft curves. I am more patient in the waiting and more knowing and stronger in my faith that God has the perfect plan for me and this work. My experiences are making me full and expectant of life and love.

Finding Her Here by Jayne Relaford Brown

I am becoming the woman I've wanted, grey at the temples, soft body, delighted, cracked up by life with a laugh that's known bitter but, past it, got better, knows she's a survivor-that whatever comes, she can outlast it. I am becoming a deep weathered basket.

I am becoming the woman I've longed for, the motherly lover with arms strong and tender, the growing daughter who blushes surprises. I am becoming full moons and sunrises.

I find her becoming, this woman I've wanted, who knows she'll encompass, who knows she's sufficient, knows where she's going and travels with passion. Who remembers she's precious, but knows she's not scarce- who knows she is plenty, plenty to share.

Love, support, encouragement and prayers have come from many people who traveled with me along this journey. I am grateful for my committee, Dr. Vachel Miller and Dr. Chris Osmond, two brilliant men who understood my vision and believed in my passion from the very first day I spoke it. I am grateful to Dr. Brandy Wilson, the brilliant woman on my committee with whom I share a kindred spirit of social justice advocacy; who listened, mentored me through this project, asked the hard questions and kept me detailed and ready to defend my stance; who knew I was a survivor and knew whatever came I would out last it. Thanks to Dr. Kelly Clark/Keefe who introduced me to autoethnography, shared my passion for writing, and understood my advocacy. She knew words were my wings to fly. Thank you for being the wind beneath my wings. I am grateful for my pastor, Bishop Sir Walter L. Mack, Jr. and my Associate Pastor, Dr. McCullough for the stream of prayers. Thank you to my HBCU faculty colleagues who knew what I was going through and encouraged me anyway. To my brilliant, beautiful Black DIVAS Sisters who are Distinguished Intellectual Virtuous Academic Sisters for their continuous support. Thank you to my One to One Women Coaching Women sisters and my life coaches and friends, Penny Hazen and Tammy Stark who reminded me to celebrate every small step. Thank you to The Forsyth Cohort, especially my writing partners Joe Rick, Brooksie Broome, and Nakeisha Dawson. It was worth the trips up the mountain for peace and quiet to write. Our friendship is a bond in this work for ever.

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To my students at the HBCU who sent their energy to me and asked me how I was progressing to remind me to persevere. I am in this work for you.

To all of my family, my Uncle Brother, James Chandler, who is like a father to me. Thank you for traveling to my defense and believing in me, but most of all for being proud of my accomplishments. Thank you to all of my cousins who invested in me and showered me with their love in celebration. To my sister, Montez Bates, thank you for understanding the sacrifices and for calling me every morning to wish me a great day even after I had been up all night for nights.

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And to my Father, my Daddy, who smiles upon me with great pride. It is your last breathe that I breathe into this work of social justice advocacy.

Grateful and thankful, I celebrate you all!

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Chapter I: Introduction

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (DuBois, 1903, p. 9)

In the excerpt above, W. E. B. DuBois (1903) introduces the concept of double-consciousness, of being, what was then called, a Negro and at the same time being an American in a White dominated society. DuBois (1903) was making a poignant declaration of the African American's quest for identity. He maintained that one had to cultivate a double-consciousness of looking at oneself first and then see oneself through the eyes of a White society totally different from one's own. In contradiction to DuBois' concept, most Negroes of his time felt they did not want to be in both worlds. According to Negroes then, most were comfortable being among their own in segregated worlds that did not interact with Whites. Jim Crow laws made it illegal to integrate, with repercussions for Negroes who tried. Some repercussions were severe, including burning their homes, lynching, beatings and whippings, and fear and intimidation. Many Negroes felt it easier and safer to comply and remain segregated. Slavery was abolished then, but integration was still illegal (Lewis, 1993)

and in order to know the limits or exclusions, a Black man or woman had to know what was on the other side.

DuBois was well educated and wanted to use his education to serve the community and show Negro men and women another lens of American society. Though DuBois experienced much criticism from his own race for this concept and his stark polarities, ambiguities, and contradictions about double consciousness, the concept received national attention and continues to be a topic of great interest (Lewis, 1993). Like many other Negroes from this era and the African American Civil Rights Movement years, understanding both worlds could make the very difference of survival for African Americans (Dubois, 1903) regardless of the criticism.

DuBois (1903) felt the development of a double consciousness had serious implications if Negroes were the only ones who needed a second sight. He spoke of the necessity of Negroes to understand the discourses and social structures of White America that were shaping the lives, desires, and consciousness of Blacks then; but he felt the understanding of our own Black racial identity was necessary in order for the Black race not to conform to how the White world identified them (E. Allen, 1992). As I grew up, double consciousness was literally necessary for my success; to understand and see myself as the White man saw me; to know who I was, my history, my ancestry, my roots in order for me not to be constrained to the way Whites saw my race. Understanding my Black identity was as necessary as my knowing what the White world expected of me; it was necessary for me to have the informed ability to maneuver back and forth across the veil of discrimination.

In this research inquiry, I explore how I developed my African American racial identity while growing up to be a successful educator in White America. I parallel my story

with the stories of White female education graduates' racial identity development as they graduated to teach in multicultural classrooms. My research interest lies in how my personal experiences growing up and my education at an all Black Historical University (HBCU) influenced my development of a social justice disposition to teach White students.

Concurrently, I explored three White female education graduates' personal experiences growing up and the impact of their matriculation at the same HBCU from which I graduated.

Believing that social justice can be defined as both a goal and a process (Bell, 1997), I investigate how our personal life experiences and the matriculation at our HBCU influenced both White female education graduates and myself to provide the goal of "full and equal participation" for *all* students in our classrooms that meets their individual and cultural needs (Bell, 1997, p. 3). The process of attaining this goal of social justice is the "democratic and participatory, inclusive and affirming of human agency and human capacities for working collaboratively to create change" (Bell, 1997, p. 4). I examine how our personal experiences and matriculation at one HBCU impacted our professional habits, attitudes, values, beliefs, and moral commitment that underlie our performance in the classroom, our dispositions for this social justice definition (Council for the Accreditation of Education Preparation [CAEP], 2014; National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education [NCATE], 2007). Additionally, our beliefs about our "moral and ethical responsibility to teach all students fairly and equitably" are important aspects of the inquiry (Villegas, 2007, p. 371).

I chose to study White female education graduates because I found it ironic that a White female faculty advisor at my HBCU changed my lens of White Americans. When I entered college, I felt I had to have a double-consciousness to be an American. Concurrently, it was a time I did not want to socialize with White Americans, and at a time I only wanted to

teach my own race. I was a Teacher Intern, a student teacher. I could not wear my large afro, my African head wrap, or even my braids when it was time to do my student teaching. I was told I had to wear my hair so I did not appear to be militant. Using my hands as I talked to express myself and the passion in my expression needed to be tempered, I was told. My bright colors and flamboyance in my dress was not acceptable by my White female cooperating teacher. She told me what *not* to wear. “You are too expressive,” she said. At the end of the first two weeks she asked for me to be changed to another classroom to do my student teaching. I was moved to an open classroom suite with all Black females (except for one of five) and all Black students who were in the remediation reading and mathematics classrooms. That is when I found out the value of my White female faculty advisor. I had someone to talk to about the conflicts I was facing for the first time in my life. Yet, being comfortable to talk with a White woman about another White woman’s prejudicial behaviors towards me was difficult. I felt fear to take that step, fear I would not be understood and fear there would be some punishment or negative consequence.

Arousing my awareness, Dr. JB motivated me to prepare myself to teach White students and to question my view that social justice was only for my race because of my experiences of racism. The interrelatedness of my lived experiences growing up, my relational and institutional experiences at my HBCU, and how they both impacted my social justice lens are the basis of this inquiry. Through deep introspections of my own experiences, I discovered how I learned to see White Americans through a different lens than I experienced growing up. This inquiry explored the same issue with White female students that I taught at the same HBCU from which we both graduated. The question that guided this

research was: *What are the relational and institutional impacts of the HBCU on White female education graduates' social justice disposition for teaching?*

To frame this inquiry, I questioned the influential impacts on our racial identity development *before* attending the HBCU, *during* matriculation, and our social justice disposition *after* attending the HBCU.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to learn how matriculation at one HBCU impacted White female education graduates as they developed their social justice dispositions to teach all students. Much can be learned from exploring the experience of White females and their perceptions of race and racism when they become temporary “minorities” (Hall & Closson, 2005, p. 28) at an HBCU. Coming from being a member of the White majority race and entering an institution of higher learning whose student population is majority African American temporarily changes their status on campus to being in the minority population. Of significance for this research is the impact the Black majority at the HBCU had on White female’s awareness of their own racial identity as well as awareness of the other side.

Blending a narrative inquiry and autoethnography, this study examines the historical racial identity impact of one Southeastern HBCU on its White female education graduates’ social justice disposition for teaching. I wanted to understand their racial identity development, before, during, and after matriculation at the HBCU. I wanted to understand how White female education graduates learned to see themselves as White, and see their Whiteness from perspectives of people of color; how they look into the mirror, see themselves, and through the image they see of their own identity, see and understand others. As an HBCU elementary education graduate and in concert with the relational and

institutional impact of my HBCU experiences, I concurrently examined the development of my racial identity and social justice lens before and after graduation as well. I wanted to tell our stories such that it impacts the way HBCUs prepare teachers to teach *all* students, particularly African American students and other students of color. My interests led me to the mirror to gaze deeply into my own eyes first. Before the interviews began, I reflected:

When you look at yourself in the mirror, you see a clear image of who you really are at that very moment in time. Every line, blemish, every scar, every hair; every essence of your being is reflected back, at that moment. You look into your own eyes with critical review and touch your face to be sure you are really there. With each touch is the reality of who you are in that moment. Your identity is reflected in your vision, and the who of who you are, right at that second, is the real you. You look away to experience the world, and when you return you are different than you were before. And you never see the same.

Background

The Higher Education Act of 1965 defines an HBCU as any historically Black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was the education of Black Americans. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) pride themselves in traditional and cultural descriptions of distinctiveness, coined by some as the Black college “mystique” (Willie, Reddick, & Brown, 2006) and by others as the HBCU experience that is like no other (W. R. Allen, 1992; Astin, 1993; Astin, Tsui, & Avalos, 1996; Davis 1991; Fleming, 1984; Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002; Willie, Reddick, & Brown, 2006). Many boast of the distinctiveness as unique opportunities for African American socialization, cultural and ethnic identity, and transformational interactions with faculty.

Emblematic of the African American quest for educational parity and social equality in American society, HBCUs have offered opportunities for “self-actualization and social mobility to all who sought them while teaching racial tolerance and producing alumni who have distinguished themselves as tireless workers for cross-cultural understanding and social justice” (Jewell, 2002, p. 7). Given such a legacy and identity, HBCUs should consider themselves uniquely qualified to make contributions to the ongoing quest for a truly inclusive society. In their pioneer role, HBCUs have been firmly rooted in the power of education to protect the freedom of African Americans and to place high value on social justice and human equality (Fleming, 1984; Jewell, 2002).

Birthered from the injustices of slavery, from the bondages of Negro forced illiteracy and from the laws denying Negroes to read or write under the threat of physical harm or death, the HBCU seized every opportunity to provide education for African Americans. The mission of HBCUs in the early years was to provide elementary and secondary schooling for students who had no previous education. In the early 1900s, HBCUs began to offer courses at the postsecondary level. When land-grant institutions were established for Black students in each of the southern and border states, the institutions began to offer courses in agriculture, mechanical, and industrial subjects (Office of Civil Rights, 1991). Few offered college-level courses and degrees.

Numerous studies attest to the relational and institutional benefits for African Americans attending HBCUs (W. R. Allen, 1992; Astin, 1993; Astin et al., 1996; Davis 1991; Fleming, 1984). Educational researchers have investigated the particular role interpersonal relationships at HBCUs played in the success of African American students’ academic performances. The findings suggested that Black college students’ outcomes are

influenced by the immediate surrounding social context, while interpersonal relationships represented the bridge between individual dispositions and the institutional setting (W. R. Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984; Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002; Willie et al., 2006). The combination of interpersonal relationships and characteristics of the institution influenced academic performance and helped to define the HBCU identity.

The HBCU legacy gave a voice for not only African Americans, but HBCUs opened their doors to anyone who wanted to enter, thus producing a tradition of inclusion in higher education. For nearly a century, HBCUs were practically the only institutions of higher learning open for Blacks to attend in the United States (Jewell, 2002). Concurrently, Black colleges were also “the first educational institutions in the South, if not in the nation, to open their doors to students regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin” (Jewell, 2002, p. 12).

The HBCU which serves as the site for this project was chartered in 1892 as an institution founded for “training of the head, hand and heart” (“The Early Years,” 2012, p. 7). One mission of then an industrial academy was to train teachers for the Negro public elementary schools of North Carolina. In 1925, the General Assembly of North Carolina recognized the school's leadership in this field; granted the school a new charter, extending its curriculum above high school; and empowered it under authority of the State Board of Education to confer appropriate degrees. The HBCU thus became the first African American institution of higher learning in the nation to grant the Bachelor of Science degree in Elementary Education (“The Early Years,” 2012).

The HBCU trained and mentored its students toward the direction of “making constructive contributions for solutions to the difficult problems of race relations” (“The

Early Years,” 2012, p. 7). Race issues and racism that had developed prior to and after the Civil War became a focus. HBCUs had a desire to train all of their students to be social justice advocates for change and to embrace the benefits of their unique mission.

I entered the HBCU in 1970 and graduated four years later from the Elementary Education Program. Though the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had become law that banned discrimination based on race or color, the early 1970s still encompassed much resistance to integration. Thus I stayed on campus where White students did not live in the dormitories. However, I had daily contact with White female faculty particularly during my junior and senior year. My advisor in the Teacher Corps program spent many hours with me talking about what she characterized as my “gift for teaching.” Initially, I was hesitant to interact with her. I remember feeling torn between allowing her to see my world as a young Black woman and having to act a certain way to please her and get good grades. Yet, my exploration of a close relationship with my White female faculty advisor influenced my inquiry for this project. She showed me another side of her Whiteness that I had not experienced. I developed a different understanding and a new consciousness of having a teacher who was very different from me, showed me no prejudice, and embraced my Blackness, my afro, my beautiful dark skin, and the Black heritage of which I am a descendent.

As a proponent of social equity, the unique teaching and mentoring styles of HBCU faculty interactions impacts the social justice advocacy of all its graduates, including White females, who leave the HBCU to teach in public schools (Willie, et al., 2006). Hours of one-on-one mentoring and advising, the desire to eradicate the wounds of oppression and slavery,

and the obligation to prepare its graduates for advocacy for an inclusive society are all examples of the uniqueness of HBCU faculties (Willie, et al., 2006).

In this project, the HBCU also prides itself in preparing students to contribute to the greater community by embracing racial issues that divide the community and leading efforts to eradicate them. Because of its historical stance for social justice advocacy, in 2014 the HBCU and the Department of Education adopted a Social Justice Conceptual Framework. The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), the accrediting organization for the Department of Education, requires the Department to adopt a conceptual framework that is the rationale and organizing principles guiding the curriculum, programs, and outcomes for preparing effective school personnel (NCATE, 2007). The framework is grounded in research, knowledge, and experiences that describe and illustrate what teacher education candidates should know and be able to utilize in their professional settings. Included in the report for accreditation to NCATE is the Executive Summary of the Department's adopted conceptual framework: *The HBCU is committed to the preparation of school personnel who effectively model social justice in a diverse 21st century learning community*. The document reports six supporting core beliefs:

- I. Educators are committed to students and their learning.
- II. Teachers know the subjects they teach and how to teach those subjects to students.
- III. Teachers are responsible for managing and monitoring student learning.
- IV. Educators think systematically about their practice and learn from experience.
- V. Educators are members of learning communities.
- VI. Educators are committed to and demonstrate social justice in their teaching, administration, and professional practice.

The core propositions mirror those of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards and are aligned with the NC Professional Teaching Standards. The Department of Education's deliberate focus on social justice preparation for teacher candidates validates the selection of this site for the research project.

"Enter to learn and depart to serve" is the motto of the HBCU ("The Early Years," 2012, p. 9). As an HBCU, its mission clearly has always been preparing students to enter to learn all they could to depart and serve the community. For the past 40 years I have spent my entire career serving the education community, most of the time quietly, independently, advocating for an excellent education for both Black and White students. Initially, I embarked on this profession to be sure that Black students would get an education so the ripple effect would occur, and those I taught would go out into the communities and do the same. The site of this research had this as its mission the year it opened. The following quote reiterates my goal.

We are determined that every student who comes out with our stamp upon him shall bear the test, and by all means add to the moral and intellectual power of the race.

("The Early Years," 2012, p. 9)

Today's HBCU students encounter these words daily as they pass the founder's statue in the middle of the campus. Most important, they experience the impact of the commitment as the University continually assesses how best to equip students for long-term success in an ever-changing world. ("The Early Years," 2012)

Statement of the Problem and Study Rationale

The National Center for Education Information (Feistritzer, 2011) has conducted five national surveys since 1979 to find out who the teachers are and what they think about a wide

array of issues facing the teaching profession. In the report, *Profile of Teachers in the United States, 2011*, the Center analyzed its data and summarized that there are 3.2 million public school teachers educating the nation's 49.4 million children attending public PK-12 schools. According to the United States Department's National Center for Education Statistics, in 2007-2008, about 146,500 of these teachers (4.3%) were new hires who had never taught before; 92,500 were new college graduates. The proportion of public school teachers who have five or fewer years of teaching experience increased from 18% in 2005 to 26% in 2011 (Feistritzer, 2011). According to the report, teaching is still an "overwhelmingly female occupation. The profession in the United States is also strikingly White" (Feistritzer, 2011, p. x). Hispanics are the fastest growing non-White group entering teaching. These data overwhelmingly support the need to impact the social justice advocacy of newly graduating White female teachers who go on to teach the increasing number of Spanish speaking and African American students.

Concurrently, the demographics in the United States are continuing to shift towards a more culturally diverse society that also mimics the demographics of today's public elementary schools. New teachers coming into the profession must be prepared to teach this diverse group of students. In 1989-1990 in North Carolina public schools, 1.6% of students were Indian, 0.8% Asian, 0.7% Hispanic, and 30.4% Black; totaling 33.5% minority (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2013). In 2011-2012, the Hispanic pupil membership grew to 13.5% enrollment, with 1.4% Indian, 2.5% Asian, and 26.3% Black pupils, totaling 43.7% students of color. In 1989, the total percentage of White students was 66.5%. In 2011, the number of White students decreased to 52.5% as the numbers of students increased during the same period (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2013).

With these shifts in population came the enactment of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2001; and the requirement for *all* schools to produce evidence that *all* students, regardless of their race, status or background, are learning. It became a national priority and the achievement gap became the buzz word of the law. From the 1970s through the 1980s, Black and Latino student achievement increased in both reading and math. However, during the 1990s, the trends reversed and the gap began to widen (Ferguson, 2007). As significant as gains were for African Americans and Latinos, they did not translate into reducing the gap because the achievement levels of White and Asian students improved and increased over the same time, with the improvements for White students consistent for 40 years (Boykin & Noguera, 2011). Given the data indicates the teacher workforce is majority White and female, what is preventing the nation's schools from making greater progress in closing the achievement gap in the most diverse populations of our nations' schools?

Statistics indicate the majority of teachers in elementary public schools are White, come from middle class families, and constitute a high number of beginning teachers (Feistritzer, 2011). The White student majority in America's public schools is vanishing. While Whites composed 73% of the student population in 1982, their percentages fell to 63% just ten years later. Some predictions suggest that the trend will continue, with White students becoming the minority. White students will be just half of the student population in 2020 and by 2026 the percentage of students of color in America's schools will reach 70% (Feistritzer, 2011). While increasing the number of minority teachers in elementary classrooms may be one answer, White teachers must be better educated and prepared to confront race and racism in themselves, their classrooms, schools and society (Zeichner, 1993).

The mismatch between the increased diversity in student populations, including students of color, English language learners (ELLs), children living in poverty, and the teaching force of White, middle-class females highlights the racial divide that continues. To this end, a widely accepted goal for teacher education programs should be to prepare culturally competent practitioners who can serve these diverse populations and close the disparities. Though this may be an expectation, it is an alarming fact that HBCU faculty and elementary classroom teachers are not the ones researching the needs for training in these areas. HBCUs should have a leading position in current debates on multiculturalism and diversity in higher education programs. With their proclaimed advocacy for the civil rights of African American students, HBCUs should be continuous contributors to the current research. Consequently, this dissertation contributes to that effort.

There is considerable inquiry conducted on White students' matriculation at HBCUs (Brown, 1973; Hall & Closson, 2005; Nettles, 1988; Pascarella, Smart, Ethington, & Nettles, 1987; Willie, 1994); however, gaps exist in the literature regarding the experiences of specifically White *female* students or specifically White female *elementary education graduates from HBCUs*. Consequently, this qualitative study addresses the limitations in the research by examining the HBCU impact on White female graduates' social justice disposition development. The narrative inquiries contribute the White female voice about attending an HBCU in the South. My autoethnographic examination contributes the Black female voice of seeing Whites differently as a result of my interactions. I explore who I was when I entered the HBCU in 1970, the influence a White female faculty member had on my new lens, my racial identity discoveries, and the new truths I took into my first teaching assignment in 1974. The influence my White female faculty mentor had on my reversals of

racist views will give voice to the impact of HBCU faculty interactions as agents of social justice advocacy. The exact reverse will be explored with White female elementary education graduates.

Conveying the voices of White female graduates addressed the gap in higher education literature regarding the HBCU relational and institutional impact on their preparation to be inclusive teachers and their development of a social justice disposition for the race, gender, sexuality, (dis)ability, class, and language (Sleeter & Grant, 1999) needs of their students. Describing the HBCU impact on racial identity, transformations, changes or reversals of our social justice lens as both Black and White females contributes to the literature that lacks this focus. The exploration provided insight for HBCUs to prepare White female students to flourish in increasingly multicultural schools. In addition, the findings in this investigation may strengthen the argument that HBCUs are a viable option for White students, thus suggesting that HBCUs have the capacity to provide positive collegiate experiences for a broader range of students.

Research Question

The purpose of the research was to explore and better understand the relational and institutional impact of the HBCU social justice conceptual framework on the development of White female education graduates' social justice disposition. In the past thirty years, there has been considerable inquiry on the experiences of Black students attending HBCUs and predominately White Institutions (PWIs) (W. R. Allen, 1992; DeSousa & Kuh, 1996; Fleming, 1984; Willie, 1994). Equally there is extensive research examining the differences between the academic and social experiences of Black students attending PWIs (DeSousa & Kuh, 1996; Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002) and HBCUs (W. R. Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984,

Willie, et al., 2006). Absent from the literature are the voices of White female education graduates from HBCUs. A gap exists in studies addressing how they were impacted by the HBCU legacy of social justice advocacy.

In this investigation, a narrative inquiry methodology and an autoethnography were used. Specifically, individual interviews and focus group interviews were used to understand the perceptions of White female education graduates from one HBCU. The same interview questions guided my autoethnographic exploration. The research question that guides the study is: *What is the relational and institutional impact of the HBCU on White female education graduates' social justice disposition for teaching?* I wanted to explore to what extent one HBCU's social justice legacy impacts White female education graduates' disposition for social, racial and cultural diversity in their classrooms.

Significance of the Study

The Civil Rights movement for higher education concentrated on increasing African American access to historically White colleges and universities; reported here as Predominately White Institutions and universities (PWI). Segregation gave birth to HBCUs at the same time infamous desegregation court decisions forced PWIs to open their doors to Black students. The same desegregation mandates prompted HBCUs to include White students. The increased numbers in an effort to "Whiten" HBCUs (Cross, 1971, p. 26) are significant for this project because even with the increase in numbers of White student attendance, there have also been few studies examining the potential of HBCUs to facilitate the development of a "critical consciousness" as described by Henry and Closson (2010). Henry and Closson (2010) describe critical consciousness as the ability of Whites to see themselves through their Whiteness.

Some studies have concentrated on how White preservice and inservice teachers view themselves as racial beings (Helms, 1993; Tatum, 1992, 2003). However, few research studies have examined how White teachers graduating from HBCUs conceptualize their own racial identity and those of their students as a direct result of their matriculation at HBCUs. Significant to this research is the inquiry of how both Black and White female teachers develop how they see themselves racially and how they understand their students who are different by seeing through their eyes. Seeing through their eyes means having a conscious understanding of who the students are and what they have experienced.

This study seeks to understand how one HBCU impacts the social justice disposition of its White female education graduates. The following chapter establishes the background of the HBCU identity for the purpose, justification, and significance of the inquiry. Included is my personal context that is the impetus for the study and the question I explored. The next chapter presents the relevant bodies of literature to support this inquiry.

Chapter II: Review of Literature

This chapter provides an overview of literature relevant to the transformative impact one HBCU has on the social justice disposition development of its White female education graduates. As noted in Chapter 1, there is considerable research on White and Black student matriculation at HBCUs and an absence of specific inquiry of the impact the HBCU has on its White female education graduates' double consciousness or critical consciousness to teach all students. This is significant for teacher preparation programs given that the 2013-2014 school year was the last year in which non-hispanic Whites comprised a majority of the public kindergarten through twelfth grade school population (Public Schools First, 2014). This is coupled with the majority of public school classroom teachers identified as White, middle class females (Feistritzer, 2011). To prepare White female education majors to teach in classrooms with the majority of students of color, the role and impact of HBCUs in their racial and disposition development is crucial. This project explores how the historical legacy of one HBCU impacts White female education graduates' preparation to teach in multicultural classrooms.

Four bodies of research inform and shape the context of this project. The following review of literature is designed to describe the HBCU relational and institutional distinctiveness, the reasons why Black and White students chose to attend HBCUs and how HBCUs impact Black and White racial identity. This review and the resultant findings can

enhance the potential role of HBCUs in raising the critical consciousness or double consciousness of their White female teacher candidates.

As the site of teacher preparation for the White female participants in this research, significant attention is given to the historical identity of HBCUs in the first review of literature. The first area provides the historical background of HBCUs, describes its identity, and explains its tradition of social justice. HBCUs have been the heart of Black racial identity development with their distinctiveness and unique ability to raise cultural awareness. The literature indicates that HBCUs have historically provided positive and stimulating environments for both Black and White students. Accordingly, the literature suggests that HBCUs may serve as institutions that can help White students develop positive critical consciousness for an all inclusive society. To review the relational impact of HBCUs, this section includes a study of an archetypal model of HBCU distinctiveness (Arroyo, 2010) that sets the stage to review the pattern of interpersonal relationships distinctive in HBCUs.

The second area examines enrollment trends and focuses on why Black and White students choose to matriculate at HBCUs. Of significance to this research are why White females choose HBCUs rather than predominately White institutions, and how that choice may have impacted their social justice disposition development for teaching.

The third area focuses on White and Black racial identity development theories and the implications for disposition development. Many racial identity models focus on a sequential order and reliance on the world outlook of Whites. Such models do not address how Whites regarded themselves, but rather how they view people of color, and they do not consider the fact that development may not progress in concrete stages. Also included in the review of this literature are models that define self-reflection and awareness of individual

racial identity development. Reviewing the models gives a basis of understanding individual identity, how it developed, and the world views students bring with them to the HBCU.

The fourth area reviews the literature on two concepts of self-reflection and awareness, specifically, titled double consciousness and critical consciousness. The critical consciousness identity concept provides an ongoing process where White females individually self-reflect on their Whiteness in relationship to their assumptions about people of color, particularly African Americans. The literature on critical consciousness implies that White female education graduates would reflect upon their own racial identity first before they could develop a consciousness about the racial identity of African Americans or other students of color. Once White females explore their own racial selves, the literature explains what DuBois (1903) posits as being able to see and understand the opposite of your racial identity. The question that arises for this inquiry is: Can White females who graduate from HBCUs understand their own racial identity and be able to have a double consciousness to understand the racial identity of students of color they will teach? The literature examines this concept as the formation of a double consciousness (DuBois, 1903).

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of a study has been defined by Miles and Huberman (1994) as a visual or written product that “explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied” (p. 18). Maxwell (2005) views the conceptual framework as the key part of a research design that defines “the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that support and inform your research” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 33). The conceptual framework guiding this inquiry is primarily based upon examining the potential of HBCUs to impact the development of a double consciousness (DuBois, 1903) in

their White female education graduates. The belief is that upon graduation, the HBCU White female education graduates will contribute to an all inclusive classroom and society when they can understand their own racial development as well as the racial identity of students of color. The inquiry examines the interrelatedness of the personal lived experiences of White female education graduates growing up, of attending a HBCU, and the development of their social justice dispositions for teaching. The framework informs my approach and the lens through which I interpreted the experiences of White female graduates' social justice disposition development before, during, and after attending the HBCU.

The framework suggests the initial racial identity development begins outside of the HBCU and before matriculation. The focus of this study suggests that after matriculation, the HBCU experience of White female graduates may have an impact on their double consciousness for teaching others who are racially different than themselves. Maxwell (2005) introduces a tool known as concept mapping as a visual representation of the research design. Figure 1 illustrates the concepts and relationships examined in this research project.

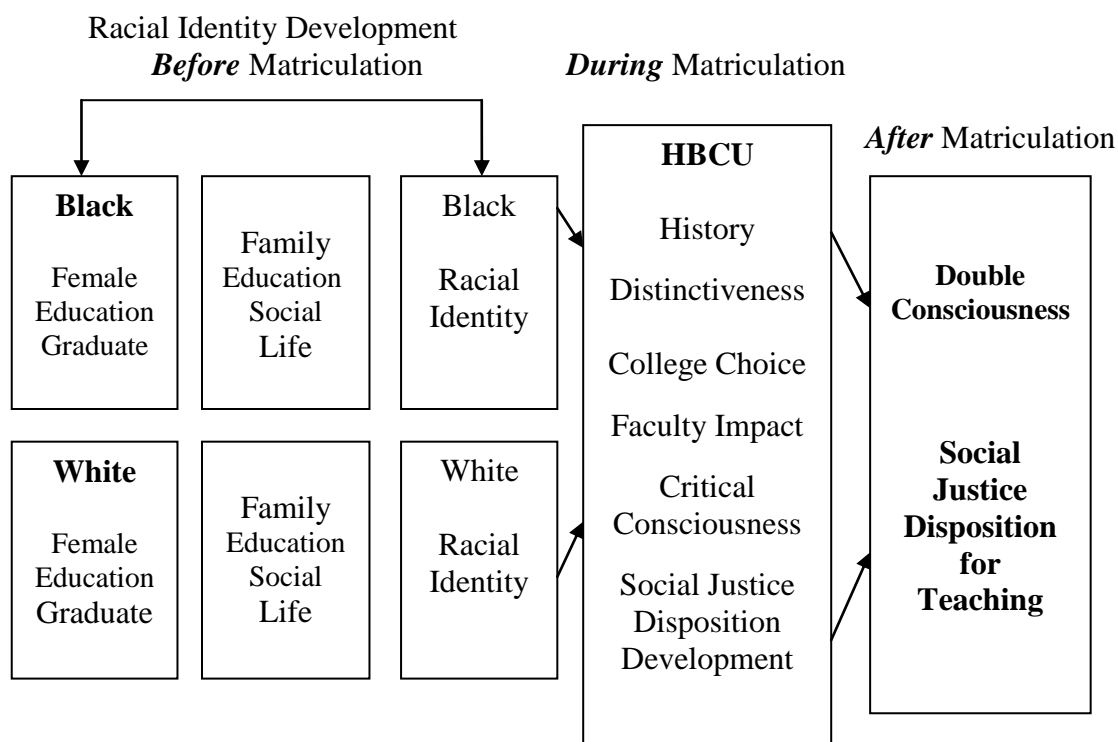


Figure 1: Factors Affecting the Social Justice Disposition Development for Teaching

The HBCU Identity

The history of the HBCU experience reveals the unique relational and institutional contributors to academic success. The history reveals characteristics that gave HBCUs their identity. Considerable attention is given to the literature on HBCUs' legacy of uniqueness and distinctiveness because a major focus of this inquiry is the impact HBCUs have on their female education graduates.

Historical Background of HBCU

Drewry and Doermann (2001) suggest that in order to demystify the complexity surrounding Black colleges, it is necessary to understand their historical roots. Social institutions can only be fully understood by examining the social context in which they came to exist (Jewell, 2002). During the Reconstruction era, also known as the Freedmen's

Education Movement, efforts of then called ‘Negros’ to secure an education were blocked by the exclusive privilege based on race and class. African Americans generally were restricted from attending any post-secondary institutions; therefore, HBCUs were established during the middle to late 1800s (Anderson, 1988). The primary goal and mission was to provide the first educational opportunities for former enslaved Africans and others of African descent (Grimes-Robinson, 1998).

Black colleges were among the first educational institutions in the South to open their doors to everyone despite their existence within a segregated society (Jewell, 2002). Non-Blacks - including Native Americans, African, Latin Americans, Caribbean students, less affluent Whites, White women, and Jewish people - all have benefited from the educational and social commitment of HBCUs during the segregationist age of 1895-1954 (Allen & Jewell, 2002; Willie, 1994). HBCUs have always opened their doors to students from all educational, social, and ethnic backgrounds, welcoming all who wish to attend college, regardless of previous academic performance (Jewell, 2002). HBCUs have long been a haven for those academic talents that were unappreciated or unwelcomed elsewhere due to race, ethnicity, or gender. White missionary women were employed at HBCUs to teach during a time when they could not work in other places because White women were not allowed to leave the home to work (Allen & Jewell, 2002). These women desired to educate their children where they worked, but strict city ordinances and state laws made it a criminal act to do so. For example, at the missionary founded Atlanta University in Georgia, a fine of \$8,000 and the threat of imprisonment was the sentence if White children were caught in the classroom with Black children (McPherson, 1975). White missionary women worked at HBCUs, but their children could not go to school there. Segregationist practices were forced

upon everyone, even those who desired to integrate the classroom. Nonetheless, White females taught in HBCU classrooms. Of importance to this project is the historical impact of early integration of HBCU faculty with White female faculty.

Those who later became leaders in the struggle for civil rights attribute their commitment to racial brotherhood in part to formative experiences they had on these campuses with liberal White faculty. One missionary college alumnus remarked that his experience with the school's liberal faculty saved him from the defeatist belief that all Whites were evil and bigoted. (Jewell, 2002, p. 13)

The research still suggests that HBCU campuses were places where in most cases a spirit of equality prevailed (W. R. Allen, 1992).

As the center of the Black struggle for equality and dignity, HBCUs played, and continue to play, important roles in the perpetuation of Black culture, the improvement of Black community life, and the preparation of the next generation of Black leadership. HBCUs served as “catalysts and agents for social change” (Allen & Jewell, 2002, p. 249). Students at HBCUs made important contributions during the Civil Rights movement, moved towards attaining human rights and removed the stigmas attached to race (Allen, Jewell, Griffin & Wolf, 2007).

HBCU Data Trends

Historically Black colleges and universities increased from one in 1837 to more than 100 in 1973 (Fleming, 1984). According to the U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics (2013), there are currently 106 HBCUs in 19 States, Washington, D.C. and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Nationally, HBCUs represent 3% of all United States institutions. The majority of HBCUs are private 4-year institutions. Women

make up 61% of students at HBCUs compared to 39% for men despite the fact that they are relatively even in the general population (53% vs. 48%). African Americans students make up 82% of HBCU enrollments, followed by Whites students at 14% (U.S. Department of Education, 2013). Some see these data as useful to the recruitment efforts for HBCUs.

HBCUs continued to educate and mold Black leaders and continued to serve as the “academic home for students from a wide range of racial and ethnic backgrounds” (Allen et al., 2007, p. 271). Between 1980 and 1990, White enrollment at HBCUs increased by 41% and two HBCUs became White majority institutions, Bluefield State University and West Virginia State University. Enrollment for women also soared to increase more than 140,000 women. In 2001, Whites comprised 11.1% of total undergraduates, 20.9% of graduate, and 11.6% of professional students enrolled in HBCUs (Allen et al., 2007). Scholars suggest that the rising enrollments of Whites at HBCUs have influenced the nature of these institutions (Closson & Henry, 2008b). Others raise concern that Black colleges will become centers of White middle-class domination and may pose a threat to transform the environments of HBCUs; where Blacks would be treated as second-class citizens if Whites and their culture dominated enrollment (Allen et al., 2007).

Allen et al. (2007) concluded that Black enrollment continues to grow due to extensive early research (W. R. Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984; Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002; Willie et al., 2006) that HBCUs provide supportive academic and interpersonal environments “unmatched by predominately White institutions (PWI)” (Allen et al., 2007, p. 271). Research has indicated that upon graduation, students at HBCUs have significantly higher self-ratings, retention rates, and academic aspirations than their counterparts at PWIs (W. R. Allen, 1992).

These characteristics of HBCUs are the very essence of their identity. HBCUs continue to act as social equalizers for groups who have been denied equal opportunity in education and in society. They continue to provide quality education for nontraditional students. Since their beginning, Black colleges have been known to attract students who are low-income, first generation, single parents, or from underrepresented minority groups. They continue to offer Black students - and anyone who attends - intellectual and stimulating environments, greater interaction with diverse populations, and more faculty-student contact compared to Black students at PWIs (Allen et al., 2007). Not only are HBCUs beneficial to students, but also to the surrounding communities as well. One of the main goals was to educate Black students not just to build knowledge, but to use knowledge to improve the race and the conditions of the Black communities (Banks, 1995). These characteristics shape the identity of HBCUs.

Given the historical focus of HBCUs, W. R. Allen (1992) identified six specific goals endemic among HBCUs that are of significance to this project. They include: (a) the maintenance of the Black historical and cultural tradition; (b) the provision of key leadership for the Black community (c) the provision of an economic function in the Black community; (d) the provision of Black role models to interpret the way in which social, political, and economic dynamics impact Black people; (e) the provision of college graduates with a unique competence to address the issues between the minority and majority population groups; and (f) the production of Black agents for specialized research, institutional training, and information dissemination in dealing with the life environment of Black and other minority communities.

HBCU Uniqueness

The most influential and renowned research on HBCU culture was conducted by Jacqueline Fleming (1984). All other studies after that aligned with Fleming's *Blacks in College: A Comparative Study of Students' Success in Black and White Institutions* (1984). This was the first comprehensive study using mixed methods to describe the uniqueness of what were then called Black colleges. She used a wide variety of measurements to dispute the argument that the impact of Black college environments could not be studied using "the usual empirical methods available to social scientists" (Fleming, 1984, p. x). Her goal was to study as many aspects of college life as possible and their effects on Black students in both Black and White institutions. No previous work describing the environment of HBCUs and racial issues had been as extensive. Because there were no comparative studies of what Fleming (1984) deemed as "sufficient size and scope" at that time (Fleming, 1984, p. x), the research included 3,000 freshman and senior students in 15 colleges, eight White and seven predominantly Black in four states: Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, and Ohio. Fleming (1984) examined the impact of White and Black colleges in the urban south, the Deep South, in the Southwest and those in the North. They were compared on a number of measures that included testing, questionnaires, personal interviews, and the examination of official transcripts. The report was over 800 pages long, comparing students in Black and White colleges. Fleming concluded that Black colleges have the capacity to positively influence cognitive development of Black students.

The HBCU Interpersonal Community

Pertinent to the purpose of this review of literature, Fleming (1984) reported the results of four intensive investigations of Black students at seven colleges (three

predominately Black and four predominately White) all in the Southwest. The study indicated that predominately Black schools promoted more positive growth in academic functioning and intellectual self-concept. In contrast, “Black students in White colleges gain little in the midst of intellectual plenty” (Fleming, 1984, p. 80). Facilities and material resources were not found to influence the rate of academic success; human resources made the impact.

In a qualitative study that probed sources of stress and satisfaction during college years, Fleming suggested “the stronger interpersonal supports found more often in predominately Black colleges” were essential ingredients for solid intellectual development (Fleming, 1984, p. 106).

The research confirms the premise that positive interpersonal supports constitute a precondition for cognitive growth. Specifically, the presence of friends and mentors contributes to a positive atmosphere in which intellectual activity can germinate successfully. (Fleming, 1984, p. xii)

Fleming (1984) identified three aspects of a supportive community: supportive relationships, participation in campus life, and opportunities to feel successful. In her study, supportive relationships emerged as the first distinctive characteristic of HBCUs. Important to the development of college students are supportive personal relationships, especially friendships. Essential is the need for strong relationships with “teachers, staff members, and role models” (Fleming, 1984, p. 151). Fleming (1984) reported college students want someone to talk to in times of stress from school assignments and a buffer for the interpersonal trauma of growing into adult life. The absence of this support can create stress among Black students in predominately White colleges.

A second distinction highlights opportunities to participate in activities and the social life of campus. A feeling of connection satisfies Black students' desires to acquire the self-esteem gained in being recognized as a part of a group culture. Black students enjoy being on the HBCU campus near the student union, hanging out, and using the social language of their culture and peers (Willie et al., 2006).

The third distinctive attribute is a feeling of success. Affirming the identity of Black students is the opportunity to feel a sense of academic progress and success. Black students prosper from having friends, mentors and faculty to offer personal coaching for academic success. The results of Fleming's research indicate that these three attributes are found in Black college settings. Collectively, they promote intellectual development among Black students and set the foundation for success of other races attending HBCUs.

In contrast to Fleming's (1984) research methods, W. R. Allen (1992) conducted a quantitative study and an analysis of the data from the National Study of Black College Students (NSBCS). The NSBCS compiles comprehensive data on characteristics, experiences, and achievement of Black college students. In a longitudinal study, W. R. Allen (1992) employed a multivariate approach, employing correlation analysis and using multiple regression analysis of data about 2,500 Black students surveyed in eight HBCUs and eight White schools.

This study investigated relationships between student outcomes of academic achievement, social involvement, occupational aspirations, and students' educational backgrounds, goals and personal adjustment to the college environment. The findings conveyed that "academic achievement is highest for students who have high educational

aspirations, who are certain that their college choice was correct, and who report positive relationships with faculty” (W. R. Allen, 1992, p. 35).

The previous research of Fleming (1984) and this study demonstrated the difference HBCUs and predominately White campuses make for African American students. On predominately White campuses, W. R. Allen (1992) states, “Black students report feelings of alienation, sensed hostility, racial discrimination, and lack of integration. At HBCUs, Black students emphasize feelings of engagement, connection, acceptance, and extensive support and encouragement” (W. R. Allen, 1992, p. 39). Coupled with these findings is the evidence that supportive environments at HBCUs provide safe environments for Black students to take academic risks and to develop the very essence of citizenship and personhood that the American ethos idealizes. Black students report they “receive more positive feedback, support, and understanding from more people who communicate that they care about students’ welfare” at HBCUs (W. R. Allen, 1992, p. 40).

The study concluded that Black student college success results from two areas. Though W. R. Allen (1992) argued that any student will be successful depending on individual characteristics, students’ academic performances are “affected by the quality of life at institutions, which includes quality relationships with faculty and friends” (W. R. Allen, 1992, p. 40). When asked which factors were the most important influences on Black student academics, the findings “suggested that Black student college outcomes are influenced by the immediate surrounding social context, while interpersonal relationships represented the bridge between individual dispositions and the institutional setting” (W. R. Allen, 1992, p. 39). The combination of individual characteristics and characteristics of the institution influenced academic performance.

A common quality of HBCUs cited in the research of both Fleming (1984) and W. R. Allen (1992) was the strong influence of interpersonal relationships on Black student academic achievement. As a result, both studies noted that Black students attending predominately White colleges report lower academic achievement compared to Black students attending HBCUs. W. R. Allen (1992) recommended future studies of how historical, cultural, social and psychological factors affect student academic outcomes.

The HBCU Interpersonal Distinctiveness

Like the researchers reviewed above, Willie, Reddick, and Brown (2006) began their report with a history of HBCUs. Unlike Fleming (1984), W. R. Allen (1992), and Outcalt and Skewes-Cox (2002), the authors reviewed literature and compared the culture of HBCUs generations ago with those of today. Willie, Reddick, and Brown (2006) analyzed the characteristics of the student body, faculty and administration of Black colleges. Missions, goals, curriculum and pedagogical methods used in Black colleges were examined as well as the personal characteristics of 59 presidents of four-year colleges challenged with carrying out the unique missions and values of HBCUs.

Being able to teach all students requires a special mission for HBCU faculty and staff. Interpersonal skills used in mentoring are strengths of faculty at HBCUs (Willie et al., 2006). The authors discussed the value of mentoring as a support for students that yields high academic success. Examples of extraordinary support, above and beyond the professorate job descriptions, described a unique quality of HBCUs.

Of interest to me is one of the premises that Willie et al. (2006) reported about Black colleges. “The unique and effective teaching styles developed by many Black institutions of higher learning could help others and should be available to all, including Whites” (Willie et

al., 2006, p. xv). The authors coupled this insight with a second premise that a college is no better than its faculty. Faculty should possess expert knowledge. As important as knowledge, faculty wisdom and practical judgment promoted an environment conducive to learning.

Wise teachers develop empathetic relationships with all students, meet each student where he or she is regarding previous education, and mentor students with great Expectations and generous support. A learning environment consisting of these relationships enables students to transform defective institutional arrangements for the purpose of achieving a more perfect community that enhances the life chances of all. (Willie et al., 2006, p. xviii)

HBCU faculty see themselves as “mentors, role models and surrogate parents” (Willie et al., 2006, p. 64), essentials for success and as well as being unique qualities of HBCU faculty. Faculty and administration in Black colleges helped their students become good and responsible citizens as well as good scholars. Black citizens see education as what it can do to enhance the community more than what education can do for Blacks as individuals (Willie et al., 2006). The authors cited Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse Jackson, John Hope Franklin and Rosa Parks as leaders who graduated from HBCUs and who were mentored by caring HBCU faculty. Each left their colleges to improve their communities as a result of their strong mentor guidance. Graduates were charged with using their education to serve the community. “This understanding makes faculty at Black colleges sensitive to the importance of developing students with great character as well as great minds” (Willie et al., 2006, p. 72). The uniqueness of HBCUs provided an environment where Black students, as well as students of all cultures and races, can grow academically and individually.

The range of needs of Black and White students attending HBCUs require faculty that “excel in the art of teaching” and mentoring (Willie et al., 2006, p. 63). Faculty possessing expert knowledge uses a variety of pedagogical strategies to meet the needs of all the students HBCUs welcome. Historically, HBCU faculty and staff addressed intellectual and spiritual needs of their students by focusing on student potential over student performance on tests. Through the mentoring process, HBCU faculty has high expectations for their students’ success. “In addition to intellectual quickness, creativity, and motivation to achieve, honesty, open-mindedness, pleasantness and altruism” are values taught by HBCU faculty (Willie et al., 2006, p. 101). Values are as important to the total development of students at HBCUs, regardless of the color of their skin.

The uniqueness of faculty and pedagogy validate the argument to sustain HBCUs, according to Willie et al. (2006). The mission to give support, meet students where they are, and to take them to higher levels of excellence still continues today.

Involvement, Interaction and Satisfaction of HBCU Campus Life

Outcalt and Skewes-Cox (2002) used data from two surveys administered by the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) to probe the campus relationship of African American students at HBCUs compared to those at PWIs. Information accessed from responses of 15,367 respondents enrolled at over 100 institutions of higher education informed the results. Predominately White institutions with similar characteristics as HBCUs were identified for the study. Descriptive statistical procedures assessed student involvement and satisfaction at the two types of institutions.

In concert with the research of Fleming (1984) and W. R. Allen (1992), Outcalt and Skewes-Cox's (2002) primary objectives involved the analysis of student/campus relationships of African American students at HBCUs and comparable PWIs. One different objective involved isolating the role of HBCUs in African American student enrollment to determine if a HBCU adds to students' overall level of satisfaction with their college experience.

The results produced similar findings as the earlier researchers. Not surprising was the discovery of different types of extracurricular and academic involvement when HBCUs and PWIs were compared. African Americans at HBCUs demonstrated more involvement in social activities and they were more satisfied with their experiences at HBCUs than at PWIs. In satisfaction measures of racial/ethnic diversity at the school, African American students rated HBCUs higher than PWIs. The findings replicated Fleming (1984) and W. R. Allen (1992), which found that "HBCUs tend to provide a more satisfying experience and supportive climate for their African American students" (Fleming, 1984, p. 341), and African American students at HBCUs "enjoy more hospitable educational" climates (Fleming, 1984, p. 344).

The results of the research by Outcalt and Skewes-Cox (2002) did not just replicate previous findings, they emphasized that the most important elements in HBCUs' unique advantages are related to students' experiences with their human environment. Their findings supported a theory devised by Outcalt and Skewes-Cox (2002) called *reciprocal engagement*. This means student involvement is more than just involvement in activities. The theory suggests that students and their campuses exist in a relationship of mutual influence. An understanding of student success must also include "an examination of environmental

factors, such as perceptions of the quality of interpersonal interactions” (Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002, p. 333). This echoes W. R. Allen’s (1992) research that African Americans are more satisfied at HBCUs because they report more positive social support networks. Outcalt and Skewes-Cox (2002) support my interest in researching the influence of interpersonal relationships and the influences of faculty on student success at HBCUs.

Archetypal Model of HBCU Distinctiveness

Even with the research on HBCU relational and institutional characteristics, no distinct model or theory of the identity of a HBCU had been developed. Arroyo (2010) used a qualitative case study with a triangulated data collection strategy to develop an archetypal model of HBCU distinctiveness and to study the alignment between the model and the organization of Norfolk State University (NSU), a HBCU. The archetypal model has four dimensions: environment, achievement, identity and ethics and values. Data used for the alignment came from documentation, 11 interviews, and Arroyo’s observations as a faculty member participant. To align with the archetypal model, students with “special emphasis on traditionally underserved, undereducated African American students” were used (Arroyo, 2010, p. 80). Norfolk State University demonstrated a high alignment with the archetypal model.

Of interest to my research is the environmental alignment. The environment category is divided into two domains, the socioemotional and the instrumental environments. “Socioemotional environment refers to the institution’s impact on students’ sense of support, nurture and social connectedness” (Arroyo, 2010, p. 82). NSU aligns highly with the model for three sources of support: faculty, racial and cultural milieu, and special programs. All of the student interviews indicated NSU faculty as the primary source and sustainer on this

domain of the model. Some students made contrasts and comparisons based on their prior school experiences at PWIs. Comments from students include statements such as “all of the professors that have instructed me there made me grow socially and emotionally” (Arroyo, 2010, p. 82). Another student commented “I had professors who knew my first name and were willing to be a resource in a time of crisis, whether it dealt with my personal life and feelings or my grade in their course. It seemed very heartfelt and sincere” (Arroyo, 2010, p. 83). This is the uniqueness that I found when I matriculated at a HBCU, and it is a uniqueness that should promote excellence in HBCUs today.

These findings validate the research of pioneers such as Fleming (1984) and W. R. Allen (1992). A supporting interpersonal environment yields high academic success. Arroyo’s (2010) study indicated that all of the students interviewed pointed to faculty as the primary source of supportive socioemotional environment, agreeing with the findings and recommendations of Willie et al. (2006) regarding the importance of mentoring.

Arroyo (2010) identified a second contributor to the supportive socioemotional environment, racial and cultural milieu. Everyday campus life and the surroundings serve as meaningful support to both Black and non-Black students. It is a feeling of “everyday ethos” that students describe (Arroyo, 2010, p. 87). At NSU, Arroyo (2010) reported that the cultural milieu for students is hanging out, with the social language, body mannerisms, music, and clothing patterns being different from PWIs. The third contributor combines the three for the socioemotional environment success. Special programs designed to meet the varied learning needs of all students were also of supportive significance. Knowledge of these resources assisted faculty with mentoring for student success. Arroyo (2010) defined and described the other categories on the archetypal model, the constructs and variables. The

archetypal model of HBCU effectiveness is aligned with the research from Fleming (1984), W. R. Allen (1992) and Willie et al. (2006) cited in this review.

HBCU Enrollment

Black Student Choice to Attend HBCUs

African Americans students today have many more choices of higher education institutions than they did at the historical inception of HBCUs. As an African American high school student in 1970, I felt my choices were limited regardless of the number of opportunities existing. While researchers know a great deal about the experiences African Americans had at HBCUs at that time, less is known about the characteristics of African American students who choose to attend HBCUs now.

Freeman and Thomas (2002) conducted research to understand why African American high school students choose to attend HBCUs. They examined the characteristics of student choice to attend HBCUs in the past and compared them with students' choices in the 21st century. In the 1970s, the year I graduated from an all-Black high school in the South, Gurin and Epps (1975) estimated that 90% of students attending HBCUs in the South were southerners.

Financial aid was an imperative for Black students selecting a higher education institution in the 1970s. Black students selected "PWIs for financial assistance and HBCUs for low tuition and grant opportunities" (Freeman & Thomas, 2002, p. 354). For many Black students they were first generation college students in their families with parents working two jobs to help finance college tuition. Additionally, financial aid influenced African Americans choice to attend college near home. Gurin and Epps (1975) reported that approximately 60% of African Americans at Black colleges had fathers who had not

graduated from high school. The findings were challenged by Astin and Cross (1981) who had contrasting results. Astin and Cross (1981) found that Black students attending HBCUs had “somewhat” better educated fathers and even “better” educated mothers than Black students attending PWIs (Astin & Cross, 1981, p. 36). Reporting affirmative aspects of Black student choice, Astin and Cross (1981) highlighted characteristics that included more Black students attending HBCUs have aspirations to earn the Ph.D. or Ed.D. degrees than Black students attending PWIs. During this decade, Black students in HBCUs also “were more concerned with politics and community action” than those attending PWIs (Astin & Cross, 1981, p. 41).

A prevalent assumption that African Americans who choose to attend HBCUs have poor grades in high school and are less prepared for college academics surfaced in the research (Freeman & Thomas, 2002). With these limitations and lower college entry standardized test scores, the assumption prevails that African Americans have no choice but to go to HBCUs (Freeman & Thomas, 2002). However, no research in this study validated this assumption.

Astin and Cross (1981) found that Black students attending HBCUs in the 1970s were influenced by relatives, teachers, or close relationships who had already attended HBCUs. The academic reputation and the socioeconomic composition of the school also influenced selections for both Black and White students.

The profile of students 30 years later had remained consistent in many areas (Freeman & Thomas, 2002). Freeman (1999) conducted a qualitative, longitudinal study with 21 high-achieving high school students. She found the characteristics of African American students choosing HBCUs was significantly different than those choosing PWIs. All grew up

in segregated Black environments and attended predominantly Black high schools. Only five of the 21 students had parents who were college graduates. This study found three major influences: knowing someone who attends a HBCU, seeking roots, and lack of cultural awareness (Freeman, 1999). One influence remaining the same since the 1970s was African American students was more likely to choose an HBCU if they had a family member, teacher, or a friend connected with a HBCU (Astin & Cross, 1981). In another study, the findings reported the percentage of White students, the students/teacher ratio, and the student/counselor ratio had negative influences on African American expectations about the college (Freeman & Thomas, 2002, p 354).

One prominent finding of motivation was the more African Americans students were isolated from their cultural heritage, such as those attending White high schools, the more they “longed for a deeper understanding of their culture and the more motivated they were to attend a HBCU. Most often they reported, as their motivation, a desire to search for their roots in or find a connection to the African American community” (Freeman & Thomas, 2002, p. 356).

Concurrently, Freeman (2005) and Willie (2003) conducted qualitative investigations focusing on African American college choice. Freeman (2005) used interview data from 16 focus groups to develop a model of predetermination which focused on cultural support of African Americans to attend college. The use of qualitative methods was criticized as limiting the ability of other researchers to make comparisons between other populations and draw conclusions based on inferential statistics (Gelo, Braakmann, & Benetka, 2008). Freeman’s (2005) research highlighted the omission from the majority of research examining reasons for college choice that are related to race and racial identity. The experiences of

students who attend HBCUs indicated that race-related reasons do indeed play a role in college choice (Freeman, 2005). In particular, qualitative data suggests a number of benefits of attending an HBCU, including not being a minority and an increased feeling of belonging and pride (Freeman, 2005; Tobolowsky, Outcalt & McDonough, 2005; Willie, 2003). Researchers indicate HBCUs also offer students greater exposure to Black academic role models with whom they can identify, and consequently, offer more positive student-faculty interactions than PWIs. Racial identity as an institutional factor and positive student-faculty interactions as a relational factor are the underpinnings of this research project.

Financial aid continued to be a major factor in the type of higher education institution chosen by African Americans in the present decades. Regardless of a HBCU or PWI, high-achieving African American students will choose to attend HBCUs that offer comparable financial aid (Freeman & Thomas, 2002). The most prevailing reasons can be grouped into three prominent categories: academic, social, and financial (W. R. Allen, 1992; Canale, Dunlap, Britt & Donahue, 1996; Freeman, 1999; Hovart, 1996).

White Student Choice to Attend HBCUs

Though White students always had the freedom to choose which colleges and universities to attend, the data indicate many chose HBCUs. Early studies revealed White students chose HBCUs for several reasons. Brown (1973) found that White students attending HBCUs had limited contact with Black students and campus activities. White students did not live on campus; therefore, most of their contact with Blacks during the time of the Civil Rights movement was in work experiences or during the integration of public schools. White students attended class on HBCU campuses without apprehension and participated freely in class. Elam (1978) reported that White students on Black campuses

were older than the traditional HBCU students, they were married with families, had completed military obligations, were often transfer students, who were employed, and they were called ‘city students’ commuting on and off campus. This description led to the finding that White students did not want to participate in the HBCU campus life and showed no interest; they only were interested in completing the degree requirements. Brown and Stein (1972) found the same conclusions that White students attending HBCUs were largely Southerners between the ages of 27 and 35 years old, and typically enrolled in public HBCUs.

Brown and Stein (1972) implemented a study concerning the factors affecting White students on Black campuses using questionnaires. Out of the 125 questionnaires returned, 60% of all respondents cited proximity as a convenience and as the major reason for attending the HBCU (Brown, 1973; Elam, 1978). In the same study 55% believed that courses and degree program offerings were essential for their goals, and 45% were drawn by the low cost of tuition (Brown, 1973).

Sum, Light, and King (2004) took a more qualitative approach to study factors that motivated White students to attend public HBCUs. They also found that these students were nontraditional and attended due to proximity and tuition cost. The majority of studies investigated the likelihood of White students enrolling at HBCUs. Studies identified factors such as low cost of tuition, proximity, course offerings and low admissions standards as the primary reasons for enrollment (Conrad, Brier, and Braxton, 1997; Drummond, 2000; Hazzard, 1989; Levinson, 2000; Wenglinshy, 1997). Hazzard (1989), in a study of White students at HBCUs in North Carolina, randomly surveyed five HBCUs and found that the

leading reasons for White students attending HBCUs were convenience, academic degree programs, low-cost tuition and proximity to work and school.

Similar to Hazzard's (1989) study, Conrad, Brier, and Braxton (1997) found that the reputation of academic programs was an important factor followed by financial support provided to the student. They conducted an open-ended, multi-case study design to identify factors contributing to the presence of White students on public HBCU campuses. Five public HBCUs were analyzed for their ability to attract White students. Students, faculty, and administrators were interviewed. The study included both undergraduates and graduate students. Fourteen factors clustered into three categories were considered as major influences of the matriculation of White students at HBCUs. The important factors under academic program offerings were the availability of programs in high demand fields, unique program offerings, alternative program delivery, and reputation for academic quality (Conrad et al., 1997). The second factor was support that included, minority scholarships (Whites became minority at HBCUs) and other race grants. Of significance to this study was the third factor of institutional characteristics. This included a range of factors: a multicultural image, inclusive campus culture, White student recruitment efforts, articulation agreements with nearby PWIs, positive external relationships, and campus attractiveness and safety (Conrad et al., 1997). Closson and Henry (2008a, 2008b) echoed the same institutional considerations as a need for HBCUs to promote inclusion while remaining dedicated to the Black community.

Closson and Henry (2008a, 2008b) conducted a mixed methods research study, employing Black and White focus groups, the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale to assess the social adjustments of White students on HBCU campuses. The researchers recruited eight students who had attended a small private

HBCU in the “deep” South for at least one year (Closson & Henry, 2008b, p. 521).

Participants included five Blacks, three Whites, all full-time, undergraduate students whose average age was 19 years old. The findings indicated that although White students reported a sense of underrepresentation, they experienced an open, friendly environment. They reported no direct experiences of racism and positive, strong supportive and helpful faculty relationships. Participants expressed no hesitation in approaching faculty. “They will not let you fail” (Closson & Henry, 2008b, p. 527). In the concluding implications, the researchers cited “a critical notion illuminated in our findings suggests the need, among both White students and Black students at the HBCU, for greater racial awareness and understanding of themselves and their diverse environments” (Closson & Henry, 2008b, p. 531).

HBCU Enrollment Trends of White Students

As laws and litigations were passed requiring all colleges and universities to diversify their student populations, White student enrollment increased on HBCU campuses. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2005) reports enrollment trends at HBCUs. The data indicates that White student enrollment increased from 181,346 to 260,547 between 1976 and 2001. In 2001, Whites comprised 11.1% of total undergraduate, 20.9% of graduate, and 11.6% of professional students enrolled in HBCUs (NCES, 2011). In 2011, non-Black students made up 19 percent of enrollment at HBCUs, compared with 15 percent in 1976 (NCES, 2011). Thirteen percent of the non-Black students are White, on average, a percentage that has held steady for more than a decade. Bluefield State College, West Virginia State University, and Lincoln University in Missouri, all HBCUs, enroll a majority of White students (NCES, 2011). Kentucky State University, among the most diverse HBCUs, is about evenly divided among Black and other race students. HBCUs are today

enrolling increasing numbers of Latinos (3%), Asian Americans (1%), and bi-racial (5%) students as well (NCES, 2011). Interestingly, most sources of data report general White student enrollment at HBCUs; specific White female data is not reported.

Racial Identity Development Models

In order for teachers to be effective with diverse students, they must recognize and understand their own world views, confront their own racism and biases, learn about their students' cultures, and perceive the world through diverse cultural lenses (McAllister & Irvine, 2000). Teachers should reflect on their own identity development and consider how their perspectives could influence their teaching and interaction with students (Howard, 2006; Jersild 1955; Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

Pertinent to this research, the identification of our backgrounds and how backgrounds influence our daily perceptions and actions feed our racial identity. Borrowed from the discipline of counseling, racial identity refers to a “sense of group or collective identity based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (Helms & Carter, 1990, p. 3). The awareness levels of White females regarding their racial development before attending the HBCU and after graduation is of significance. In this qualitative study, it was important to examine how or if any of the White females followed stage descriptions of any models. A number of models to understand White racial development have been introduced in the literature.

In some models racial identity development has been conceptualized as a series of stages through which individuals pass as their attitudes toward their own racial group and the White population develop, ultimately achieving a “healthy identity” (Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994, p. 130). The number of stages and description of each varies across models.

Rowe et al. (1994) give a general description of the models. The first stage typically involves acceptance of the stereotypes the dominant society had attributed to the group. The second stage is typically one of conflict in which the individual begins to question the previously held stereotypes. The third stage involves an immersion into the culture of the racial group and a violent rejection of cultures outside the group. In the final stage individuals move to accept the positive attributes of the cultures outside the group.

White Racial Identity Process Models

One of the most widely accepted models of White racial identity was proposed by Helms (Helms, 1984; Helms & Carter, 1990) and focuses on how people develop racial and ethnic identity. She originally believed the development of a healthy White racial identity requires progressing through two phases: (a) abandonment of racism and (b) defining a non-racist White identity. Later Helms (1994) changed the stages to statuses after criticism that the stages were viewed as static instead of fluid. She believed that “the issue for Whites is abandonment of entitlement, whereas the general development issue of people of color is surmounting internalized racism” (Helms, 1994, p. 184). Thus, she divided her White racial identity process into two status areas; the first three statuses are the contact status, disintegration status, and reintegration status. These three statuses involve recognizing and relinquishing White racism. The final three statuses are pseudo independence status, immersion/emersion status, and autonomy status. The last three require work to reframe one’s identity into a nonracist identity (McAllister & Irvine, 2000). The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) was designed to assess the six stages (Helms & Carter, 1990).

Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) opposed the stages of Helm's (1993) model. One reason was because "there is nothing in nature similar to Piagetian stages of mental operations, that orders the stages of White identity development to address a progression from a least healthy stage to a most healthy stage of racial identity" (Rowe et al., 1994, p. 132). The scholars proposed an alternate explanation of the role of White attitudes toward their own and other racial groups with a model called White racial consciousness. Rowe et al. (2000) suggest that there is a correlation between one's racial identity and one's attitudes toward other racial groups, and attitudes toward complex moral issues, such as racism, equality, and social justice.

Of significance to this research is Howard's (2006) White Identity Model developed as a result of his total emersion into a race and culture completely opposite from how he grew up and was educated. He examined his own racial identity development through self-reflection and looking through the eyes of others very different from himself. Howard's model is pertinent to this research because he is a White male 'majority' who became a 'minority' when he moved into an all Black segregated community in 1966. As a White male, he makes a major contribution to the literature and the field of multicultural education with his story of his own White racial identity developmental journey. Howard (2006) moved into the most impoverished Black neighborhoods in New Haven, Connecticut. His model is a concrete conceptualized model based on his real life experiences that multiculturalism is "possible, desirable, definable, and teachable" (Howard, 2006, p. 100). There are three distinct White identity orientations in the model: fundamentalists, integrationist, and transformationist. Movement along the continuum from left to right is encouraged. Each category is different in terms of thinking, feeling, and acting (Howard, 2006). This White

identity orientations model allows for tracking how White educators can progress in their thoughts, emotions and behaviors towards their Whiteness and issues of dominance. Howard (2006) developed the model specifically for White educators.

Black Racial Identity Models

The concept of racial identity development was initially applied to understanding people of color, particularly Black people, who were assumed to have distinct cultural heritages (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1988; Cross, 1971). The first research on African American racial identity placed all African Americans in one group without consideration of the culture of the race (Clark & Clark, 1939). Gaines and Reed (1994, 1995) later distinguished two separate groups of African American racial identity research as the mainstream approach and the underground perspective. The mainstream approach focused on group identity. In the 1960s, African American psychologists redefined African American racial identity emphasizing the uniqueness of African American oppression and cultural experiences. This was referred to as the underground perspective (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1998). The underground approach has a lineage stretching its origins to the work of W. E. B. DuBois (1903).

Allport (1954) and DuBois (1903) differed in their conceptualization of African American racial identity. Allport (1954) represented the mainstream approach and believed that as a group the African American psyche had to be affected and developed by the negative consequences of its racial group. They either had to devalue themselves because of the prejudice they experienced or devalue the society in which they were experiencing discrimination. Consequently, early researchers maintained that self-hatred was a part of the African American identity (Cross, 1991). The mainstream emphasis on the significance of

group identity to an individual was considered universal. Though this body of research yielded important points of reference, criticism illuminated the mainstream view of African American racial identity that has “emphasized the stigma associated with having African features in this society; the stigma attached to the identity” (Sellers et. al., 1998, p. 21).

Conversely, DuBois (1903) represented the underground approach to African American racial identity. He did not view the African American self-concept as being damaged. While acknowledging the significance of racial oppression in African American lives, DuBois (1903) highlighted the cultural influences that positively impacted African American ego development. There are clear differences in the two approaches in the emphasis of the “qualitative and experiential meaning associated with being Black” (Sellers et. al., 1998, p.21). Underground researchers provide descriptions of what it means to be Black, assessing individual’s attitudes and beliefs as a function of identity development (Baldwin, 1984; Cross, 1971, 1991; Parham, 1989).

In contrast to Allport (1954), Du Bois (1903) articulated the double consciousness of being both a Negro and an American. He eloquently and passionately voiced the struggle of the negative view of the Negro and the Negro’s own view of him or herself in the world of humiliating prejudice. Even in the face of this battle, the task of healthy African American ego development abides in the “reconciliation of the discrepancy between his or her African self and his or her American self” (Sellers, et.al., 1998, p. 22). However, there were contrasting views of what it meant to be Black within the ranks. Some theorists viewed DuBois’ double consciousness as being two separate points on a continuum (e.g., Baldwin, 1984), and others viewed all things Black as being important to develop an integrated identity (e.g., Cross, 1991).

DuBoisian Double Consciousness

W. E. B. DuBois was a pioneering sociologist, historian, novelist, editor, playwright, and cultural critic. Without ever seeking a mass following, he eloquently articulated the frustrations and desires of African Americans and demonstrated a passion for Negro people to have more than they had before. After graduating from Harvard University, where he was the first African American to earn a doctorate, he became an impassioned champion directly attacking the legal, political, and economic system that exploited the poor and powerless (Lewis, 1993).

As a prolific author, DuBois gained the most notoriety from his concept of “double consciousness” explored in his essays, *Striving of the Negro* (DuBois, 1897) and *The Souls of Black Folk* (DuBois, 1989).

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, - a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (DuBois, 1903, p. 9)

This notion of double consciousness is an important concept because it reveals the condition of African Americans being forced to learn about their racial identity and history, and develop their own self-identity at the same time they are being forced to be an American and

to assimilate into a White-dominated society. In the days of the Civil Rights Movement, it was a struggle to be both an African American and an American (Moore, 2005).

In the quote above, DuBois (1903) theorizes a 'Veil' that separates the two sides. In his writing the veil represented both formal and informal structures of segregation and discrimination.

Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was...shut out from their world by a vast veil. I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows (DuBois, 1897, p. 194).

DuBois wanted to inspire the Negro people to rise above the Veil, an idea of which he received great criticism (Allen, 2003; Reed, 1997) for not urging people to tear down the Veil. In order to see the Veil, DuBois theorized that African Americans possess a 'second sight', which he defines as the ability to perceive two worlds and see through the Veil that separates them. The first world is the world of Black America; the other was White America.

Critics bashed DuBois for not understanding the Negro plight. Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey declared DuBois to have middle-class values that did not represent the Negro world from which they came. Booker T. Washington was born into slavery twelve years before DuBois was born. Washington (1965) continually debated that Blacks could improve their condition by taking whatever position they were allowed by Whites and then working so skillfully and masterfully at their industrial, agricultural and menial jobs that White people would respect Blacks. In direct contrast, DuBois' view of how African Americans could improve their position was through education, knowledge and the development of culture (DuBois, 1989). For Blacks, the debate over liberal education

championed by DuBois (1989) versus vocational education advocated by Washington (1965) signified different ways of being in the world Jim Crow racism had built: one accommodation, the other defiance (Allen et al., 2007). After Washington died, Garvey continued the debate. Garvey believed Black people should be brought into one community. He believed in separatism; Black patronage of Black businesses only. Garvey believed that White racism was so entrenched in White American society that it was futile to rise over the Veil and appeal to White America's sense of justice (Franklin & Moss, 1988).

The DuBoisian theory of double consciousness is important to this research because African Americans learned to see and be with both sides of the Veil. As the majority of teachers in public school classrooms, White female educators are challenged with understanding the culture and history of those they teach and then teach with new eyes. That requires understanding their own identity, but also exploring the racial identity of the other students who are different from them. Of equal importance is the question of their preparation to face this challenge.

Critical Consciousness Identity Studies

In this section, literature is presented on the potential of HBCUs influencing the critical consciousness of White students regarding the "process of unveiling Whiteness" (Henry & Closson, 2010, p. 13). When White students who are "majority become the minority" on HBCU campuses, White students report more positive social relationships and less overt acts of racism than Black students at PWIs (Closson & Henry, 2008b). One question is: Can HBCUs use the positive experiences of White students at HBCUs enhance their White critical consciousness? HBCUs may provide the type of environment that allows

for engagement in practices enhancing racial awareness among White students who attend (Henry & Closson, 2010). However, it cannot be assumed that White students who matriculate at HBCUs and participate in the 'Black experience' will develop a positive critical consciousness or become social justice advocates (Henry & Closson, 2010).

McIntosh (1988) describes the concept of critical consciousness, as do Henry and Closson (2010), as the "unveiling of Whiteness" (Henry & Closson, 2010, p. 14). Both contend that Whites on HBCU campuses are not aware of their White privilege and thus do not see themselves as White and a part of a multicultural society.

Reversing the lens so that it focuses on the majority (White persons) suggests that the extent to which majority members can see themselves as racialized actors is the extent to which they begin to take assertive steps towards creating a more inclusive society. The formation of a new White consciousness is a crucial first step in moving toward action for social justice. (Henry & Closson, 2010, p. 14)

Henry and Closson (2010) advocate White students use their reflections to understand ways they have generalized their own behaviors and beliefs as normative. This would concur with exploring theories of White privilege as well as White racial identity. Critical White theorists (Goodman, 2001; McIntosh, 1988) maintain that without recognition and examination of Whiteness, White students are less likely to participate in behaviors that eliminate racial injustices. For White students at HBCUs, their mostly in-class experiences are only temporary and unconscious opportunities. The goal is to move White students toward conscious thought about what it means to be White.

McIntosh (1988) contends that White power and privilege in America is the result of the color of their skin, and Whites are unaware of their cultural advantages. These advantages

lead to racism and often unconscious discrimination that is obvious to people of color. Henry and Closson (2010) believe that HBCUs are in a position to influence change of this unconsciousness. “In sync with the mission of HBCUs to educate, empower and elevate Black students is their role in raising the critical consciousness of Black students (Henry & Closson, 2010, p. 15). This indicates that HBCUs could provide an environment that fosters such development for White students as well.

McDonough (2009) conducted an ethnographic study of a White female first-year teacher who explored her critical racial consciousness in the context of her urban fifth-grade classroom. The researcher uses Freire’s (1973) definition of critical consciousness as the basis of the inquiry. According to Freire (1973), critical consciousness “is a state of awareness, activated through dialogue, where one engages in analysis of context and power” (McDonough, 2009, p. 530). It involves self-reflection and questioning one’s assumptions about race. It is an identity that is “performed” rather than stages one progresses through (McDonough, 2009, p. 529). Critical consciousness is not a destination, but an on-going process of multiple avenues of breakthroughs and ever-evolving insights (Milner, 2003; Sleeter, Torres & Laughlin, 2004). McDonough (2009) validates Freire’s (1973) definition of critical consciousness in his conclusions of the study. The process is complex, especially for a first year teacher. Consequently, the implications for preservice teacher education will prepare future teachers to transition from reflection to action in the classroom setting.

Affirming the definition of critical consciousness, according to Terry (1981):

In order for Whites to develop a positive identity or critical consciousness they must first see racism, admit that it exists, acknowledge that they benefit from it, and learn

to accept it as different from the racial prejudices that people hold. (Terry, 1981, p. 120)

Summary of Literature

As “majority becoming minority” (Hall & Closson, 2005) in the HBCU, did White female students have a conscious awareness of their own Whiteness as they matriculated with and in the culture and historical racial identity of the HBCU? Did the HBCU provide an environment where White students learned about the Veil, Jim Crow, slavery, discrimination, Black racial identity, and all that goes with the history of Black people in America? Can White female educators have a second eye and not only see who they are, their Whiteness, but also were they able to see through the eyes of the Black students with whom they sat side by side in HBCU classrooms? These are questions of importance for this inquiry.

Of interest for this study is how HBCUs prepare their graduates for the concept of social justice. With its rich historical background of educating *all* who came regardless of race, ability or economic status, much attention was given in the literature to the transformative role HBCUs played in the larger society that reflected prevalent racial, gender, and class ideologies (Allen et al., 2007). Gallagher (1966) echoed that the purpose of HBCUs was twofold, one of which playing an “active role in transforming the caste system and [another] addressing the internal problems of the Negro group” (Gallagher, 1966, p. 217). Noted was the responsibility of the HBCU to “transform the institutions of class and race in American society” as well (Gallagher, 1966, p. 225). Historically, because Blacks were in the majority at HBCUs, the transformative influence affected largely Black students. At the time of the Civil Rights movement Blacks went out into the communities with a more

critical understanding of race and multiple forms of hierarchy in the social systems of America since the HBCU was the training ground for this (Willie et al., 2006).

Chapter III: Methodology

Introduction

Through my research, I ultimately wanted to learn how attending an HBCU affected how White females see themselves as racialized and how they developed their beliefs about teaching all races and cultures of students. The inquiry increased my understanding of the types of relationships White female graduates had with Black female faculty and how matriculating at the HBCU impacted White females' critical consciousness and double consciousness development. From my inquiry, I will contribute to the profession on a broader scale, with a commitment to a "greater good" (Glesne, 2011, p. 176) that contributes to advocacy for a more inclusive society. Through my research, I want to actuate these desired outcomes:

1. To aid other scholars in understanding the role HBCUs play with their legacy of social justice advocacy in impacting the development of teaching candidates' social justice disposition.
2. To discover and teach tools for self-reflection of personal values and beliefs in developing social justice dispositions for teaching.
3. To prepare White female education graduates to positively impact the academic achievement of students of color with whom they teach.

This chapter describes how I conducted my inquiry and the research methodology used to achieve my desired outcomes. After developing a proposal that reviewed the title and research design, Appalachian State University's (ASU) Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved my research study on June 20, 2014.

Qualitative Research Design

Three interconnected, generic activities define the qualitative research process.

Behind these terms stands the personal biography of the researcher who speaks from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community. The gendered, multiculturally situated researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that he or she then examines in specific ways (methodology, analysis). (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 28)

Because this study developed from my own personal desire to interpret experiences that impacted my racial identity development, I chose the qualitative research approach to my inquiry. Qualitative research is “a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2009, p. 4). The basic beliefs, epistemology, or “worldview assumptions” I bring to the research is an interpretivist perspective (Creswell, 2009, p. 3). I hold the assumption that individuals seek understanding of the world in which we live and work. As a qualitative researcher, I sought to understand my participants' culture and their personal views of their HBCU experience, and then parallel their perspectives with my own in an autoethnography. Based on their historical and social perspectives (Crotty, 1998), I sought to understand the impact the HBCU had on my social justice development and to probe the same for my research participants. With the

participants, I interpreted what we both discovered through our personal interactions. This process of research involved data analysis that inductively built from particulars to general themes with me, the researcher, and in collaboration with the participants, making interpretations of the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2009).

Using a qualitative design, I collected the personal narratives of White female education graduates, exploring what life experiences they brought to a majority Black educational setting, the HBCU, and what discoveries they made about themselves as a result of attending school there. White female education graduates were excellent participants for this narrative inquiry methodology as the literature lacks their voices and how their HBCU prepared them to teach with social justice dispositions. Brunner (1994) affirms this method of narrative inquiry for in-service teachers. She advocates, “As students are called on to explore their own personal histories, their social, political, economic, and cultural realities through a curriculum of multiple voices, their predisposition tends to become more apparent” (Brunner, 1994, p. 235). Self-reflection becomes a means to self-discovery (Chang, 2008).

In this research, I amassed data through a collection of their stories and their individual experiences. Talking about race, racial encounters in their lives and how they developed their racial identity was complex and often sensitive. However, allowing White females to talk about what was familiar to them helped them discover the unfamiliar as well. Their narratives and our collaborative interpretations of what their experiences meant provided more data about the influences of the HBCU’s social justice legacy.

Autoethnography

Autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that describes a personal experience in order to understand a cultural experience (Chang, 2008). This approach

challenges canonical ways of doing research and representing others and treats research as a political, “socially-just and socially-conscious” act (Ellis & Bochner, 2002, p. xix). Ellis (2004) defines autoethnography as research, writing, story, and method that displays multiple layers of consciousness as a form of self-reflection and writing. The method explores the researcher's personal experiences and connects her autobiographical story to wider cultural, political, and social meanings and understandings.

Autoethnography is a qualitative, narrative inquiry method that offers a way of giving voice to personal experiences for the purpose of extending sociological understanding. Chang (2008) describes it as an ethnographic inquiry that utilizes the autobiographic materials of the researcher as the primary data. “Autoethnography emphasizes cultural analysis and interpretation of the researcher’s behaviors, thoughts, and experiences; raising the cultural consciousness of self and others” (Chang, 2015, p. 2). Ellis and Bochner (2002) define the method as “autobiographies that self-consciously explore the interplay of the introspective, personally engaged self with cultural descriptions mediated through language, history, and ethnographic explanation” (p. 739). Ellis (2004) writes, it is “part *auto* or self and part *ethno* or culture” and *graphy*, which is the application of a research process (Ellis, 2004, p. 31). I employed autoethnography to discover new dimensions of my own life and examine my own cultural assumptions through deep and intense self-reflection prior to exploring that of the participants in this inquiry. It became a powerful tool for my individual and social understanding (Ellis, 2009) as the exploration of “how the context surrounding self has influenced and shaped the make-up of self” (Ngunjiri, Hernandez & Chang, 2010, p. 2).

I chose autoethnography as a way of writing that “privileges the exploration of self in response to questions that can only be answered that way, through the textual construction of,

and thoughtful reflection about” my lived experiences as it related to my culture (Goodall, 1998, p. 3). Through this method I was able to draw connections from my personal life to the lives of others, “weaving intricate connections among life and art, experience and theory, evocation and explanation” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1997, p. 208); wanting readers to do more than read the words, wanting readers to think and feel. I extended the power of the inquiry by using dramatic recalls, poems, unusual phrasings and colloquialisms, and monologues to evoke readers to understand my position while questioning their own. I wanted to tell a story that readers could enter and feel a part of so that readers could think about their lives in relation to mine. I wanted them to be able to see through my eyes, to experience what I am writing about, and to see their social justice dispositions in new ways; to see themselves anew. My autoethnography was paramount to the exploration of how life experiences and the HBCU influenced identity and racial consciousness. My methodological reflection was included in Glesne’s (2016) new edition of her book reiterating the prominence of this method to this research. This is what Glesne (2016) said about my choice of method for this project.

Oates’ story exemplifies how integral her autobiographical experiences are to her research. Consider what would be lost if she omitted her own story in a study of historically Black colleges and universities, identity, teaching, and social justice. (Glesne, 2016, p. 261)

In this research project, I used the method as cultural in its interpretive orientation as described by Chang (2008). Autoethnography in this sense is not about focusing on just self alone, but about “searching for understanding of others’ cultures and society through self. Self is a subject to look into and a lens to look through to gain an understanding of a societal

culture” (Chang, 2008, p. 49). My personal experiences became the impetus for exploring the narratives of the participants and the primary data that was intentionally integrated into the research. My ultimate goal was to treat my personal data with critical, analytical, and interpretive eyes for cultural and social understanding of self and the other participants.

My experiences now and those in the past suggested that my research interests had their origin in deeply personal experiences and my professional commitment to prepare teachers for students with more multicultural backgrounds than our own. In my research, I explored how my HBCU prepared me to teach students of races different from mine and how it influenced the lens through which I learned to teach children of other races, specifically White students. Parallel to this and of equal interest to me, I questioned the perceptions of how White female graduates from the same program and HBCU perceived they were prepared to teach students of other races different from themselves, specifically African Americans and students of color. The question throughout the research was how our HBCU impacted our social justice lens as teachers.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is a research methodology or approach to inquiry (Creswell, 2009) that builds upon people’s natural impulse to tell stories about their personal lived experiences. Focusing on how people make sense of events and actions in their lives, one basic assumption of narrative inquiry is that story is a “primary form of discourse used in everyday interactions” (Schram, 2006, p. 105). It is a natural way people construct meaning in their lives. Connelly and Clandinin (2006) define it as:

People shape their daily lives by stories of who they and others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story is a portal through which a person

enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story, then, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular narrative view of experience as phenomena under study. (p. 477)

The object of investigation is the story itself. As a narrative researcher, I collected and described the stories told to me about the racial identity development by White female HBCU graduates, and I wrote narratives of their lived experiences. I chose this methodology to understand the participants' voice in their experiences before attending the HBCU, what it was like during matriculation at the HBCU, and what beliefs about social justice they developed after graduation from the HBCU, and as a result of attending the HBCU.

Connelly and Clandinin's (2006) definition embraces narrative as "both the method and the phenomena of study, and they surmise it characteristically begins with the researcher's autobiographically oriented narrative associated with the research puzzle" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 63). Congruent with narrative inquiry, my autoethnographic story was intrinsic to the research. I engaged in transparent reflection and questioning of my own position, values and beliefs, articulating self-awareness and reflexivity to be used to enrich research in racial identity and social justice dispositions in education graduates.

In preparation for writing this chapter, I read many examples of what might be characterized as narrative inquiry as defined above. I found there were numerous ways of defining how I represent my research. Thus, I present my narrative inquiry as a mixture of approaches.

Contemporary narrative inquiry can be characterized as an amalgam of interdisciplinary analytic lenses, diverse disciplinary approaches, and both traditional and innovative methods – all revolving around an interest in biographical particulars as narrated by the one who lives them. (Chase, 2008, p. 58)

Denzin and Lincoln (2008) present descriptions of contemporary narrative inquiry that resonated with my reason for choosing this methodology. I see narrative inquiry as the shaping or ordering of past experiences in our storied lives. It is a way of understanding one's own and others' actions, of organizing events into a meaningful whole that connects events over time (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

To understand my story as well as those of the participants, collaboration was key to this research. Clandinin and Huber (in press) present “commonplaces” that must be considered in narrative research. “Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding and inquiring into experience through collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction, with milieus” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). As a result, there are three commonplaces that must have the attention of a narrative inquirer. They are temporality, sociality, and place. Commonplaces are dimensions which need to be simultaneously explored in understanding a narrative inquiry. “Through attending to the commonplaces, narrative inquirers are able to study the complexity of the relational composition of people's lived experiences both inside and outside of the inquiry” (Clandinin & Huber, in press, p. 3).

Temporality means narratives are always in transition, always in temporal transition as people have a past, present, and a future of which to narrate. Narratives describe what happened and express emotions, thoughts and interpretations that highlight the uniqueness of

the story. In this project, as the narrative researcher, I treated the narratives as “socially situated interactive performances” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 65) serving as a joint production of the participants as the performers and me as the narrator of their stories. As a narrative inquirer, it was important to pay attention to the temporality of my own and the participants’ lives, as well as to the temporality of places, things, and events. The participants and I read each of the transcripts and added, revised and reflected after three different readings; we were continually composing and revising as reflections led to new awareness.

From this lens I was concerned with the “sociality” (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p, 480) of narrative inquiry as well as the personal conditions. The personal conditions were their feelings, hopes, desires, and dispositions. Their social conditions where their environments, milieu, surrounding forces and the people that formed each participant’s context. It was important to understand their social conditions in terms of culture, family and educational interactions.

Connelly and Clandinin (2006) define place as the “specific, concrete, physical, and topological boundaries of place and sequences of places where the inquiry and events take place” (p. 480). Our identities are inextricably linked with our experiences in particular places with the stories we tell of these experiences. For this research, both the participants and I are telling stories about our lived experiences, our culture and our social beings in our homes, our communities and as students at the HBCU.

Personal Narrative

I chose the method of personal narrative to tell the stories of White female HBCU graduates’ racial identity and social justice disposition development. The concept of personal narrative refers to brief, topically specific stories organized around characters, setting, and

plot (Riessman, 2001). These are discrete stories told in response to single questions or a puzzle; they recapitulate specific events they witnessed or experienced (Riessman, 2001). Personal narrative refers to large sections of talk and interview exchanges with extended accounts of lives that develop over the course of interviews. The approach is distinguished by the following features: presentation of and reliance on detailed transcripts of interview excerpts; attention to the structural features of discourse; analysis of the co-production of narratives through the dialogic exchange between interviewer and participant; and a comparative approach to interpreting similarities and differences among participants' life stories (Riessman, 2001) .

In this research project narrative was presented as story. Narrative as story (Polkinghorne, 1995) is a type of discourse that draws together diverse events, happenings, and actions of human lives into thematically unified goal-oriented processes and integrated into an organized whole. In this research project events and actions were drawn together into an organized whole by means of a plot. The plot represented segments of time where cumulatively all the segments of time contributed to a particular outcome, the awareness of racial and social justice development of the participants. As an African American female, I told the White female participants' stories verbatim, quoting their narratives to accurately articulate the feelings, beliefs, and experiences without any of my personal filters. In Chapter IV, I use large sections of the transcripts to present their own words. Then I weave their stories together into a larger whole story chronicling their lived experiences before, during, and after attending the HBCU.

Arts-Based Inquiry

Included in this study the participants and I created representations of our social justice disposition development. The representations mimic a type of inquiry that analyzes empirical materials called arts-based inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). The main method of analysis for this research is analysis of the narratives; however, participants did contribute visual arts to the project. The analysis of their representations was coded with the same process as the narratives and included in theme development. Arts-based inquiry uses the aesthetics, methods, and practices of literary, performance, and visual arts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Currently, arts-based inquiry is an innovative approach to collecting and analyzing empirical materials and often connected more to political activism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Arts-based work can be used to advance political agendas that address issues of social inequity: “Thus do researchers take up their cameras, paintbrushes, bodies, and voices in the name of social justice projects?” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 46). Finley (2008) argues that expressive research that portrays the multidimensionality of human life as compared with truth finding is appropriate for qualitative studies. Recognition of the power of literary forms can serve “the purpose of research text that vividly represents words as well as the worlds of participants” (Finley, 2008, p. 98).

In this research inquiry, the participants and I developed artistic representations of our racial and social justice development that the participants and I call metaphors of our experiences. One of the desired outcomes was to use what we discovered about ourselves to become advocates for an inclusive society. From this source of data, the participants and I agree with Eisner’s (1998) premises of arts-based inquiry that parallel the purposes of this research. Among the seven premises are:

- The terms through which humans represent their conception of the world have a major influence on what they are able to say about it.
- Educational inquiry will be more complete and informative as humans increase the range of ways in which they describe, interpret, and evaluate the educational world. (Eisner, 2008, p. 100)

At the conclusion of the focus group interview, the participants and I shared the artistic representations of our narratives. The art represented our racial and social justice development throughout our stories. For example, Elizabeth made a Wordle using words from her final social justice definition and words she discovered about herself during the interviews. Elizabeth also cited a photograph published on the front page of the only African American owned newspaper in the city. The photo shows in this order, Elizabeth, myself, her Italian born husband, and another African American male professor arm in arm in our graduation robes on graduation day. Elizabeth said in the city where she grew up, that would have never happened. Now she saw the picture as how the HBCU faculty impacted her. Natasha presented a display of glasses representing the sameness and difference of us as humans, and Hannah brought a picture of her in a bubble to represent where she was when she entered the HBCU and how she matured upon departing.

I presented a sketch of a weaving representing my racial development before attending the HBCU, during matriculation and after graduation. Also included in the data collection are examples of poetry that symbolize our lived experiences and free drawings of the schools in the communities in which we lived.

Site Selection

All of the White female participants and I graduated from the same HBCU's Department of Education and had the opportunity to participate in the rich legacy of this HBCU as described in the background of the project. Additionally, as a faculty member of the Elementary Education Program, I taught all the participants while they matriculated there. In this qualitative inquiry, the site provided an information rich case for in depth study of the participants' and my social justice disposition development. "Information rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (Patton, 1990, p. 169); thus it is a purposeful sampling to illuminate the question of study in this research project. The site was purposefully selected because a central focus of this inquiry examined how the site impacted the White female education graduates' social justice disposition for teaching.

Participant Selection

Using a Participant Information Form (See Appendix A), I employed Patton's (2002) purposeful sampling strategy in an effort to select "information rich" cases for an in-depth study of racial identity development of White females (Patton, 2002, p. 169). In this case, participants were chosen based on criteria that would contribute to learning about White female graduates and their perceptions of the impact of graduating from one HBCU. Additionally, data from the selection of candidates would also be used to inform teacher preparation program improvement.

One strategy for purposefully selecting information rich participants is called criterion sampling (Patton, 2002). Criterion sampling means "all cases in the data system that exhibit certain predetermined criterion characteristics identified for in-depth, qualitative analysis"

(Patton, 2002, p. 177). This strategy was employed because participants who were chosen met “predetermined criterion of importance” (Patton, 2002, p. 176).

For this research, I initially invited all of the White females who graduated from the elementary education program within years I served as the Elementary Education Program Coordinator and who I taught, totaling nine White females. They were all participants who could yield the information needed for the greatest impact on the inquiry. The three participants who responded were White females who have graduated from the HBCU since 2010. Patton (2002) argues that “in-depth information from a small number of people can be very valuable, especially when the cases are information rich” (p. 244).

All three graduates received a lay summary (See Appendix B) inviting their participation in the study. Criteria for participant selection were included in the lay summary. The following criteria were required: a) White descent; b) female; c) graduate of the selected HBCU; d) graduated from the elementary education teaching program at the selected HBCU; e) interacted with African American female faculty at the selected HBCU as mentors, advisors, instructors, adjunct faculty, staff, or as the Program Coordinator; f) attended the HBCU for two or more years; g) participated in any activity at the HBCU during matriculation; h) currently teach in a kindergarten through middle school grade public school classroom; i) currently teach in public school classrooms from zero to six years; and j) currently teach in a school with 40% or more diversity in the student population other than White students.

All three participants were nontraditional students. Nontraditional students have been described as working full-time while enrolled, having children and or married, financially independent, did not begin college immediately after high school graduation, or at an age

older than students just completing high school (National Center for Education Statistics, 1996). All three who volunteered to participate are married with children, are financially independent, and are older than the traditional college age student just completing high school.

Data Collection

Autoethnographic Data

*I love to tell stories. It's in my soul. Stories are the way humans make sense of their world.
You may come to understand yourself in deeper ways.
And with understanding yourself comes understanding others (Ellis, 2004, p.32)*

Autoethnography is a method of qualitative inquiry that refers to writing about the personal and its relationship to culture. The method aligns with my interpretivist epistemology. I love to tell stories that explore multiple layers of my consciousness and lead to new interpretations of understanding. It takes “soul,” by this I mean “opening up a deeply personal space in your life from which to create understanding” (Goodall, 1998, p. 136). We learn to see and feel the world in a complicated manner and then reflexively turn that lens on ourselves. Using autoethnography text, I made my personal accounts for this research substantive such that I wrote about my personal relationship to culture; “with a back and forth autoethnographic gaze” (Ellis, 2004, p. 37).

First they look at the ethnographic wide angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then, they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations. (Ellis, 2004, p. 37)

Moving back and forth, in and out of my stories, I extended my gaze outside of myself to parallel the narratives of the participants with my story. As we both explored how we

developed our racial identity, where we come from, and the contexts that influenced our sense of self, the gaze examined the question “Who am I?” and “what influenced my sense of self”?

For data collection, I began my autoethnography by locating myself in the past gaze. The narratives of the participants began the same way; we responded to the same interview questions. I believed I could not talk about who I am now as a racial being and what my social justice lens is now without taking a look back through where I have been.

How do we come to know who we are? We do so in multiple ways, very much influenced by our locations in the complex web of race, gender, class, religion, ethnicity, culture, and family background. (Jones, 2009, p. 293)

To collect my autoethnographic data, I used methods advised by Chang (2008) to collect personal memory data and self reflective data that included these complex webs of influences. Collecting personal memory data helped me recall the past experiences and personal interpretations that were relevant to the inquiry. This became a primary source of information for the autoethnography. One of the strategies I used for collecting personal memory data was chronicling the past. Chronicling refers to a strategy of recalling personal and social events and experiences and giving a chronological structure to them (Chang, 2008). First, I chronicled bits of information I collected from memory. Then I created a more thematically focused matrix aligned with the interview questions that included impactful major events related to the research inquiry.

The second strategy I used to collect personal memory data was visualizing (Chang, 2008). Visualizing organizes personal memories into visual images. “The power of visualization as a communication tool is enhanced by the simplicity and succinctness of a

visual image” (Chang, 2008, p. 81); ironically visualization also captured the complexities of my racial identity development. As I answered interview questions, many bits of data from stories emerged, and many with very powerful images of oppression and discrimination. To not only organize the images, but also to “unpack” (Chang, 2008, p. 81) the images for readers, I wrote poetry, sketched visual images of my artistic personal discoveries, completed free drawings, and developed diagrams and charts of thematic development of my memories.

Writing notes was not only advantageous for organizing my story, but it was also therapeutic. Doing this research raised emotions and was painful sometimes (Ellis, 2004). I journaled almost daily and wrote memos to myself on any available material (including napkins, scrap paper, and others) when memories stirred self-reflection about this inquiry. Journals, memos, diaries, and past daily journaling were also sources of exploring my cultural and racial identity.

Of significance to this research is collecting data from past memories as well as present experiences to voice the impact of the HBCU before, during, and the years after matriculation. In interpreting my cultural perspective, I employed Chang’s (2008) self-observation and self-reflection strategies. Self-observation collects factual data of what is happening at the time of research whereas self-reflection gathers introspective data representing your present perspectives.

Self-observational data records your actual behaviors, thoughts, and emotions “as they occur in the natural” world (Chang, 2008, p. 91). As I interviewed the participants, I journaled my thoughts, emotions, and reactions to the participants’ racial experiences immediately after each interview, and sometimes I wrote notes of my feelings during the interview. Of significance was journaling how my past was affecting my present feelings of

asking questions and discussing sensitive racial experiences. Narrative recordings were the main source of my self-observational data.

In a field notebook, I used the strategy of self-reflective data (Chang, 2008) to record my most inner, private feelings about the inquiry. Recorded were reflections on self and on the research process. As this research inquiry dictated, the analysis of personal values and preferences was acute.

Culture shapes individuals' standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing, and doing. Cultural standards are reflected in what you value. Defined as a principle, standard, or quality considered worthwhile or desirable, cultural values are manifested in personal preferences. The analysis of personal values opens the possibility of understanding social ethos. (Chang, 2008, p. 96)

By continually journaling, I used the self-reflection strategy as data collection and data analysis of my personal values and preferences. "Self-reflective data means data that result from introspection, self-analysis, and self-evaluation of who you are and what you are" (Chang, 2008, p. 95). Coupled with this strategy, I completed a culture-gram (Chang, 2008) to help visualize my social self, my cultural identity and my cultural memberships. The culture-gram served as a graphic organizer for some of my life experiences, passions, and culture (more than just race) as well as my primary self-identities in order of importance to me.

The final method used to collect data for the autoethnography was what Chang (2008) characterizes as external data. Personal memory data engendered the physical evidence of my memory; and self-observation and self-reflective data from the present captured some of my current perspectives. Data from external sources provided additional perspectives and

contextual information to help confirm my personal and past memories. I conducted two unstructured interviews to collect additional information, fill in the gaps of time, and confirm the accuracy of my memories. The ultimate power of these strategies is self-reflection.

Narrative Inquiry Data

In social science research, interviews are broadly used as a qualitative data collection method. The most commonly used type “involves face-to-face, individual verbal interchange” (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 645). An individual interview is conducted with a single individual at a time, whereas a focus group interview is a variation of a group interview with more than one individual and a specific topic to explore (Chang, 2008). A continuum of interviewing techniques includes structured and unstructured, formal and informal, and direct and indirect interviews (Chang, 2008). Structured interviews use an interview protocol with planned questions, close-ended questions and no room for flexibility in questioning and responding that unstructured interviews with open-ended questions allow.

The primary data collection method for this narrative inquiry was three individual interviews. Individual face-to-face time with each participant allowed me to preserve their confidentiality and afforded the participant to freely respond. “Research questions formulate what you want to understand; your interview questions are what you ask people in order to gain that understanding” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 92). Therefore, the interview question categories for this inquiry determined the need for three interview sessions and one focus group session. Chang (2008) describes focus groups as a variation of group interviews in which specific topics are explored as a group enabling the researcher to explore group norms and attitudes, making them valuable cross-cultural conversations for this inquiry. With the focus on the story that evolves for this inquiry, I chose a method Ellis (2004) describes as interactive

interviewing. “The researchers and participants interact, developing a relationship” and interact with the story each brings to the interaction (Ellis & Bochner, 2006, p. 64).

During my first contact with the participants, I discussed the methods of individual interviewing and focus group interviewing to gather data. I established a sense of trust and comfort by sharing my story and the reasons for my research interest. As outlined in the lay summary, I explained the risks and benefits to their participation, and I reviewed every response to the questions on the Institutional Review Board (IRB) application as well as defined each word in the title of the dissertation. Together we planned a schedule of interview dates. I answered questions to build a comfort level that increased the potential for open and honest dialogue (Glesne, 2011). With approval from participants, I audio recorded and took notes at each interview and the focus group. Each participant signed the consent to participate in the research, in the interviews and for the focus group.

In qualitative research and narrative inquiry, the primary source of data relies heavily on the “lived experiences” of the participants (Chang, 2008, p. 103). With participants purposefully selected, the primary data collection methods for the narrative inquiry were three individual interviews and one focus group interview regarding their lives before, during and after attending one HBCU. A qualitative interview occurs when the researcher asks participants open-ended questions, in this case, in face-to-face, individual interviews. Open ended questions were posed allowing participants to describe detailed personal information and to voice their experiences unconstrained with open-ended responses they create as they interact with the researcher (Creswell, 2008). The interview was a conversation, “the art of asking questions and listening” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 47). The participants and I carried on conversations about mutually relevant experiences as we grew up and as we

attended the HBCU. We engaged in open and sometimes emotional exchanges of speaking and listening to each other, yet the interviewees' experiences were always placed at the center with my listening for the research purposes in mind (Glesne, 2011).

The three participants attended one focus group. As a qualitative tool, the focus group was used to collect shared understandings since the White female graduates were of similar backgrounds (Creswell, 2008). Two of the three participants graduated together; ages were 36, 44, and 45 years old. These similarities facilitated the dialog and the ease with which they shared and debated their views.

Interactive Interviews

As outlined in the Interview Protocol (Appendix C), three interactive interviews were conducted (Ellis, 2004). Interactive interviews build relationships with participants such that the interviews are not the usual "interviewer asks questions, and interviewee responds" (Ellis, 2004, p. 65). Instead, I had conversations in which the participants and I were interacting with opportunities to change or add to our stories. Like Glesne (2011), "I believe in the wisdom of the local people" (p. xv), and interactive interviews allows the wisdom of the participants to be the voice of their own lived experiences. The participants became co-creators of the data and coauthors of the stories and themes that emerged. This quote expresses what we accomplished as we interacted together.

One person's disclosure and self-probing invites another's disclosures and self-probing; where an increasingly intimate and trusting context makes it possible to reveal more of ourselves and to probe deeper into another's feelings and thoughts; where listening to and asking questions about another's plight lead to greater understanding of one's own; and where the examination and comparison of

experience offer new insight into both lives. (Ellis, Kiesinger, & Tillmann-Healy, 1997, p. 122)

With the goal to interview in a place where the participants felt comfortable and could be open and honest in our conversations, the participants chose their sites. One chose to complete all her interviews at my home because she lived in another county and my home was half the distance of her travel time between the HBCU and her county. Another completed all three interviews at her own home, and the third participant selected the HBCU site to complete all three of her interviews. Participants also chose the HBCU site to meet for the focus group interview. To facilitate a comfort level, I shared parts of my story as I answered the same questions for my self-reflection in each interview and the focus group. To protect the confidentiality of the participants, participants chose their own pseudonyms to use in the story telling.

During the first interview I explained the project and asked participants to commit to ten hours of time together as outlined in the lay summary. Participants signed the consent to participation in the interview. The first interview engendered stories about participants' families, the communities in which they grew up, and their experiences with race, racism, or social injustices during those years. Family background and family attitudes about race and racism were explored. Participants discussed their educational experiences from childhood to high school.

In the second interview participants examined their interactions with HBCU faculty and their participation in campus activities. They were asked whether the issue of race ever surfaced for them or involved them at the HBCU, and then to describe what occurred. Their educational experiences and their views on what it meant to be White at an HBCU were

questioned, and if they ever felt marginalized or privileged at the HBCU. Their perceptions of faculty interactions at the University were a major focus of the questions. Why they choose to attend an HBCU was also probed.

During the third interview, participants described what they value and believe and what influenced their dispositions about race and social justice. They looked at their own stories and what they thought surfaced as themes or major outcomes of their interview sessions. Sharing in interpreting the themes that emerged in the interviews offered participants the opportunity to collaborate and be involved in the process of data analysis. Participants were asked to reflect on their themes and their reflection of the research process. Additional questions were asked about the development of their awareness of race and their own awareness of their social justice advocacy as a result of attending the HBCU. Interview protocols are included in Appendix C.

Each interview lasted approximately 90 minutes. During each interview I took notes recording quotes and phrases, and I made notes for the next conversations with participants to check for clarity. After each interview, I read both the notes I took and listened to each interview session. I transcribed the three interviews of one participant and the one focus group interview. A professional transcriptionist completed the remaining transcriptions within six days of each interview. Within 48 hours of receipt of transcriptions, I reviewed the notes, recordings and transcriptions to check for accuracy, and I made preliminary analysis of the data for member checking.

Other data sources used were telephone calls, emails, and any other participant reflections. These additional methods allowed participants to give reflections between interview sessions. It was important for me to establish trust and rapport with participants;

therefore, the participants were encouraged to contact me at any time they wanted to share reflections of our work together. Because of the sensitive and emotional nature of the research, it was important that I could follow-up on interviews and respond when I was contacted by a participant (Glesne, 2011). All three participants called twice in addition to the three interviews.

Focus Group Interview

One focus group was conducted with all the participants after the three individual interviews were completed. A focus group interview is the process of collecting data through interviews with a group of people (Creswell, 2008). This type of interview contributed to the depth of the narratives when the interactions among the participants allowed them to share their experiences and add to their individual reflections of personal identity growth. This method of collecting data offered the participants the opportunity to literally hear, in each of their own voices, individual stories, experiences, and perspectives. The goal of the conversations was to illuminate the commonalities as well as the new discoveries across individual perspectives and personal lived experiences.

The participants chose the site of the focus group on the campus of the HBCU. The focus group was recorded. The day following the focus group, I transcribed the session and began data analysis using in-vivo coding process. In vivo coding is the practice of assigning a label to a section of data, such as an interview transcript, using a word or short phrase taken from that section of the data (King, 2008). Coding is the analytic process of examining data for significant events, experiences, feelings, or emotions that are then denoted as concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

During the focus groups participants individually talked about their experience with the research process, explored how they now define social justice post interviews, and described how they define their social justice dispositions as teachers. As each told their individual stories, each highlighted different experiences that helped shape their racial identity development. Participants talked about what they discovered about themselves and shared what they learned through their artistic expressions.

Minimal ground rules were set at the beginning of the focus group to allow participants to be comfortable (Hall & Closson, 2005). In an effort to get genuine feedback, participants were asked to be willing to be honest about their feelings and experiences, interact with each other, and talk freely. Because the participants were near the same age and all of them had worked with me at the HBCU before, participants spoke freely during the interviews and focus group. The focus group protocol is included in Appendix D.

Data Analysis

In order to answer the research question, analyzing quantitative data requires understanding how to make sense of the narrative text of the participants, the autoethnography, artistic representations, memos, journal data, and all other documents collected. Creswell (2008) offers six steps involving analyzing and interpreting qualitative data I employed in this research inquiry: preparing and organizing the data, exploring and coding the data, describing findings and forming themes, representing and reporting findings, interpreting the meaning of the findings, and validating the accuracy of the findings (Creswell, 2008). The steps are from the specific to the general with multiple levels of analysis. In this process, I cycled back and forth between the steps, going back to participants to get clarity from their comments or to ask additional questions. To delve deeper and deeper

into understanding the data, I thoroughly read the transcripts six times each and many more times searching for specific references, which mandated additional conversations with participants.

To organize data for analysis, I created folders for each participant and one for me. In the folders I included interview voices on tape, transcriptions of each narrative, memos I wrote from reviewing the transcripts, emails, narratives of each story, and any other documents. Additional files house the four levels of coding I employed and the theme documentations that emerged. All transcripts, notes, and memos were retyped to text with large margins to continue making notations with each reading of the transcript and documents. All data was analyzed by hand using color coding to mark parts of the text into categories.

I began the coding analysis of data by reading the transcripts over and over and writing memos in the margin to move from the whole to parts for theme development. I followed a coding process described by Creswell (2008). To make sense of the narratives, I separated the text and all other documents into groups of like categories and examined the categories to identify common attributes, placing the text into matrices for easier visual comparisons of the color coding.

The data analysis process began with the first story I wrote about my matriculation at the HBCU and what made it have a mystique and legacy of advocacy for the civil rights of African Americans. From that story I began to question how I learned to teach, and more specifically how I learned to teach White students. The question of the impact of my HBCU on the social justice development of White female education emerged. To inquire about the

impact, the inquiry explored racial identity development *before* attending the HBCU, *during* matriculation and *after* graduation.

From the categories, I employed four levels of a coding process for “a recursive movement between the data and the emerging categorical definitions” (Polkinghorne, 1995) and to organize the data. In the first level of coding, I reviewed interview transcriptions, memos, field notes, journals, artistic representations and email texts and assigned one word codes called descriptive codes. A descriptive code in qualitative inquiry is usually a word or short phrase that summarizes or condenses attributes of the data or text (Strauss, 1987). The majority of the codes are stated in the participant’s actual words, which are called *in vivo* codes (Creswell, 2008). When reviewing each of the transcripts, the same codes were used repeatedly throughout because of the repetitive patterns in the texts. During this level of coding, I took notes from the face-to-face interviews. Within 48 hours of each interview, I listened to each interview and wrote words and phrases in my field notes. Each recording and all texts were reviewed a second time refining codes each time as I became more familiar with texts.

During the second level of coding and on the first review of the transcripts, I circled words and phrases reflecting the “constructs, concepts, language and theories that structured the study” (Strauss, 1987, p. 7). With each transcription and all other text, I read and coded the entire document a total of six times. In the left margins of text, I recorded codes; on the right side I wrote notes that began to translate into themes.

My level three coding validated the cyclical process of coding data, recoding, highlighting, and focusing on salient features of the data for generating themes. Breaking the data apart in analytically relevant ways led to applying and reapplying codes called codifying

(Strauss, 1987). In this level, words of the participants and my story were placed into two different matrices. The first matrix was organized with the answers to each question from the participants and me followed by coding; and then I began writing themes. With the data coded, I read through all the pieces of coded data in the same way and developed themes that appeared at the core of the data (Glesne, 2011). In the second matrix, my level four coding, all of the codes and themes generated from each participant and myself were placed side by side along the vertical axis. A visual view of this matrix prompted a view of commonalities in the codes and themes. Appendix E represents the categories and themes that emerged from interviews assessing areas of impact on our racial identify and social justice disposition development to teach.

Subjectivity and Positionality

In the debate of objectivity verses subjectivity in social science research, traditionally subjectivity means interjecting personal biases or prejudices into interpretations of research (Glesne, 2016). Qualitative researchers argue that subjectivity “in terms of personal history and passions” could contribute to research, further arguing that “qualitative researchers could neither escape themselves nor should they desire to do so” in their study of self (Glesne, 2016, p. 146). In order to examine our subjective selves and become aware of our own perspectives, Scheper-Hughes (2001) suggests having a highly disciplined subjectivity. This means “being attuned to your personal perspective and emotions” (p. 318) and letting your examination and reexamination of assumptions lead to new questions and new interactions with the research.

To be highly disciplined subjectively, I openly and honestly declared my subjective self and examined my personal views, perspectives, and emotions by writing about them in

my field journal. I began by looking at how my research topic intersected my life story and became aware of how my research is engaged by my personal and professional history (Glesne, 2016). Professionally, my career moved from being a principal who supervised and evaluated teachers in elementary school settings for 21 years to preparing young adults and older nontraditional aged students to teach. I found myself passionate about preparing them and deeply committed to their success. My passion was driven by something that gives me great pride; I retired from 31 years of public school teaching to direct the same program at the HBCU from which I graduated, the Elementary Education Program. I was committed to teaching the candidates everything I knew because I was clear I knew what good teaching looked like. At the same time I was building an elementary education program of study for preparing teachers, the School of Education adopted a Social Justice Framework. After much discussion the Executive Summary was published. Without a clear definition of social justice, I pondered how I developed my social justice beliefs. Hence, I began my reflections of what social justice meant to me and how I developed my beliefs, my disposition, about fair and equal opportunities for all students to learn. Beliefs, memories, and repeated discriminatory events surfaced to my consciousness and emotions that gripped me to the core emerged. I wanted to tell my social justice story.

Being open and honest with my personal and professional outlook of this research, I also examined my positionality in this inquiry. Positionality is the researcher's "social, locational, and ideological placement relative to the research project or to other participants in it" (Hay, 2005, p. 290). Positioning the researcher as both the subject of the research and as the researcher was highly productive in this project to study the question presented. As an African American female examining the perceptions of White females about the HBCU

which we both attended, it was important to continually have a raised level of ethical and moral awareness of how my subjectivity and positionality affected the research process. I was challenged with making sense of how I could negotiate my ‘postcolonial self’ and my ‘civil rights baby’ self as I made connections with the perceptions of the White female participants. When I have been bred on a “culture of denying our personal identities, being taught to erase the ‘I’ so that we can repeat the Master’s stories” (Dutta & Basu, 2013, p. 47), as my colonized self, there have been attempts to make my voice as a minority silenced. I could not merely chronicle the facts and history of my generation, but I had to keep in the forefront my commitment and goals for inclusivity and interpret “not just the colonial conditions but why those conditions are what they are, and how they can be undone and redone” (Dutta & Basu, 2013, p.147). In this research, it was important to remember that through the qualitative research design all voices would be heard, my personal stories as a Negro, Black, African American woman and those of the White females as well.

In doing so, it was important to recognize that each of us has attributes that affect how we respond to the world. This project involves factors which represent the participants and I, and are “embodied” in us, factors such as skin color and race (Glesne, 2011, p. 157). Such factors or attributes of the participants are not likely to change. Yet, they are often used to make judgments or misrepresentations. As researchers, we can develop an ideology that can influence the outcomes of the research if left unchecked (Glesne, 2011).

This proposed research involved the study of racial development in both White females and me, an African American female; therefore, emotional and psychological contemplations became inherent as we both explored our innermost thoughts about race. Exploring and recalling experiences in our lives about Whiteness and Blackness raised

emotions as we both experienced intense self-analysis that shifted how we feel about race, racism, and social justice. My positionality affected the proposed inquiry in some ways. As a child and young adult, the White color of a person's skin was once a point of fear and anxiousness. Decisions and actions appeared to always be taken by Whites because of the color of my skin. Consequently, I bring decades of coping with this realization and continuous efforts to rise above it. My Father may have died because of the color of his skin, so I want the color of my skin to be recognized. As the interviews questioned how White females see the color of my skin, this inquiry also explored how the participants see my skin color in a way they have not looked at me before; to see my skin color through my eyes. Interview questions asked participants in this project to look at themselves in the same mirror I looked at myself. A goal for me in this project was to see the color of White skin in a way I had never seen or understood before; ultimately to see the students we teach through their eyes. We answered the same interview questions and explored how our identity made a difference in our racial identity development. I monitored any assumptions that the participants would refract their lens of social justice or that they would have a critical consciousness or double consciousness to see through the eyes of others of color.

Positionality and the implications of working through a "vulnerable self" (Glesne, 2011, p. 157) are empowering to me; to place myself within a discourse and turn the narratives of the participants and my stories where I felt I was silenced before into an advocacy for an all inclusive society.

This research involved the study of racial development in the White females and me, an African American female; therefore, emotional and psychological contemplations became inherent as we both explored our inner most thoughts about race. Regardless of my position,

both the participants and I felt comfortable in expressing our perceptions because we had already established a relationship as student and instructor, mentor and mentee with a level of mutual trust. Whatever emerged in our conversations and collaborations were recorded with permission, translated verbatim, and used for analysis.

As a young adult attending a HBCU, I had no idea what social justice meant at the time. Civil rights struggles were prevalent, but I was not experiencing them on the HBCU campus. I journaled any mental assumptions that surfaced as I interviewed and reread transcripts. Recording my thoughts championed my goal to be open and honest without reservation. The participants had never discussed their definition of social justice with me before, and a review of course syllabi of records revealed the concept was not listed as a specific topic in their course work. Therefore, I could make no assumptions about what they knew about social justice, racial identity development or the impact of what they learned at the HBCU prior to the interviews.

As their African American former instructor, I asked White female graduates I taught and advised to explore who they were inwardly as they experienced the HBCU and the relational experiences of African American female faculty. Since the participants had more than just African American instructors at the HBCU, I did not assume that my relationship or those of other African American females were the only points of impact in their matriculation. Since the participants were graduates, they no longer had any repercussions related to their attendance at the HBCU; therefore, they were open and honest about their relationship with me and other faculty. In each interview, I also shared my story and my responses to the same interview questions; that allowed for open and honest dialog about

even the participants' relationships with me, and it encouraged us to do what I requested at the beginning of each interview:

Be willing to *think* what you have never thought before; *say* what you have never said before, and *feel* what you have never felt before.

An advantage to me was my position as an instructor at the HBCU because the participants already knew me and my spiritual quest for truth and openness. Because I have taught and mentored the participants, they demonstrated a comfort level to discuss the complex subject of race with me. No participant took the option not to answer any question or to stop the interviews at any time. Given this study investigated the way White females and I developed our racial identity, again, I recorded any emotions of how I became racialized and I became “attuned to how the subjectivities of all involved guide the research process, content, and interpretations” (Glesne, 2011, p. 158). It was, and is, a serious consideration given the goals of advocacy I seek, that I account for the “role of interpretation and interaction between the researcher and the researched” (Pompper, 2010, p. 2). It was paramount to position myself to do the very same thing I am asking the participants to do, i.e., to explore my innermost feelings and personal lived experiences to see and understand the White female HBCU graduate through their eyes and their experiences; to be honest and see through the eyes of someone very different from me.

I see my life and my professional career as a spiritual journey that is directly aligned to my quest to be a daughter of God, a Woman who represents the emotions of God; a Negro, Black, African American Woman who makes an eternal difference on this side of life, and a Woman who can see the “eye of the heart” as I live it (Palmer, 1993, p. xxiv).

Authentic spirituality wants to open us to truth-whatever truth may be, wherever truth may take us. Such a spirituality does not dictate where we must go, but trusts that any path walked with integrity will take us to a place of knowledge. Such a spirituality encourages us to welcome diversity and conflict, to tolerate ambiguity, and to embrace paradox. By this understanding, the spirituality of education is not about dictating ends. It is about examining and clarifying the inner sources of teaching and learning; ridding us of the toxins that poison our hearts and minds. (Palmer, 1993, xi)

Trustworthiness

From the beginning of this research, I felt I had a moral and ethical obligation to use methods that not only involved the participants in the research, but also honored their contributions and validated the accuracy of their stories. As I interpreted the data for academic audiences, I also wanted to ensure collaboration with participants by actively involving them in the inquiry as it unfolded (Creswell, 2008). As the researcher and the researched, trustworthiness reins crucial.

To assure a shared process in analysis and interpretation of the lived experiences, the strategy of member checking was engaged (Creswell, 2008; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Member checking is a process of involving research participants in the analysis to ensure accuracy of the researcher's interpretations. Lincoln and Guba (1985) posit that this is the most crucial technique for establishing credibility. Member checking began at the focus group interview. Participants documented themes that were emerging on chart paper. Their responses were recorded and typed into the focus group file kept in a locked office. Included in the codes and themes matrices are the responses from the focus group interview. Participants received individual copies of their narratives written in their words and matrices of codes and theme

development. Email responses with comments became a part of the data analysis and re-coding. The cyclical process of analysis yielded prolonged engagement of the participants, consequently yielding thick descriptions. Thick description is described by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as a way of achieving a type of external validity. By their own detailed descriptions of their social justice disposition journey, with participants we begin to evaluate how the conclusions drawn can be transferable to teacher preparation programs, a quality of trustworthy studies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

My role as a participant and the researcher required I have conversations with participants about how my personal experiences had shaped my lens. Sharing my story at the beginning of the interview process gave participants the opportunity to ask me questions about how I would write their stories. Before, and all during the interview process and data analysis, I journaled thoughts and feelings. My experiences were a major reason why the narratives were a ‘telling’ of participants stories in their own words so the study’s findings were determined by the participants and not influenced by any biases (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Accordingly, the participants’ stories were paralleled with the autoethnography.

To increase my credibility or trustworthiness, I employed two additional procedures used in qualitative research to contribute to trustworthiness. Glesne (2011) summarizes eight procedures developed by Creswell (1998) from which I chose two. The first was “prolonged engagement and the second was persistent observation” (Glesne, 2011, p. 49). First, I spent a minimum of twelve hours individually with each participant developing trust, learning and listening. During that time, I also shared my stories with transparency.

Secondly, even though I was an active participant in this research, I monitored my thoughts and emotions by writing more reflections and telling the truths that moved me as I

proceeded through the process. As an African American female telling the stories of White females, my work could evoke emotions from both Black and White women. I am a strong Black woman who has been able to rise above many impactful experiences of discrimination and racism, and I have been able to move toward an understanding that gives me a position of telling the story of more than African American women. Hence, it was important that I built trust and an open and safe environment for the White female participants to respond.

I want this research, and the methodology by which I attained it, and the stories to be so powerful and valuable that it impacts the achievement of African American students and other students of color. For that reason, my desire was to be sensitive and open with a deep listening that invited honesty and truths.

The material for identity making lies in the social world around us and in the relationships we have with others, the point at which our lives bump into one another that are both mirror and window into possibility for the person we might become.

(Seidl & Conley, 2009, p. 119)

And in the end we will be able to look in the mirror and see ourselves anew.

Chapter IV: Research Findings

Introduction

This chapter has two sections to report the research findings. In the first section my autoethnography reports my lived experiences that address the research question. In the second section are the research findings from the narratives of the other participants. Each section is structured to highlight racial identity development before attending the HBCU, the HBCU impact during matriculation, and the social justice disposition development after matriculation at the HBCU.

The participants collaborated with me to check the content and validate the accuracy of my telling. They read my story and my answers to the same interview questions. As a Black female researching White females who matriculated at the same HBCU, and to remain objective in the telling, I present responses to interview questions in the participants own words to avoid interjecting any bias or filtering their thoughts, feelings, or reflections. My goal is for readers to immerse themselves in the participants' stories. Thus, I use extended quotations and stories from the participants to enable readers to gain in-depth understanding and appreciation for the nuanced flavor of each woman's story.

In my own words I begin with my autoethnography. Each narrative begins with a brief introduction of the participants that is followed by their verbatim responses to interview questions about their racial identity and social justice disposition development. Their

responses are recorded in bold italics here, structured in the categories of the interview questions, and organized to tell their stories *before* matriculation at the HBCU, *during* their matriculation at the HBCU, and *after* matriculation at the HBCU.

Autoethnography

My Safe Cocoon

Before Matriculation at the HBCU

Family and Community Impact

On a beautiful morning, the blue sky was sprinkled with threatening clouds that soon flowed away and welcomed the brightness of another perfectly sunny day. In the early 1950s, this was the morning of my birth representing all that I would become; sunny, cloudy, bright, and beautiful. First born of two daughters, it was the day I was born to do this research and write this story. My Mommy and Daddy brought me home to our big two story house in a small town in Virginia. It was the place where my parents met, fell in love, got married, and began their family after graduating from a legendary HBCU there.

I remember playing in our big yard safe and secure inside of the Black iron fence with a bench and bird feeder on each side of the yard. It all seemed enormous to me as a little girl; a big White house with a red and White brick wall securing our privacy all around the back yard and a cement pond on the side with big gold fish in it. As I remember we seemed to have a wonderful life with more than many Negro people had at that time. Our neighbors and my friends were all Black. In today's language, we would be considered a 'traditional middle class family'; however, we never heard of that label and we certainly did not feel that way as Black people. Mommy told me Negroes did not have equal pay for work as White citizens did. In a time of no technology or other ways to research salaries, there was no way to make

comparisons, yet they knew they were not equal in many respects. My mother and father, as well as any Negro of that time, would dare not question it.

My mother did not work the first few years we were in elementary school. After my second grade year, my mother rode to work with my father and worked on the same army base. My father got dressed in a suit and tie every day and went to work as the first Negro man to work in the army base budget department in our military community. There were many military bases in the area; naval, air force and army. Though my Daddy had many Negro and White friends on the bases, the communities where we lived were all segregated. Though my father worked on the base and was invited to the homes of White officers, he could not enter the Officers' Club or any other activities on the base; it was illegal for Negroes to enter. He was a Negro who could cook or serve during these activities, but he could not participate.

As a young girl, my mother made sure I learned about poetry, opera, and Shakespeare. She dressed me in beautiful dresses on Sundays for church with crinoline slips underneath to make them stand out, White socks, and Black patent leather shoes. After church, we went to Mrs. White's house, who lived two houses from us. Though at the tender age of five and six years old I did not understand any of it, I sat quietly and listened to her read poetry, Machiavelli, Shakespeare, and many more classics. I took dance, ballet and tap, voice lessons, and piano. Mommy made us speak in complete sentences, putting beginnings and endings to every word we spoke so that others knew we were intelligent. Daddy would not allow us to leave the house unless we were presentable and dressed immaculately; to him that meant hair combed, face and legs oiled down, and clothes matching from head to toe. We were not allowed to use the "n" word in our house. Now I understand that my Mother

and Father were preparing me to see both sides of the binary, to have a double consciousness that would help me be successful in a White world.

Earliest Memories of Being Black

In the 1950s through the 1970s, I witnessed a lot as a young Black female growing up in a segregated world of overt racism in the Southeastern United States. I always knew I was a Negro, then Black, then an African American. There was no place I could go that I was not reminded of the color of my skin. Who I was then, and who I am now, is the sum total of my experiences; it is my identity as a Black woman, a teacher and as a researcher. It is personal, and it is the truth as I have come to know it. It is my story.

I am a Civil Rights baby. My Daddy was active in the community serving as an advocate for education and representing a voice against racism and discrimination for what was then called 'Negro' men and women. It was his form of promoting social justice. My Godfather, Daddy's best friend, was the Chief of Legal Redress for the NAACP. Martin Luther King, Jr. was killed on April 4, 1968 in Birmingham, Alabama. Sixteen days later, in Virginia, my Daddy went to the jailhouse at some point during the night, and in the early morning he was brought home allegedly by White policemen. The next day his cold body was discovered on the steps in front of our home; his eyes shut from life forever. I was told not to question; it was best to be quiet and remember. So I did what I was told. Silence was a double-conscious way for Negroes to survive in the White world. From the brutality and overt racist acts of White Americans at that time, you learned when to speak and when to be silent. I was a Negro then and silence was a safe cocoon.

Poignant memories flash through my mind from childhood. My childhood was peppered with sickening feelings of oppression. One Saturday morning, my Daddy and I

were going downtown in our all Black community to see a parade. Though my Daddy had a car, he chose to ride the bus. I was much too young to question. A ‘Daddy’s girl’ I was, and I wanted to go where ever he went. I looked like my Daddy, I had his chocolate skin and his dark brown eyes. I loved my 6’2” tall, chocolate, dark skinned Daddy! I walked to the back of the bus with my Daddy and watched his mortification and anger as he was told to hang his head in shame for not going to the back fast enough.

My Grandfather and I had to walk on the ‘right’ side of the street downtown, so Granddaddy said. As a little girl, I was not sure which side was the ‘right’ side; yet I noticed as Whites passed us, I watched him hang his head and look away as if he had done something wrong.

One day after elementary school, I remember running all the way home because I walked on the wrong side of the street. Two young White boys were with their father who owned the store at the corner. They told me one time before not to walk on that side when they were there, but that day I was not thinking about them as I strolled past. They gave chase but stopped short of my all Black neighborhood. I knew when I reached a certain point, I was in my safe cocoon and they would not come too far in our neighborhood.

I went around the back of the movie theater and walked with my friends up the fire escape to see the movie “Gone with the Wind” in the cold balcony. There was no bathroom for us. If we got hungry, we could go back down to the front window and buy the leftover popcorn from yesterday. ‘Colored only’ was a sign I could read before I could read any book. As a young child, I saw a Negro man with burnt feet and burnt hands hanging from a tree. I saw a cross burning in the field (more than one time); even though my friend’s father told us

to lie in the floor of the car, I peeked anyway. He said it was a dummy; I remember fear and silence.

Education: Kindergarten through High School

I never went to an integrated school from kindergarten all the way through four years of college at an HBCU. All of our schools were in our neighborhood. Each day we walked to our elementary, middle and high schools. All of my friends were Black. Our all Black schools were full of all Black faculties and staffs. From high school, I left my close knitted family and my all Black community to go to college at an HBCU. In all my one race schools, my teachers emulated excellence. They accepted nothing less from me. They were tough and unyielding, challenging with the highest levels of expectation. Yet, their love and caring were nurturing, just like a mother is to the children she births. My interactions with them were personal opportunities to mentor and groom me for the world of injustices. They modeled what I had to become as an educator and as an advocate for Black children, men and women. Until I went to college all of my teachers were Black men and women.

Racism shaped my truths about the world, my soul and my spirit. The bitterness that prevailed in my soul could have grown into the venom that would poison my spirit forever, but I learned the best ways to survive in this America is to consciously be like them. To tell the stories was, and remains, imperative so that the stench of burnt souls will impact our lens of the still omnipresent injustices in our world.

HBCU Choice

As an African American female I chose to go to a HBCU to major in elementary education because I thought I would get the same kind of contagious drive to be the best that I received in my world at home and school, and I found it there. At the same time advocates

for African American civil rights mourned the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the frustrations of racial segregation and discrimination rose to a crescendo of race riots, I chose to leave my totally segregated Negro life and go to an all Black college to get prepared to teach. My HBCU would keep me safe from the stress of experiencing life in a White world; it was my cocoon. I was clear about my choice and my reasons, but at that age, I did not have the maturity nor was I consciously aware of what becoming a teacher would mean. I had no idea how this historical Black college was going to prepare me to teach in the very world I did not want to enter. All I knew was that this HBCU was renowned for its excellent elementary education teacher preparation program, and that is where I wanted to be, with my people and among excellence.

During Matriculation at the HBCU

HBCU Activities

Attending an HBCU was a safe haven for me as a young Black female during that time. I felt protected and nurtured in this cocoon. I was 17 years old when I arrived in 1970. There were people who looked just like me, who came from the same humble socioeconomic background as I did. I experienced high expectations from my professors there. A Dean of Women taught us the etiquette of being educated women. Dormitories were full of young Black women excited about getting a college education. I went to all of the activities, every football and basketball game, every Homecoming, every dance at the canteen. I went to and participated in everything I could; pledging a sorority, participating in professional development, competing in talent shows, and auditioning for the jazz band. I took full advantage of opportunities there to see and hear great Civil Rights leaders like Shirley

Chisholm, Louis Farrakhan, Black Panther leaders, Angela Davis, Nikki Giovanni, Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee. As I reflect, I remember:

We were junk talkin, dozen playin, bid whist 5 risers, card slappin, Homecoming yall, cabaret dressin, high steppin band playin, big leg majorettes, fine, hell week marchin in the streets, sorority pledgin, singin on the plot, hangin on the block, caf food, 50 cents chicken samages , no cars, I'm Black and I'm Proud, all Black campus.

HBCU Faculty Impact

As an HBCU student, I encountered extensive support, nurturing, encouragement and connection to faculty that stimulated my intellectual growth and development and inspired me to achieve a fulfilling and rewarding career as an educator. One unique and distinctive quality of my HBCU experience was my personal interactions with faculty that impacted my success. I was particularly impacted by the nurturing of a White female faculty member as I participated in a federally funded program titled Teacher Corps. With all I was learning as a young adult, she changed the way I saw the world of Black and White; she calmed my anger and anxiousness. She gave me a new way of seeing things and reversed my lens about being in the world of White people.

It was very difficult to be in the Teacher Core Program in 1973 because of so many requirements. One huge hurdle for my friends and me was leaving our campus and venturing into the city to live beyond the Black community. Teacher Core required Teacher Interns stay off campus and in the communities in which they would intern. Two other Black females and I ventured into apartment complexes closer to our internship assignments. We did not know we were in communities where Black people had not begun to live. The manager of the complex would not let us rent any of the unoccupied units. My professor, Dr. JB, came to the

rental office, argued for our rights, and personally signed for us to rent the apartment. I was shocked and amazed at her caring and support for our rights. With her same calm and patient demeanor, she took me to the emergency room after a bad car accident and even contacted my mother. At the hospital she would not allow the nurses to keep ignoring me and she stayed that evening with me until they finished.

My future plans were often a topic of her discussions with me; she questioned me for specifics each time we talked. Little did I realize that she was preparing me to face the challenges of teaching in integrated schools. She was supportive, and she pushed me to be clear about my future as a teacher. Dr. JB told me I would be teaching White students. Still with a nervous reluctance, this White female faculty at my HBCU gave me a personal assurance that I could. She assured me I would keep my all Black world; however, I had to speak, dress, teach, and be such that who I was being was accepted in the White world I was now entering; a double consciousness seemed to be required.

Dr. JB was the first White faculty at the HBCU (and in my young life time) to have candid conversations with me about the discriminations I encountered such as why the White man would not rent the apartment to us. At the HBCU, we talked about what we would face in the White world with our Dean of Women, a Black female. In many courses, we had assignments to read or write about specific Black personalities who were civil rights leaders of the 1960s and 1970s; familiar names such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, or Black inventors. Seldom did we talk about racial tensions or issues in classroom settings. Our discussions and exposure to the civil rights movement were mainly explored when the University had presentations or lecturers. In addition to these experiences, Dr. JB helped me develop my disposition for teaching White students.

HBCU Impact

During those years, my most profound breakthrough was the awareness that I was graduating from my all segregated life to teach both Black and White elementary children. I never thought about teaching White children. I never thought about needing to be Black, and at the same time, to see and understand my White students, their White parents, and the White teachers with whom I would work side by side. It was a cultural shock for me. During my matriculation at the HBCU from 1970-1974, most course assignments and campus activities reflected the civil rights struggle and examples and models of how to go out into the Black community and serve for more political success. We did not directly discuss how to teach White students or what their learning styles were as White learners. We were shown who they were racially as it related to racism and discrimination and we were taught how to have a double consciousness to survive politically. At the HBCU, as well as at home, I was taught an education, articulately speaking and being a good reader and writer were the keys to my success as a Black female leaving my safe cocoon and going out to work in the White world.

All of my experiences with teaching and working with young children prior to college centered around volunteering for the Head Start program during the summers and the Summer Youth Program where I tutored in my own classroom with six African American males. I never thought about working or teaching in integrated classrooms; I had never seen them before. Little did I realize I would graduate from my segregated world and teach students who were different from me in every way; my students would be coming from their own world, which was all White and foreign to me. At that age, I was not conscious that all I had witnessed would affect who I became, my identity in this world, and my identity as a

teacher of White students. All I wanted to do was work with my own people, my own race. Without consciously knowing what I was doing in the early 1970s, I felt I was advocating for the education of young Black children; and that was all I wanted to do.

After Matriculation at the HBCU

Thirty-two years after graduating from the HBCU, I began to work as a higher education clinical faculty and then as the Elementary Education Program Coordinator of the very program and at the same HBCU from which I graduated. My passion for teaching soared when I became responsible for preparing students to teach. With the Department of Education focus on a conceptual framework of social justice, I began to contemplate what that meant for me and how I would prepare my candidates to be social justice advocates. Hence, I began my reflections of what social justice means to me and how I developed my beliefs, my dispositions, about fair and equal opportunities for all students to learn. Beliefs, memories, and repeated discriminatory events surfaced to my consciousness and emotions that gripped me to the core emerged.

For many reasons, I felt because I am an African American female, I could understand the stories of African American female education students that attended my HBCU. However, I did not know or understand how White female students that I have taught perceived the conceptual framework of social justice in their preparation to teach. The irony of a White female HBCU faculty impacting my social justice disposition development was intriguing to inquire about my impact as an African American female on my White female graduates. If a White female helped to change my lens of the White world, I wanted to parallel our stories to see what my impact had been on the same development of White female graduates. It was my desire to impact the White female graduates in a way that would

refract their lens about teaching children of color and that they would see themselves anew as a result of our interactions.

Personal Narratives

Elizabeth

I am Different!

Elizabeth is a 45 year old White female who lives with her Italian husband in a rural county in North Carolina on more than ten acres of land. She has four daughters; their youngest are 14 and 16 years old and her oldest are college students who both attend HBCUs. Two years before attending the HBCU, she and her husband owned their own business in the county where they lived. Until that time she was a stay home mother who raised her daughters until she was 40 years old. One of the most interesting facts about Elizabeth is that she married her high school sweetheart and they have done everything together, including running their business, attending the HBCU together, and graduating at the same time, sitting side by side at graduation.

Before graduation, Elizabeth and her husband began exploring the idea of moving to Alaska to teach. After much investigation and planning, they moved their family to Alaska. Elizabeth currently teaches a kindergarten class of Native American Indians who speak predominately Yupik. They are also in a tribal community without the luxuries and modern comforts she and her family enjoyed in the Southeast United States. She has been totally immersed into a culture where she is the minority, and as a White female, she is a minority in a culture that hates White people.

Together and in the same school, Elizabeth and her husband will be teaching next year on a Native American Indian reservation. As part of their new teacher orientation,

Elizabeth explains what she learned about the culture and history of the tribe. For centuries, she reports, Whites and the government used their belief that Native Indians were inferior to treat them inhumane, force them off of their land, and take their land from them. Explaining what she has learned about her new assignment, Elizabeth said the Native American Indians were told they had to give up their culture and live like White Americans if they wanted to be United States citizens. Elizabeth told this part of her story with passion in her voice because she felt that was the reason the Indians hated White people.

In the interviews, Elizabeth began telling her story with no hesitancy about investigating her racial identity development. She was cooperative and open to new discoveries. Elizabeth explored looking at her racial identity growth from a view that was different than the people and community in which she lived. In fact, Elizabeth felt she was different and she explains why. In her own words, this is Elizabeth's story.

Before Matriculation at the HBCU

Family and Community Impact

On a normal and routine afternoon, Elizabeth waited patiently for her father to pick her up from school. Winding through the roads towards home, she fills the car with chatter about her day at school. As she describes it, Elizabeth, her younger sister, mother and father lived uptown in an upper middle class community of all White neighbors. Each day she and her sister walked to their all White student elementary school. However, Elizabeth says she met a few new friends who were not White when she arrived at middle school. Middle school was downtown where the Black students lived.

On this particular day, Elizabeth's father was picking her up from her middle school downtown. *I can remember my dad driving us home one evening and I had band practice*

and he was driving up the hill and there was a cross burning in the yard and I had never seen anything like that. I asked Dad what is that? And he really didn't want to answer. And of course you know like a kid when you see something burning in someone's yard like that you just keep going and asking questions. And he said they're just not wanting somebody to move in there. And that was kind of the end of that conversation. We didn't talk about it anymore.

Even when a cross was burning questions into her mind, Elizabeth describes her family as a classic White family who very seldom talked about race unless she asked questions. *First of all there's my mom and my dad and my sister and I. My sister and I are five years apart, I'm 45 and she is 40. My mother and father have been married 50 years. Classic White family, your ol nuclear family. The area we grew up in, West Virginia is very segregated even till this day. It's different down here [in North Carolina]. Where my family lives there are no Black people at all. In this day and age, they're not like uh prejudice now (she seemed to emphasize the word 'now'). When I was growing up there was.*

My mom and dad were brought up in a time more of separate but equal. OK. My mom was in school when Black and White they first had integration to start. I talked to her about that. And she said, "I feel really bad for them, but yet we were scared" People are afraid of, everybody's afraid of what they don't know.

So I grew up in White middle upper class. Nice big brick home, nice big columns on the front of the house. The Lincoln Town car, money wasn't an object. Oh my parents were not movie star rich by any means. But there was never, we weren't in poverty. No not at all. I had more than a lot of kids and I know that. But my parents were very conservative and I get that as far as their spending. He waited to get the cash and to pay for it. My parents are the ones who buy a car and keep it for ten years.

Her parents and grandparents impacted her life as she continued her descriptions of her family. *But back to my family, you know with their parents and that generation I think from what I've seen, each generation is really progressed from the mindset back then because I think that my grandparents would probably be classified as prejudice. I never heard them say that, but I know how they were. They passed away now. A lot of White people were taught, well, Black people won't work. They are lazy, this and that, you know what I'm saying? I think that kind of carried on, but yet at my dad's business he had employed several African American men and he will tell you till today they were some of the hardest workers he ever had.*

To Elizabeth, her father and mother were about perfection and they placed high value on education. *My dad was all about, you were talking about your dad being all about excellence. My dad was all about perfection. That's where I get my drive. You don't half ass anything, you do it right and you do it right the first time so you are not going back and doing another time. You give a 110% the first time so if it doesn't work out, you know you have done the best you possibly can. That has been drilled into me. In everything you do. Education that is another thing my mom and dad instilled into me. My dad has his master's in business, MBA.*

Describing her parents as strict, Elizabeth lived in a very religious home. *Not so much my dad, he was raised more Methodist, he was more kind of laid back. My dad worked a lot of hours so mom had us in church on Wednesday nights, Sunday morning, and Sunday night. If we didn't go to church, you did nothing else at all. Nothing at all. My husband and I are both Christians and we raised our family like that way. My mom was raised in a full gospel*

church so singing and praising in the spirit and all of that. So I grew up with that. But they were so strict. I grew up in an immaculately clean house.

Her parents kept their values and beliefs always present for Elizabeth as well. Elizabeth seemed aware of how they felt about race and injustices, however, they still did not discuss the racial issues, injustices, or prejudices they all saw as she grew up. *I had a really good friend that was mixed. When you say mixed. Black and White and she was a really pretty girl. Her features, she had a skin tone, beautiful, and she had beautiful long hair. And I met her at church. She actually lived up in the projects. I can remember my mom driving up there, it was day time, to her family place. Had my mom come pick her up. She would stay overnight with me. Now I could not stay there. Just because it wouldn't be safe! Till this day back home, in the project areas if you're White and you're in there after its dark, you're gonna have a bad day. The murders are just unbelievable!*

NC is a lot different from West Virginia, back home in that regard. There are still certain areas where Black people won't come at a certain time and White people know not to be up in there either. I think prejudice is still rampant. Compared to here it is different. My parents never talked about it, but they didn't let me go over there and spend the night. There were places my parents would not let me go, even if they were my African American friends.

Housing for Whites and Blacks were totally separate where she lived and so were the schools. *Totally separate houses. My whole elementary school growing up, there wasn't one Black student. So K-6 grade I'd never been around any Black people. Junior high, middle school, back then was 7th – 9th grade, so when I went to junior high it was downtown and you had Black and White, so it was my first experience kind of coming in with that.*

Though the community in which Elizabeth's family lived was separated by uptown, where only White families lived, and downtown, where Blacks and all other races lived, her parents never discussed much about the racial issues in the community. *It was similar, middle upper class, the neighborhood, the people, pretty much the same mindset. In fact the other owner of my dad's business, he had three partners, he lived right next door. He and dad car pooled to work. All the kids had the same income status, all White. Some of their parents though, I could remember growing up hearing them using the "n" word. My parents never did. Whether they thought that or not, I don't know, but it that would be beneath my parents to speak like that. Particularly in front of me, or just out in public speaking. You know that just showed your ignorance. Whether they got mad at somebody who is Black or something like that happened and they used a bad name amongst themselves or in their mindset, yea, but to just openly talk about stuff like that, no, they didn't.*

People where I lived didn't talk about it much, it was like, sort of, like understood; but there was definitely prejudices in the people who lived there. There are several of them around town that are still that way, after years have passed. The elementary schools are probably a lot more integrated now because you got to realize it's who lives in that area as to where that school is. There are still not much African Americans living in Orr City.

Education: Elementary through High School

Elizabeth explained where she lived and where she went to school. They were in two different places. *I rode a bus; the school was not in my neighborhood. It was down in downtown C'town, but we were still in the town of Orr City. Where my parents lived it was at the beginning of Orr City. It was still the district to go to downtown schools. If we had lived 5 miles more up the road I would have gone to (school name) elementary, (school name)*

Middle and (school name) high school which was all White children. I was glad that it didn't happen that way now because I learned so much. You know, I know me and our experiences shape some things so I'm glad I didn't go to those schools because those people were known just to be really prejudice and red necks and I wanted to be different than that.

Going to school offered challenges for Elizabeth because she lacked experiences around or with Black people. She lived uptown and they lived downtown away from her. Only White students attended her elementary school uptown. *When I went junior high, which was 7th grade, that was the first time going to school with African Americans and I was afraid, OK, yea, I was, because I never been around them just like you. It's like if I was out in public or something with my parents and there were a couple of ladies at my church, but that was it. But coming to [junior high] school it was like a 50-50 mix, it was like woo, they didn't live up there where we lived. They lived downtown and they walked to school and um you could see the resentment. They had resentment towards the Whites. And as I look back on it now, I hated my parents had money. Any kid gets jealous over that Black or White. I think your status stands out; I don't care how far we have progressed. Junior high was not fun.*

When it was time to attend junior high school, Elizabeth's parents gave her words of advice. *You know mom and dad were always the ones to ask how your school day was, did you see your friends. I remember talking about there were Black people and they were like be nice, be friendly and go on about your business and do your stuff.*

That is what Elizabeth said she did, followed her parent's advice; she was nice to Black people. However, it was in junior high where Elizabeth first experienced what she called "a bad experience with race". *I had a bad experience. There was a girl, her name was*

Carmella. I still remember her to this day, but she was in 7th grade with me. She must, that girl had to be 6 ft. tall. I've never seen somebody 6 ft tall anyway. But she didn't like me. Here I was in 7th grade with braces and pig tails, a little White girl and she was so big. I remember her hands could palm a basketball, beautiful long fingers. I never did anything to her. Never ignored her, always hi, smiled. For about half of a year she tormented me. She did, and I was afraid of her. Like bullying me. She would catch me in the hall and say little White girl this and I'm going to kick your ass. She was really out there. I had never done anything but be nice to her. About half the school year went by.

My mom and dad said stand up to her and even if she beats you down she will think twice about messing with you again. And dad said also remember the bigger they are the deeper they fall. Ok I had my parents support and then I got pissed. OK I got mad, I got mad at myself for letting myself be done this way, for being afraid, embarrassed, you know. And I tried to be nice to her.

So I talked to her and asked her; I haven't done anything to you. Why don't you like me? She goes because I don't because you're White. I don't because you're White she kept saying. For her she had never been around that many White people either where she had gone to school. One day she caught me in the stairwell. And I had my books in my arm and I wasn't big as a minute. She came up and she shoved my shoulder up against the brick wall. I took my books and I just threw them to the ground, papers went everywhere and notebooks went everywhere. And I just charged her up against the wall like this because she was 6 feet tall. I said like I've had it, this is going to end here. Let's go. You're ready to tango, let's go and she was like taken back. I said you might whip my butt; however, you're not going to forget me and you're going to think twice about messing with me again. We can either be

friends or we can whip each other's ass right now. I shocked her so much she almost tripped over herself trying to get out of there. I thought, she's going to get me later. I kept thinking she is going to get me after school.

The experience made Elizabeth aware of several things she describes about the young Black girl. She began to comprehend differences in the areas of the same community in which both she and the other Black students lived. She noticed that both she, as a White student, and the Black students in the middle school had many fears of going to school together. Most of all, Elizabeth began to see the differences in the economic statuses of families who lived uptown and downtown. *So the next day I was coming down the same stairwell at the same time, that was the only way you could get down there. She came passed me. She turned around and looked at me and stopped and she was holding the door open and she said, I guess we can be friends. I said I think that can work. What it came out to be was she had a really rough home life. She lived in the projects up on the hill and it was rough! I mean real rough! She was very tall, so that stuck out, she was Black and I think she was trying to build up her own self esteem and confidence by bullying somebody. Trying to make herself cool. She thought I had a lot of money and that I was snooty like the rest of my White friends. We actually became friends after that.*

Hanging out with her peers in middle school was not a mirror reflection of her elementary school years or her life in her neighborhood. During her young years in elementary school, she only saw and associated with people who looked just like her, all White. After she began middle school, Elizabeth never had just White friends anymore. *Did I hang out with the Black people? The Black people, yea; but my peer group, my friends that I went to elementary school with, no. They stayed in their own little self click. It got to a point I*

wasn't very comfortable in that click because I had other friends. One guy that was Iranian and I had several Black girlfriends. I even had a couple of guy friends, true guy friends that were Black. I had friends I met in my classes. I was very eclectic; I never just had White friends anymore. That's really what changed me.

That's when my social group changed. You could see how they acted, they put down people and they were thinking they were better and I hated that since then till this day. I kind of have the attitude that you ain't any better than I am and I'm not any better than you, we both get up and put on our pants the same way one leg at a time.

The reality of injustice emerged into her awareness in middle school as she embraced new friends. During high school, Elizabeth wanted to stay true to her way of being of accepting all people. *Yea, I think at that young age, starting in junior high time frame, I was starting to become aware of how unfair people were treating other people. I don't know that I had the mind set to put it as Black and White so young. I also saw this White click group treat other White people bad. This White person didn't have money or her clothes or her shoes or her purse weren't this name brand. So I formed an opinion really early in life that I did not like people like that.*

So I really started to detach myself from people like that at a young age. I ended up with friends from all different classes, groups, races. I think I told you we had one Iranian, one Hispanic girl exchange student in high school. We were friends.

Even with no exposure to African Americans in her community, Elizabeth's family allowed her to go to the schools assigned to her community. Being well educated was valued in her home. Elizabeth describes her school career from kindergarten through high school, and she began to postulate herself as different from her friends as the years progressed.

Elementary school all White, K-6 all White teachers. I think there was one White man teacher; all the others were White women as far as the educators. Even the principal was a White female, White. Then went to junior high and there was a mix of about 50/50, 7th-9th grade. That was where I started to notice myself as different. I don't know how to word that, because a lot of my friends that I went to elementary school with, that lived up where my parents lived, we always hung out before; then they stayed in their one little click. They didn't intermingle with other people and that's also the time when the school was 50% Black/50 % White. There were poor White kids too, but the numbers were larger for the African Americans, there were more poor African Americans in that area because they came from the downtown area.

Elizabeth beamed when she described her years in high school. The first day of high school was her opportunity to be a witness for what she said she valued. *Then we went to high school and I met my husband the first day of high school. 10th grade algebra class, math class, my nightmare. We started dating that night and look where we are. My husband came from, his family lived down in C'town, downtown. My husband's family was Italian. My husband has a lot darker skin and so my parents had a fit.*

Her happiness was short lived when the values of her parents forced its authority. *He was considered a White boy, but his family was Italian, they were different, different culture. His mother was a hair dresser, mom and dad were divorced. Dad was a truck driver. Not the level that my parents thought I deserved.*

Yes, he lived on the other side of the tracks. Literally, downtown and my husband grew up in a very populated Black area, Black and White mixed through there. My husband grew up having African American friends. He went to school; he went to private Catholic

school up until middle school. He still had experiences with other cultures, whether it was Pilipino, African American, went to Catholic school, members of the church. As for myself, I think that is when that really started for me in noticing how people in general could be so cruel to one another and I didn't like that. I started thinking about the people I went to school with and my teachers and how they treated people.

In high school Elizabeth said the community accepted more intermingling of students. In high school, we came together. We had the years in junior high. My husband went to a different junior high than I did. His group came in and my group came in and everybody mingled and we all got to know one another. African Americans, we were at football games together, we were at parties after the football games together, Black and White together. It really wasn't a thing by that time. We picked up friends in our car and would go out. Those kids just like me had been raised in a segregated African American area.

As high school ended, Elizabeth admits she went on with growing up without any thought of her segregated world. She felt her parents protected her in her younger years from seeing or talking about prejudice and injustices. Hence, she had to reflect for a minute to remember instances of social injustice before attending the HBCU. The more Elizabeth talked the more instances of prejudice and injustice began to surface in her memory. Even today, Elizabeth still sees some of the same things she discovered in her reflections.

She remembered her principal and her favorite teachers. Few were of color; none of color in elementary school. Not In elementary. Junior high there was one African American teacher, he taught shop. I didn't have him. The principal, Miss Petty, she would give you the look. I cannot recall any that I had in junior high. In high school, no. We had coaches that were Black, they were all football team coaches. So the HBCU was my first time having

African American teachers. And I have to say the African American professors I had at the HBCU have been my best teachers. I still feel that way. In junior high, Miss Petty our, the principal. She was African American, and she was prejudice. It's her attitude, if you were White and you walked by she would sneer at you. Nobody wanted to go in there. It was, I was kind of afraid of her.

Earliest Memory of Being White

After that Elizabeth felt she became different. She describes herself as different from her other friends. She realized this was the first time she felt White. After that I grew up and I always had Black friends. Something about me, maybe because I was raised this way that I can say this because maybe it was different for people who never had money or grew up in it. But I didn't like a lot of the rich kids or the upper middle class kids. They were snobbish; they thought they were better than everybody else and I hate that. I always have, I had Black friends, I had White friends, and I had a mixture. I was friends with the geeks, I was friends with the guys that worked in the car thing. I had such a wide variety of friends and they were all different and from different groups.

Elizabeth recalled an earlier memory of being White. Being raised and brought up where I was never being around Black people. My mom went to the grocery store. She had me up sitting in the buggy, I was little, my sister hadn't been born then. I had to be about three or four years old. There was a man in front of my mom, a Black man and then a person behind mom. She was in the middle with the buggy. Nowhere to go. I had never seen a Black person [her voice lowers]. So I started pointing at this man and saying mom, this man's dirty he needs a bath. I didn't know. So you've got this three or four year old going, but mom He looks dirty, he needs a bath. My mom had everything clean and I didn't know. My mom

covered my mouth and hushed me and she couldn't get out of there fast enough. She was like this man is going to kill me. She looked at him and said I am so sorry, I am so sorry. He just looked at her. He was such a sweet, kind man and mouthed don't worry about it. Even at that young age noticing a difference between me and him. Wow!

Even though she noticed the difference, Elizabeth said she never identified herself as White when she was growing up. *No I really didn't. Maybe that was because I wasn't around other African American people, they weren't in my neighborhood. There were a couple of ladies in our church or you would see them while we were out with mom and dad, but our area was so segregated, it wasn't any Blacks around where we lived.*

In her youth, Elizabeth felt protected by her parents from the world of injustices. Elizabeth began to articulate it the more she talked in the interview. *I really think my parents protected me because I'm not like that, I think my parents protected us a lot from that. But I sort of knew it when I saw someone mistreating someone else.*

Elizabeth recognized that being White she had taken many things for granted. Even though she could not spend the night at her friend's house in the Black neighborhood, she still had many opportunities. Revelations swirled her thoughts and she began to verbalize that it was because she was White that she was unaware. *I am White and I never experienced that (prejudice) and I was never aware of that until I was older and educated. You understand? You know, just being White in one way you take that for granted because it is all I know, it is my skin. It's not by any means of being negative. No, I'm the type of person when you see somebody done that wrong, it makes me angry. And I wasn't even the one done that way. So I'm wondering there would have to be a lot of different layers of peeling taking place on that for me to understand. Because I can't even fathom, I can't even imagine not being*

able to go or you can't drink out of that water fountain, or you can't go in that shop, they won't serve you, or you have to use this bathroom, or you have to stand up and give a White man a seat on the bus. I don't understand it, maybe it's because I am White that I don't understand why it happened.

I never saw a man hung or burned or anything like what you have, Mrs. Oates. After you talked about that in class, I remember with my husband and I driving home from class. I went I can't imagine witnessing something like that. And my husband said that is because we are White and we had not had to be subject to that type of thing.

HBCU Choice

As Elizabeth entered the HBCU, she had not encountered the issues of race, and she entered without the knowledge of the historical civil rights legacy the University represented. She said she entered White. Described above is how she identified herself racially before college. As her story progresses, Elizabeth reflects on her reasons for attending the HBCU. *When you look at the question why did I go to a HBCU, first of all, I have a lot of teachers in my family. When I decided to go back and get my degree most people said why did it take you so long? We knew you were going to be a teacher. When I was planning to go to college, whether it was on the web page or not, I didn't notice the HBCU. I didn't pay it any attention. I really didn't know what those initials meant or what a HBCU was and I really didn't know what it meant in this history we're talking about now. I knew the school was founded on the School of Education and that was #1 for me.*

Number two the distance from where we lived. Those were two deciding factors. Third, the amount of students attending there because I knew it would have smaller classes and I knew I was going to need individualized attention coming back being a nontraditional

student. As a matter of fact I knew some people who got their Master's there. When I worked in the emergency room, I worked with a lot of nurses who attended the HBCU for the nursing program. A lot of times at the HBCU for White people you're going to find them in nursing or in education. One thing is that the HBCU is known for those two programs. I didn't know about those other programs because I didn't research them. Those two programs are known to be top notch. Those were the factors that influenced my choice of going there.

She chose the HBCU because of its academic programs, but soon learned that her family members and friends would not share her zeal in deciding to attend the HBCU. And I get that 'being White, the "did you go to the HBCU look, why did you choose that school" look? We get that, we got that several times from my family and friends.

Feeling that values of treating all people right were developed from her parents and in her home, Elizabeth felt prepared to face questions about her choices. Attending the HBCU was questioned by her friends in her rural community. Elizabeth felt confident in her response to them and never thought about it anymore nor its significance to her social justice disposition development. I did have those values from home. A lot of people questioned that value when I decided to attend the HBCU. They said you know that is a HBCU. I was like and, what's your point? I told them that the HBCU was founded on a school of education, and the university was the perfect university for me. They had excellent reviews for the education department I was going there to get my degree. I didn't think anything about being a minority.

Yea, they would say, you know it is an all Black college and I would say yea. They'd say, you know you are going to be really outnumbered there. And, well yea. You could tell with the people who would say that they would be very uncomfortable that I was not going to

be represented myself. I think that is a real example of preparing me for what I'm getting ready to do. I'm going to be a minority again in a village. The village is 98% Native American Indians, that doesn't bother me. It doesn't bother me to be the minority, where I'm strong in my character, I have my education. I want to make these children feel loved. I'm excited and now I know what to do. Attending the HBCU didn't only prepare me to be a better person. It prepared me for what I'm going to do.

During Matriculation at HBCU

As a minority at a majority African American University, Elizabeth ignored the perceptions of her family and friends and entered the HBCU. She described her very first experience as a student there as really realizing she was a White student at a Black University. *When I first walked into that biology lab, that was the first time I had ever been, just two White people there and 88 Black people turning around starring at me. I had never been out numbered like that! I don't know how else to put it. Oooh they are looking at me! You could see the younger kids going why are they here, they are White? Do they know this is a HBCU? We got those looks sometimes. But I think the benefit I had was being an older student. I'm not going to worry about what they're thinking; I'm going to get mine. That's the difference. Being a minority didn't get to me. I was nervous walking in, me and my husband sat in the back row.*

The professor came out, he is an excellent professor and he is very hard and said, everybody look around this room. 70% of yall won't be here by midterm. The next class guess where Elizabeth was sitting? That didn't bother me. I marched my but up to the front of that room. I always sit up front because I don't like people behind me distracting me. I want to be able to hear the professor and see the board. I want to hear what the professor is

saying. I'm here for me! Yall can talk all you want behind me. So guess what, by midterm 70% were gone, but not me and my husband.

As a non-traditional student, Elizabeth was not bothered by the stares. Without intimidation, she focused on her academics and went right to the business of being a college student. Clearly in the minority, Elizabeth went back to the values and beliefs she developed in junior and high school. It did not matter to her what race the students were in her class. *My husband and I and about 20 students were left; all of them Black except us. We formed a study group. And we were going to tutoring twice a week with our study group and started making friends there. I met Sheila (a Black female). Then we went to Dr. K's (a Black female faculty) class and there was my husband and me and one other White girl and everybody else was Black.*

Noticing the color of a person's skin in her study groups was conflicting to Elizabeth. Concurrently, she was discovering the challenges of what it all meant to her, questioning what was wrong with not seeing color. *We're the type of people, we're just social people. We get along with people. There're two ways. People say it's not right if you don't pay attention to color. Then I can honestly say for me, for myself, my professors, like now I'm noticing your color because we are honing in on it so much. I've become so immersed in [in the University] that it's like you don't pay attention to that after a while. You know what I'm saying. That is Sheila (a Black female friend). That's Dr. O, that's Dr. P, you know (Black female faculty at the HBCU). It's just people. It's my friends, it's my professors, you know. That's my HBCU family. It's not that I don't know you're Black. It's not that I don't respect that you are African American or your trials or tribulations or your story.*

I guess with me when I was in Alaska with the Native Indians, our school is going to be 98% Native Indian. I'm going to be in the minority. When someone welcomes me at their home, I'm eating at their table, we're forming friendships while we are there. They have their own issues they have been through. I've had my own education about that.

It's like after awhile when you become friends with somebody, is it right or wrong to ignore their color unless it is affecting them in some way. Not disrespecting them. It's like we're just two people. Sometimes I don't see the color. I don't know if that is right or wrong. Well some people might say you're not seeing me as who I am for my struggles or my position. I don't want to come off that way. I just see us as equals. It's not disrespect. After awhile, it just is.

HBCU Faculty Impact

Clearly wanting to see everyone as equals, Elizabeth felt this belief and being a nontraditional student enhanced her relationship with the HBCU faculty. *Well I'll start with Dr. K, I love her! I remember our first semester, we had to park all the way down there and she would drop us off to our car. Even though we were nontraditional students and even that some of them were friends, in the classroom, though they've always been supportive of us, we always gave them the respect, that is my professor.*

Even though when we had issues, don't think that I wouldn't be in your office or Dr. P's office. I've sat and cried in Dr. P's office when I could not pass the Praxis, what am I going to do? And her hugging me and crying with me. Me and you with the exit interview and you and I crying. That was a respect thing as you being my professor and your title at the school, but it was also a friend think, too. I felt you cared about me beyond being your student, you cared about ME! I think I've had that benefit because I was a nontraditional

student. I don't know if you can have that with a 19, 20 year old. I don't know, maybe you can. Life experiences help shape those things.

Elizabeth describes the African American faculty at the HBCU as very supportive. *I didn't have but one or two White professors the whole time. Anything we needed you all [Black faculty] bent over backward. Dr. V too [Hispanic Professor], when I needed that financial aid. It wasn't because I was White; it was because we had established ourselves as students who were hard working and determined. We weren't lazy or looking for a hand out. As teachers or professors when you see a student no matter what age they are and they're doing everything, your top students, you're going to bend over backwards to help them to help themselves.*

HBCU Activity Impact

Faculty at the HBCU had more impact on her development than activities or events. Elizabeth was not active on campus at all. *No. I paid that \$300.00 athletic activity fee every year. We didn't have time. Anything that had to do with the school of education, we always came to that. But sports or party night, no. That was because of age and our family responsibilities. I had a family to raise and I was nontraditional. We came to class and we went home.*

After Matriculation at HBCU

HBCU Impact

Elizabeth strongly believed in seeing us as all the same. *If anything is cemented in me, she pauses. I'm trying to find what I'm trying to say. We are all people, we hurt, we love, we hunger, we struggle. I think I came to a real strong realization with my years at the HBCU cementing that in, I stop seeing color, and it's just people.*

Elizabeth explains what she perceives is the rationale for racism. *It is very hard for me to understand why all of the racism still goes on today. It's there, it is. It is on both sides. There is still stuff being done today that's social injustices and I think it is coming from the Black side, White side and grandparents and generations. Your grandparents told you stories and you told your children stories and it builds from there. When you have a family member that's been hurt by something like that, it doesn't go away. Like you said, you have to peel off the layers of how to deal with that.*

Those stories have been moved up through the generations. White people are being taught to be afraid of this and stay away because they are mean and Black people are being taught they are going to hurt you. Some of the kids of today's generations still have those fears coming back from when the grandparents went through some major stuff.

Adversely, Elizabeth did not experience what her grandparents nor parents did and they did not talk about racial issues with Elizabeth. *And I'm White and except for that episode in junior high, I didn't have to think about it. Didn't have some of those episodes at the HBCU that were racially driven. Now, we got a lot of looks. I can remember walking up to the Thompson Center or at registrar's office and all the younger kids are sitting around at the Ram Shack, you just see the looks when we walk by, the look like why are you here, like there was resentment for us being there in the beginning. But nothing was ever said, it's just the look. I never felt isolated as a White woman. We also had many friends, too. A couple times people I didn't know asked are you teaching, they thought I was a professor. But the professors, I never, like got any of that from them.*

Affirmatively HBCU Black faculty support impacted Elizabeth's preparation for teaching in Alaska. *Having all African American professors, it didn't bother me, no. I am*

experiencing the same thing right now in Alaska in the Yupik district. Where I am a minority there, but I am not feeling out of place. I think the HBCU helped prepared me for that. The first time I really experienced being White was walking into that Biology class and have 88 people turn around and stare at me and we were the only two White people in that room. I felt very, very White! I felt like I was glowing in the dark. How blonde is my hair? But I wouldn't have known how to handle it if it didn't happen to me there first. I learned how to be with people because they were who they were; not because of their race or skin color.

With an immediate acknowledgement to the impact of the HBCU, Elizabeth responded affirmatively to the question would she attend an HBCU again. Yes, I would! Just to cement that in how strong I feel as well as my husband, my daughter is at the HBCU in the nursing program. She loves it, she has great girlfriends. Again, the professors, I have to say just from having daughters at other HBCU colleges and things, the HBCU's African American professors and their attitude towards teaching students is better than I have ever seen. If you're going to do your work and you're going to give 100%, they are going to bend over backwards to help you. My daughter is experiencing the same thing go on in her nursing program. The class sizes are small. My oldest, she just got accepted to A&T another HBCU. She's going to be doing her master's there. She starts in August. She has already made friends. And she goes mom the people, the staff, and it's predominately African American professors, too, they are so wonderful. I said, I had the same experience. Anybody that asks me how was that for me, I say that's where I needed to be. I couldn't of went to a better school. I would not be at the level I am now and the mindset and the learning that has taken place over the last five years. I would not be at this level if I had not been at the HBCU.

How many papers did I have to write on cultural diversity? If I wrote one more time I thought I was going to scream. But now that I'm getting ready to do what I'm getting ready to do it has enriched me. It's made me a better person. It's opened my eyes. Because like I said, I always been just White and didn't think about things like that. After you've been immersed in the African American culture, repeat, immersed, at that school. You learn different things. Me and my friend Lexi, I was always fascinated with her hair and she was always fascinated with mine. Sheila said I'm going to have a headache for a week (hair braided). I couldn't sit in a chair for nine hours to get that done. And we would laugh about it all. And we loved getting together to talk or work. That might have been about color, but I still didn't see her as something was wrong with her or only African American women get their hair braided certain ways. I just saw it as her hair style.

Throughout her story, Elizabeth consistently felt that because she was White, she didn't have to think about it. When asked if she can see me, a Black woman, through my eyes she replied, *I do see myself differently now. Can you see me? I can see you. Through my eyes? I'm not going to say that. I think that might be going a little too far. I think that might be disrespecting what you went through. I can never say I can imagine. I can picture what you went through. I can sympathize what you went through, but the pain. I can be sorry and say how horrible and shed the tears, but I cannot know that deep seeded hurt you went through and see what you saw. Unless someone walked in your shoes, I think that would be doing that trauma a disservice. That is something that I can't hardly fathom. People say I can understand what you went through. I can't understand what you went through! I'm just more aware of it now because we are talking more about it than I ever have before.*

Now Elizabeth is teaching in Alaska. She is taking her White middle class background to a Native American Indian culture that hates Whites for taking their native land. This new journey requires Elizabeth to see her students with different eyes. *It's going to be real interesting. The two weeks we were up there, having to take that multicultural education class, our eyes are really opened to what is going on and the prejudices that have happened to these people. Back in time here comes the White man who took all their land; took everything from them. They are a nationally recognized tribe. Yea, I can see them and what is happening to them with new eyes because I didn't, like, I had no idea like I had no idea about what was happening to you.*

Elizabeth sees with new eyes what social justice for everyone means, and what it means to the culture she is learning in Alaska. *The BIA, Bureau of Indian Affairs, they make up the school board for the district. And their strategic goals, by the way, you really prepared us for that I had to get that in. They want their culture brought in and integrated basically into the subjects with the curriculum. Which I think is awesome because these children, whose first language is Yupik; they all speak English. Especially the elder people, they are concerned about the younger generation losing their language. That is a part of their identity. So they are training us so we can learn it as well. The best way to learn the language is through emersion. In reading we can't be reading about the trip to Carowinds. These children haven't been to Carowinds and probably will not see a park like that. So the math problem needs to be about how many fishes it will take to feed their family. Bring in the culture. These children need to see themselves in the curriculum to understand. I told them that what you taught me to do.*

The more Elizabeth told her story, the more she talked about her revelations. She began to realize the connections for her teaching in Alaska. *Before coming to the HBCU, there were a lot of things I didn't think about. I wasn't aware of. I think being White affects that too. Just being White I never had social justice issues. I'm not saying every White is like that. I'm just saying for me. There are things like mostly how I feel things should be, I want people to be treated fairly, have their social rights. But I never thought of it as somebody who had to give them social rights.*

I wasn't a teacher then, but now that I am a teacher, I have to think about that for my classroom. I have to think about that for my students. I got to think about my students. I'm going to be in a multicultural situation where I will be the minority and my students are the Native Indian population. So my students need to see themselves in our classrooms. They need to see themselves on our bulletin boards, in all the reading materials. They need to see themselves and how important they are. They do have rights and we care for them.

Elizabeth is seeing the other side with new eyes. *Definitely in this population that I'm going to be working with, things have not been done fairly from way, way back in history. Poverty still exists there. Even how they chose to live, no matter what, they are still thought of as a minority. To give these children, my students, the opportunity to go out in the Western world and become prominent members of the society, they have to feel they are important. I have to bring their culture into the curriculum, which is social justice in itself.*

For Elizabeth, she was beginning to make connections with her matriculation at an HBCU, her teaching position in Alaska, and the development of her social justice and racial identity. *I remember something, Lexi made a comment to me and I never thought about it. Again Black and White, again, even me coming in and me being the minority at the HBCU. I*

never thought about it. I heard her comment when you asked me why I came to the HBCU. I remember Lexi [an African American female HBCU student] saying, I needed to be somewhere where I can see myself. That comment was a very powerful comment. I don't think I realized how powerful it was when she said it. It stuck with me.

But when I thought about it, I took it to heart. It made me think about my future assignment. I bet they feel the same way about me, they wonder how I'm gonna treat them, too. Wow!

Natasha

Like Glass: We are All the Same

Natasha is a 36 year old White female with two young sons, ages six and eight years old. She lives in a rural county in North Carolina in a 100 year old farm house. As a young mother, Natasha decided to attend an HBCU with her father as the main impetus for her choice. Currently, Natasha is a second grade teacher in a culturally diverse school and classroom of one third each African American, Spanish speaking, and White students. Influenced by her childhood experiences, Natasha is adamant about teaching in a school with this type of diversity. Through her story, she explains why. She was brutally honest and blunt in her descriptions.

A nontraditional student, Natasha entered the HBCU as a molecular biology major and a part-time student who began her college experience as a new wife and mother working outside the home. She laces her story with the significance of her current teaching position as a result of her HBCU experience. Natasha navigates through her childhood and college years to ascertain her social justice disposition, interweaving the dominance of her parent's values in her journey, concluding her discoveries with seeing us all as glass, made out of the same

material, but each one unique in its own way. Following is a narrative of Natasha's life experiences as they relate to what impacted her racial identity development and her social justice disposition development.

Before Matriculation at HBCU

Family and Community Impact

On a typical weekend, Natasha as a teenager found herself home alone again and happy to be so. Excitedly she prepared herself for a great evening with friends of partying and fun. It was her opportunity to break out of the "cocoon," the space she called home. *And, totally opposite from you, I always wanted to break out of the cocoon. Oh my gosh, I wanted to go to Winston Salem State because I grew up, like, White and rich, and I was like, OK, well that was a little blunt, but, it is a very honest way of putting it.*

When Natasha began her story, she describes her father and family as atypical, yet typical for her because, *I got used to it. My dad was in senior management at the largest corporation in the city, and my mom was in management at the telephone company. We had vacation homes and boats and RVs and the newest biggest cars and a huge home and all this property. We had anything and everything we ever wanted; it was never a problem, but we never interacted as a family.*

The times Natasha interacted with her father inveigled her choices of friends and activities. *And so, I went to school with all White upper class people, and so even in middle school and even in high school, I would friend Black people, or Hispanic people; or anybody that I really liked. One was a Hispanic boy. It wasn't a girlfriend, boyfriend thing; we just wanted to hang out and be friends. And, my dad almost had a heart attack. So, I was like, there's got to be a different way. I can't stand how he is always talking about people.*

Natasha recognized that everybody is different and others lived different lives than she did with her family. Clear about her parents love for her, she still wanted to experience something different from what she heard at home. *I know there's different lives than that we lived, and not that there's anything wrong with it. We could afford it and it was my life. We were loved and taken care of, and, all those things, but it wasn't what I wanted.*

How Natasha developed her teaching philosophy and values was directly influenced by her family. *We were the typical White American upper class family; mom, dad, brother, sister; blond hair, blue eyes, the whole nine yards, that's just what we were, and still are. And, lots of money. We had whatever we wanted.*

Mom never wanted kids and Dad did. But, mom and dad were older, and so it became a business transaction, almost. They were like we're both older, and we both have these great jobs, so we should have kids. Mom didn't want kids, and dad did, so that was part of the deal. And dad didn't want just one, he wanted two, because he didn't think it was fair to have one. So, me and my brother came along. I'm the oldest.

Knowing how her mother felt about having children affected Natasha's relationship with her mother. *And my mom, I never understood her as a kid. I did not under- I had no connection with her, because I didn't get it. I understand that my mom's love language is gifts. It is her possessions, and she wants to give you possessions to show you that she loves you, but at the time, I just wanted her to like sit with me or touch me or say something nice to me.*

And my love language was totally different than hers. So, she was showing me love in her way, but I wasn't getting it in my way. And so, I had no real connection with mom. Because, like, I can go shopping with you all day long, but that doesn't mean you love me.

Natasha describes a different relationship with her father. She illuminates his personality and values that impacted her racial development throughout her childhood. *And so, I was always pretty close to dad, but my dad is, if you're not a White man that's Christian and Republican. And that even goes for women their value is just much less than the White man's is to my dad. And so, that was hard, because then I was like, but I'm a girl, and what am I worth? My dad never would answer that.*

Regardless of what her father thought, Natasha did not care. She loved him, but she continuously said she did not care. She heard what her father would say about different races or cultures of people, but they didn't talk a lot about it together. Her father spoke and that was what he meant. It appeared that Natasha got used to it. *It's just the way it is, that's just it. Like, my mom's sister is a lesbian. And she dated a Buddhist lesbian for years. Oh, my, if I heard one more thing about that Buddhist lesbian woman, I thought I was going to die. Like, why does it matter to you what she's doing in the privacy of her own home? I still don't understand. Oh, yes. He fought with everybody. And he still is mad about it.*

I told him, I love you dearly, but you're weird, and nobody wants to hear your mouth all the time. Because he just spews his feelings everywhere. Natasha did not challenge her father and she did not discuss it with him.

Natasha's family dynamics afflicted their relationships. *And then my brother, my mom loves my brother. Always did, still does. And so, her and my brother had that connection, and then me and dad had a connection, but, like it was still weird. My mom had a house at the beach that she adored, and my dad had a house at the mountains that he adored. And so, she would go one way, and he would go the other, and oftentimes I was older, and so*

they would just left me in the house if I wanted to stay there. My brother always went with my mom. There was no bonding and I missed that.

As if to avoid exploring when she realized she was White, Natasha focused on understanding her lesbian aunt since her father was against it. *And my aunt was very open about it. I loved her. She was very open about talking to me about it. And even from the time I was when they, mom and dad weren't around, I wanted to know, why. Why are you with her, instead of a man? I wanted to know. And she was always very honest with me. She just answered me and talked to me. So I just accepted that she was that way even if my father didn't accept her.*

Admittedly, Natasha did not want to be like her father and she said she had no idea that these things were really happening until she had to be in the conversations at the HBCU. When asked if she ever saw a cross burning or if she ever experienced injustices, Natasha had not experience injustices because of where she lived and because she was friends with everyone. Then she recalled an anomalous occurrence. I did see a cross burning one time when I was at my grandmother's house. I was really, really little, though. My grandmother said the man was not taking care of his family, was out running around with another woman, and they came to say you're going to take care of your family.

Though it seemed like a perfectly good reason to Natasha for the cross to be burned, she responded with pleasure that the reason was not about race. *Kind of cool. Because they were there, I mean, they weren't there because they were Black or White, they were there because you're not doing what you're supposed to be doing. See the family was White. Yeah, it was a very eye opening experience. I remember sitting like, oh my gosh. But he was*

running around, not taking care of what he was supposed to be taking care of, and so, it wasn't a Black and White issue when they came.

The cross burning prompted her memory of her uncle. And my mom's other brother actually is a part of all these weird extremist groups - supremacy, White supremacy groups. Now, does he love me? Absolutely. Would he give anything for me? Yes. Are we completely different, yes? Does he agree with me? No. Just like my dad, they know that I don't like that and I don't agree with it. And I don't care what they think.

Her opposition soars when it comes to her sons. But, even with my dad, when the boys were very little, he wouldn't use the N-word or he wouldn't use queer or faggot. I told him, I don't think, if you're going to be here, you either have to choose not to use the words around them or you're going to have to just stay away. Because this is not the way I'm going to raise them. And so, he was just very supportive of that.

Now, does he still do it when they go to bed, just to get on my nerves? Yes. Can I just take a deep breath and drink another glass of wine and move on? Yes I can. I mean, that's who he is as a person, and I don't want to change anybody as a person.

Because of the way her father reacted and responded to different races and cultures, Natasha felt she could handle anything like this. Surprisingly, she chose to be silent. Being silent was how Natasha learned to cope with both her father and any opposition she received from her family or outsiders. And I can handle it, because of my dad's crazy vocalness, I can just kind of, like, hear it because I have heard it all. I'm just going to let you run your mouth. And I'm just going to go with the flow, and I'm going to pretend that you don't even make sense enough for me to listen. So, I can, I can just ignore it. Like, where my dad would be

angry and screaming the N-word and about my lesbian aunt, and about everything he didn't like; or they [her family] would be angry and screaming, I could just ignore them all.

I know you're allowed to have your opinion; because, you can have your opinion, I don't care. I definitely don't have to agree with it. Or even, if you're going to be that combative about it, I'm not even going to argue mine. Why would I? Because I'll never be right to you, so, I might as well just move on. I can't fix people, so I just let dad and those guys have their say. Doesn't bother me, cause I don't care what you say.

Natasha felt she fully accepted everybody and she did not care what her father thought. *So, to me it just didn't matter. I didn't care what he thought and I still don't care. It just was what it was. As I got older with my boys, it worried me some. My son said, Mommy, do you remember when I used to go to school with brown people? And I said, What is brown people? And like, he was talking about Black people. Oh my gosh, my baby. He was watching Matilda, the movie, and there's a little Black girl that's Matilda's friend, and he asked, why don't I have a little brown girl friend? Oh my, I said we have a new house now, and there just are not a lot of brown people in our farming community.*

And I don't ever make a difference with them, either. I never differentiate between people within, so my boys won't either. Even if I saw somebody walking down the street, I wouldn't say, it's a Black lady, I would just say, it's a lady. I explained it to him, you know Shelly and Banks and Ms. H. And you know mommy has lots of friends that are brown. So, there are lots of people we know and we just love everybody.

Education: Elementary through High School

When Natasha was left alone, she had fun with her friends as a teenager. Financially, one of her best buddies came from the other richest family in her rural, county community.

She was rich and White, too. We got in a lot of trouble because we could do anything we wanted to do. My mom and dad were gone all the time.

They were not always friends because Natasha went to an elementary school in the city until she was in the fifth grade. *And then my dad said, there were too many Black people, and I was starting to wear baggy clothes, and my dad almost had a heart attack. And so, he built a new house. And so we moved, in fifth grade, and, he made me go, and I walked the first day down the street from the house my dad built to make me go. It was all White like he wanted. And those little girls were in skirts and they were like done to the nines: fingernails, toenails, like they were serious. Like, you want to fit in. You're in fifth grade, you have to fit in. But, I did what I thought he wanted, until I got old enough to do what I wanted.*

Middle school looked just like the community in which she lived; all White with a few exceptions. Yet, in middle school Natasha ventured out against the values and beliefs of her father. *I mean, like, I graduated with like over four hundred some people, and there might have been ten or fifteen of a different race. I'd hang out with anybody then. As long as you were fun and down to earth, I didn't care.*

When Natasha went to high school her father did not change the way he felt nor did he temper his comments. She began to realize her grandmother echoed her father's voice and beliefs, also. *My best friend in high school, one of my best friends, was this girl named Shirley, and she was a Black girl. Now, she was kind of in our [socioeconomic] class, because she was, her dad and my dad worked together. And so, she was a little, she was upper class.*

But, I wanted to take her to the beach house one time, and she could not sleep in our beds. And I was like, What? Why? My grandmother and my dad had one fit. She was more

adamant than my mom and dad were, and I was like, Why? Because I go and spend the night with her all the time. It doesn't bother me to sleep in her bed. What are you talking about? She's just like me. And so, that stood out to me big time and I didn't understand.

That was totally against what Natasha believed. Her parents thought one way, and Natasha went in another direction. Hence, she followed what she believed and did whatever she wanted to do. *And now, I had a, a Black boyfriend in high school, but I never told my mom and dad that. And he was beautiful. But, he got tired of being the secret. And who could blame him. But I was like, if he knew the amount of BS that I would have to deal with; they would be hurtful to him. And so, I mean that part would be a little hard, but besides that, I don't care.*

And then when I got to high school, and then I was able to do whatever I wanted to and party, good God, especially they treated me different because of the money that my family had. People either wanted to hang out with me because of the money or they treated me funny. I looked a whole lot better to boys because kids said she's got all that money with her. And they wanted to hang out and help me spend it. And that didn't matter to me at all, because it had always been there. It just, it didn't! Even, it's not that it didn't occur to me that some people liked me because of the money; wow and they were all White. But, anyway, it's just money, still; like it comes and goes. I mean maybe because I had it, I didn't care about it, I really didn't care.

Early Memories of Being White

Natasha's 'don't care' attitude was consistent in her story. It was how she reacted to it all, but it did not appear to raise her awareness that she was White. *I don't know when I first knew I was White. I think it was always there because my mom and dad were so serious*

about this White thing, I could definitely compartmentalize people. And you hate to say compartmentalize people, but I could, even early on. But I knew how to because my parents talked about all these people, gays, lesbians, Blacks, and I began to figure people out. So like I could get ready for what my dad was going to say.

When her sons began to question race, Natasha remembered something she experienced about the same age as her son. She did not know it then, but she realized it was her first question about race. It was before kindergarten. And, my grandfather died when I was like three, and so, my grandmother took care of us. We had a nanny before that. So, when I was like three or four, he died, and my grandmother had some time to get herself together, and then she really wanted us there.

My grandmother is the most closed off hard woman you will ever meet in your life, and I didn't get her either. But, she was born, her dad didn't want her. Her dad left before she was born and her mother had died when she was four, so she was orphaned. It was in the middle of the depression, and nobody could take care of her. Now, she was a very closed; like I said, she was a very cold woman.

There was a cook that was there [at her grandmother's house] that was a Black lady. My grandmother would say if I ran into that old lady, right now, I would hug her neck on the courthouse square, I don't care who would be looking. And I would always think, what does that mean? And I never understood why she would say it like it was a big deal to hug this woman on the courthouse square.

But now that I'm older, I get that at the time she was not supposed to be seen with this Black woman, and that she loved her so much that she would have kissed her in front of everybody. You know, showed her love for her no matter who was looking. She was my

mom's mother and they are both very closed off women, they were. And I love them both, dearly.

HBCU Choice

As Natasha began to tell her story, her father influenced her choices. *And, so, I wanted to go to Winston-Salem State, because I wanted to know the other side of life; the other side of rich and all White people. I just had to know it. My dad would say, I will not pay for you to go to a Black college. I will not do it. And I said, well, I will leave this house, and I will do it on my own. And you know what, I did!*

Natasha took all of these experiences with her to college; to a HBCU that her parents did not want her to attend and that her parents would not help support financially. When asked why she chose to attend the HBCU, her first response was because her dad said she couldn't. *And so, it was begun in the wrong reason, but coming also got me where I wanted to be.* Then she reflected that she wanted to see the other side; different than what she had grown up to know.

In rebellion and in search of something different, Natasha set out to find it. *And so, I married the first boy I ran across, because what else was I gonna do? And so, I knew him for six months, I married him, and I enrolled in Winston Salem State. I started and actually, I was a biology major first for a while. I didn't get the help and support like I got in education. I remember, I was pregnant with my first son, and I was just sitting there with my grandmother, I had been her caretaker for awhile. I remember sitting there thinking, I was a junior. And I said, what am I going to do with this degree when I graduate with it?*

During Matriculation at HBCU

As Natasha explored what she wanted to do, she was challenged to choose a major since she was a junior. At this point Natasha was not focused on the fact she had chosen to attend an HBCU or any of the issues that come with it. The African American female professor, who was her advisor in the biology program, advised her to *take Intro to Education and Intro to Nursing, and she said I want you to keep a journal, and I want you to come back, and we're going to talk about that journal. And I want you to tell me what you think about both classes. Well, within two or three weeks I dropped nursing.*

In the Introduction to Education course, Natasha had her first experience of feeling different about being at the HBCU. The African American female professor of that class questioned Natasha about her desire to be a teacher. *She asked me, what are you doing here? It was very abrupt. Well, I'm trying to find what it is I want to do. And she was so rude to me the whole time, because I was just not where I was supposed to be. I had decided to major in education, but she did not think I was serious.*

HBCU Impact

One professor assigned Natasha to an alternative school setting for her field experiences. It was her first experience in a school and her first impression to help her decide if she wanted to teach. *So, first experience in a school. And you're going through metal detectors, you have to go through their purses and totes and book bags, because they're all level two or higher offenders. I was pregnant, and I remember walking to that school, and I had to go through those metal detectors. They had to go through my stuff. And I felt invaded, violated so to speak. I had never had to do that before.*

Surprisingly, Natasha found what she wanted to do from her time there. *And, that teacher was the best teacher ever. She was just like, these kids need love and these kids need attention, and she had some of the same kids from ninth grade through twelfth grade.*

I watched her and she'd teach them on their level, and she said, so let's do it, and she was just up there doing it, man. And she would have all these groups going. The ninth graders doing this and the tenth graders doing that, and, she'd be working with the eleventh graders, and they would be doing it. It was something!

In addition to encountering this new profession, Natasha was doing her field experience at a school with majority Black students who were majority Black males, and the majority of teachers were Black males and females. She was only one of two Whites there. Not only did Natasha experience Black students with special needs, she experienced their parents as well. *And, we called in one of the parents, because her son was being so ugly. This woman was my age. Like, almost equal, like, I think she was a year older than me. Her child was in high school, and I'm pregnant with my first child. And it was the weirdest experience, but that woman just sat there, and she was heartbroken. She cried. She was working three jobs, and she doesn't have the time to put into raising him, but she couldn't seem to modify things her son was doing all the time because she's at work all the time.*

It did not deter Natasha, *no, I came home and said I'm going to be in the classroom. Yes! I thought I had lost my mind, but those kids just wanted somebody to care about them and that is what I wanted to do.*

Venturing out to a HBCU was not scary to Natasha. She wanted to see the other side of what she heard at home. When Natasha first attended the HBCU, she experienced some students who did not want her there. *Once, in one of those English classes, there were two or*

three students that practiced the Nation of Islam. And it's seemed like a very, very Black supremacy kind of a thing to me. And they were mad that I was there. But they did not believe I should be there, because it was an HBCU. Yes, they were very vocal about everything and they said it, out loud. And I was just like, I have as much right to be here as you do. So when we talked about different things in class, I said what I thought, too. But, besides those two, no other problems because I didn't care what they thought or anybody thought. I wanted to be there and so I was going to be there and stay.

Another social justice issue emerged for Natasha besides race. Seeing things from other people's perspective was the most important thing for me about being there [at the HBCU] ; understanding that people really are treated differently, because of their color. And then I also got fat. And so, you just think, you hear people say all the time, well, I don't think you're treated different because you are White. And so, I got to see it through the Black perspective, and then I became very overweight. And then I was all of a sudden, you know, treated differently because of my weight.

Experiencing injustice because of her weight affected Natasha more in real life than it did at her HBCU. Um, I don't think Black people care as much. I think it's a White person thing to care about how big you are. I've experienced more acceptances from Black people about my weight than anyone. And I think that's one of the reasons Black men really love me, is because of the weight. The only time I was teased by the kids in high school was because they said I had a big bootie like a Black girl. They love a bigger booty. Yes, and, so, no, at Winston-Salem State, they didn't care one way or another if I was fat.

But in life, oh my gosh. To my dad, it was a huge deal. He asked me what's wrong with you. He kept at me. And he still to this day asks me constantly about my weight. He

hates the way I look. Because it's such a big deal to my mom and dad that I'm overweight. That's where I've been treated differently not because I am White. But soon he'll see what I can do.

Natasha started to focus on how she was treated differently. *There were only two things I can remember where I was treated different. Because it was such a big deal to my dad that I'm overweight, that's where I've been treated differently.*

HBCU Activities

Of inquiry as Natasha tells her story is how the HBCU was different enough to impact her social justice disposition development. As a non-traditional student, Natasha did not participate in any activities on campus besides attending classes. *You know I'm a wife, and I have a mortgage, and I have a life in my own Mobile. My friend Shelly was going to a football game. She couldn't wait for football season to start, and I said I've never been to a football game. She's like, what do you mean you've never been to a football game? This is just not right. And I told her I just came on campus and went to classes, and then, I mean, for the first few years before I had the boys, I was a full-time employee, too. And so, I was a full-time mom, wife, I was a full-time employee, and I was a half-time student. And, I mean, so I was at Winston-Salem State for seven years, because I was only a part time student. And, it's not that I didn't want to, I just couldn't.*

HBCU Faculty Impact

Since Natasha only attended classes, she had many interactions with HBCU faculty and staff. *Yeah, I was pretty comfortable going to them, but I didn't feel like I was the same as the Black students when it came to working with staff concerning registration or the financial aid office. One day they helped this girl because she was mouthing so much in the*

line. And they told her what to do. I was just doing what I was supposed to do, stood in line for a long time and waited my turn. But they were willing to get her help. But it probably wasn't about me being White, there were other Black students waiting in line, too. It was a little thing that was not really bad. I don't know.

As far as the Black females, I only had trouble with the biology professor and the woman that taught me Intro to Education. The first one treated me like I was a dingbat. And I swear I'm not a dingbat. But, she just seemed like she always thought maybe I was just a joke. The second Black woman was in education. They were all wonderful in the education department. She just acted weird because I was a junior changing my major to education. But that wasn't about, I didn't feel like that was because I was a White student, that was because, you're a molecular biology major, what are you doing here?

In another class Natasha took, she was disturbed by a comment a Black female faculty made openly in class. She [faculty] was, one time in class, was talking about how she would never want her boys to date a White person, because of what they would have to deal with socially. The struggles that would bring for them, and she would hate to see them struggle that way. I remember thinking, Why? Just like I used to ask my Dad, why? I don't understand. But, I understand, because it is the same way my mom and dad feel.

The comment reminded her of how her parents felt. Her father's words were branded in her mind. Ironically, Natasha felt there is nothing wrong with differences. My dad says that red birds are smart enough to only stay with red birds: you should be smart enough to only stay with White people. Their brain is this big, your brain is this big, and you should be smarter. And I think, maybe that's the opposite, maybe my brain is this big because I'm supposed to be smart enough to understand that different is OK.

At the HBCU Natasha felt she could see the other side. She was not connected to faculty, consequently, she connected to the friends she made who were African American females. *I think that would be my fault because I didn't really reach out to my professors besides you and Dr. J. I liked her because she was serious about her math teaching and because nobody liked her since she was grumpy. I love grumpy people who really aren't that grumpy anyway.*

Because I did have a husband to come home to and kids to come home to and a house and I had so much else going on, I just didn't, I don't think I reached out to them. Yeah, I Google everything. And so I was just going to Shelly; she and I connected. She was Black and we were in the same school for my student teaching. So there were those connections with the students that you could call or text much easier than you can the professor and get a hold of when it's convenient for you versus you trying to get a hold of a professor. I loved my friends. Most times we talked every day.

Continuing with the HBCU faculty: *Well now, well if anybody asked me my favorite professor it would always have been you (a Black female faculty). You were always there for me. That's why I knew I could call you when the house fire happened. But my other one was the lady I had the online class with, Dr. D (a White female faculty). She lived a long ways always, hours away, and I never ever meet her. Like you, she had the best way of making connections with you and you could call her about the craziest problem. And she is there. You could email her, you could call her; we talked for hours on the phone sometimes. I mean, she was just really great, and I think she's White, isn't she?* The faculty members that Natasha talked about the most were White faculty, both males and females.

HBCU Impact

When asked if she was treated differently, Natasha questions: *At Winston-Salem State or in life? In life, absolutely. In my family, sure. At Winston Salem State, not so much. No. I mean, because I just had this kind of care-free, like, go with the flow. So, it was eye opening to be at the HBCU.*

Until Natasha attended the HBCU, she admits she heard her father's words about being White, but she did not fully comprehend what he meant or that she was White like he was. Natasha felt she was different. *You see people on TV, and they're talking about racial injustice, and they're talking about how there's all these things that are done, and you don't get it as a White person. You go, that's not true, I never treat anybody like that. But then, when you hear it from the students at the HBCU, when you go to class and you have those kinds of conversations about race and slavery and stuff. You're sitting there, thinking, I just really don't think that that really happens. Until you go to the grocery store, you see the security guard kind of tag along behind a younger Black man. And you're like, oh, they really are treated that way. So, it was eye opening in that I could hear their perspective for a change, and not my father's.*

After Matriculation at the HBCU

Even while engulfed by her family's beliefs, Natasha attended the HBCU and was impacted by it as well. When asked if she would choose to attend a HBCU again, her immediate response was: *Absolutely. Because it did give me that perspective of other people. It did give me that chance to see what there is besides me, besides my dad, besides my mom. And we were very sheltered as kids. We couldn't even cross the road. We owned like ten acres. There's like three neighbors. I'm not going to get hit by a flying car. Are you kidding*

me? And so, I was so sheltered that my dad didn't want me to be with anybody that wasn't White, republican, and Christian. By the time I got older, I wanted out of here. He gave me a car, and they went to the beach and just left me here. That's when I got to be with the people I wanted to be with.

Teaching Disposition

So Natasha set out to become the teacher she wanted to be. However, she got her first teaching position in the same schools she had attended as a child, all White, in an all White community. *When I got my first job, I got a job at the school where I lived. All White students, and their parents were doctors and lawyers and surgeons, and I even had a judge; they were all upper class White people. They were dreadful to deal with. But, you got everything you ever wanted to teach. If you needed it, all you had to do was ask for it. They made sure you have supplies, you have technology; you have anything you want.*

Because her first teaching assignment mimicked the world she wanted to escape, where Natasha wanted to teach and who she wanted to teach became increasingly important to her. *Those kids didn't need me. And so, I said, in October I'm going to finish this year and I won't be back. Because I need to be somewhere where I'm needed.*

For Natasha her first teaching experience was: *And so, it was a dreadful experience because I was White like them, rich like them, and I didn't want to be a part of their little clique, their group. I really wasn't like them and it wasn't a match.*

Natasha's first year teaching position was coupled with challenging tragedies that also epitomized her childhood racial development. Shortly after graduation, her husband got a new job making *huge money and he said we're going to have all this money; we're going to be able to do whatever we want to do. He wanted to give me the life I was used to having and*

I didn't care about the money. I told him, it's only money. Why are we even talking about it?

I don't care about the money! But he didn't even think about that wasn't what I wanted.

Natasha and her husband separated that year, she said because *money did not matter to her; so he really didn't get me or what I am about.*

In December of the same year, Natasha lost her best friend. Intrigued by her friend's bi-racial marriage, Natasha explained what she learned from it. *My best friend, we were pregnant together when I was pregnant with my son. She died of breast cancer. And, she was married to the strangest man, and I never got it. Never did understand why, and she was a Black lady. Why this beautiful, articulate, Black woman loved this sloppy, White, redneck man I will never understand, until I watched her die. And he held her hand, and he kissed her, and he wiped the sweat off of her, and he told her stories. And he told her how beautiful she was, and they just talked, and it was the most beautiful experience between those two people.*

And now I get it. He adored her. And it wasn't about Black and White, and it wasn't about having money. He didn't care that she was Black and she didn't care that he was White. It was all love. And that's what I'm saying about this color thing; color doesn't matter. I don't care about your color.

Natasha and her husband separated permanently right after the death of her best friend. *And so, then, my grandmother passed away just a few weeks later. And so, within a month or so, a month and a half of one another, I separated and lost my best friend and my grandmother died. And I had no job because I left that school. I was in a bad place. That is when I called you. I needed to talk and I knew you would listen to it all. I started subbing and*

got a long-term sub job until the end of December. The principal asked me to come back after the holiday and I was excited. Like, now I can buy the farm house I really wanted.

Natasha closed on her dream house December 31st. As she started back to work in the New Year, the most tragic disaster she had witnessed bludgeoned her spirit. Natasha worked three days in her new assignment, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. On Saturday, her dream home burned down as she stood helpless in the yard with her sons. *I couldn't start my new job. So I called and said I'm not going to be there, because my house just burned down, and I have no idea what I'm going to do. I took two weeks off. My kids didn't even own a pair of socks. Like, they didn't own anything. And so we moved to my grandmother's house. It was empty because she had died, too.*

As all of this was ascending on her life, Natasha knew she had to go back to work. Concurrently, she applied for a position at the school where she really wanted to teach. *At school it's really 33, 33, 33, it is Black, White, and Hispanic almost exactly equal. The kids are wonderful and they love their teachers because they want us help them learn. So, that's what I wanted, kids that needed me. That's who I am, the kind of teacher I am.*

Seeing through Others' Eyes

Natasha was beginning to reflect on both sides of the conversation; that of being White and that of understanding the Black culture in which she was a student. The same way she articulated how her White family and friends reacted to her weight gain, Natasha also realized her weight gain did not affect her relationships with her Black friends. She saw both sides of the perspectives.

The question is did Natasha see herself as White. Additionally, after the in-depth conversation about race, could she see through the eyes of someone Black like her African

American friends and African Americans faculty who shared their life stories with her. Did she have a new understanding of this conversation?

Natasha was not sure that she could see through the eyes of the others her father had screamed about. *To some extent, but I think that we're more alike than we are anything different. It just doesn't matter to me. I really don't care that you're Black or Shelly is Black, or anybody, really. I just never thought about you being different even when my dad was ranting and raving about his weird mess.*

I mean, my best friend who died of cancer, she was, and I just adored her. And she was a Black female, she was beautiful and articulate. She was the complete opposite of me, very bourgeois, very articulate, and like, prim and proper and very put together, very organized, and very soft-spoken. Yea, she was very different from me, I mean we had different personalities, but we were the same in a lot more ways when it comes to what we wanted and needed for life. Like, I understood her and she understood me. That's the way we all should be treated.

Social Justice Definition

In her own words, Natasha articulated what social justice meant to her. *It's how you treat people. It's how you treat people. Just how you treat people. Now mine would be further how we treat people equally. But I think to most people, it's just about how you treat people.*

When asked how this definition and her matriculation at THE HBCU impacted her, Natasha responded: *You know, the ability to see things was it. What I wanted, I got what I wanted out of it. I got to see the other side of life. I got to see the other way of living and being. You know, everybody was like my mom and dad where I was. Everybody was White*

and had money and was more interested in having the biggest boat and the nicest car and the biggest house and the newest floors, and it was all about trying to keep up with one another. And what I learned in that is they were never really happy. And so I wanted that other side of life. I wanted to see, I mean there are people who don't have everything all the time. And they seem happy. So why? I said let's see it! I wanted to see the other side of life.

Her reflections continued. I thought about it for a while. Especially the mission questions – what's your mission, what's your passion, yeah, I've spent a long time thinking about that. And you know the next time my dad was over, I was like I have to find what my passion is for my boys so that I don't let my dad get to me this time. And this time he didn't. I decided to talk about my prejudices and face them head on. Cause some of my dad's stuff can't get on me. I want more for my boys. I told my dad not to start and he listened this time.

Admittedly, Natasha has prejudices. I do have a prejudice. I did think of this after we talked last time. And it's not like that I don't like them, I don't like the way they look. I don't like the way Asian people look. They're too little and skimpy. And there's no meat to them and their hair is so long and greasy. And I, when I was, I was walking by one after me and you met last time, and I was like, ugh. And I was like, Ohhh, I just did it! And I've never thought about it before that, but it's totally a prejudice that I have. I just don't, it's not that I can't talk to you and that I don't like them; I mean I just don't like the way they look. And I was like; oh I do have a prejudice. I'm so upset with myself. So I'm working on it; I've been thinking about that and I can't feel that way about them. That doesn't seem fair since I'm really looking at this whole thing.

With this revelation, it was time for Natasha to reflect on her social justice disposition as a teacher and how this revelation affects her beliefs and values about her students, her

disposition for teaching. *Well, I think that it's important to allow children to have those experiences. I mean that's why I have Shelly, and I have Marley, and I have people of all races, and I have gay people and I have lesbian people around my boys. Because that's important for me and my boys to accept all people. They can do that when they are used to being around different people. So I do think it's important for those kids to have that experience.*

I'll tell you what I hate. I hate when I hear a teacher say, I treat all my kids the same. No you don't. There's no way. I don't treat my own two kids the same. They're not the same person. And so they have different needs. And not just because, I mean, that doesn't mean they're not both White and male; because they are. But everybody, whether they're Black or White, or Hispanic or boy or girl, they have different needs. Everybody does. So I don't necessarily look at the color and the race or the sexual orientation or anything else. It's about what that person needs. That's what I believe.

Disposition is what you believe, this is what Natasha believes. What does Natasha believe about race? What does she value about race? *I think that White people are not very race oriented like, you know, how African Americans love their heritage? They want us to remember the good stuff, and we care more about the bad stuff about them. And they love their history enough to want us not to forget it. And White people, we don't care. I don't care what my history is. I still don't care what my history is. And actually my grandfather was Native American, and so even like my mom and my grandmother hated that. To me, like he's still just my grandfather. So, well, we can't put our history on everybody anyway.*

Unyielding, Natasha is adamant that though there are different histories. *So to me, I think that we're just alike. We're just people. Um, I just don't see that many differences*

between people. I think we're more alike than we are different. And what is different about us is not to me about the color; it was about what the students need, what people need. Yeah. We're different people; we're not supposed to be alike.

Her parents had the most impact on her disposition. They had one set of beliefs and values and I had my own values, like mine were real different from theirs. They are, and it still bothers them. It bugs them that, oh my gosh did you really vote for Barack Obama? Have you lost your mind? He doesn't have an 'R' behind his name like I've lost my mind. Hell yes, I'm different from them. I'm like, why?

When asked what she thought influenced her to be different from her parents and her family, Natasha hesitated. I don't know. That's where I need to get to. I don't know. And I think a lot of it might have come from my very closed grandmother. I don't know. Well, yeah, see none of the stuff you saw and happened to you ever happened to me. Like for me, you know my brother was very open; sometimes he hid it and did his own stuff without them knowing it. But, uh, he held on to it for longer where I never held on to it at all.

Natasha stops and switches to the classroom again. The HBCU prepared me to be with the kind of kids I want to be with. Yes. Because I want those students that need me and not those high end students I started out with at my first school. Now I was never really around any White students in student teaching or any of my clinical hours. And maybe that's different because I am White. So to be with mostly all Black students and Hispanic students, you know, that's who I learned to teach at the HBCU. That's what I want.

Hannah

Out of the Bubble

Hannah is a 44 year old wife and mother of two children, a daughter in college and a son in high school. Currently she is a sixth grade teacher at an urban middle school in North Carolina. She has been teaching this grade level for the last three years since graduation from her HBCU. For four years prior to graduation, Hannah received on-the-job teacher preparation as a classroom teacher assistant at the same school. Her classroom and school reflect the make-up of the school's community, approximately one third equal of African American, White and Spanish speaking students, and she teaches one Asian American student.

Entering her HBCU as a non-traditional student, Hannah brought all of her prior life experiences with her as she stepped into this new world. She describes herself as living in a bubble until then. Engrossed with other's acceptance of her appearance as she struggled with weight issues, Hannah tells her story of coming out of a bubble when she attended the HBCU. She gave a quick response to most questions during the interviews, often without additional story or explanation even when probed. Following is a narrative of Hannah's life experiences as they relate to what impacted her racial identity development and her social justice disposition development.

Before Matriculation at the HBCU

Family and Community Impact

One of three siblings, Hannah boasts of the family with whom she lived and learned. Living in what Hannah describes as a typical family, she lived with her mother, father, and extended family. To Hannah, her father was the star in her eyes. *I'm one of three kids. My*

mom and dad have been married now for what, 45 years now. My dad was a police officer when I was growing up. My dad also went to school completely as a police officer. I mean he went as he worked, so I always wanted to be like dad.

Dad could do everything. I had a very good relationship with my dad growing up. My dad would take me every other Saturday to work with him. So I got to go to the police station and be with my dad all day long.

My mom was an accountant by trade, she never went to college. She went to some business classes but she worked her way up through the trenches. We had the five of us, but we also had grandma live with us and we also had my aunt live with us. We had an extended family. My aunt, who was my mom's older sister, was 14 years older than her. And she had a form of Down's. My grandmother was sick all the time with diabetes, but my aunt was like our buddy because she was, you know, much older; but she still was a kid, I mean she acted like a kid's age. I think that was one of the reasons I wanted to be a special ed teacher. Then after living with her for 18 years before she passed, I thought, maybe I had done my time.

Growing up in her family was a joy for Hannah. Had a fabulous childhood. I mean, my parents worked; they worked, but they always worked it out. Dad worked nights and mom worked during the day so we really didn't have to have somebody watch us. I remember my dad putting in 30 bobby pins in my hair one time going to school. 'Cause he couldn't get my cowlick to go down. But I mean, they never missed anything.

I mean one was coming and one was going. You know, they had that plan. There were three of us and they made sure we had everything we wanted and needed. Mom was even president of the Band Boosters when I was in high school. I don't know how she did it all because she was always at work, too.

Hannah grew up with her family outside of Washington, DC *about 25 miles south of there in a town called Waldo which primarily was White. It isn't anymore. We lived in a big house, we had a big family. We had five bedrooms; three bath house. It was a small neighborhood, maybe 50 houses. We rode our bikes constantly; it was two circles that intertwined. It was like a crazy 8.*

In her all White community, Hannah did not have any other races in her neighborhood with whom to ride bikes except for one girl she described as “colored.” *I think I didn't have anyone colored in my classes until I was in 3rd grade. I think one and she lived in my neighborhood. And she moved in and she loved to ride bikes. I mean this girl just wanted to run and I thought, you know, I've got a friend for life here. And I remember, even when you're 8 or 9 years old, I remember her braiding my hair and boy. And I went home, and my mom's face, she never said anything but the look on her face was just like surprise, well okay. She didn't know what to say. And my mom and dad would never have said anything about race or things like that. You know my parents were, my dad was a police officer in Washington, DC so he was exposed to everything. But we, my parents, didn't talk to me about any racial stuff; not like that.*

At that time there was no discussion of her friend being “colored.” Her mother and father were accepting of Hannah's friend being at the house all of the time. *But he [Dad] was very accepting of everything. I mean she was at my house, and she joined my group of friends. Hannah did not know if the community was accepting or not of “colored” people. No. Not that I know of. I mean I don't know, you know, what was said on the streets. You know, but you know back then I was sheltered from it if anybody said anything negatively. I didn't hear it, not anything.*

Though Hannah's friend came to her house, Hannah's parents did not allow her to go play at her "colored" friend's house. *My mom always said she ran the orphanage because if anybody ever needed a holiday that didn't have a family to go to or somebody needed a place to stay, our house was it. And I never went to play at anybody else's house or spend the night. Everybody came to my house. No I never went to my friend's house. Mom loved having people at our house.*

As Hannah grew up more people of different races moved into her community after her elementary school years. *But as I went to school later in years, it was more, you know, people from DC were moving out into the suburbs. Later, more African Americans moved in probably when I was in high school. Started to see a change. But we lived close to Andrews Air Force Base too, so you had military families moving in too.*

Education: Kindergarten through High School

As her community changed, Hannah's school demographics did as well. In elementary school, the student body was primarily White. *In middle school, maybe a few, not much. But when I got to high school, there was more. No racial tension at all. The only thing that I can say is that when I went to high school, we had a lot of bi-racial kids.*

Interestingly, Hannah and her friends had a name for the bi-racial students. As she described it, she seemed apologetic. *We always said the STPs – Swans, Thompsons and Proctors. Because they were the ones that were the bi-racial kids. They were Swans, Thompsons and Proctors – they were STPs but it was nothing, you know, but it was all in fun.* When questioned what it meant, Hannah responded: *It just meant, it didn't mean anything, it was just a family name. I mean looking back on it now I guess we probably shouldn't. It was high school, Yeah, just high school stuff.*

High school had more students of color than elementary schools Hannah attended. However, Hannah never had to attend an elementary or middle school with students of color because her father was a School Board member. *My dad was involved in politics back then on a county level with the school board. So I always went to a different school other than the other people that lived in my neighborhood because Dad took the 60 houses and he kind of [re]zoned us to different schools. 'Cause we got to go to the new school. So everybody else had to go to the older school but when it came to when the assignments came in, we were like, "how did this happen?" And dad just said, I took care of it.*

We got to go to the new school, the best school. It was farther away and it had the reputation of being new, a brand spanking new school. They were really big on neighborhood schools there. So really where you lived, is where, you know, what people looked like in your neighborhood is what it looked at your school. Until you got to high school and that's when we kind of started seeing, you could kind of have a choice, but there were rivalries in town. I mean, it was a small town and you had four high schools and you know you wanted to go to a particular high school because of family or things like that. No, we went to the newer high school because dad moved the line a little to the right. But I was very happy with that. I got to school with the kids I wanted to go with. I asked about the racial make-up of the school and Hannah responded the new school was mostly White students, but more other races came because more were moving into the area.

Hannah was unaware of the unique opportunity she had to attend a school of her father's choosing. She described her growing up years as normal where she never saw differences or injustices in her all White world. *I just thought I was a normal child living a normal life, I mean. I knew my parents didn't have a lot of money, I mean dad was a public*

servant and mom, you know was a pencil pusher with numbers, but we never went without. We always belonged to the swim team. So my mom and dad found money to do that. I don't know how they did it. We always were on sports teams. I played soccer and the boys played football and basketball. So I identified with my community, but I didn't see difference; never did see anything anybody did that showed difference. I questioned Hannah again, "Never?" No never, she replied.

Earliest Memories of Being White

Blind to differences, Hannah did not recognize that she was White. No there was never a feeling of White or Whiteness. I didn't hear that word until I went to grad school, never did see anything. And I took a diversity class, but I never heard the word Whiteness until then. I don't remember the first time I felt White. I don't, I guess a play, maybe. I was in a community play and I remember a White part and a Black part. I don't think it even came out as that but I remember, oh I can play that because I'm a White girl, you know? I don't even know what the part was, but I think that would be my first identify, oh I can do this part because I'm White. I was just a kid.

As a young child, Hannah did not experience or see any racial injustices and she did not care what race you were. I was just a kid. I never heard anything, racial slurs or slang or, you know, I never heard anything, NEVER! Once again, I questioned Hannah, "Never?" Once again Hannah responded quickly without pause and with emphasis, NEVER! I mean I was a happy go lucky kid. You know, walked to school, rode my bike, I didn't care what you were. I didn't care. But I mean, honestly I didn't, I can't say I didn't see color because I can't go back that far, but I didn't see my identity just being my color. The worst thing was if it was a boy, you know. I hated boys then.

However, Hannah did not hate boys. As she entered high school all of that changed. Hannah began to gain weight and she turned to boys and the band to camouflage her pain. *I was in the band. So I was the band girl. I did everything, eat, slept, I was marching band. I went into that. But I wanted to be with the boys. I never had a crush on a boy until I got to 10th grade I think. And I played flute and there was like 20 girls that played flute. And I'm like; you know I'm going to go play a different instrument so I can be with the boys. And so I did it. I went and played French horn so I could be with the boys.*

But I was very heavy when I was in high school. Very heavy. Um when I graduated high school, I was 240 pounds. So that was, I mean you know you wear a band uniform, you know you can hide. I hid, I did. I wasn't very comfortable and I think rejection from boys would have been the worst. So I made sure I treated boys almost like I was the pal. I became their pal so they wouldn't get to me first.

Her thoughts and focus were not on racial identity or injustices; she never experienced that. Hannah never saw anything or heard about anything that was unjust. She continually said her parents did not talk to her about racial issues. Her main focus was on her weight. *Nobody gave me the time of day. But I mean, I just, I hid my body. But I was outgoing. That was my way of connecting with people. I was the loud mouth of the group. You know, like when you feel uncomfortable, you just kind of...But, yeah, I was a good student; I was probably above average student. No, I never saw anybody picked on. I never saw anybody abused. I never saw fights.*

Almost as if she had to defend never experiencing racial issues, Hannah proclaimed: *Well, we're 25 miles from the Washington, DC border, I mean. So there are lots of different races everywhere around here. And I remember my dad's partner was Black. So, I mean*

when we go to the Policeman's picnic, you know, he's sipping beers with my dad. I mean, just, well?

Immediately Hannah reverted back to her story about her weight. After her decision to become a teacher, Hannah went to a community college for two years, but she had to come home because she was struggling with an eating disorder. Hannah became bulimic losing 50 pounds in one semester. While attending another college away from home, Hannah met her husband and got married.

HBCU Choice

After two children and 17 years later, Hannah and her family came to Winston-Salem. She chose to go to college at THE HBCU because of the evening and weekend program. She did not know it was an HBCU or what that meant. Hannah came to the HBCU because of the course offering schedule. For one semester Hannah attended class at night and all day on Saturdays. The program ended and Hannah had to attend class during the day like the other students.

At the time Hannah was a teacher assistant. With the urging and support of her principal, Hannah continued college and attended classes during the day as would a traditional student. However, Hannah was not a traditional student. She did not live on campus and she was not the traditional age college student.

During Matriculation at the HBCU

Hannah entered THE HBCU as a junior nontraditional student. Being a student at the HBCU: *It was intimidating at first. You know when you come into a classroom and nobody sits next to you? I don't know if it was just my age or unfamiliarity. I mean, most of these people had already been together their freshmen and sophomore years and I come in late to*

the game. So they had already formed those relationships in their first two years here. So I had to work at it harder. But the joke is when I walked into one class the first day of class; they all got quiet because they thought I was the professor.

Age was the reason Hannah felt the other students at the HBCU first looked at her as someone like a professor or a mother figure. *For the first evening and weekend program, there were a lot of White students. You know, most of them are professionals and they are re-joining the work force to do something different. But when I started coming during the day, whoa, you have to break into those kinds of relationships that were already formed. My age, I think a lot of them thought of me as a mother figure. I had a daughter almost the same age.*

As she began to meet new people, her relationships changed, and Hannah believed it had nothing to do with color. She believed that the reason why students at the HBCU did not sit with her in the beginning had nothing to do with the color of her skin. *And, you know, I might look different, but, you know, when you start having relationships, I was the first one that next semester they wanted to be in my group because they knew I did the work. For the first semester? I think it was not knowing, it didn't have anything to do with my color. They didn't say that. I think it was more just not knowing who I was.*

However, Hannah admitted that she did the same thing that the Black students did. Additionally, she said it was not conscious. *But you know what? Also too though, I did the same thing. Because I gravitated to the White students. So, our comfort level, you know. I did. I gravitated. Familiarity, comfort. Also too, they weren't young, young, just out of high school or 20 years old. So, I had an instant connection with them but you go to what's familiar. I mean, we're creatures of habit. And I mean, I don't even know if I did it consciously.*

HBCU Faculty Impact

The familiarity of being with other White female students at the HBCU did not stop Hannah from making new friends. Relationships were built because Hannah felt she had something to give the younger students. She started forming relationships when the students began to need her. *But I remember sitting in Dr. K's math class and she saw me with beads of sweat the first day I had in her class. And she's like, "you have math anxiety for one thing." So I think they had a bond with me then 'cause they said she's got a problem just like we do. And she said "I'll help you" and then everybody else wanted me to help them. So it was almost like that trickledown effect.*

Hannah began to take classes with the same group of students and relationships continued to grow. *But that was, I think I proved to myself, that I was one of them. That I had, I was not perfect. Because I think that perception was, "you have this 40 year old" or 38 at the time. I didn't know everything. I'm sure they were kind of resistant to come to me too, you know at first. "Why are you here," you know? So we kind of started having that trust.*

Trust was built on her feeling that she was the dependable one. Therefore, everyone wanted to be with her because of that. *And they knew which ones weren't pulling their weight. So they always wanted me to be in their group. I don't care what color you are, you come to class and you don't do your part of the work. And there were several who didn't. So I had to make connections, so they came to me.*

When describing her relationships with faculty at the HBCU, Hannah thought they saw her as a leader right away; a skill she did not think she had. *I was already a team leader. But he [the professor] was missing a class; he never missed a class. He wanted ME to*

facilitate the class, he wanted me to teach HIS class so that everybody would come. That was something to me. Um, but I think everybody always saw something in me that I didn't see in myself.

Leadership was a skill Hannah admired, and she felt you had to do your work to be a leader. She did not have patience with faculty or students who did not do what they said. That was the biggest problem Hannah had with the HBCU. *But I never had a negative experience other than professors cancelling class at the last minute. I would drive over here and they had cancelled class. Or my biggest "tick me off" here was I'm always supposed to be proactive in having my assignments ready to turn in on time and then the consensus was "oh we didn't have time to do it." And they would get more time. That was my biggest beef.*

This experience did not affect her interactions with one African American faculty, the author of this narrative. *But, I mean, the interactions with you, especially at the end when I was ready for my meltdowns, were the greatest of them all. You were there to celebrate the good things when I couldn't see them. It was the student teacher leader that I had the problem with. But it was the only one (with an African American female faculty) that I had. Well I don't know if she gave me a hard time. Well I guess you could say she gave me a hard time. But I just felt like I was being singled out because I was the only student teacher she had to supervise. I was the only one at that school and everyone else was with two or more people.*

But probably you, as you know, you were the glue that held us all together. But I mean, seriously, I think you were more for my psychiatric part, more than anything. You kept me grounded. Because I was in a bad place there for a while. Because it was just too much. And there was just so much going on. I had the support at home like you wouldn't

believe, but when you're working full time and coming here. I remember breaking down in your office and when I left here I felt so much better. It was like you took that stress away and it was like, it was going to be okay.

And then you walking over to Dr. Baugess with me that time just, I mean, just the support. You got it done for me to graduate and I don't know how you did it, you just went to him for me and got it done. Just you and he helped with that. You took me to him and just got it done for me. Like I said you believed in me and saw stuff in me I didn't see in myself.

HBCU Activities

Though Hannah wants more faculty at the HBCU that looks like her, as a White female student she did not attend any activities outside of class at the school. *I think as an adult learner, but also too, I didn't have time. I mean, there wasn't any opportunity for my type of situation, I mean I was rolling in here on my broomstick every day, you know, in and out. I remember Kayla one time asking if I was coming to homecoming. I said, for what? I don't own one [an HBCU T-Shirt]. I didn't have that connection on that, on the out of school activities, I didn't have a connection. I mean I don't make excuses for anything, but I mean, and it wasn't that I wasn't invited. I just didn't feel connected that way.*

HBCU Impact

The support of African American female faculty not only gave her the fortitude to finish college, but Hannah discovered something else. *I think coming here helped me to find my voice. I think I finally found my voice. But knowing that I found that I was intelligent and that I could run with the big dogs, you know? I found that I was an expressive writer. I could say what I wanted to say through words and no one would, they would appreciate who I was and never judge me for who I was. And I think the professors I had here gave me that power.*

But it took someone to see that and I think other people there, other professors saw something that I didn't see in myself and encouraged me to speak up.

Hannah celebrated her new voice. And that's what I did and just celebrate what I have. And that's what you always said, just celebrate what you have. You always can find something to celebrate, even in your darkest day. You celebrated me in your class and you saw something in me, so did the kids in there. And to actually be in that class and have other student teachers at that time and you said, okay we have to elect a leader and every last one of them looked at me. I became the president of the class, they chose me! And that was only my second semester here at Winston-Salem State. Talk about humility. I was so humbled. And I never would have thought that every last person in that room looked at me and it was such a humbling thing.

Her feelings about attending the HBCU changed positively as she continued to matriculate. And to walk through these halls and people knew my name. I mean, I wasn't a name when I first walked in here. I was a meek and mild person going, "oh my god, what have I done to go back to school." And by the time I left here, I was ready to roll.

Hannah was ready to begin teaching when she left. Her future ambitions even included coming back to teach at this HBCU. In this conversation, Hannah insinuated that other White females will attend the HBCU if they see some faculty who look just like them, White female faculty. My experience here was a catalyst to where I am professionally and where I am educationally. And I'm not done yet. Heck I might come back here and teach. Because you want students to come here, but we want our students to think of us (professors) as like them. We should look like them. If you want them to come here.

HBCU Impact

What impacted Hannah at the HBCU were the courses she took. She was beginning to make connections to the racial identity legacy of this HBCU and the injustices of which she had never seen before. It was the first experience that burst her bubble. *I took African American studies my first semester. That was eye-opening. My bubble was opened. I remember watching that movie, Amistad, and bawling my eyes out. I mean, seriously, my bubble was opened. 'Cause, I mean, I must have, I mean, I never even heard the name before. And I'm 38 years old, coming back to school and seeing this for the first time. And it was eye opening to read that text book and to see a part of history that I had never been exposed to.*

Hannah had not experienced the racial injustices she learned about in her course work at the HBCU. Her family did not talk about injustices, and Hannah did not indicate that such was discussed anywhere else in her life. When approached about her definition of social justice, Hannah read her definition from a paper she wrote later in a graduate course. *You know, I told you I had to dig deep into it when I took this diversity class. The professor wanted us to come out of our shells. So my definition was, there are differences in our skin color, religion, culture, language, sexual orientation and socioeconomic status, but we all share common needs. We are all human beings that deserve respect and the right to freedom and happiness.*

Another assignment Hannah completed in graduates school involved her having a 'minority experience'. She describes what happened as "when in Rome, do what the Romans do" even if it is uncomfortable. *So I went and I sat in places that I normally wouldn't. I had to go somewhere I was the minority. I did a minority experience. And I went to the Winston*

Lake Y [YMCA in the Black community]. And I walked in, and it was just like, everybody is looking at me like, who's this chick? You know? And it was just like, but immediately they came up because they knew I didn't know where I was going. You know? You have that puzzled look. And it's not because I was just White and they're not.

Well, we were told to take things that would, could be an experience when we went, so I took a swim suit, I took a workout outfit, I took everything so I would immerse myself. Well, I saw the pool first. I was like; I'm going to go swimming. Well, I went into the locker room and I'm Ms. Conservative, you know that. Well, I have never seen so much flesh in my life. But it was just like I would ... You know, when in Rome. So I did it too. And you know what? They probably were like, didn't think anything of it, of me being in there naked like they were. And it wasn't because I was a White woman standing up in there naked. But they kind of like just took, took me in. And so I had the, I had a fabulous minority experience. I wanted to immerse myself. But I, I was welcomed. And it was just like everybody thought they were beautiful in there. And it was just like, I can do that too. So I stripped down to nothing. I mean, I mean you know, we're, we're the ones that are jumping into the curtains. They didn't have curtains. And they didn't care. And you know I had, I went in and I went swimming with these women, and they made sure I was okay and I wish that they would have made me do that at Winston-Salem State.

Hannah wanted to be immersed in this new experience as a minority. She compared it to attending the HBCU, and she saw her matriculation as a conscious experience she chose to have. Being a White student at this University made me have a minority experience. I had a conscious minority experience. Because it's a minority experience to come to school here. But I had one that was thought provoking. And so when I was at Winston-Salem State, I felt

like a minority in the beginning like I said. I went with what was familiar, I mean I stuck with the White girls. But then, after a few months I didn't feel like that.

Something influenced her goal to teach at the HBCU that happened at the end of Hannah's first semester there. *The first semester I came in January of 2008, and, um, it was the fall. You know, I was not in college for what, 17 years. And, but then it was that class I took with you. I took two classes with you that summer. We took both classes over at a Black church in the city. You remember you set up our field experience there. And it was just like, you know, I would talk to myself, did I really make the right decision to come back to school and to come here, you know? But then after that summer with you; I learned so much. I was so accepted.*

You had us put what we learned into practice. But it's like it was reinforcement that I had made the right decision. You celebrated me for who I was. I was this 38-year-old student that was like, oh my gosh, coming back ...You know, still timid as could be. And by the end of that course that summer, I was ready to walk on fire.

As a Black female faculty, it was very important to provide Hannah and other students opportunities to work with students of all racial backgrounds. During that summer Hannah experienced a Black, Baptist Church for the first time. The church had a summer camp for children from pre-kindergarten through tenth grade. The church faculty allowed students from the HBCU to do summer internships and course field experiences there. For one class that met at the church, the final exam was a graduation program for the parents. Hannah was the president of the class. She brought her husband and son to the program that night. *I wasn't really sure about bringing them at first, but then I wanted them to see the work I had done and all the people who believed that I could be the leader of something like*

this. The children did their class songs and when they did their class dance at the finale, and remember my son being there that graduation night, and we had that church filled to capacity.

And my White family [was sitting] on the back row ...And my son is going to town , dancing and clapping with everyone. And wanting to know why our Catholic church couldn't have a praise band. And we, they were in the back, and my son was just having a ball. There was this lady that just came and took my son, and she was a Black lady and she had this hat on and everything and she was dancing with my son. That was in summer 2009 and my son and I still talk about that now. Me and my family felt so welcomed there.

Being the president and being at the Black church was very impactful for Hannah. I was out of my bubble and in my element more than I ever knew. It was like my family hadn't done anything like that before and it was like I hadn't done anything like that before, either. It was like, I can do this; I am going to graduate and I'm going to be OK. What you've given me could instantaneously be put in my classroom. It, its practical teaching that you can just do it and you could fit it to the needs of your own teaching.

After Matriculation at the HBCU

Being at this HBCU for two years helped prepare Hannah for her classroom. She saw it as the experience that brought her out of her bubble. This school prepared me for the students I was going to teach. I don't teach all White students. I teach a handful of White students. So I think the exposure, I guess prepared me for teaching. The exposure to Black students I mean. And, and that there are differences, you know, in people? It, it encouraged me to look outside that bubble. Like I told you, I found my, my voice, but it made me look outside that bubble of me and my nuclear family and my friends that are all White.

Almost instantly Hannah describes her bubble as a White bubble. *It's like my White bubble. All of us are inside. Okay? With me inside and everyone else all around me. Until I came here, I didn't step outside of that bubble. Like I said, it was comfortable. I didn't have to think about it at all. There were no questions, I had no questions about anything because I didn't even know, I didn't experience what you described. I was in my White bubble.*

Now that Hannah is out of the bubble, she feels that doors are opening for her. *That bubble opened slowly, but now it's floating like crazy. I finished one degree and now I've got accepted at Duke for another one. It's like I know what I want to do when I grow up. I'm not finished, yet. When I came out of the bubble, it was like I woke up from a dead sleep. And I said to my husband and my students, I want to be a college professor when I grow up. If there is ever any opportunity, I want to come here.*

Hannah ended her story with affirmation of what impacted her the most in developing a social justice disposition. *I think I developed this social justice way of seeing things, I think it is a combination of everything. There's you at this school (the HBCU) and there's family life and there's your community life. All these things are parts of a puzzle. I compared my teaching or my growth as a teacher like molding clay. I'm constantly molding and growing and adding more clay. I just started with my family and community and added the clay you gave me and adding the clay every time or every year I teach.*

Here's my bubble and I popped it and got out. I'm ready for anything now!

Chapter V: Discussions

Introduction

In this chapter, I use the research findings to present a review of the themes that emerged in the inquiry. Revisiting the question that guided the study, I include discussions of the themes and sub-themes that were discovered. Data is reported in sections identified as before matriculation at the HBCU, during matriculation at the HBCU, and after matriculation at the HBCU with supportive data from the three White female participants quoted and data from my autoethnography included with each theme. The chart in Appendix E shows a comparison of the parallels between the participants and me after we completed the interview categories. Visually, the categories and themes emerged. I conclude the chapter with a summary and analysis of the findings.

Review of Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this proposed research was to learn how matriculation at one HBCU impacted White female education graduates as they developed social justice dispositions to teach all students. The following question guided my research: *What is the relational and institutional impact of the HBCU on White female education graduates' social justice dispositions for teaching?*

Before Matriculation at the HBCU

Parental Influence on Racial Socialization and Awareness

As youths, the participants lived with both parents, mother and father, in spacious homes and in segregated communities. They considered themselves to be middle class or upper middle class families. How participants socialized with other races different from their own and with whom they socialized were directly influenced by their parents, and particularly by the fathers in the home.

For example, as the provider and moral guide in Elizabeth's family, her father taught her to give her best effort, and she would be able to handle any situation with an expected reward for her efforts no matter what racial issues occurred. According to Elizabeth, her father and mother sheltered her from racial issues by never discussing or explaining anything she saw in childhood. Elizabeth explained:

My dad was all about excellence. My dad was all about perfection. That's where I get my drive. You don't half ass anything, you do it right the first time. You give a 110% the first time so if it doesn't work out, you know you have done the best you possibly can. That has been drilled into me. In everything you do.

Even when she saw a cross burning, Elizabeth described her family as a classic White family who did not talk about race. Her father only gave a one sentence response when Elizabeth was with her father and they both saw a cross burning in someone's yard. She recalls:

And he said they're just not wanting somebody to move in there. And that was kind of the end of that conversation. We didn't talk about it anymore.

Therefore, her father limited Elizabeth's learning about her own race as well as how her race relates to something as impactful as seeing a cross burning.

Elizabeth's parents allowed her to socialize with children of other races, but there were limitations; for example, Elizabeth could not go and stay with her friends. She recounts:

I had a really good friend that was mixed. She actually lived in the projects. I can remember my mom driving there, it was day time, to her family's place. My mom always went to pick her up. She would stay overnight with me. Now I could not stay there, my parents wouldn't let me. Just because it wouldn't be safe!

Contradictory to Elizabeth's report of her parents' Christian, "treat everybody right values", when Elizabeth married her high school sweetheart, her parents were not pleased with her choice. She remembers:

My husband came from (downtown); his family lived down in C'town. My husband's family was Italian. My husband has a lot darker skin and so my parents had a fit.

Her father did not see him as fit for her to marry because he was different. Her husband's mother was a hair dresser; his dad was a truck driver and they were divorced. Her husband grew up in a very populated Black area downtown with other cultures and Elizabeth's father did not think her husband was good enough for her. As she reported her father never said it was because of where her husband lived or that it had anything to do with race.

Disturbingly different from Elizabeth, Natasha's father played a distinct role in her racial development. He was adamant about Natasha following his beliefs that she only associate with White, Christian, Republicans and he even limited his list to White males. He denied her tuition to the all Black university from which she graduated. Constantly screaming and yelling the 'n word' in his conversations with her and the rest of their family, he left no question of how he felt about any race or culture outside of his own. Natasha says:

My dad says that red birds are smart enough to only stay with red birds; you should be smart enough to only stay with White people. Their brain is this big, your brain is this big, and you should be smarter. And I think, maybe that's the opposite, maybe my brain is this big because I'm supposed to be smart enough to understand that different is OK.

For Hannah, her father was also perfect and he would never say anything about race or the friend she called “colored.” Hannah says:

Dad could do anything and he could do no wrong in my eyes. I had a very good relationship with my dad growing up. I think I didn't have anyone colored in my classes until one came in 3rd grade. I remember her braiding my hair, and my mom's face looked shocked and surprised, but she never said anything. And my mom and dad would have never said anything about race or things like that. You know my dad was a police officer so he was exposed to everything. My mom always said she ran an orphanage, so everyone came to my house. And I never went to play anybody else's house or spend the night. No I never went to my friend's house.

In my story, my father and mother always talked with me about how to socialize with my friends in our segregated community; they were as protective of us as any parent would be. Daddy was sure to remind me of my goals and how to carry myself as a young lady living in our segregated world. As a young child, there were many Jim Crow laws and unspoken expectations of Negro men, women, and children. We did not have White friends and I did not play with children of other races or socialize with White peers until my senior year in college.

Both my parents prepared me to survive in the White world. They both explained the cautions I needed to take as I ventured out after the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The legislation outlawed discrimination based on race and it ended unequal voter registration practices, racial discrimination in schools, the workplace, and in facilities that served the general public. Though these laws ended segregation in many ways, I experienced that it was not immediately accepted nor policed. I had to learn a double consciousness to survive the limitations and ‘my place’ as a Negro child.

Segregated Worlds

Even in the post-Civil Rights years during the mid 1970s, the participants in this research all went to predominately White elementary schools and lived in all White communities exclusively. In elementary school they even had all White teachers. Some integration occurred in middle and high school. Though as White citizens, they could choose to go to any school they wanted, their parents deliberately chose for them to stay in their all White middle class communities. As Hannah voiced, “Where you lived is where you got to go to school.”

Both Hannah’s and Natasha’s fathers made deliberate plans to keep them in all White schools and communities. When they were assigned to schools with more students of other races, their fathers changed their assignments in very deliberate ways, emphasizing another way fathers impacted the racial socialization of the participants. Hannah reports:

My dad was involved in politics back then on a county level as a school board member. So I went to a different school than the other children who lived in my neighborhood because Dad took the 60 houses and he kind of (re)zoned us to different schools. So we got to go to the brand new schools with the kids we wanted

to be with. When the assignments came in we were like how did this happen” And Dad just said, “I took care of it!”

Natasha loved her elementary school because she wanted to be with someone else that was different from her family; she wanted to be with Black students. Natasha attended an elementary school in the inner city, a school bus ride away from her rural community, though her father drove her every day. Natasha recalls:

And then my dad said there were too many Black people at my school and my dad almost had a heart attack. And so, he built a new house. And so we moved, in the fifth grade, my last year there in a school I loved. I walked to school the first day down the street from the house my dad built to make me go. It was all White like he wanted.

Even with little to no exposure to African Americans in her community, Elizabeth’s family allowed her to go to schools assigned to her community. She attended middle and high school with other races. However, she describes her community as deliberately segregated by labels of ‘uptown’ and ‘downtown.’ Elizabeth, her younger sister, mother and father lived uptown in an upper middle class community of all White neighbors. Housing for Whites and Blacks were totally separate and so were the schools. Looking back, Elizabeth describes her educational experiences:

Totally separate houses. I walked to my elementary school. My whole elementary school growing up, there wasn’t one Black student. So K-6 grades I’d never been around any Black people. I went to junior high downtown and you had Black and White, so it was my first experience kind of being with Black kids like that. Cause

downtown was where the Black people lived. If we lived five more miles up the road, I would have been assigned to an all White school uptown.

In my small, all Black community, there were no other races and only one elementary, one middle, and one high school for Black students. When I arrived at the elementary school door in 1957, the landmark Supreme Court decision of Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka (1954) had already declared separate public schools for Black and White students unconstitutional. Prior to the decision, segregation was law. Schools and communities were deliberately planned and organized to be separated by race. We had no choice. Given the historical underpinnings of our arrival in America, I was afraid to assimilate and I did not welcome what would happen if I tried. Therefore, I never went to an integrated school. Even after laws changed, very few White citizens accepted the new law and very few things really changed.

Conscious and Unconscious Knowing

As they discovered their racial selves before the participants entered the HBCU, the major theme of their lived experiences centered on what I call their levels of consciousness or unconsciousness of race. Their consciousness levels manifested in many ways.

Elizabeth was aware of the racial make-up of her community, she reports:

We had a classic White family, your ol nuclear family. The area we grew up in West Virginia is very segregated even til this day. Where my family lives there are no Black people at all. When I was growing up there was prejudice.

She knew how her grandparents impacted her life as well, but even they did not talk to Elizabeth about racial issues; they were a part of the prejudices in the community. Elizabeth explained:

Each generation has really progressed from the mindset back then because I think my grandparents would probably be classified as prejudice. I never heard them say that, but I know how they were.

Elizabeth was conscious of her family prejudices, but unconscious of what it all meant; her family never talked about racial issues and they never explained anything even when she saw racial injustices.

Yet, Elizabeth insisted that her Christian parents would never say anything negatively or that appeared to be prejudice. Elizabeth recalls:

I heard some of the parents of my friends use the “N” word. My parents never did, that would be beneath my parents to speak that way, not in front of me or in public.

Elizabeth did notice difference. At four years old, she pointed to a Black man in the grocery store and told her mother he needed a bath because he looked dirty. She remembered it clearly and the embarrassment it caused her mother as others looked and listened when the Black man said it was okay and he quietly walked away. Now Elizabeth is clear she recognized the color of his skin, not what he was wearing; but at that age she was not conscious it was because he was a Black man.

Even though she noticed the difference in the color of this man’s skin, Elizabeth never identified herself as White when she was growing up. She said:

No I really didn’t. Maybe it was because I wasn’t around other African American people, they weren’t in my neighborhood. You know, just being White in one way you take that for granted because it is all I know, it is my skin.

Elizabeth did not see the color of her skin because her parents never talked about them being White or that the color of her skin was considered White in America. They never

talked about what that meant even though she recognized the man in the store had a different color skin than hers. Her level of consciousness was not elevated by her parents. She was taught that all you had to do was treat everybody right. Elizabeth continues:

I was raised in a Christian home where people treat people right; we were kind, generous, helpful and respectful. All of those things were instilled in me, but race was never talked about in my house. There was never a mention of how to treat Black people, Chinese, Philipinne or whatever.

Before entering the HBCU, Elizabeth was not aware of what she would need to teach her students. She continued to say it was because she was White that she did not know, and she said did not think about race in this way until she participated in this research inquiry.

Elizabeth explains:

Because, again, I'm White. I've seen everything White my whole life. I never knew the limits you talk about. I've never been told you can't do this, or you can't have that or you can't go this place. I've always been empowered and now I know it was probably because I am White.

Conversely to Elizabeth, Natasha said she always knew she was White. Natasha says:

I grew up White and rich. I went to school with all rich, White people. I don't know when I first knew I was White. I think it was always there because my mom and dad were so serious about this White thing.

Her father declared his beliefs about race, sexual orientation, politics, and gender. Her uncle was a White supremacist, and her mother and grandmother shared their beliefs. Her adult family would not allow her Black friends to come to the house or sleep in their beds, and Natasha had to hide her Black boyfriend from her family. Natasha's grandmother told a story

about wanting to hug a Black woman on the courthouse square. Even though the Black woman, her grandmother's cook, was good to her grandmother, Natasha learned a White woman was not supposed to be seen with her Black help (maid), much less hug her in public. From this story Natasha learned she was White before she even entered kindergarten.

Ironically, given the expressed beliefs of her family members, Natasha believed her father and grandmother when they gave an explanation about a cross burning. As a young child about four years old, Natasha saw the cross burning when she was visiting her grandmother's house. Her grandmother told her someone burned the cross in the yard because the man was not taking care of his family and the man was being unfaithful to his wife. More surprising was Natasha's response in the present. She said:

Kind of cool. I mean they weren't there because they were Black or White, it wasn't a Black or White issue; it was because he was running around.

It was surprising that Natasha was conscious that a cross burning meant something racially negative, but she was unconscious that White men rarely burn a cross in someone's yard because they have been unfaithful to a spouse.

Extremely different from the other participants, Hannah said she never saw anything regarding racial issues or injustices. When questioned about the word 'never', Hannah quickly responded and repeated her answer. The litany of her responses is valuable to see and hear. These responses were compiled from her interview conversations and were not spoken all at once. Hannah said without hesitancy:

- And I never went to play at anybody else's house or spend the night.
- No, I never went to my colored friend's house.
- Never saw racial tension at all.

- But I didn't see difference; never did see anything anybody did that showed difference, never.
- No there was never a feeling of White or Whiteness.
- Never heard the word Whiteness until I went to grad school. Never did see anything.
- I never heard anything, racial slurs or slang or anything. I never saw anybody picked on. I never saw anybody abused.
- I never saw fights.
- Never! No, never!

Hannah continually reinforced her unconsciousness of racial issue. Blaming her lack of awareness on her being a happy, go lucky child, Hannah affirmed:

Didn't care what you were. I can't say I didn't see color, but I didn't see my identity just being my color.

Her thoughts and focus were not on her racial identity development, but more on her appearance. When we talked about appearance being a social justice issue, Hannah wanted to talk about that, but had no experiences to share about injustices. Unconscious of race, particularly her own Whiteness, Hannah said she never talked with her parents about race and her parents would never say anything negatively about race either. She and her parents were very accepting of everybody, so she had no conscious awareness of any injustices before she attended the HBCU.

Before I attended the HBCU, I was not only aware of my identity as a Negro, Black, young woman, I was very aware that there were White men, women, and children who were different from me. Oppressive actions and discrimination were my experiences with White

store owners, 'White only' signs in public facilities, and places where I was not welcomed because of the color of my skin. How I approached these issues had everything to do with how my parents prepared me for these kinds of injustices. My parents exposed me to everything possible to prepare me for success in their world. Mommy and Daddy taught me to be articulate and to understand how our communities were dominated by the rules and laws of the dominant race of White men. Fully conscious, I learned from my parents, mostly through their modeling, that I had to understand through the eyes of a White person what they might expect of me as a young Black woman. I learned when to speak and how to speak. I learned how to dress and how to present myself in what Daddy said must be "in a classy way". He taught me to take what I had and "make it look like a million dollars if I only had a dime", he said.

Color Blind Rhetoric

Bonilla-Silva (2014) says the new racism is characterized by color blind rhetoric and blaming the other. In comparison to when I was growing up, the rhetoric and excuses for subtle racists remarks today have not changed. When I was growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, I heard White men and women talk to Negroes directly and without hesitation. Equally, without hesitation, Negro men, women, and children humbled themselves not to respond or react. Derogatory White racial talk was not just racial slurs; they were overt and deliberate, leaving no room for question. As it is now, and as it was then, not all Whites addressed my family and I with such disrespect, but we knew who they were and we knew who would.

I remember my parents talking about some of the things that happened to them at work where they were employed by White men. As young children, and in my generation, children were not allowed to be in 'grown folk's conversations.' You went outside to play or

vacated to another room when adults were talking. Therefore, I never heard my parents or grandparents say racial names or joke about the White race. My mother was adamant that the word “nigger” was not used in her house and it was not used to greet another Negro person there. The word was very offensive to our race. I could tell by the way I saw my Daddy react when he was called that. Again, he could not respond the consequence was too great, but the look on his face screamed his suppressed emotions.

As a young girl, I could not speak of being color blind to the White race nor could I boast of having White friends as a demonstration of acceptance of the White race. My parents would welcome them to our home, but no Whites came. I knew who a White person was and what being White meant to me. My parents felt I had to know, so they taught me about both sides, the Negro side and the White side of racial issues two different worlds.

Clearly, I remember hearing my Daddy talking to my godfather about the repercussions Mr. Smith received at work because he helped our family in a time of crisis. My Mommy has a rare blood type and he gave her blood when there was no other supply available. We were grateful for his generosity, but I did not know if it was because he was color blind to her being a Negro or if was genuinely valuing the life of another human being regardless of the color of her skin. After all, it was the late 1950s.

In 1968, when Daddy died on the steps of our home, from then on, I became far more cautious of how I might be treated by someone who was White. It appeared to me that my safe segregated world was invaded and I had to watch and prepare myself for what a person with White skin color was going to do. Civil rights laws were being signed, but it appeared to me that nothing was changing from the pre-civil rights times.

It was after the civil rights era when the participants of this inquiry were growing up. Both the participants and their parents were beginning to avoid using harsh language about Blacks and publically denouncing them in any way. Throughout the interviews, participants sprinkled their responses with disclaimers, excuses, or explanations of their experiences with racial interactions. Most of their talk about race revealed how they avoided discussing and deliberately exploring their racial identity. Until they were posed with the questions in this research inquiry, participants report they did not spend much time thinking about race or how race impacted their teaching. They knew they were teaching other races, but did not think about the implications of a social justice disposition for teaching their students; all they had to do was ‘do the right thing.’ Elizabeth hesitated often in her responses; she said:

I really don’t know how to word this. I was White and I never experienced that prejudice before. Just being White you take that for granted. Is it right or wrong to ignore your color? I did not see your color until you honed in on it since we’ve been talking about it so much.

Natasha got used to hearing the “n-word,” queer, or faggot in her house and resigned herself to it all. So she rebelled and chose Black friends solely because of the color of their skin. Natasha proclaimed:

That was just the way it was, so I can just ignore it, ignore them all. My best friend in high school, one of my best friends, was Black. I had a lot of Black friends.

Both Natasha and Elizabeth had Black friends in high school. Both were quick to say they were different and blind to color because they had a lot of friends that were Black, even one guy that was Iranian. Elizabeth boasts: “I was very eclectic; I never had, just had White friends any more, that’s really what changed me”. She was different from her peers in their

middle- class White social group who only had White friends. For these participants this was an indication of their color blindness, something they considered to be a positive recognition of their racial identity.

Hannah was so color blind she reported never seeing anything unusual with racial issues, injustice, oppression or discrimination the whole time she was growing up. Her responses were filled with rhetorical statements. Hannah said:

I was just a happy, go lucky kid. After all, one of Dad's partners was Black and they drank beer together at the police picnics. My Dad was a policeman so he was around a lot of people.

She was the only participant who got so comfortable in the interviews she did not realize she described her one Black friend in elementary school as a "colored" girl. No participants used the term "nigger" or "Negro" as if to avoid offensive, pre-civil rights terminology. With the exception of Natasha, who heard such conversations daily, the other participants heard other people say the word, but their parents never used those words in front of them.

To excuse her choice of friends when entering the HBCU, Hannah said she did the same thing Black students did. Hannah explains:

Because I gravitated to the White students; our comfort level, you know.

Familiarity, comfort. So I had an instant connection with them but you go to what's familiar to you.

With more color blind rhetoric as described by Bonilla-Silva (2014), Hannah declared the only problem she had with instructors and students was they did not work hard enough. She saw herself as the only one who completed her work on time, and she was irritated with instructors who allowed students to have a few more days on an assignment. Hannah did not

recognize nor acknowledge the number of students who were prepared. She spoke as if ‘all’ Black students came to class unprepared; characterizing all Blacks the same as the result of the actions of just a few. Hannah believed Black students wanted to be in her group because she got her work done and because instructors saw her as a leader who came to class prepared. Contradictory to her irritation, Hannah saw her leadership there as the reason why she came out her bubble, because everyone saw something in her that she did not see in herself.

Silence to Cope

As the participants and I were growing up, no matter what the year or generation, silence was a way to cope with our lived experiences with race and racial injustices. As I walked with my grandfather through the streets of a downtown city in North Carolina, even from the other side of the street, I watched him lower his head as he passed Whites. Gripping my hand tightly he did not say a word as we walked. I heard my parents complain to each other about certain mistreatment. Consequently, just like going shopping, there was nowhere and no one to report abuses like someone following you through a store if you were Black.

As a young adult and a teacher intern, there was nowhere or no one to appeal my first cooperating teacher’s actions. Whatever she did or said to me was accepted, and so I did not question. In my first teaching assignment, the Black teachers told me not to complain because the White teachers did not speak to us in the hall. That was just the way it was. So I was silent and I did as I was told. Arriving as the first elementary assistant principal my White male principal ever had, he told me if he said anything prejudice, it was because he was. So I remained silent and did what he said because I was a brand new assistant principal who wanted to keep her brand new job. Even finding a cross burned at my office window

when I arrived, I remained quiet about it out of a learned fear and the memory of seeing a burnt soul hanging from a tree.

In 1968, the death of my Father was the greatest instance of silence in my life. Though I questioned the adults around me who seemed to understand, I was told to be silent and to remember my Father as he was. So I obeyed and the silence birthed more questions and more reason to explore the *why* of racial injustices. I did what I was told, I remained silent. Silence was a way to remain safe in the pre and post-civil rights years.

As I explored the lived experiences of the participants, Natasha also remained silent when her father spewed his feeling out loud. Until her own two boys got older, she did not challenge her father even when it bothered her emotionally. Natasha said:

I mean, that's who he is as a person, and I don't want to change anybody as a person. If you're going to be that combative about it, I'm not even going to argue mine. Why should I? They aren't going to listen to me any way. It gets on my nerves, but I really don't care what they think.

She got so used to the way 'it was' that Natasha felt her father would not listen to her anyway, so she just moved on without challenging his views. Contradictory to what she said she believed, she did not tell her father or family how she felt until her own sons began to question who 'brown' people were. Natasha describes her reason for ignoring her father:

I can't fix people, so I just let dad and those guy have their say. Doesn't bother me, cause I don't care what they say.

Natasha remained silent to their racial ranting, coping with it all.

Silence was a strategy both Elizabeth and Hannah's parents chose in raising their daughters. It was not apparent if it was a way their parents chose to cope with racial

injustices for themselves; however, it was a way they chose to protect their daughters. Never talking about a cross burning and never talking about their own prejudices kept opportunities for conscious awareness of others' injustices illusive.

During Matriculation at the HBCU

The Conscious and Unconscious Knowing about the HBCU

I entered the HBCU from a segregated world, having never attended an integrated school setting. Being there only enhanced my pride and knowledge of my own race. The University was an extension of my mother; it became my new parent that would take me into adulthood and prepare me for the integrated world I had not known. Straight out of high school, my mother brought me to what I already knew was an all Black college, with all Black students and campus activities I knew were just for me. When I entered this safe cocoon, I explored everything there. It was important for me to participate in everything I could and to absorb it all to my advantage. It was a safe cocoon for me to grow, and my mother felt secure in leaving me there to my new parents' nurturing.

Becoming a teacher was what I had practiced in many ways before attending this HBCU. I knew I wanted to be a teacher. My high school teachers talked with us about college choices. They helped us research different schools, as the counselor and my mother also did the same. I applied to all Black colleges, all HBCUs, to extend the comfort of my lived experiences. I was fearful of attending a predominantly White university; my father died only two years prior to my entering in 1970. Fears and race were still an issue for me. Jim Crow laws were beginning to be wiped off of the books, yet there were still many overt instances of discrimination. I knew where I was attending and that it was a HBCU. I also

knew from researching schools that it was recognized for its excellent preparation of Black elementary teachers.

Aware that the HBCU they had chosen was a Black University with a majority Black student population, none of the three participants knew what the letters *HBCU* represented; nor did they know what it meant historically. None reported researching the history of the school. Natasha was the only one who made the decision to attend based on the fact it was an all Black University, and even she did not know the legacy and the struggle to educate Black students. She chose the HBCU to see the other side that was certainly different from her rich, White family and from her father's negative descriptions of a Negro. Contrary to my decision, Natasha did not choose the HBCU for preparation to become an elementary teacher; she began as a molecular biology major and decided that was not what she wanted to do. Later, Natasha became an elementary education major. She said, "Yes I went for all the wrong reasons, but it helped me get away and see something different."

The other two participants chose the HBCU for different reasons. After many years returning back as a nontraditional student, Elizabeth wanted to major in education and she wanted a small class size. She did her homework also, researching that the HBCU would prepare her to be an elementary teacher. Hannah chose to attend because she worked during the day as a middle school teacher assistant and she needed to attend the evening and weekend program. Neither knew what the letters *HBCU* meant; however, they did know it was a majority Black school. Elizabeth received comments from her White family and friends about attending a Black school where there were not many people who looked like her.

All three were conscious of the HBCU being majority Black, but they were unconscious of the historical legacy and its social justice advocacy for African Americans. When they first entered the HBCU, they became minority. They experienced a few looks the participants described as looks of why are you here; don't you know this is a Black school? However, they did not experience any instances of racial injustices or overt acts of discrimination because of the color of their skin.

Natasha was the only one who got more than just looks. In one class she described an encounter with students that practiced the Nation of Islam who were very vocal that she should not be there. Boldly Natasha said what she thought; that she had as much right to be there as anyone. She stood up to them. She said if she could listen to all her father talked about every day, she could stand up to anyone.

HBCU Faculty Impact

All three participants and I found HBCU faculty relationships to be supportive and caring. It is the most prominent HBCU influence of understanding and seeing others different from ourselves in this research inquiry. The White female participants found African American faculty to be most supportive noting that participants only had one or two other White female faculty during their matriculation. Natasha reported feeling comfortable about going to African American faculty like me, though she spent more time with a Black female peer who was assigned to her same student teaching site. Because she was an older nontraditional student, Elizabeth felt she established friendships with Black female faculty that she would never forget. Hannah echoed their sentiments. I taught all three participants and am the subject of their comments below about support and caring.

With immediate acknowledgements of the impact of the HBCU's African American faculty, all three responded affirmatively to the question would they attend the HBCU again. Black female faculty support was the dominate reason for the positive response. Elizabeth exclaims:

The HBCU's African American professors and their attitudes towards teaching students are better than I have ever seen. I felt you cared about me beyond being your student, you cared about ME.

Natasha repeats:

You were always there for me. That is why I knew I could call you when the house fire happened.

Hannah said:

The interactions with you were the greatest of them all there. You were the glue that held us all together. You kept me grounded.

Elizabeth insisted my support and caring had nothing to do with her being White:

It was because we had established ourselves as students who were hard working and determined. That is why you would do anything for your students, she surmised; you're going to bend over backwards to help them help themselves. You're looking for excellence and you helped us get there!

Of significance is that my caring and support was intense and sincere. The participants knew how I felt about them and their success. Yet, I did not realize I did not give them what my White female faculty mentor gave me; I did not talk with them about how they felt about teaching Black students and other students of color. I made sure they would be successful in the classroom by teaching them the basic knowledge and skills they needed to

teach, but I did not talk to them about what it would be like to be a White female teaching African American students and other students of color, or how to work with their parents and the cultures they bring with them.

With certainty, I looked for ways to propel my students to the highest levels of excellence. It is something my Black female teachers in high school and at the HBCU taught me. I too experienced the caring and support of Black female faculty at the same HBCU. However, it was a White female faculty that educated me about refracting my lens to see another side of what White people were like. She began to model what it looked like to question White supremacy and she talked to me about what I was experiencing in my first White classroom as a teacher intern. Though Black female faculty modeled how I must present myself in the White world, it was my White female faculty, Dr. JB, that made the personal connection with me as an influence on my social justice disposition. She was deliberate in her modeling and her conversations, boldly explaining to me what I was experiencing and telling me what to expect. I listened with great intent; she was a White woman telling me what I could expect from her White world. I was a skinny, Black female that just thought if I presented myself as I had been groomed, I would survive. But Dr. JB told me the truth that it would take more; I had to understand it through the eyes of a White woman. During their matriculation at this HBCU, White female elementary education majors did not have conversations with African American female faculty about their preparation to teach African American students.

HBCU Institutional Impact

Being a part of the HBCU experience was phenomenal for me. I lived on campus and had the opportunity to build relationships with other African American young men and

women, and I also had the opportunity to grow into adulthood with the people I wanted to be with the most, my own race. Though I participated in every activity I was afforded, none of the three participants attended any other activities except their admittance ceremony into the education program. All three voiced being a mother and wife with a home as the reason why they only came to campus for class and left immediately after. They did not use the campus library or visit the Student Union namely because they were adult nontraditional students. Therefore, there was little opportunity to learn about the African American culture from African American students; there were other African American nontraditional students their age who attended school as well. Yet, the participants did not realize the impact of this HBCU on their social justice disposition development until they participated in this research inquiry. To get back at him, Natasha attended the HBCU in rebellion against her father's beliefs and because it was a majority African American school. Declaring her independence was paramount for her, yet, she did learn some things from her matriculation. Natasha said:

It did give me that perspective of other people. Seeing things from other people's perspective was the most important thing for me about being there; understanding that people really are treated differently, because of their color.

Natasha's field experience assignment at an all African American alternative school gave her the impetus to teach. She found students of poverty, poor academic performance, and predominantly African American males with only two Whites in the school. Natasha was sure the students just wanted somebody to care about them and that is what Natasha said she wanted to do as a teacher. She wanted to work with students that needed her.

One additional issue that impacted Natasha was also an issue she could possibly face in the classroom, children who are obese or overweight. Natasha gained weight after the birth

of her children and during her matriculation at the HBCU. She was surprised that weight was also a social justice issue related to acceptance of appearance. She was appreciative of African American students at this HBCU accepting her without judgment about her weight. When asked if she was treated differently, not at the HBCU, but in her family, she gave a quick affirmative. So it was eye opening for Natasha to be at the HBCU. From this acceptance, Natasha began to see racial injustices. Natasha said:

When you see it at first, you don't get it as a White person. But then, when you hear it from your friends at the HBCU, when you go to class and you have those kinds of conversations about race and slavery and stuff. Oh, they really are treated that way. So, it was eye opening that I could hear their perspective for a change, and not my dad's.

During her matriculation at the HBCU, Hannah experienced the same type of revelations from a field experience assignment. Hannah was assigned to do a case study at an all Black Baptist Church that had a summer camp program. Reluctantly, she invited her young son and her husband to the finale parent program. They all experienced the culture of dance and music of a worship service at a Black Baptist church. They felt out of their element because they had never experienced this Black culture before. To her surprise as she describes the experience, Hannah and her family felt welcomed and they had a great time singing and dancing with other Black folks; so much so that her son still talks about it now, five years later. Yet, I was surprised of the way Hannah voiced the impact on her. Hannah said:

I was finally out of my bubble and in my element more than I ever knew. It was like, I can do this. I'm going to be okay.

Hannah was referring to how she characterized herself when she first entered the HBCU as shy and having feelings of insecurity because of her weight. Not aware of being a White female at a HBCU, Hannah was amazed that everyone saw her as smart, someone who could do her course assignments, and someone who could be a leader. Hannah felt like she was finally coming out of her bubble and she could do anything now with confidence including teaching. Again, Hannah made no comments about race or the students she was going to teach. She felt excepted by the students at the HBCU regardless of her weight.

Elizabeth talked about her story from her field experiences and writing diversity papers. Here is what she said about being White:

I've always been White and didn't think about things like this. It opened my eyes.

After you've been immersed in the African American culture, repeat, immersed, at this school, you learn different things and you see things differently, too. I would not be at this level if I had not been at the HBCU and now I know if I hadn't answered these questions.

Elizabeth continuously repeated what she had learned and her reflections as a result of participating in this research project. At different intervals in the interview, Elizabeth verbally reported breakthroughs in her reflections. For example, she did not realize how much attending the HBCU had prepared her to teach in Alaska. She did not realize or reflect upon being in the minority and being immersed into a university culture with all African American students and faculty. Elizabeth said after a while she did not see the African American race at the HBCU; she had gotten used to being with the people there and not seeing color. One reflection that was a breakthrough was being colorblind to the color of the African Americans skin.

After Matriculation at the HBCU

The participants and I answered the same questions in the focus group interview discussing our preparation to teach after graduation and our social justice definitions. We discussed the parallels of my story with theirs and the impact the HBCU had on our social justice dispositions.

Preparation to Teach

Hannah matriculated at the HBCU for two years. She saw it as the experience that prepared her to teach and the experience that brought her out of her bubble. But she agreed with us all. Hannah said:

At the time you're in school, and you're talking about disposition, you don't get it then, until you're teaching. But then I also didn't realize I was with people who were really accepting; professors who were going to love you no matter what. So I understand what having a disposition means now.

She did not speak with the level of confidence of the other participants; she seemed to have difficulty voicing what she had learned from the HBCU experience during the focus group. However, Hannah said:

This school prepared me for the students I was going to teach. The exposure to Black students I mean. I think the exposure; I guess prepared me for teaching. And from that I learned there are differences in people. It encouraged me to look outside that bubble.

Giving more explanation, Hannah says she found her voice at the HBCU from faculty like me who believed in her and her leadership skills. After graduating from the HBCU, Hannah

felt she stepped outside her bubble; out of her comfort zone of her all White world. Once she stepped out, Hannah reports she was ready to teach.

Natasha felt the HBCU fully prepared her to teach in a school where the students and parents were not rich and all White, where the students needed her. She got the job with the school population she wanted, one third each of African Americans, Spanish speaking cultures, and White students. Experiencing the HBCU gave her more than her all White world as well.

Amazingly, the best outcome for Natasha as a result of this inquiry was what she describes here:

And you know the next time my dad was over, I told my dad not to start and he listened this time. And this time he didn't. That was the biggest thing that could have happened from this.

During the focus group interview, Elizabeth felt she had grown the most because of her teaching position in Alaska. Elizabeth talked about her growth the most and with the most passion. As she talked, the other participants and I were at awe of her bravery to leave her rural farm community and move her family to Alaska to teach Native American Indians. Elizabeth admits before she attended the HBCU, there were many things about race of which she was not aware because she was White and she did not have social justice issues. Elizabeth explains:

But I never thought of it as I was somebody who had to give them social rights. But now I am a teacher and I have to think about my students. I have to be sure they are treated fairly and that I include their needs in my classroom, my instruction and in the way I care about them.

Unlike the period when participants entered the HBCU, during the time I enrolled in 1970, segregation was being beginning to slowly be replaced with integration of schools, facilities, and job opportunities. I remember that the HBCU had continued to teach me how to communicate and present myself in a job market dominated by White, Christian values of which my mother had also prepared me to enter. The HBCU allowed me to enjoy the activities of our culture, but it also modeled the expectations of high work ethics that were needed for any profession. During my junior and senior years, this HBCU prepared me to proceed with confidence to work with White students and parents by providing me opportunities in schools where I did not want to teach and in challenging situations that I did not want tackle through its Teacher Corps Program. I graduated from this HBCU ready to teach students very different from the culture of which I had grown to know, White students.

Seeing through the Eyes of Others

To assess the impact of the project on our self-reflection, I asked two culminating questions at the end of the focus group interview. The participants' responses are again recorded here in direct quotations of what they reported. Allowing their own words to be their voice is paramount to discern their growth.

1. Can you now see through my eyes as a Black female different from you as a White female?
2. As a teacher, can you see your students that are a different culture than you thorough their eyes?

Hannah responded:

Your eyes are the door to your story. Eyes are an amazing organ in our bodies, they let light and images in and allow us to process those moments into stories. Your

stories are vivid and allowed me to see a part of you that I had never seen or expected. I was able to walk side by side on your journey through your stories of childhood and adulthood. And now I am able to see other Black females in a way that I had not even thought of before, in a way of understanding I had not thought about before. Now it's more than just being with them. When you look through the eyes of a child, you can see every emotion. I believe that as a teacher, I possess an instinctive sense that allows me to see them. My eyes must be opened to see through the eyes of their world. I didn't think about it, really, until I helped you with your dissertation stuff.

Natasha's response was aligned with her artistic representation of her social justice definition. Natasha said:

So I can see you through your eyes because I see most people as more alike than they are different. I can now better see you and I as even more alike than I knew before we got to have these open conversations about "non-school" stuff. I think this time allows us to understand one another's life, beliefs, energy and spirituality. I think understanding anything on a multifaceted level gives you a better view or understanding of that person. I think I have a new understanding of how to reach and understand students because of these conversations. I think seeing students through their eyes have a lot to do with choice on both my part and theirs. These conversations have allowed me to understand that you and I could be totally different people had we made different choices because of our life experiences. You could have chosen to be angry because of the circumstances of your father's death and I could have chosen to embrace the close-minded views of my family. So I think

seeing my students through their eyes and further helping them on the way to a self awareness and openness is imperative to making them the good students and good productive adults.

Elizabeth responded:

This research project and my involvement in it have taken my definition and knowledge of social justice to a deeper level. Because I've had to go deep inside myself and examine me and I want to help others examine the same way. I mean like, I have never gone this deep on this subject and I have learned so much. I know I can see through my student's eyes now that I've done this. I know I have to be sure they are respected for their own heritage and I know I have to keep their heritage alive. It prepared me for making sure they see themselves in every aspect of my classroom. I do see myself differently now. I can see you, but I can't see through your eyes. I'm not going to say that. I think that might be going a little too far. I think that might be disrespecting what you went through. I can never say I can imagine. I can picture what you went through. I can sympathize what you went through, but the pain, but I cannot know that deep seeded hurt you went through and see what you saw I'm just far more aware of it now because we are talking more about it and now I can understand better than I did before. It made me think deeply about my student and their parents experienced in Alaska. I get it now.

Artistic Representations of Social Justice Dispositions

During the focus group interview the three participants brought artistic representations of their social justice definitions after the individual interviews were

conducted and the follow-up collaborations the participants had with me. Appendix F displays their representations and a description of the tapestry that was my representation.

Hannah chose a picture of a woman in a bubble to represent her new social justice disposition, but she reported it was more a representation of the impact the HBCU had on her. She reports that it's a White bubble where she was trapped inside with all of her White family and friends around her. When the bubble popped, Hannah implies she found her new definition of social justice. Hannah asserts she now sees more than she ever could when she was protected in the bubble. Hannah read a definition she developed as a part of another graduate level course. She read:

I believe I still have the same belief about social justice. It is: There are differences in your skin color, religion, culture, language, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status, but we all share common bonds. We are all human beings who deserve respect and the right to freedom and happiness. I believe we are all the same and have the same needs.

Until Hannah interacted with the other participants in the focus group interview, Hannah responded quickly without thought to the interview questions. Once the dialog began, Hannah was challenged by one participant. Natasha said:

Think deeper than that, you are very different from me. My dad believed you had to be rich, White, a conservative Republican, and a man to have a brain. I can't believe you never heard that.

Immediately Hannah joined in the conversation and she began to admit more of her unconsciousness.

Natasha brought different glasses as her representation. Each glass had words and pictures that represented food, a house, air, love, health, and family; Natasha said we all need all these things in life. Each glass represented different personalities of people. For Natasha all of the glasses were made out of the same materials, put through the same heat, cooled the same way, and then formed to make it the way you want it. Inside were the exact basic needs and outside each glass was a completely different shape. In her own words, Natasha articulated what social justice meant to her. Natasha explained:

It's how you treat people. How you treat people equally. We are all the same with the same needs, so it's just how you treat people.

Hannah still wanted us to know we are more alike and the same than we are different. She still did not care what color you were. As we talked in a follow-up collaboration session, I penned this poetry of how Natasha says she sees race now.

Like Glass

Yet, so alike in our needs.

Glass on the outside, we've all been fired.

Gone through,

All aspire in all we do,

All need love, need happiness,

JOY and peace, too!

Sure family made me,

Seeing through others' eyes

Is now how I can see!

Elizabeth did a Wordle of her definition as her representation. In concordance with the other two participants, Elizabeth did not want to see color. She feels if we just treat everybody right, the way she was taught as a child, then that is social justice. Elizabeth said her definition was:

Social justice is about assuring the insurance of rights, advantages and liberties as well as opportunities to all. Making sure that the least advantaged people of society are cared for and afforded their rights; the freedom and equality of all.

In the focus group, Elizabeth agreed with the other participants that we are all in need of these rights and we all should be treated with the same respect. She emphasized that she stood out among the all White community in which she lived because they are still there with the same thoughts they had about Black people that they had when she was young.

My artistic representation was a weaving of my safe cocoon metaphor. The weaving shows beautiful Black ribbons and threads on the left side. It represents my all Black segregated world. Reading the weaving from left to right, I moved from that to the integration of my Black world into the White world. Both the Black and White sides have the same weave representing the double consciousness I had to learn. In the middle is my cocoon with beautiful White ribbons cascading out to represent the beautiful White students I was leaving my all Black cocoon to teach. The weaving has the two sides, two worlds; one side a beautiful, Negro, Black woman, and the other side the dominant White world sprinkled with African Black beads.

Summary of Discussions

As the categories and themes emerged, I revisited the research question and the definitions of disposition and social justice. The participants and I responded to the questions

with the premise that we were exploring our dispositions, meaning our personal and professional attitudes, values and beliefs about inside and outside of the classroom (CAEP, 2014; NCATE, 2007). I approached this research with the belief that social justice was my advocacy for full and equal participation and affirmation of who we are individually with our own identity (Bell, 1997). Referring back to these definitions I aligned the data and summarize the following findings.

Before Matriculations at the HBCU

For all of the participants and me, parents directly impacted the levels of racial identity consciousness of the participants. With both parents in the home, fathers served as the most impactful on the values and beliefs about race. Fathers of the three White female participants focused on protecting their children from exposure to racial issues and made extra effort to segregate their children from African American socialization in the school settings. My father explained who I was as a Negro when he was living and as a Black living in a White world. He taught me and modeled what I needed to do to survive, and he called it Black and White.

Silence was a tool participants and I used to accept, avoid, or become resigned about racial injustices. For two of the White female participants, parents did not discuss race with them, and even if the participants witnessed racial injustices, their parents avoided any discussion. In all cases, the subject was dismissed and the participants did not question it. For one White female participant, her father's direct and derogatory statements about race, religion, and sexual orientation went unchallenged. Because it was a daily occurrence, she became resigned and avoided the subject. In my autoethnography, I was silent out of fear to discuss or challenge what happened to my father, fear of some sort of retaliation if I

questioned what occurred. In the beginning of this inquiry, I found myself reverting back to the habit of fear that I should stay in my place, practice silence, and not ask the White female participants certain questions or challenge their thinking about race.

With these findings, it was apparent that all of the White female participants knew that racial issues existed and they had some level of consciousness about it. Even when one participant was adamant that she had never experienced or seen racial injustices, she called her only Black friend in her neighborhood “colored,” a term referring to African Americans that has long been discontinued. To some African Americans it is offensive because the word was used as another label when Whites did not want to say the “n- word.” All of the participants revealed some level of consciousness about the racial identity of Blacks and Whites.

Before matriculation at the HBCU, the White female participants had never discussed what their White racial identity meant, their privilege or their Whiteness. Until answering the interview questions, the three participants reported they did not know or think about it, and they never thought about the idea of being White since they lived in their own segregated communities and schools.

During Matriculation at the HBCU

When the White female participants entered the HBCU, they did not know what the acronym represented or the mystique and rich legacy that I reported extensively in the literature and with passion in my autoethnography. All had distinct reasons for choosing to attend the HBCU, but none chose the historically Black University to experience the African American culture or to fulfill the HBCU mission of graduates departing the university to serve the African American community. During matriculation, African American HBCU

faculty developed welcoming environments for White female education majors and provided nurturing, caring, and supportive mentoring for success. This indicated the most relational impact of the HBCU. African American faculty did not have conversations about racial injustice issues with White female graduates and they did not embark on the subject of White privilege, developing a critical consciousness or having a double consciousness to understand other races and cultures.

White female graduates did not participate in activities on campus, limiting their cross-cultural experiences with the majority population of African American students at the HBCU. All cited that family obligations and the fact they were nontraditional students as the reason. Two of the three cited having African American friends. Consistent with not experiencing any racial injustices before attending the HBCU, the same White female graduate did not socialize with African American students beyond attending class, citing her strong work ethic to get her assignments done as her reason for not needing that socialization.

Therefore, activities at the HBCU did not teach or provide reflection of the different levels of consciousness or perspectives and theories for White female education graduates to explore (such as Whiteness, White privilege, or systematic structural domination). Since the participants did not attend extra-curricular activities, they did not experience the wide variety of lectures, guest speakers, and seminars offered about African American culture or other social justice issues. No lectures, guest speakers, or seminars to develop a White critical consciousness for social disposition development were offered at the HBCU as well.

There were some early field experiences and course assignments that provided opportunities for immersion into the African American culture, providing the most institutional impact of the HBCU. However, missing were deliberate discussions of the

impact of the experience on their levels of consciousness about their Whiteness or their awareness of how they see people of color. Therefore, it was not clear that the historical civil rights legacy of the HBCU “got on” the White female education graduates to impact their social justice lens.

After Matriculation at the HBCU

After graduation, it was clear that we departed the HBCU and began our teaching careers in multicultural classrooms. As an African American departing an all Black segregated world, I graduated to teach White students. As White female graduates, they left the HBCU to teach many races, cultures, and identities, but the focus for this research is on their preparation of a social justice disposition to teach African Americans particularly.

As the research findings revealed, at the end of their matriculation at the HBCU, the racial identity development of the White female participants were on different statuses of Helm’s (1993, 1994) White Racial Identity model. The findings did not indicate any influence or impact of the HBCU institutional activities on their racial identity statuses.

The participants reported positive relationships with African American faculty that provided mentoring and field experiences of impact to their social justice development. However, the social justice disposition development of the participants was more impacted by the self-reflection of the interview and focus group questions than of the HBCU institutional or relational impacts.

The participants and I had different experiences that impacted our racial identity and social justice disposition before, during, and after attending the HBCU. From our lived experiences, we appeared to move on a continuum of levels of consciousness about race. I developed the continuum in Figure 2 to visually illustrate the data findings of the multiple

levels of consciousness of the White female participants. I propose that the levels are continuous moving from a level of dysconsciousness (King, 1991), where assumptions and rhetoric (Bonillo-Silva (2014) justifies colorblindness and accepting things as given to a level of double-consciousness (DuBois, 1903), where there is a understanding of self, Whiteness and White privilege at the same time one understands the racial identity of the other. The extremes are distinct. The descriptions include words from the participants to illustrate the levels of consciousness the data revealed. What was clear in the research findings was that participants began this inquiry at one level of consciousness and through deep self-reflection experienced new levels of consciousness as the narratives unfolded.

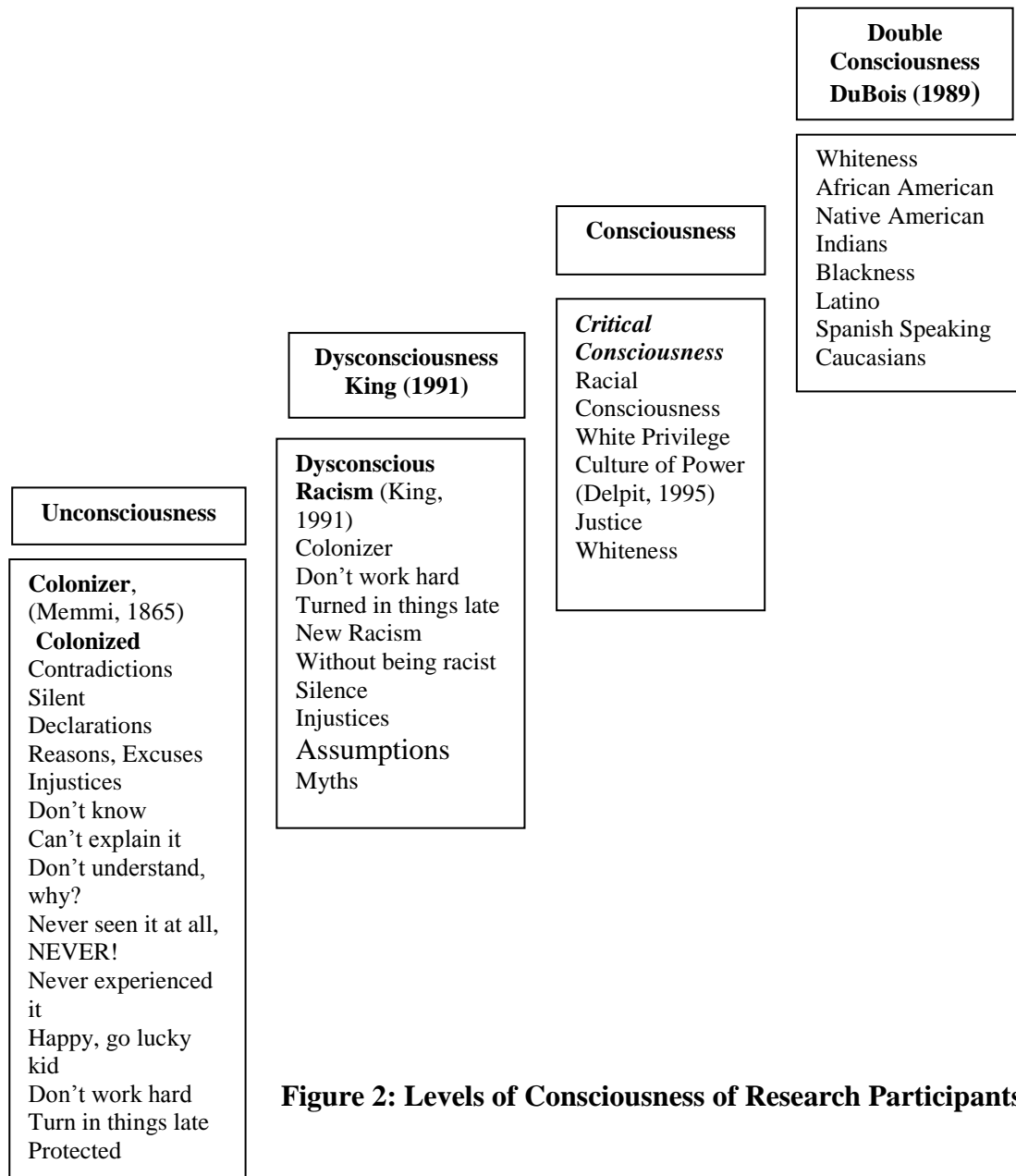


Figure 2: Levels of Consciousness of Research Participants

Chapter VI: Conclusions and Implications

Conclusions

In this chapter, I connect the literature to the data findings and discuss the conclusions and implications of the findings. I begin this chapter with a review of the DuBoisian Double Consciousness concept (DuBois, 1903) and weave in the thematic data findings that respond to the research question. Reviewing the DuBoisian concept is appropriate for this final chapter since the data revealed the participants and I both experienced new levels of consciousness as we told our stories.

At my birth in 1952 and all during the years I was growing up in two southeastern states, survival depended on having “two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings” (DuBois, 1903, p. 9). DuBois speaks of the “twoness” as being American and a Negro. Then, it was a necessary part of Negro life to be able to see both sides – who I was as a Black female in a White world and how to survive in the White world because I was a Black female. About the time I journeyed through high school and entered college in 1970, the three participants in this research were just born. Though laws were passed to eliminate legal discriminatory practices towards Negroes, not many things had changed at the time of their birth or all during their growing up years in the southeastern states where they lived.

In an effort to advocate for Black institutions and more opportunities for Blacks, DuBois posited that having a double consciousness was paramount to racial respect and

mutual inclusiveness. DuBois saw it as “the longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self” (Lewis, 1993, p. 281). Defining his concept of the “veil” as an impediment to Black freedom and progress, he used the veil as a metaphor for the racial prejudice and discrimination occurring in society at every level.

The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world – a world of which yields him no true self consciousness, but lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. (DuBois, 1903, p. 5)

The “veil” as it existed in the pre-civil rights years spoke mainly about race, discrimination against Black people. Given the racial issues in the daily news, having a double consciousness is still necessary in 2015, not only for African Americans, but more so for White Americans. With racial discrimination still prominent and with multiple identities of discrimination now flourishing, it is more important to understand seeing through others’ eyes. Consequently, “the formation of double consciousness is a dynamic and never ending process striving to remove varied veils that inhibit true self-understanding in order to re-integrate one’s consciousness (Li, 2002, p. 144.). The data indicates that the White female participants did not recognize their Whiteness or the role of White privilege; therefore, it is not easy for them to recognize how discourses and the social structures of their lived experiences shape their lives and consciousness. As more and more schools house predominately children of color, there are often higher concentrations of students living in poverty and students who struggle academically, warranting more conversations about levels of consciousness for the students White female educators teach and a different concentration on social justice dispositions when preparing White females to teach.

Dubois (1903) advocated for Black institutions that would provide the knowledge and “truth to identify the contradictions inherent in White society’s alleged devotion to the principles of equality, freedom, and democracy” (Searls, 1997, p. 163). My goal was to investigate the extent to which one HBCU promoted a ‘true self-consciousness’ that enabled more than Black students to see themselves through the eyes of others; that the HBCU impacted White female education graduates’ double consciousness as well. With this as a goal, the guiding question was: *What are the relational and institutional impacts of the HBCU on White female education graduates’ social justice dispositions for teaching?*

The question required the inquiry into White females’ racial identity development before they attended the HBCU, the impact of the HBCU on their racial development during matriculation, and an exploration of the difference attending the HBCU made to the development of their social justice dispositions after they graduated.

Before Matriculation at the HBCU

As we were growing up in the South, the participants and I were influenced by our parents who directed our racial socialization in our segregated worlds. We went to segregated schools and we lived in segregated communities. Research is mixed on the impact of parental influence on children’s racial attitudes. Earlier research reports that children receive direct training in attitudes from their parents or they simply observe and imitate racial labels and the associated emotions of their parents about race. According to Allport (1954), preadolescent prejudice is an imitation of parents. Hughes, Smith, Stevenson, Rodriguez, Johnson, and Spicer (2006) proposed the term cultural socialization to refer to parental practices that teach children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history and promote cultural customs and traditions. In the empirical studies they cited, few White parents today

spontaneously talk with their children about discrimination. However, preparation for bias is more prevalent among African American parents comparing them with other ethnic or racial backgrounds (Hughes et al., 2006). In my home, my parents and grandparents talked to me about racial discrimination and modeled how to have a double consciousness when there were social or direct contacts with Whites. I knew what prejudice was because my parents and I experienced it daily; unbelievably, I still do.

Of the three participants, Hannah's and Elizabeth's parents avoided the conversations about discrimination or prejudice even when it was directly, overtly present. Their parents explicitly encouraged them to value individual qualities and 'doing the right thing' over understanding racial group membership. In most cases, their White parents avoided any mention of race in their discussions. As Hannah and Elizabeth reported in their stories, they were White and they lived in an all White world; therefore, they did not have to engage in such conversations. They were never in a situation where they saw a lot of discrimination. As a matter of emphasis, Hannah said, *NEVER!*

Contrary to Hannah and Elizabeth, Natasha was raised in a home where the word 'nigger' was used daily, where her father denigrated homosexuality and his own lesbian sister. Researchers have posited that "non-conscious, non-volitional racial prejudice develops via exposure" early in childhood, as early as elementary school age (Sinclair, Dunn & Lowery, 2005, p. 283). Natasha's father was predictable in this research study in that pro-White/anti-Black prejudice relates to individuals' conscious evaluation of and discomfort around African Americans. Given the ramifications of individual differences in this construct, it is important to acknowledge that some people develop stronger feelings of prejudice than others. Natasha was the exception to the research expectations that she would

develop the racial attitudes of her father. Given that her mother, father, grandmother, and uncle were so serious about racial discrimination, it was impressive that Natasha made the decision to leave her home. Her rebellion broke the generational cycle of overt prejudice. Her decision to attend an HBCU directly affected what her young sons would experience in their future.

From this extreme impact on her racial development before she attended the HBCU, Natasha developed a 'don't care' attitude about the color of a person's skin; she said she became "colorblind" for a reason. All she wanted to do was see the other side different from the life she grew up to know; she did not want to become her father so she did not want to see color. Her colorblind stance was an act of courage to move away from her father.

The other participants grew up with the value that one should not see color. Their avoidance of dealing with racial discrimination or prejudice led to a level of conscious unconsciousness. Unknowingly, they all fit what Gay and Kirkland (2003) describe as "European American, middle-class, monolingual, White females who have had little sustained and substantive interactions with people of color" (p. 182). Hannah had one 'colored' friend, but she never went to her house. Elizabeth had Black friends in middle and high school, but she was never allowed to go to their houses to stay for any amount of time, either. Natasha rebelled, so she had a Black boyfriend in high school and many more friends of color that she kept a secret from her family. They were all conscious of African Americans in their communities and schools. With the exception of Natasha, they went about their daily lives without interacting with other races until they went to high school and college. King (1991) calls this "perpetuation of White domination dysconsciousness, a habit of mind that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given"

(p. 135). In this inquiry, the White participants accepted the cultural norms of their race without question, even when there were questions in their minds. Regardless of their unconscious or conscious intentions, the participants held their White norms and privilege as a given. When they were young and even after attending the HBCU, none of the participants questioned the stance of their parents. They explained it was because they were White; they respected their parents' decisions, and they did not know any better. They were not aware of their White privilege nor was there any recognition or examination of their Whiteness (McIntosh, 1988). Until the participants indulged in the deep self-reflection of the interactive interviews, they had accepted "unexamined assumptions, unasked questions, and unquestioned cultural myths regarding both the social order and their place in it" (King, p. 136). Before the inquiry, they were unaware of their own perspectives about race. King (1991) calls this "impaired unconsciousness or a distorted way of thinking about race as compared to a critical consciousness" which is a conscious examination of what their Whiteness means (p. 135).

Dysconscious racism is a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant White norms and privileges. It is not the absence of consciousness (that is, not unconsciousness) but an impaired consciousness. (King, 1991, p. 135)

Before the participants went to the HBCU, they maintained that they personally deplored racial injustices and prejudice of any kind. During the interviews they gave many reasons why they did not question their White privilege, citing reasons like I never interacted with Black people until I went to high school, there were no Black people who lived in my community, or I never heard of the word 'Whiteness' before. Bonilla-Silva (2014) called this the "rhetorical maze of color blindness" (p. 105). They all reported they did not see color,

just people; that in this day and time, race is no longer an issue we should be giving our time and energy to discuss; that we should just treat everyone the way we want to be treated.

Bonilla-Silva (2014) contends that the participants and other Whites like them have developed powerful explanations and justifications that “exculpate them from any responsibility for the status of people of color.” He labels this as “color blind racism” (p. 2). It is subtle and hidden. It is the “new racism” that boasts that Jim Crow instances of racism have decreased and opportunities for African Americans and people of color have increased (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Therefore, there is no need to see color if all people are prospering more than before regardless of the color of their skin.

This is different from my young years of growing up. Before I attended the HBCU, Jim Crow racism justified brutal and overt acts of racial oppression previously described. In contrast to today, during the pre-civil rights era discrimination was enforced overtly with signs, cross burnings, and marches in the street by the Ku Klux Klans. Yet, compared to Jim Crow racism, the participants questioned why it was a problem not to see color now, to be color blind since that type of overt discrimination has been diminished and much of it happened before their time. They question if seeing color would bring attention to discrimination instead of eradicate it.

I must admit that at the beginning of the interview process, I did not want to leave my White students vulnerable to criticism because I believed they just did not know or understand; they could only talk about what they knew or experienced. These are White women with whom I have developed relationships and trusting mentorships still five years after graduation. I went back to being the colonized; the oppressed, the one who did not have choice unless the colonizer gave me permission (Memmi, 1965). For a fleeting moment, I,

too, bought into their rationale for their color blindness, letting them be right about it all; reverting back to the feeling of Jim Crow racism. The old fear of ‘Negroes have a place and they should stay in it’ came back again. I admit I was instantly hooked by the old habit of fear; fear I would get in trouble; fear that I would hurt their feelings or that they would see me as harping on the past too much; fear that even the death of my father would be questioned by the White man if I went too far; fear I should not speak.

Then I remembered the passion I have for this advocacy to prepare teachers for social justice dispositions of acceptance and inclusion. The purpose of this work is not to demonize Whites or label them racist (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). These are not stories about hate. It is an opportunity for an understanding of what impacts our racial and social justice development to better understand how we may refract our old lens and hopefully prepare teachers to advocate for children of color in new ways.

During Matriculation at the HBCU

During attendance at the HBCU, the most distinct impact of the HBCU for both the participants and I was the interpersonal relationships with faculty. These findings validated the research of pioneers such as Fleming (1984) and W. R. Allen (1992) regarding supportive faculty at HBCUs. For faculty relationships, this HBCU aligns with Arroyo’s (2010) archetypal model of HBCU distinctiveness which indicated that typical to all HBCUs is faculty support as the primary source and sustainer of student academic success. Along with other African American female faculty, I developed empathetic relationships with the White female participants. Not only did we mentor the participants with great expectations and generous support, as White females, the participants felt comfortable to come to us even in tears, entrusting that they would be mentored to success. African American female faculty

filled the role of nurturer and modeled what a social justice disposition looked like. The White female participants reported acceptance during every interaction, articulating instances where African American female faculty bent over backwards and went to extraordinary measures to help the participants obtain success. Even though the participants were ‘minority’ at the HBCU (Hall & Closson, 2005, p.28), there was no question the White female participants felt sincere and heartfelt support from their mentors that made them a part of the HBCU. However, the data also reveal that neither other African American faculty nor I talked with the participants’ about their Whiteness or what to expect when they began teaching African American students. We taught them the knowledge and skills needed to teach different learning styles, we assign papers to write about diversity, and we even gave them field experiences in low socio-economical communities; however, we did not have conversations about our White students’ racial identity and how that identity would affect the African American students they were going to teach.

Paralleling my experience at the same HBCU, I received support from both African American and White female faculty. The participants and I only had one or two White female faculty during our matriculation. Ironically, it was a White female faculty member who was the most honest about my Blackness going into a White classroom. We had honest and open conversations about the discrimination I experienced at my teaching internship and out in the community. So I could teach White students who were different from me, she helped me open my view about the White race and refract my lens to see beyond what I had experienced. I began to see with new eyes. That relates to the purpose of this research: to understand if something at the HBCU impacted the White female participants to see with new eyes.

None of the three participants were involved in any activities outside of attending class and going home immediately after, citing being a wife and mother as the reason. They missed the racial and cultural milieu described by Arroyo (2010) as the everyday ethos of HBCU campus life. They did not hang out or hear and see the social language, body mannerisms, and music or experience the uniqueness of the African American culture in the HBCU Student Union. None of them attended any sports activities and none of them even had a University T-shirt. This limited their opportunities to feel a part of the University from which they would graduate to teach. More importantly, the lack of participation limited their opportunity to learn more about the African American culture, to experience something that may have been new and different for them as White students on an all Black university campus. Thus, it also limited their understanding of African American students they might teach, and they missed opportunities to see differently through African American eyes.

In this research, African American female faculty provided care and support to the participants that was appreciated and characteristic of the HBCU legacy (Allen, W. R., 1992; Fleming, 1984). The literature indicates that kind of support should be available to all who attend the HBCU, including White students (Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002; Willie, Reddick & Brown, 2006). Though the participants reported how my teaching and course work impacted their social justice disposition development, I feel they gained more knowledge and were more impacted after matriculation when they participated in this research inquiry. All three reported they had never been asked these questions before and they had never thought about their racial identity in such a way. In addition, they felt comfortable talking with me about race, discrimination, and injustices. Until I shared my story with the participants, and until I was open and honest about my transformation of thought and action described, the

participants were clear that they would not have approached the conversation without it being in coursework with faculty with whom they felt comfortable. After reading the final stories, they reported their lenses for social justice were impacted.

After Matriculation at the HBCU

As the participants in this research began to teach after graduation, they proceeded with the beliefs that all children could learn and that they were ready to teach them. During their matriculation at the HBCU, they wrote papers about diversity, but admittedly, they only processed the meaning by writing the paper according to the rubric for a grade. They did not understand the connection nor the benefit of learning and reflecting on what diversity meant to their social justice disposition development. Once they participated in this research, however, they were able to reflect on their own identity development and consider how their perspective could influence their teaching and interactions with students (Howard, 2006; Jersild, 1955; Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

Implications

Introductions

Schram (2006) describes the purpose of this implication section as a discussion of the “potential relevance and implications for the broader field of ideas, research or practice” (p. 176). In this section of the chapter, I discuss the implications of Helms’ (1993) White Racial Identity Model for the participants to align with the literature and inquiry of the racial identity development before attending the HBCU. During the final data collection method, the arts-based representations implied the participants’ and my social justice disposition development after attending the HBCU. The last discussions in this section are the implications for HBCUs’ teacher education programs and the possible roles they must play in

developing the critical consciousness of White female education graduates to impact their social justice development.

Racial Identity Model

In this study I explored the social justice dispositions of the participants through the lens of their racial identity development. There are many racial identity models that help us understand who we are and where we are in our own racial identity development. One of the most widely accepted models of White racial identity development is that of Helms (1984, 1993, 1994). To address the research question, it is important to assess the participants' racial identity development before attending the HBCU in order to determine what impact attending an HBCU had on their social justice development. Reviewing Helms' model (1984) provides information for where the participants fall along its continuum of racial identity development not only before, but during, and after matriculation as well. Helms (1984) believes racism is an issue of White racial identity and that Whites develop a healthy racial identity when progressing through two phases: 1) abandonment of racism and 2) defining a non-racist White identity. There are six White racial identity statuses in this progression. In the first status, *Contact*, Whites are unaware of racism and discrimination, believe that everyone has an equal chance for success, and may have minimal experiences with people of color. For this status all of the White female participants had minimum experiences with people of color as they were growing up. All reported their belief that people of color should have equal opportunities in life. The participants had the most experiences with African Americans in high school and at the HBCU.

The second status, *Disintegration*, occurs when a person becomes conflicted over irresolvable racial moral dilemmas. As Whites become conscious of their Whiteness, they

may experience dissonance, conflict, guilt, helplessness, or anxiety. As Natasha was growing up, she was faced with the moral dilemma of race everyday in her home as she wrestled with not agreeing with her family about how to treat Black people, gays, lesbians and anyone outside of her father's belief system. She was in constant conflict with her father about these issues. After graduating from the HBCU, Elizabeth began to wrestle with the racial injustices I described in my story, how I was treated, and what I experienced, such that she thought it disrespectful to say she understood it. Elizabeth even felt some anxiety as she wrestled with the moral conflict of being color blind. Hannah did not express any of this stage throughout the interviews. She never saw injustices and never experienced them.

Reintegration is the third status when Whites revert back to their belief of White superiority and minority inferiority. During the interviews none of the participants regressed to this status. In the fourth status, *Pseudo independence*, there are conscious and deliberate attempts by Whites to understand racial differences and interact with people of color from an intellectual domain, not from the affective domain. Elizabeth had the most follow-up calls after each interview to discuss more and more of her feelings and discoveries about her identity as a White woman. She deliberately wanted to have these discussions because she decided to teach Native American Indians in a tribal community after graduating from the HBCU. She was deliberate in her approach to understanding her racial self and she moved through this status to having passionate feelings about teaching there. Natasha approached going to an HBCU with the deliberate intention of being with Black people to rebel against her family, but not to understand the oppression of the race. Hannah chose the HBCU for one reason, to get a degree in the evening and weekend program so she could work full-time as a

teacher assistant. Intellectually, Hannah believed the courses she took in the Master degree program helped her understand racial differences.

In the fifth status, *Immersion/Emersion*, Whites demonstrate an increasing willingness to redefine their Whiteness and confront their prejudices. There is also an increased affective understanding that was not there before their exploration of self. Throughout the interviews, Elizabeth commented often on how much she learned as a result of this research inquiry and that she had never thought so deeply about race and herself before. As she spent more days teaching Native American Indians in a place that she had never been or lived before, Elizabeth continued to communicate how much she had learned about her Whiteness. During the last interview session, Natasha showed signs of this status when she admitted to her prejudices against Asian people. She reported she had never admitted that before or thought that she might had a prejudice because it was not for African Americans. Before the interviews Natasha reports, she thought she was not prejudice because she was accepting of Blacks and gays. She always knew she was White and she always wanted to work with students who were very different than her rich, White middle class family values; however, Natasha had never discussed what her having a critical consciousness meant. Hannah said she worked in the school where she got her first full-time teaching job and that her job was close to where she lived. She did not articulate any awareness related to this status though her school had a majority population of African Americans and Hispanic students. Hannah said she had never heard of the term Whiteness until she worked on her Master's degree.

Finally, in Helms' last status, *Autonomy*, Whites become knowledgeable about racial differences, value diversity, are no longer uncomfortable with the realities of race, and

establish non-racist attitudes. After graduating from the HBCU, Elizabeth reached this status as she immersed herself into the Native American Indian culture and found herself as the minority learning to speak Yupik in Alaska. Through professional development to get ready to teach in Alaska, she learned how her students' families and past generations were oppressed and still faces discrimination. Often, she commented that she "got it now, Wow!" Natasha was never uncomfortable with the realities of race. Of her family members she was the only one that did not have prejudices about African Americans; yet, she was uncomfortable with her prejudices for Asians. During the interviews, Hannah said she never experienced racial differences; therefore, she had no experiences to bring to this status.

As demonstrated, racial identity development in the participants was situationally influenced. It is important to note that the statuses proposed by Helms (1984, 1993) are not stair-step stages and should not be considered to be static but fluid as well as context-driven (Helms 1993, 1994).

The interview questions engaged the participants in honest and open dialog that brought them through a journey of deep reflection and new revelations about racial identity development. Participants reported they had not thought about the questions before and found themselves discussing their responses with others. I posit that they would have gone on teaching for years without this personal self-reflection, unaware of their Whiteness and unable to see the advantages they have that their African American students may not have.

Arts-Based Implications

The intention of the arts-based representation was to reflect upon our levels of consciousness before we began the project and compare it to our learning at the end of our racial identity examination. We began the interview process by considering our arts-based

representations as metaphors of our racial identity. My metaphor was a safe cocoon, Elizabeth's was a picture of integration, Natasha's was a hierarchy of needs we all had alike, and Hannah's was a bubble. At the end of the focus group we added our definitions of social justice to our discussions of our arts-based inquiry.

I brought a sketch of a mat weaved with beautiful Black and White ribbons. It shows my progression from an all Black segregated world, coming out of my safe cocoon to understand and accept teaching and interacting with beautiful White children in my classroom. It represents me seeing more than just my Black world and seeing their White world through their eyes. To help the participants understand my world I described each detail of the weave. As I interpreted my representation and my social justice disposition, I realized I had never discussed how I see their world as White females. Reviewing the data revealed we needed to have many more opportunities for dialog and discussions about our racial identity. The artistic representations allowed us to express our individual level of consciousness about our racial identity and social justice beliefs. I also realizing I needed to practice my level of double consciousness with a new understanding. It took years for me to develop an understanding of who I am, and it will take many years of practice for White female education graduates to peel through the layers of consciousness to reach a double consciousness for students.

Though in the focus group Hannah voiced new learning about African Americans during course work, her artistic representation focused on herself; a picture of a face in a bubble of how she came out of her shell while at the HBCU. She brought her definition of social justice written previously in a graduate class because she received an 'A' in the course. Hannah reported she did not hear the word 'Whiteness' until she took the graduate course,

and even then she said she did not feel it applied to her. Contradictory to what Hannah reported in the individual interview, Hannah expanded her reflections after interactions in the focus group. The “White bubble” represented her coming out of being with all White people and family she said. Hannah reported that as a teacher she possessed an instinctive sense to see through her students’ eyes, especially since she was out of the bubble. Though she began to voice new awareness of her racial identity, Hannah appeared to remain at a level representative of dysconscious racism (King, 1991).

Natasha brought different drinking glasses that represented how we are all alike. Because of her childhood of hearing negative portrayals of other identities, it was important for Natasha to see us all in a positive light. She said she can see others through their eyes because she could have chosen the closed-minded views of her family, but she chose to be able to see through my eyes. For Natasha we are like glass, made more alike than different.

As Natasha spoke about her representation, I recognized she wanted to separate herself from her family beliefs; beliefs that African Americans are different than White, Christian, Republican males, and that our differences are something negative compared to this characterization of White culture. In our discussions, Natasha listened to my story of having the same basic needs as described, but often African Americans and her future African American students may not have the same access to meeting those needs as she did as a White citizen. Natasha listened with distinct attention and responded that she agreed. She said she did not look at it that way until we talked in the focus group. Her new awareness left her speechless for a minute as she processed how she saw sameness. Natasha experienced a critical consciousness (Closson & Henry, 2008a) and even moved toward an awareness of a

level of double consciousness (DuBois, 1903). In that reflection, Natasha began to see her Whiteness and privilege in a different way.

Elizabeth expressed the most growth during the process because she was hired to teach kindergarten in Alaska just before the interviews began. Her arts-based representation and her explanation of the Wordle imply that Elizabeth moved to a level of double consciousness (DuBois, 1903). She researched the Native American tribal community where she was going. Elizabeth already knew she and her husband were going to be the only White teachers in her school and in her immediate community making her a minority there. Being totally away from all that she had been used to in her all White world, Elizabeth expressed with passion that she could, and without much choice had to quickly, adopt the disposition of seeing through her Native American students' eyes. Elizabeth did a Wordle to represent her social justice disposition. The largest words on it were love and justice.

Elizabeth was the only participant whose parents allowed her to go to school downtown with Black students and other students of color in middle and high school. She saw herself as different from the other White people in her community in that she was always accepting of those different from her. No matter what other Whites did or said in her peer group, Elizabeth separated herself from friends that did not embrace other races. She and her family began as a part of what was characterized as the dominant White, European, colony; the colonizers, who thought of themselves to be superior to the colonized, Negro, poor, Black, African American (Memmi, 1965). Through her deep reflection, Elizabeth did not want to be a colonizer; she became sympathetic to the colonized and she moved to Alaska with the colonized Native American Indians. Now Elizabeth does see differently, she says

sees two camps; one of justice and the other injustice. She has chosen the disposition of justice for all her students and that is different from what she knew growing up.

Though all three participants had different arts-based representations, they continued to agree that we are all alike because we have the same basic needs. The participants felt we all should be treated with the same respect. This implies the participants are not at a readiness level of dismantling colorblindness or the new racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014).

Implications for HBCUs

Distinct to the archetypal model of the HBCU (Arroyo, 2010) is the mission to educate, empower, and elevate Blacks. This mission serves as a foundation that now must be coupled with the challenge of raising the critical consciousness of White students attending HBCUs. Without a critical consciousness of who they are, White female educators cannot move to the next level on the continuum of seeing through the eyes of the other; to having a double consciousness. The data indicates the White female education graduates had not explored their own Whiteness before attending the HBCU and there were few opportunities to have reflection about their own culture during matriculation. The White female HBCU graduates in this research inquiry told their stories of growing up in all segregated worlds and leaving that familiarity to become “temporary” minority in an historically Black University (Henry & Closson, 2010, p. 14). However, the distinctness of the HBCU legacy did not impact their critical consciousness or their ability to have a double consciousness for African Americans while they attended the HBCU. McIntosh (1988) contends that without recognition and examination of Whiteness, Whites are less likely to engage in conversations, behaviors and actions towards the elimination of racial injustice.

This discussion is timely for several reasons. Beginning in the 2014-2015 school year, students formerly considered to be racial ethnic minorities - Black, Hispanic, Latino, Asian, American Indian – will now form a majority in our nation’s public schools at the same time the majority of their teachers are White, middle class females (Ross & Bell, 2014). Absent from the research is the impact HBCUs have specifically on White female graduates’ racial and social justice development and more specifically on the White female elementary education graduates from HBCUs. HBCUs are in a critical position to provide a process assisting White female education graduates toward developing a positive critical consciousness.

Developing a critical consciousness means to critically reflect and act upon one’s sociopolitical environment (Freire, 1973, 1993). For the purpose of this research, it means HBCUs must provide opportunities for White female education graduates to think critically and reflect on accepted assumptions about race, but also to be able to reframe their thinking about class, gender, ability, appearance, age, sexual orientation and all the other identities. For the White female students, it means learning to see how their White lives, history, and their ways of thinking and feeling perpetuate existing structures of inequality. With deep self-reflection, this high level of consciousness is the ability for each of us to individually critically examine who we are and who we are as racial beings; not only to reflect, but to also take actions of advocacy for an all inclusive classroom and society. Critical consciousness development means White female education graduates must examine their own Whiteness first and how their Whiteness affects their ability to see and understand African American students and others of color, just as I had to do the same to prepare myself to teach students who were different from my race. It is the development of a critical consciousness that I posit

leads to the next level of consciousness on the continuum towards a social justice disposition to teach – the development of a double consciousness.

At the HBCU in this study, African American faculty provided consistent nurturing and support for the participants during matriculation. However, the data revealed that caring alone was not enough to raise the critical consciousness of the participants and impact the development of an individual social justice disposition. Coupled with caring and support must be deliberate and planned opportunities for conversations, as my White female faculty did with me to prepare me for teaching White students. Until the White female participants were questioned about their racial identity and beliefs, the social justice disposition development was not impacted by just caring and support. HBCUs are in the position to impact White female graduates' racial lens by offering deliberate, structured opportunities for deep reflection. The structure must include the following strategies. The strategies should be applied to the HBCU for all of its student population; however, I am making these recommendations particularly for the HBCU teacher preparation programs and their White female teacher education graduates.

1. Beginning with the premise that peers, family, and community are key social influences on the critical consciousness development of White female education graduates (Hughes & Johnson, 2001), the HBCU must design course work, seminars, and professional development that propel their prior lived experiences to the next level on the continuum. HBCU curricular and cocurricular programs should begin with the question "Who Am I?" Individually describing in detail their families, the communities in which they live, and their educational careers reveals how their racial identities were developed over the years and what impacted that development.

2. To not appear colorblind and adverse to the archetypal distinctiveness of its mission (Arroyo, 2010), the HBCU must study and evaluate its campus climate and culture of acceptance of White students and other races who enter as minority at a majority Black university (Closson & Henry, 2008a). During matriculation at the HBCU, these White female education graduates did not participate in any activities on the campus including not using the University library nor visiting the Student Union or book store. This limited their cross-racial cultural experiences with African Americans, limiting their perspectives as teachers and their ability to see through the eyes of African American students in the classroom perpetuating their own color-blindness. HBCUs are challenged to promote activities in which White females can see themselves on campus and that would encourage engagement in campus activities.
3. The data findings indicate that White female education graduates did not have opportunities to talk about their racial identity and that of other races while at the HBCU. HBCUs must exam their curricular offerings to determine ways that best meet the cultural learning and racial identity development of their White student population as well as learn about the African American culture. Thus, course development, workshops, seminars and group experiences designed to explore White race, privilege, and oppression could be learning opportunities that promote deliberate dialog and awareness toward social justice disposition development (McIntosh, 1988). White female education graduates also did not know that they were attending a Historically Black University. Opportunities to learn about the HBCU history and legacy are paramount to understanding the culture of the African American students they will teach.

4. Since White female graduates become the minority on HBCU campuses, HBCUs must develop a plan of action for in-class and out-of-class learning that positively encourages White graduates to explore and share their thoughts about race in a non-threatening atmosphere. The White female education graduates were open and honest with their reflections as they reported feeling comfortable with HBCU faculty to do so, but they did not participate in the milieu of the campus (Arroyo, 2010).
5. HBCUs must provide White students opportunities to research the statistics of gender and race of teachers, data on children living in poverty, statistical comparisons of achievements rates, socioeconomics statuses, and other information that provides a view of the two worlds, their polarities, and binaries. White female education graduates reported they did not know they were White because they had not been exposed to any other information about their Whiteness and privilege or the facts about students they would teach, particularly students who live in poverty. Without this knowledge there is little background for conversations that move White female education graduates to the next level of consciousness for a social justice disposition to teach children of color.
6. HBCUs must plan activities which take White females out of their comfort zone and immerse them in cultural activities of African Americans. Field experiences that provide service learning projects with full immersion with people of color and other identities impacts the social justice disposition development of White females. The White female participants in this inquiry report that some early field experiences were enlightening and opened their eyes to African American culture that they had not experienced.

7. HBCU faculty and educational leaders must commit to enhance their own levels of consciousness to serve as models for social justice advocacy. They must “walk the talk” by modeling effective racial discourse, authentic multicultural relationships and social justice values that lead to meaningful change in racists attitudes and beliefs (Henry & Closson, 2010).
8. HBCUs teacher preparations programs must develop a curriculum map of a continuum that offers course work in social justice at an emerging level in the freshmen and sophomore years at HBCUs. In the junior year there would be developing level assignments where students are practicing what they learned at the foundation or emerging levels. At the senior level and during clinical and student teaching capstone courses, there would be proficient level course activities where students demonstrate proficiency in identifying who their students are, their racial, social, and economic backgrounds, their learning styles and academic needs based on the demographics and any other information that helps them become social justice advocates for each student. The curriculum would include exposure to all of the theories and concepts listed in my levels of consciousness development as well as others.
9. I am a passionate advocate for social justice course work that includes the infusion of social justice issues across the curriculum. The courses must include written reflection assignments, field experiences in schools and communities of poverty, reflection of self, oral presentations of reflections, pre and post course work written definitions of social justice, service learning projects for Title 1 schools and communities, and assignments that pushed students beyond their comfort zones.

10. To be most effective, social justice education requires an examination of systems of power (Delpit, 1995) and oppression combined with prolonged emphasis on social change. HBCUs must have a process for White females to explore understanding their levels of consciousness and all the tools they need for deep, extensive personal reflection.

The recommendations suggest that after participation in these activities at the HBCU, White female education graduates would leave the University able to look at themselves and see their lives through their own Whiteness as clearly as they see themselves in the mirror. In order to understand who they are and what they bring to the classroom, White female education graduates must see how they understand the racial identities of people of color. They must deliberately seek opportunities that enhance their understanding of their own White racial identity. They must graduate with the ability to have a double consciousness to not only see themselves racially but see through the eyes of others as well.

Future Considerations

This research project involved three White female education graduates and one HBCU African American faculty in an exploration of their racial identity development and the impact of one HBCU on their social justice disposition development. It is further recommended to extend the study to more HBCUs who have teacher preparation programs. Given this research was conducted in one southeastern state, and given the racial population in public schools has changed across the country, further research should be done at HBCUs in other regions of the United States to compare and determine the extent to which HBCUs are preparing their White graduates for social justice dispositions. Extending the study to

include traditional students would provide additional data and a comparison of how nontraditional verses traditional age college students are impacted by attending HBCUs.

This research project involved extensive self-reflection. Other future considerations for research could include the impact of teacher candidates becoming reflective practitioners and an analysis of how self-reflection activities affect social justice disposition development. Of importance to future studies is the development of a social justice curriculum for teacher preparation programs at both HBCUs and PWIs. I would suggest further research include investigations of HBCUs with components of social justice education in the curricular. The effectiveness of teacher candidates trained through a social justice perspective should be studied in comparison to the academic success of their students.

Concluding Challenges

The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeing new landscapes,
but in having new eyes.
Marcel Proust

At the beginning of this research I challenged the participants and myself to think things we had never thought before; say things we had never said before; write things we have never written before, and discover what we have never seen before. Proust reminds us not only to learn something new, but to see things differently because of what we learned. Once you see it, you are never the same. When you go to the mirror, you never see the same thing each time.

This research is about race, particularly about being Black and White HBCU female education graduates; it is about self-reflection with the commitment of examining our racial beings and seeing ourselves in new ways. It challenged all of the participants and my pre-conceived perspectives of race, our identities as racial beings, and our advocacy for a socially

just society. As a result of my deep reflection and to affirm the purpose of this inquiry, I postulate three challenges for educational leaders to engage students, faculties, staffs, and themselves for social justice advocacy.

1. Knowledge: Tell the stories and know the stories you tell!

Knowledge is powerful and empowering. It should be accurate, researched, and representative of multiple theories and perspectives, including all levels of consciousness on my continuum. Firsthand accounts, autoethnographies, personal narratives, and oral telling of lived experiences continually impact self-reflection. We must tell the stories of poverty, oppression, discrimination, racism, multiple identities, and any topic that leads to better understanding of self and others. And in our telling, we must allow for open and honest conversations about race. Once you know and once you look at yourself in the mirror, you refract your lens, see something new, and for a moment you reflect on the difference you see.

2. Care and Support

The essence of who I am embraces the whole of a student. Academics and a level of excellence are paramount to me; however, with the love, care and support of teachers, all students reach excellence. Imperative to the work of African American faculty, particularly who I am, is to continue the HBCU way of nurturing our students, both Black and White; giving them our all; giving them what they need for success; taking them in where they are and propelling them to new levels excellence; always celebrating their brilliance. For me, excellence would be reaching the highest level of consciousness – having a double consciousness to be able to know self and to accept and understand others. As an African American HBCU faculty and mentor of the White female graduates in this inquiry, I recommend we care enough to help them know who they are, know about their Whiteness

and all it means, and help them understand students who are different from them. We have to help them boldly look in the mirror, see who they are as racial beings and give them the knowledge they need to be socially just teacher candidates without hesitation or excuses. When we model caring and support, our teacher candidates will give the same to all of their students.

3. Infectious Actions

At every opportunity leaders should take action for justice and against racial injustices of particularly people of color. I cannot leave this research and remain the same. I want the strategies proposed to be infectious; that the stories told here would be so impactful taking action becomes contagious, infectious enough to move into advocacy. I want to leave an intoxicating fragrance of acceptance and advocacy for social justice such that who I am being when I am with you creates a ripple effect of action for a social justice society.

Conclusions

For educational leaders and faculty in both HBCUs and PWIs, the concluding challenge is how to teach effectively from a clear social justice perspective that empowers White female education graduates to think critically about their racial identity and how it affects their social justice disposition to teach. While it was assumed that the HBCU was in a position to model a social justice advocacy for African American students, it was clear that the HBCU may not be raising the critical consciousness of its White female education graduates nor preparing them to develop a double consciousness of themselves and their students of color.

It is imperative for educational leaders to plan their curricular in ways that meet the commitment to empower education utilizing a social justice pedagogical lens. This gives

HBCUs the challenge to graduate White female education teacher candidates who can critically think and reflect on their own White racial identity, who have the tools to take action and advocate for social change, and who have a double consciousness of themselves as Americans and in the global society coupled with an awareness of the racial identity of African American students. When that is achieved, White female education graduates from HBCUs will be ready to teach African American students and other students of color.

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Appendixes
Appendix A

Participant Information Form

The information on this form will only be used by the researcher for the purpose of securing a representative sample of participants. No identifying information such as your name, relationship, or school will be used in any report of this project. Anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained during and after the completion of this project.

Name: _____ **Race:** _____ **Gender:** _____

Age: ___ 18-20 ___ 21-23 ___ 24-26 ___ 26 and over

Job Title: _____

Current Grade Teaching: _____

Years in Current Grade: _____

Previous Grades Taught: _____

Total Years of Teaching: _____

Years at Current School: _____

	Current School Student Population	Current Classroom Student Population
African American Students		
White Students		
Spanish Speaking Students		
Other Specify		
Other Specify		

Years Attended the HBCU: _____ **Year Graduated** _____

Interaction with Female Faculty at the HBCU: Circle all that apply: Instructors, Staff, Advisor,
Adjunct Faculty, Program Coordinator, and Other (list) _____

Appendix B

Lay Summary

Dear Participant,

I am Fran Bates Oates, a doctoral student in the Education Leadership: Doctor of Education Degree Program at Appalachian State University. For my dissertation research, I want to explore the impact attending your historically Black university had on your social justice disposition for teaching.

You have been chosen for this invitation to participate in the research. You represent an authentic voice about how a HBCU influenced what you believe and value about teaching in multicultural classrooms. You have the knowledge and experience to be a valuable participant because you have already graduated and begun your teaching experiences.

In this study, I want to explore how you developed your racial identity before you began your matriculation at THE HBCU and how attending THE HBCU impacted your social justice disposition after you graduated. Since we both graduated from the Elementary Education Program there, I will also examine the same about myself. I want to tell both of our stories in my research. Although I know that exploring issues of racial identity are sometimes awkward and filled with emotion, I sincerely believe you have valuable input that would benefit teacher preparation. I hope you will agree to participate.

Your identity and anything that would identify you by person will remain confidential. Your participation is voluntary. I plan to conduct one-on-one, face-to-face interviews where we will share our experiences with each other in a conversational manner. We will meet from eight to ten hours at the times and places you choose for your convenience. During the interviews, I would like your permission to audiotape the sessions so I can accurately record your responses and have time for us to share our life experiences. We will collaborate on every part of the project. You will read what has been written for accuracy and together we will decide how to use the research.

Your participation will benefit us both as we learn about what we value as women and as teachers. It will contribute to the continuous improvement of your Elementary Education Program, and you will personally contribute to the preparation of teachers who are graduating to teach in multicultural classrooms.

If you agree to participate, please complete the Participant Information Form and return it to me in the enclosed stamped envelope. You may contact me at douthitfb@email.appstate.edu at any time and if you have questions. Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Fran Bates Oates

Appendix C

Interview Protocol

Interview One: Family and Community Where You Lived

In this interview time, we will talk about our families and the communities in which we lived. I would like for you to tell me about yours and I want to tell you about mine.

1. Tell me about your family. How would you describe them?
2. Describe where you and your family lived.
3. Describe your years growing up with your family from the age of your earliest memory until high school.
4. How did you identify yourself as you were growing up? Explain.
5. What are some of your earliest memories of being White? When did you realize you were White?
6. What were the conversations about race in your family?
7. How would you describe the community where you lived?
8. How would you describe your family's social class. What were your experiences as a child of different social classes?

Interview One: K-12 Education

We will also describe our years in school from grade kindergarten through high school.

1. Tell me about your elementary and middle school. How would you describe each of them?
2. Describe your high school.
3. Growing up, describe your peer group.
4. What experiences did you have in school where you learned about people from different races or social classes?
5. What are some of your earliest memories of interaction with African Americans?
6. Did you experience or witness social justice or injustices in high school or in earlier years? Describe how you felt.
7. Who was your favorite teacher? What do you identify in his or her practice that is valuable to you.

Interview Two: College Years

In this interview we will spend the most time talking about college life, faculty interaction and the college activities we experienced. Since this is the focus of this research project, we

this will be our longest interview time together. You will receive these questions prior to our interview for your reflection.

HBCU Choice:

1. I would like for you to think back to when you decided to go to college. Why did you decide to attend an HBCU? Why did you choose THE HBCU? What factors influenced your choice?
2. What words best describe what it is like to be a student at THE HBCU? In particular, what words best describe what it was like to be a White female student there? (Hall and Closson, p. 32).

Faculty Interactions:

3. Describe your interactions with THE HBCU faculty in and outside of class.
4. Talk about your relationship with faculty, staff and administration outside your race.
5. Were there people or certain events that motivated you to become active or involved on campus? If so who were the individuals and what were the events?
6. To what degree, and in what ways, was the HBCU faculty supportive and helpful or less than supportive and helpful to you? To what degree did race influence faculty supportiveness or helpfulness? (Hall and Closson, p. 32)
7. To what degree were you comfortable approaching instructors there? Which instructors were the most comfortable or least comfortable to approach? In particular, those of a different race? Same race? (Hall and Closson, p. 32).
8. How did the interactions of African American female faculty impact your understanding of social justice advocacy or how did she not?

Campus Environment and Activities:

9. Describe your interaction with students from different races than your own.
10. Did you ever have a racially-driven experience on campus? If so, describe it.
11. Describe any experience of isolation that you have experienced.
12. While attending THE HBCU, how did participating in activities at THE HBCU impact your understanding of social justice disposition or how did it not?
13. Were you involved in organizations or programs where you are the only White student? What was that like? How did you feel being a minority on the HBCU campus?
14. How do you think Black students perceived you on campus?
15. What are the major factors that influenced White students to participate in campus activities?
16. Based on your experiences at THE HBCU, if you had to do it over again, would you attend this HBCU again? Why?
17. What does it mean to you to attend a HBCU? What difference, if any, has it meant to you?

Interview Three: Teacher Education

In this interview we will describe what we value and believe and what influenced our dispositions. We will spend time reviewing the themes generated from our interviews, and I will describe the next steps in composing our narratives.

1. As a teacher how do you think about social justice?
2. How would you describe your social justice disposition for teaching?
3. What influenced the development of your social justice beliefs and values the most?
4. As a teacher now, how would you describe how the Elementary Education Program and the HBCU prepared you for teaching in multicultural classrooms or how did it not?

Appendix D

Focus Group Protocol

1. Review your first representation of your definition of social justice. Would you change it, why or why not?
2. How would you define your social justice disposition?
3. What are your reflections of what you have learned about yourself?
4. What are your reflections about the research project and your involvement as a participant?
5. Can you now see through my eyes as a Black female different from you as a White female?
6. As a teacher, can you see your students that are a different culture than you thorough their eyes?
7. Draw, write a poem, or do any representation of your current definition of social justice in a creative way.

Appendix E

Categories and Themes

Below are the categories and themes that emerged from interviews assessing areas of impact on our racial identity and social justice disposition development to teach.

Category	Elizabeth	Natasha	Hannah	Fran
<i>Before</i>				
Racial Identity	White, middle class	White, rich, middle class	White, middle class	Negro Black African American
Family Impact	Mom and Dad	Dad	Dad	Dad
Community	Segregated	Segregated	Segregated	Segregated
Elementary School	Segregated	Integrated; Dad moved to Segregated	Segregated	Segregated
Middle	Integrated	Segregated	Segregated	Segregated
High School	Integrated	Segregated	Segregated	Segregated
College	HBCU	HBCU	HBCCU	HBCU
<i>During</i>				
Female Faculty Impact	African American Female Faculty	African American Female Faculty	African American Female Faculty	White Female Faculty
Campus Activity Impact	No participation	No participation	No participation	Full participation
Course Content Impact	Diversity papers	Field Experience Assignment	Field Experience Assignment	Student Teaching Experience
<i>After</i>				
Teaching Assignment	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated

Appendix F

Focus Group Arts-Based Representations



Natasha's Artistic Representation of Social Justice

Elizabeth Wordle

Elizabeth created a Wordle using the following words to describe her new definition of social justice: Social justice rights freedom justice fair right care opportunities free liberties equality Native American Indians see love minority love home health family food jobs

Hannah's Representation of the HBCU Impact



Seeing Ourselves Anew Tapestry

Fran Bates Oates

"An invisible red thread connects those who are destined to meet, regardless of time, place, or circumstance. The thread may stretch or tangle, but will never break." Ancient Chinese Belief

Fran and I met only 2 months ago through a series of "red thread" connections. By the end of our first face to face conversation there was a bond between us. Fran shared her vision for this piece and she trusted me, a virtual stranger, to bring her vision into reality. It was my honor to do so.

Fran described black and white hand woven fabrics, adorned with sparkly sequins, jewels and flowing iridescent ribbons all representing the inherent beauty of human beings and their ultimate mingling and appreciation for one another. The cocoon at the center represents her feelings of security and contentment in the early days of her journey, and indeed the journeys of all of us as we learn and transform into mature women who recognize the beauty and treasure in all those we meet.

Cloth is a ubiquitous substance, traditionally associated with women's pursuits, as are beads, pearls, ribbons and jewels. The texture and beauty of the black and white fabrics reflect both the similarities and differences among all humans. The

structure of both fabrics is identical. Only the color and fiber content are different. Several textile techniques were used to create this piece for Fran. The fabrics were woven in a 'point twill' on my loom. The black panel is wool and the white panel is cotton and rayon boucle. The black sequins were the "Bling" provided by Fran and hand stitched to the panels.

The cocoon was fabricated with a needle and waxed hemp thread. Fran asked that the cocoon be veiled and opening to reveal the transformation.

The African beads and freshwater pearls appear on both panels, beginning near the transformation area, but increasing in both number and proximity to each other after the transformation. These were hand-stitched to the panels.

The "red thread" is embroidered chain stitch done with a needle and #8 Perle cotton. The 'red thread' travels on both panels, making connections with both black and white along the way.

The vision is Fran's, but in faith she allowed me the freedom to add my own interpretation. A long distance collaboration, but truly a gift.

I invite all who view this to reflect on their own experience and journey as well as their transformation and wisdom.

Susan B Doggett, Textile Artist

Vita

Fran Bates Oates has been an educator for more than forty years. In the local school system she served in the roles of teacher, assistant principal and principal, Quality Training and Development Program Specialist and Director of Staff Development. After 31 years of service in the school system, Fran Oates retired in 2004. In 2006, she joined Winston-Salem State University (WSSU) as a Clinical Faculty and currently serves as the Elementary Education Program Coordinator. Fran Oates is also a life coach in her own business, BatesOates Life Coaching and Educational Services.

Born in Virginia she later moved to North Carolina where she attended and graduated fifth in her high school class and began her thirst for lifelong learning. She came to WSSU to become a teacher graduating with the highest academic average in her major and in the top ten percent of her class. Continuing her education, she received a Master's Degree, an Educational Specialist Degree, and a Doctorate of Educational Leadership from Appalachian State University. She earned the Outstanding Academic Achievement Award from the Principals' Executive Program at UNC Chapel Hill and completed a Summer Leadership Institute at Harvard University Divinity School. Fran Oates has been very active for forty years at her church where she serves as the Chair of the Board of Directors of the Union Community Development Corporation. She loves God, her family, and teaching and coaching.