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AUTHOR Milam, John H., Jr.
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ABSTRACT

This paper considers fundamental questions raised in the current debate about Afrocentric research methods in the social sciences. The discussion covers feminist, critical theory, radical humanist, radical structuralist, ethnographic, naturalistic inquiry, constructivism, and phenomenological inquiry approaches to research. The working definition of Afrocentric research methodology is primarily derived from the work of Molefi K. Asante. The paper offers a chronology of the developing dialogue among intellectuals about Afrocentric research methods. It also looks at Afrocentrism in terms of Eurocentrism, Afrocentric social theory, and Afrocentric social science. Further discussion treats ontology, epistemology, and physics. An exploration of methods, location, the role of the researcher, validity and integrity, and ethics culminates in a list of 10 important concepts and ideas to describe the emerging principles of Afrocentric research methodology including the following: (1) Afrocentricity offers a new paradigm of social theory and social science which represents a major departure; (2) it provides a unique lens for analyzing all forms of oppression at the same time and with the same degree of commitment, among them race, gender, and class; and (3) knowledge which is inherently Eurocentric is abandoned, and all knowledge is scrutinized for Eurocentric bias. (Contains 31 references.) (JB)

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THE EMERGING PARADIGM OF AFROCENTRIC RESEARCH METHODS

by

John H. Milam, Jr.

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George Mason University
Office of Institutional Research and Planning
4400 University Drive
Fairfax, VA 22030-4444
(703) 993-8837
BITNET: JMILAM@GMUVAX

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Texas A&M University
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Administration
College Station, TX 77843
(409) 845-0393

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This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Marriott City Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 29 - November 1, 1992. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

THE EMERGING PARADIGM OF AFROCENTRIC RESEARCH METHODS

John Milam

Introduction

This research began as an attempt to understand the current debate over Afrocentrism, the alleged anti-Semitism of black studies scholar Leonard Jeffries, the changing nature of the discipline of African American studies, and historical claims that the origins of Greek civilization may be traced back to ancient Egypt and the African peoples.

Over the past two years, the concept of Afrocentrism has engaged my interest more and more. As part of a recent role as a faculty associate of the Center for Black Culture and Research at West Virginia University, I was provided with various documents from the debate. I became involved in a Ford-funded study of the curriculum in Black Studies, African, and African American Studies programs across the nation and I was fortunate enough to be able to participate in numerous discussions about the nature and role of the changing discipline.

The anti-Jeffries attitude displayed in the popular press prompted me to read the transcript of the Albany speech in which Jeffries (1991) makes remarks regarded as anti-Semitic. In an unpublished paper entitled "Was Cleopatra Black, Or Is Leonard Jeffries Anti-Semitic?: The Tortuous Road To Afrocentric Truth," Selase Williams argues that attacks on Jeffries in the mass media are "being used to lynch not only Jeffries, but the whole Afrocentric movement" (Williams, 1991, p. 4).

It was at this point that I realized that the debate is not necessarily about Jeffries or Gates or Asante or multiculturalism, but about definitions of and reactions to Afrocentricity. The concept of approaching any topic from an Afrocentric point of view means much more than embracing the work of a handful of scholars. It has the potential to involve a radical departure from the nature of knowledge, the role of culture, and the reality of oppression.

After reading popular works on both sides of the issues, and realizing that the debate had more to do with definitions of Afrocentricity than anything else, my first inclination was to apply work I have done on paradigms in higher education to what I was learning. Until recently, I believed that the Burrell and Morgan (1979) paradigm schema which I relied upon for my dissertation (Milam, 1989) and subsequent work (Milam, 1991, 1992) could be applied to any disciplinary setting. This schema provides a language of meta-theoretical assumptions to understand social science and sociology. Reading the scholarly literature on African, African American, and Black Studies, I believed that I could relate the delicate balance of quantitative and qualitative social science for radical sociology to this emerging discipline. This appeared to me to be an exciting new frontier of research.

What I had not expected was that, in reading Asante's (1990) work entitled Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge, I would be led to criticize and reject the analytic tool which had helped lead me to Afrocentric research in the first place. Every important methodologi-

cal issue and connection between radical change sociology and social science which I was attempting to explain using the Burrell and Morgan schema is already better articulated from a more holistic perspective by Asante. His work challenges me to recognize that my use of the Burrell and Morgan schema to analyze Afrocentrism is itself Eurocentric. In all intellectual honesty, I could not continue with this line of research.

Therefore, I assumed a new task, that of acquainting myself with some of the current thought on the idea of an "emerging paradigm" of African, African American, and Black Studies. Perhaps it will be possible to identify and discard additional vestiges of Eurocentrism which are leftover from my graduate training, are part of my scholarly research agenda, or are part of the reward structure of the disciplines.

Purpose of Paper

The purpose of this research paper is to acquaint the reader with the fundamental questions raised in the current debate about Afrocentric research methods. From a sociological perspective, this will include discussion of feminist, critical theory, radical humanist, and radical structuralist approaches to research. From the social science perspective, this will include ethnography, naturalistic inquiry, constructivism, and phenomenological inquiry. Asante's concept of "location" is offered as an interesting bridge between naturalistic inquiry and critical theory to address oppression by race, gender, and class.

A working definition of Afrocentric research methodology will be extracted from this integrative review of the literature. Asante's work from 1980 to the present offers what is perhaps the most complete set of statements about methods. Over time, there has been a sequential rephrasing of key language by Asante and others. Some scholars clarify and others compete with Asante's definitions. The tensions and disagreements over definitions serve as interesting counter-corollaries of Afrocentrism.

I am still attracted to categorizing these ideas within two broad dimensions, social science and sociology. As Asante suggests, it becomes obvious that even these divisions in Afrocentrism are "illusions built into our response systems by the contemporary emphasis on either-or situations" (1990, p. 36).

Questions

Difficulties exist in assessing the utility and importance of the Afrocentric method because of apparent contradictions in the works of some of its key theorists, particularly Jeffries and Asante. In his book entitled Afrocentricity, Asante (1988) makes statements which could easily be labeled as homophobic and anti-gay. Jeffries' and Asante's remarks may show serious flaws in their sensitivity to some forms of oppression. Does this apparent lack of sensitivity diminish the importance of the Afrocentric perspective, something which Williams (1991) suggests the media is trying to do? The racist overtones are highlighted by Asante's statement that "Assaults on Africology as a discipline, as we shall see, are nothing

more than attacks on the idea that African Americans can neither create theories nor disciplines, and is ultimately the same tune played in previous discussions of African intelligence" (Asante, 1992, p. 104).

At the same time, it may be suggested that the Afrocentric paradigm fails to adequately account for the feminist perspective. There has always been a Black Feminist body of scholarship which has cut across both kinds of oppression. Many of the scholars surrounding Asante at Temple in the first Ph.D. program in the country for Black Studies are men. What is the relationship of Black Feminists to the male scholars who have been defining Afrocentricity?

Marxist analysis is an important sub-area of Afrocentric research. One must question why the paradigm is bound in the context of oppression in race and class, but not gender and sexual orientation? How does research from a critical theory perspective on other minority groups such as Chicanos fit the Afrocentric paradigm? Is the Afrocentric approach bound by the limitations of its new disciplinary context, or does it offer something unique which may contribute to overall paradigm debates about sociology and social science? These and other questions will be explored in this paper.

Dialogue about Afrocentric Research Methodologies

The dialogue about Afrocentric research methodologies takes place on many different levels:

- As part of ongoing discussion of knowledge areas and methods to define Black Studies, African Studies, and African-American Studies as disciplines (Azibo, 1992; Myers, 1992; Stewart, 1992).
- As part of broad, philosophical discussion of Africology, Africentrism, Afrology, Afrocentricity, ethnocentrism, and multiculturalism (Asante, 1983, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1992; Azibo, 1988; Van Horne, 1988).
- As part of curricular discussion for the creation, evaluation, certification, and legitimization of degree programs and academic infrastructures (Little, Crosby, and Leonard, 1988, 1991).
- As part of dialogue between disciplines and fields to critique Eurocentrism and legitimize Afrocentric inquiry based on content and methodological choices (Turner, 1984; Stewart, 1992).
- As part of meta-theoretical discussions of Afrocentric inquiry at the paradigm level (Asante, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1992; Baldwin and Hopkins, 1990; Karenga, 1988; Turner, 1984).

It is not the purpose of this paper to adequately address and synthesize current work being done in each of the above areas. It is possible to extract from each literature base how research methodologies are presented. It is difficult to discern which level of discussion to choose, though. Asante (1988) offers long passages in which he criticizes positivism and mentions how an ethnographic approach of critical theory would be useful, were it not for its Eurocentric roots. Should I mention his paradigmatic points about positivism and Eurocentrism, or focus on his discussion of ethnography and phenomenological inquiry? Other scholars offer apparent paradigmatic contradictions, suggesting for example that subjective, idiographic knowledge be treated in a cumulative manner to build a knowledge base for the discipline.

When extracted from these broader dimensions, the discussion of methodology takes four directions:

- acknowledging that the debate over Afrocentric methods takes place at the level of paradigms;
- critiquing Eurocentric methods and their legitimization;
- defining Afrocentrism social theory;
- defining Afrocentric social science.

Paradigms

A number of scholars discuss research issues in African, African American, and Black Studies within the concept of paradigms (Akbar, 1984; Asante, 1983, 1988, 1990; Azibo, 1988; Baldwin and Hopkins, 1990; Jewsiewicki, 1989; Karenga, 1988; Kershaw, 1989; Knowles-Borishade, 1991; Thomas, 1985; Turner, 1984; and Van Horne, 1988). These scholars make use of an "Afrocentric Paradigm" to challenge the assumptions of Eurocentric research. This "worldview" (Azibo, 1988) or "emerging paradigm" (Kershaw, 1989) provides a "window for viewing all phenomena, not just Black" (Azibo, 1992, p. 78).

An example of this scholarship comes from Turner (1984), who explains that "Black studies is a conceptual paradigm that principally tells us, like other academic discourse, what counts as a fact and what problems of explanation exist" (p. xviii).

In his discussion of the "identifying markers of specialists in africology," Van Horne (1988) writes that Africana scholars are involved in "ceaseless activity pertaining to the emergence of paradigms through the recovery, discovery, and reconstruction of ideas/artifacts which order and guide conduct/behavior that affects the interest, good, and well-being of peoples of primary African origin" (pp. 7-8).

The importance of translating issues into the level of paradigms is highlighted in the Ford-funded curriculum project which was conducted recently by the National Council on Black Studies. An introductory report for the project states that: "As scholars in the academic arena approach the twenty-first century, it is reasonable that they look for frameworks and paradigms that will enable them to more fully view and respond to the dynamics of the total human experience" (Little, Crosby, and Leonard, 1988, p.2).

Articulating the call for this type of research, Turner writes that "The intellectual task is not then simply to pick or choose among the conceptual and methodological toys of traditional disciplines but to reconceptualize the social fabric and rename the world in a way that obliterates the voids that have inevitably occurred as a result of artificial disciplinary demarcations" (Turner, 1984, p. x).

Key to understanding this paradigmatic approach is the definition of Afrocentricity. While it is important not to oversimplify the term, Afrocentrism is, to some theorists, "what makes black studies 'Black'" (Azibo, 1992, p. 66). It involves keeping the African and African Diasporan peoples at the center of any question. The term was purportedly created by Asante. He explains that:

The crystallization of this critical perspective I have named *Afrocentricity*, which means, literally, placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior (Asante, 1987, p. 6).

As Asante also explains, "all analysis is culturally centered and flows from ideological assumptions" (1987, p. 159). This involves awareness of oppression, heritage, history, language, lifestyle, culture, religion, ideals, and literally hundreds of other sensitivities to the question at hand.

The Afrocentrist seeks to uncover and use codes, paradigms, symbols, motifs, myths, and circles of discussion that reinforce the centrality of African ideals and values as a valid frame of reference for acquiring and examining data. Such a method appears to go beyond western history in order to re-valorize the African place in the interpretation of Africans, continental and diasporan (Asante, 1990, p. 6).

Asante calls nonsense the idea that Africans and African Americans do not have anything in common except skin color. "There exists an emotional, cultural, psychological connection between this people that span the oceans and the separate existence" (1987, p. 67).

Eurocentrism

Afrocentricity is defined, partly, in contrast to Eurocentrism. According to Stewart:

some Afrocentrists who acknowledge plural centrisms generally also aggressively attempt to distinguish Afrocentrism from Eurocentrism. Advocates of this view argue that Eurocentrism is plagued by an inherent predisposition toward control and domination that produces attempts to create hierarchical rather than cooperative relationships with other peoples. It is argued that this predisposition is absent in other centrisms (Stewart, 1992, p. 36).

Eurocentrism has produced an "ideational hegemony of Anglo-centric presuppositions and perspective" (Turner, 1984, p. xiii). Eurocentric research has traditionally not included minorities, except as subjects for comparison to white norms. Every disciplinary context is believed to be riddled with Eurocentrism. The foundations of modern thought in Greek civilization, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment are considered to be catalysts of oppression. Eurocentric scholars are viewed as agents of a fundamental conspiracy to deny the contributions of African peoples to civilization. This is where Len Jeffries got into so much trouble in his speech about Hollywood and the multicultural study of New York State's K-12 curriculum with which he was involved. In an illustration of the historical misrepresentation of Africans, he reveals that, in its early French castings the Statue of Liberty is portrayed as Black, but that this model has been purposefully hidden away from public view.

In one sense, everything which does not come out of an Afrocentric perspective is believed to be Eurocentric. This is an important point. For, in the consideration of appropriate methodologies, some scholars return to the Eurocentric disciplinary roots with which they were socialized and professionalized in graduate school in order to find tools which they may use for Afrocentric purposes. What part of these methodological choices is still Eurocentric? What types of hidden assumptions are made about the nature of knowledge and the phenomenon of culture when a supposedly "pure" technique such as ethnographic interviews is used for Afrocentric research. At what level are paradigmatic assumptions used or acknowledged to guide inquiry? The most radical assumptions of Afrocentricity propounded by Asante (1992) suggest that all non-Afrocentric knowledge which may be traced in origins to Eurocentrism should be discarded.

Afrocentric Social Theory

Critical theory, Marxism, and feminism are critiqued and incorporated into definitions of Afrocentrism by Asante and other recent scholars. While this may not always have been the case, these scholars are careful to document their respect for gender and class issues. However, Jeffries' anti-Semitic and Asante's anti-gay statements are symptomatic of larger contradictions in Afrocentric social theory.

Asante (1987) makes the charge that critical theory is too individualistic. Key to Afrocentricity is a kind of collective perspective on history and reality. Afrocentric cultural identification goes beyond what any one researcher or respondent perceives. The concept of race as collective, cultural body is important. While critical theory may address race as a form of oppression, the interaction being analyzed takes place between individuals. Afrocentrists argue that they bring a unique approach to collective consciousness in documenting contradiction and conflict.

Asante (1983), Karenga (1988), and Stewart (1992) argue that Marxism oversimplifies race and fails to recognize the economic impact of racial domination. To some Marxists, race is a crude biological determinant. Asante writes that "because it emerged from the Western consciousness, Marxism is mechanistic in its approach to social understanding and development, and it has often adopted forms of social Darwinism when explaining cultural and social phenomena" (Asante, 1987, p. 8). Jewsiewicki (1989), on the other hand, writes that Afrocentrists cannot escape Marxist theory.

"Gender differences" must be dealt with, according to Stewart (1992, p. 53) as part of "a viable theory of race and culture. The failure to examine gender differences systematically has been one of the principle weaknesses" of the discipline. Karenga (1988) criticizes the anti-feminist nature of most research, as does Asante (1992). Azibo (1992) asks important questions about "Where and when Black Women's Studies enters," and "Where and when Black Women's Studies exits." He acknowledges that:

The legacy of patriarchy has generated a void of knowledge about, and a disparagement and curtailing of the production by, the African woman. The need to rescue Black Studies from this state, which undermines and contradicts its African worldview base, is critically urgent. Redress on this point is to be regarded as compulsory (Azibo, 1992, p. 83).

Discussing the differences in the social science versus humanities disciplines, as these are played out in Black Studies, Stewart remarks that:

a high proportion of those scholar/activists involved in the articulation of African Women's Studies are literati. To the extent that their work is not systematically integrated into the Black/Africana Studies developmental process, the social science-based scholarship of the field will, in all likelihood, continue to be gender-biased (Stewart, 1992, p. 30).

Stewart implies that the gender bias in the core literature on Afrocentrism is due to disciplinary differences, not necessarily to a lack of sensitivity among the male scholars who have disseminated Afrocentric theory. It will take more than building inter-disciplinary bridges to confront the anti-feminism which Azibo, Stewart, and Asante admit is evident in the literature.

While consciousness of oppression is connected with critical theory by Asante, Karenga, and other scholars, awareness of oppression is relegated to a synthesis of race, gender, and class (Stewart, 1992). Discussion of other forms of oppression such as sexual orientation is absent from most of the core Afrocentric literature.

The intersection of critical theory, Marxism, and feminism with Afrocentrism offers a fascinating dialogue. For purposes of definition, Afrocentrism involves a fundamental awareness of issues of race, class, and gender. The intensity and degree of commitment to any of these agendas is somewhat idiosyncratic, depending on the scholar and the date of publication. It is obvious that Asante, Stewart, Azibo, and Karenga have developed a greater awareness of gender issues over time. Examining issues of inclusion, Asante finds that:

This is the point at which the feminist critique converges with the Afrocentric line of reasoning. What I seek to do here is to move closer to the possibility of a post-Eurocentric idea where true transcultural analyses become possible; this can be accomplished alongside a post-male ideology as we unlock creative human potential (Asante, 1987, p. 8).

If the language of these core scholars is to be taken seriously, we need to reach an intersecting awareness of race, gender, and class for any analysis. Some argue that race should come before gender. This and similar Marxist claims about class are not useful. The difficulty comes when the origin of conceptions about gender and class are analyzed. Marxism is essentially Eurocentric. It may be impossible to separate disciplined analysis of class issues from its fundamentally Eurocentric heritage. Should Afrocentric discussions of class use only the language and ideas which emerge from Africa and the African Diaspora? Patriarchy is certainly rooted in Eurocentrism. Still, to be true to this Afrocentric ethic, one would have to question the roots of where feminist paradigmatic assumptions come from. White Women's Studies is differentiated here from Black Women's Studies.

The purpose of this discussion is not to question the integrity of scholarship which is at the intersection of race, gender, and class, but to acknowledge the contradictions and promise of the Afrocentric ideal. Given the Eurocentric critique and the need for all knowledge to emerge from an Afrocentric perspective, what is left of social theory? In some ways, true Afrocentrism requires that all knowledge and sensitivity to oppression be built, essentially, from scratch. If pre-Afrocentric research is to be used, it would need to be scrutinized with the Afrocentric ideal and, conceivably, republished.

One must ask what social theories would be left if the Afrocentric ideal were applied whole-heartedly to most bodies of existing research and theory. This is true to a subjective, naturalistic, phenomenological ideal which works against scholar's inherent predisposition to build a cumulative knowledge base of oppression.

Afrocentric Social Science

As mentioned earlier, extracting discussions of social science methodology from the Afrocentric literature is a somewhat nebulous task, given the relationship of methods to paradigmatic assumptions and the apparent contradictions of some scholars' statements about social science. It is possible, though, to document the key points or themes which appear in some of the core works. These include discussions of epistemology and the nature of knowledge, including parallels between knowledge and physics. There are discussions of subjectivity versus objectivity and qualitative versus quantitative approaches. Particular methodological choices are suggested or critiqued according to their paradigmatic assumptions. Asante's concept of "location" is a key methodological perspective for Afrocentrism. The role of the researcher is a much-discussed concept in the Afrocentric research literature, as is the nature and impact of dissemination. Issues of validity and integrity are addressed, along with a number of ethical questions.

To a great extent, the following section is the real purpose for this research. Afrocentricity has been defined and discussed from a paradigmatic context. The sociological perspectives of race, gender, and class have been presented. All of these discussions are found in more depth and with greater clarity in the original citations. What one does not find in the literature is a succinct restatement and synthesis of the methodological assumptions of the core Afrocentrists. The following is an attempt to contribute to this dialogue.

Ontology and Epistemology

Afrocentrists discard positivist and nomothetic approaches to "reality" as part of their rejection of Eurocentrism. Empiricism is exchanged for subjectivity and phenomenology as key concepts for understanding epistemology. However, even these approaches have Eurocentrist roots which must be shed as part of an ongoing methodological critique.

In his explication of the "Epistemological Issue" in Afrocentricity, Asante writes that "language, myth, ancestral memory, dance-music-art, and science provide the sources of knowledge, the canons of proof, and the structure of truth" (1992, p. 108). While in this statement and other writings Asante argues that non-empirical knowledge is to be valued, his choice of the words "canon," "proof," "structure," and "truth" are unfortunately confusing. Abandoning empiricism, one abandons the search for canons and structures, believing instead that metaphors, processes, and patterns are more useful to understanding subjective reality.

As Asante acknowledges in an earlier work (1983), all definitions of knowledge are contextual. No single action or activity should be isolated for study. Linear, causal models are of little utility. The fabric and the context of the Afrocentric human situation, with its awareness of a multi-dimensional heritage and culture of oppression, form the basis for a subjective social science methodology.

Little et al. (1991) make use of Edwin J. Nichol's term "ntulogic" to explain the

assumption that "All sets are related through human and spiritual networks" (Little et al., 1991, p. 34). These human networks are part of the Afrocentric focus on collective consciousness, as opposed to individualistic dynamics of living.

Metaphysical concepts are also very important to Afrocentric subjectivity. Akbar (1984) explains that the "holistic model" of the Afrocentric paradigm "must include the full dimensions of the human make-up: physical, mental, and metaphysical." "Relative to the Eurocentric approach, the Africentric social scientists take a 'quantum leap' when they identify spirituality as a relevant dimension of the human experience" (Akbar, 1984, p. 408).

To Asante, "The Afrocentrist does not accept the European concept of objectivity because it is invalid operationally." He has "argued that what often passes for objectivity is a sort of collective European subjectivity. Therefore, it may not serve any useful purpose to speak of objectivity and subjectivity as this division is artificial in an of itself" (Asante, 1990, pp. 24-25). "What is unconscionable is the idea that when a person makes any decision that the decision is 'objective'; every decision, even one's choice of software for her or his word processor, is human and consequently 'subjective' (Asante, 1990, p. 25).

The contradictory and competing paradigm assumptions are seen as strengths for Black Studies by John (1992). She explains that:

when we succumb to western pressures, that is when we relinquish the ways that our African ontology informs our epistemology, we undermine ourselves. More specifically, when we negate, forget or deride the reality of multiple ways of knowing, of the utility of subjectivity and objectivity in tandem, or the limitless possibilities when the social and natural sciences work in a complementary fashion, then we are negating a principle fundamental to the philosophy of our culture (John, 1992, p. 8).

Afrocentric researchers pay attention to symbols, affect, instinct, intuition, and imagery as multiple ways of knowing. Examining the epistemological assumptions of the "Africentric" approach, Akbar explains that "Emotional reactions as a means for knowing and as a balance for rationality is [sic] legitimate within this model." (Akbar, 1984, p. 410). Cultural symbols and rituals are "important causative dimensions in human experience. Such symbols in Western science would have little validity as either independent or dependent variables, but in the Africentric paradigm they could be either" (p. 411). Note the contradiction apparent in the importance suggested for "causative dimensions," "validity," and "variables."

This contradiction over the positivist paradigm is shown in a statement by Azibo. Talking about appropriate research frameworks for conducting psychological research on blacks, he writes that "Black social scientists will be armed with empirical evidence to take to the Black community in order that African-Americans en masse may be persuaded to be more consciously Africentric" (Azibo, 1988, p. 224).

One important point made by Asante, Azibo, Williams and others is that Afrocentric research is a "cultural science" and a "human science." Whether discussing the holistic nature of human personality in its dimensions of spirituality and metaphysics, discussing the subjective nature of knowledge, or describing the concept of location, Afrocentricity "places humans at its center" (Williams, 1991, p. 4).

Physics

There is an appreciation among the Afrocentrists for the physics of quantum mechanics and metaphors from physics are sometimes used to discuss the nature of knowledge. Discussing the "Relevance of the Discipline as Evaluative Criteria," Myers explains that "A new social science emerges that is not based on methodologies flowing from Cartesian philosophy, but rather that [is] consistent with the discoveries in modern physics" (Myers, 1992, p. 127).

Stewart recognizes the advantage of "long-cycle theories" in Marxism for "treating temporal events as a continuum, consistent with African conceptions of time, rhythms and cycles, thus avoiding excessive reliance on linear Eurocentric models" (Stewart, 1992, p. 47).

In her work on African aesthetics of Afrocentricity, Kariamuwelsh Asante isolates these elements of Zimbabwe dance - polyrhythm, polycentrism, dimensionality, repetition, curvilinearity, epic memory, and "wholism" (Asante, 1992). These same elements of wholism, multi-dimensionality, and polydeterminism describe the Afrocentric sensitivity to the new physics of knowledge (Akbar, 1984).

Nobles (1990) addresses the African-centered curriculum as part of a paper entitled "African Centered Educational Praxis." The curriculum has an "Infusion Of African Centered Cultural Precepts," several of which have parallels to ideas in physics and to Schwartz and Ogilvy's (1979) description of an emerging paradigm in the disciplines. The seven precepts include:

Consubstantiation: Assumes that all things in the universe have the same essence...

Interdependence: Assumes that everything in the universe is connected...

Egalitarianism/Unicity: Assumes that the correct relationship between people is one of harmony and balance...

Collectivism: Assumes that individual effort is a reflection and/or instrument of communal or collective survival/advancement...

Transformation: Assumes that everything has the potential to continually function at a higher level...

Cooperation: Assumes that the optimal way of functioning is with mutual respect and encouragement...

Humanness: Assumes that all behavior is governed by the sense of vitalism and goodness... (Nobles, 1990, p. 5).

Methods

While nomothetic methods are attacked by most of the Afrocentrists, others including Kershaw (1989) call for a combination of critical theory and positivism. There is at times a movement away from the anti-positivist and idiographic ideals into terms such as variables, models, hypotheses, proof, truth, and objectivity. For the most part, though, the critique of Eurocentric social science has brought an emphasis on ethnographic, phenomenological, and constructivist approaches. While these terms too are not always used in the same way, there is some degree of coherence around these choices for mapping subjective knowledge.

Contradictions continue to be apparent in how strictly the core Afrocentrists adhere to these assumptions. Asante (1992) writes that "it is impossible for a person to become an Africalogist simply by using the historical method, or the critical method, or the experimental method, and so forth. In order to become the best type of Africalogist one must use all of the elements of data gathering, in any particular area, for an adequate assessment" (pp. 114-115). The difficulty here is that the historical method makes inherent assumptions about building a cumulative knowledge base which contradict the holistic nature of subjective knowledge. The mention of experimental methods suggests that linear, positivist approaches are appropriate, where these have already been abandoned. Asante repeatedly makes functionalist, cumulative assumptions such as that "Africalogy builds upon theoretical principles," that "a question for research must be based on a theory," and that "fundamental theoretical bases for Africalogy are derived from the Afrocentric perspective" (Asante, 1990, p. 30).

Asante notes the difficulty in using the approaches of ethnography and phenomenology, which have Eurocentric roots and connotations. "The phenomenologist's search for essence by questioning all assumptions about reality is similar to the Afrocentrist's search" (Asante, 1990, p. 26). What Afrocentrism "shares with ethno-methodology is the idea that reality is a process and that the discussion of normative patterns cannot be made intelligently unless the researcher understands the social context" (p. 28). Asante writes that the difference between Afrocentricity and the methodologies of ethnography is that Garfinkel and others "incorrectly assumed that the structure that accounted for subjects' perceptions was above and beyond the contextual meaning of their particular culture" (p. 28). Asante puts "place," "location," and cultural heritage above the interaction of consciousness with context in its effect on perception.

Ethnography is still Eurocentric, Asante argues, because it is a process of investigating otherness, "other people from their own contexts" (1990, p. 28). White people's experiences are still considered to be the norms for studying African-Americans. The nature of the disciplinary approach betrays this bias. The fact that qualitative interviews are used does not preclude Eurocentric bias. He explains that:

The major problem with existentialism, phenomenology, and structuralism, for example, is that they have hedged their bets in a European worldview that is moribund when it comes to looking at the outside world. *They cannot truly grasp the significance of a revolutionary idea that would change the European method itself* (Asante, 1990, p. vi).

In another example of contradictory assumptions, Asante writes that "Scholars in our field have often been handicapped in their quest for clear and authoritative statements by a lack of methodological direction for collection and analyzing data, choosing and interpreting research themes, approaching and appreciating cultural artifacts, and isolating and evaluating facts" (Asante, 1992, pp. 111-112.)

Little appears in the core Afrocentric literature about data analytic techniques. There is no mention of an equivalent to grounded theory building, the constant comparative method, or the use of emergent, polychotomous coding categories to explore the presence of themes. Clearly, the implied approach is still rooted in an empirical mindset. While patterns, processes, and metaphors are mentioned in relationship to understanding subjective knowledge, these ideals of constructivism and naturalistic inquiry are not adhered to. This may be noted as an important contradiction or as further evidence of the discipline's nascent methodological development. Overall, though, the primary direction of the core Afrocentrists is toward qualitative, idiographic methods for gathering and interpreting subjective data.

When instructing researchers "to examine everything possible to make an adequate case," Asante (1992, p. 114) suggests the use of video records, oral records, and portfolio documentation. Stewart (1992) talks about the appeal of oral history research because of the tradition of oral communication for African peoples. In-depth interviews and collective, group interviews are frequently mentioned as appropriate methods. Group interviews reflect the collective approach inherent in Afrocentricity. Stewart asks "Is it not the case that participant observation methodologies are more consistent with the metaphysics and value orientation of Black/Africana Studies than are anonymous surveys?" (1992, p. 16). In another apparent contradiction of positivism versus subjectivity, Stewart also asks "would not non-linear regression techniques be a more appropriate research tool than linear regression?" (p. 16).

Stewart (1992) calls for a kind of case study which he labels "exemplars." These are made up of "composites of several examples rather than distinct individual cases." He

suggests that researchers write "intellectual/activist autobiographies." It is recognized that "the pattern of domination of the intellectual landscape by traditional disciplines will cause most case studies to exhibit significant ambiguity" (Stewart, 1992, p. 18).

Thomas (1985) urges Afrocentrists to "rid themselves of the recent epidemic of 'quantophrenia' - the obsession with numbers as seen in the empirical studies" (1985, p. 329). Again, the contradictions are apparent, as Thomas concedes that he is "not opposed to empirical studies as long as they are supported by a sound conceptual base" (p. 329). The overwhelming majority of core Afrocentrist writings point to the use of qualitative, idiographic approaches for understanding the context of subjective processes. The contradictory statements of Asante, Stewart, and Thomas may be part of the process necessary for shedding Eurocentrism. Certainly, the definitions of Afrocentric research methods are confusing. Many Black studies scholars have strong ties to their traditional experiences of professionalization and socialization in the disciplines, and these will shape their research agenda unless they undergo some sort of an Afrocentric paradigm shift at the social science level of assumptions.

Location

Asante is responsible for introducing the concept of "location" into Afrocentric research methods. In a recent article, he writes that "Dislocation, location and relocation are the principal calling cards of the Afrocentric theoretical position." By locating "a situation, event, an author," "Location tells you where someone is, that is, where they are standing." (Asante, 1992, p. 99).

On the surface, this concept appears similar to that of determining political correctness, in that it involves a quick assessment of a scholar's orientation to the issue of race. Asante falls into this digression when he writes "As I would know a political conservative, a Marxist, a deconstructionist, or a racist by language and behavior, I can also know a Eurocentrist" (1992, p. 99). However, the concept of location is much more useful.

Location involves putting African ideals at the heart of any analysis by keeping in mind the history, heritage, culture, religion, language, etc. of the African peoples. In a section entitled "Inside Place," Asante (1990) explains that:

The Afrocentrist sees knowledge of this "place" perspective as a fundamental rule of intellectual inquiry because its content is a self-conscious obliteration of the subject/object duality and the enthronement of an African wholism. A rigorous discipline is necessary to advance the intellectual movement toward a meaningful concept of place. In saying this I am challenging the Afrocentrist to maintain inquiry rooted in a strict interpretation of place in order to betray all naive racial theories and establish Afrocentricity as a legitimate response to the human conditions. All knowledge results from an occasion of encounter in place. But the place remains a rightly shaped perspective that allows the

Afrocentrist to put African ideals and values at the center of inquiry. If this does not happen then Afrocentricity does not exist (Asante, 1990, pp. 6-7).

If this concept is taken to its natural extension, then all inquiry should begin without literature searches or theories, unless these were undertaken from an Afrocentric perspective. While the assumption of whether knowledge is cumulative is unclear in Afrocentricity, Afrocentric research needs to be built upon previous Afrocentric research, not upon Eurocentric approaches to Afrocentric topics.

It was shown in the discussion about intersecting issues of race, gender, and class that Afrocentrism requires that sensitivity to issues of oppression needs to be built, in one sense, from scratch. The cutting edge of Afrocentric theory suggests that this is the same for Afrocentric knowledge. Afrocentric scholars only know that which has been learned from an Afrocentric perspective of place. All other knowledge, however important it may seem to concepts of the psychology or history of racial oppression, is Eurocentric unless all Eurocentric roots have been severed and/or it has been nurtured from the ground up with an Afrocentric rooting.

"Location is paramount because it provides the cultural anchoring, indeed the centering, in some thought" (Azibo, 1992, p. 84). Someone may be oriented to Afrocentrism, but not located. Azibo explains that:

The orientation vs. location distinction is articulated here clearly and rigidly relegates as non-African that work which does not use concepts, variables, and formulations deriving from the African cultural factors and cultural aspects. By this standard much, if not most, of what Black Studies scholars produce today would appear not to be African. (Azibo, 1992, pp. 84-85).

Role of the Researcher

All of the Afrocentrists agree that the barrier between researcher and respondent or subject is artificial (Note: the term subject is still used frequently). There should be no pretense of scholarly objectivity or detachment. Rather, the researcher is immersed in the raw, subjective data of human existence as part of a political role. Asante (1990) explains that phenomenology and Afrocentrism are similar in their views of the researcher-respondent relationship, but "for different reasons." As one may see in African dance or the African American church, the "separation of subject/object, speaker/audience, dancer/spectators, or investigator/subject is artificial" (p. 27).

The researcher needs to examine herself or himself in order to understand the concept of location. This is similar to the "intellectual/activist autobiographies" which Stewart (1992) mentions as important for "exemplars" of research. Asante explains that "We have developed the concept of introspection, which means what you as the researcher feel about the topic before you undertake to study it. Thus, in any ethnography we ask the scholar to put

down his or her introspection first" (Asante, 1992, p. 102). The reason for this is "to ascertain what obstacles exist to an Afrocentric method in the researcher's own mind" (Asante, 1990, p. 27).

Stewart describes an interesting metaphor for scholarly collaboration which he calls the "jazz model." The "development and dissemination of knowledge" is "treated as being analogous to the composition and performance of jazz by a combo" (Stewart, 1992, p. 51). Each member brings disciplinary training and a specific instrument. Solo performances emphasize performers or instruments, but have to serve the overall composition. Improvisation is encouraged. There is also a symbolic relationship between performer and audience.

By their involvement in a collective enterprise that is centered in African ideals and devoted to political participation to alleviate oppression, Afrocentric scholars are researcher/practitioners. There is a fundamental responsibility to produce knowledge which will have an impact in the broader community, also to take an active role in the dissemination and discussion of this knowledge. In their continued dedication to these ideals, "the Afrocentric scholar rises to a new level of consciousness which claims that it is the concrete act of turning the table so that Africa assumes centrality that grants African people a new economic, historical or linguistic vision" (Asante, 1990, p. 38).

The relationship of researcher to audience and a wider community is implicit in the Afrocentric ideal. Since working for change is at the heart of the research enterprise, scholars need to be intimately involved in the dissemination of research. This may take many roles, scholarly and non-scholarly.

From a scholarly role, Afrocentric participation in dissemination may involve the selection of editorial boards and reviewers for gate-keeping journals, the production of new journals such as The Afrocentric Scholar published by the National Council for Black Studies, dissertation advising, organizing conferences, peer referee selection of conference papers, and offering graduate programs such as the first Ph.D. program in Black Studies at Temple University. In a non-scholarly or popular role, the dissemination of research involves all levels of community and political participation, from offering workshops to making speeches and presentations to many different types of audiences.

Thomas (1985) suggests that Afrocentric scholars have used a democratic, market approach to dissemination which has resulted in a "patchwork of distorted and self-defeating studies of Afro-Americans by Afro-Americans" (p. 331).

Afro-American scholars have not infused their work with accountability - particularly community participation-or come from a professional position that encourages pluralism. It is ironic that the charges against white scientists - irrelevancy in research content and lack of cultural accountability - are growing claims against Afro-American researchers" (Thomas, 1985, p. 331).

Among the issues which Thomas feels it "is imperative that we address" is the question: "How do research results create, promote, or sustain conditions for economic development and social self-help for a wide spectrum of people?" (p. 332).

Validity and Integrity

"Unlike the field of physics, the Africologist is not seeking to find verification or prediction but explanation and clarification" (Asante, 1992, p. 101). This statement includes contradictions between positivism and interpretivism which are seen throughout Asante's work. If one gives up objectivity for a subjective approach to multiple ways of knowing, then there is no attempt to explain.

Asante also states that "The Afrocentrist speaks of research that is ultimately verifiable in the experiences of human beings, the final empirical authority" (Asante, 1990, p. 25). By this, does he mean anecdotal, subjective accounts of idiographic data gathered with such methods as group interviews? The intent of Afrocentricity, as seen in the core literature, is certainly to be subjective. There is no mention, however, of techniques such as member checking, peer debriefing, or of how participants and respondents may become involved in assessing the integrity of their own data.

A process of "retrospection" is advocated by Asante for "questioning one's self after the project has been completed to ascertain if any personal obstacles exist to a fair interpretation" (Asante, 1990, p. 27).

Dual collection methods are discussed for triangulation in data gathering. While some of the positivist statements about data gathering (Azibo, 1988; Baldwin and Hopkins, 1990; Kershaw, 1989) suggest that the rigor of the scientific approach is required to ensure the validity of research findings, no comparable statements about validity are found in the subjectivist approach. Asante talks about the empiricism of human experience, but he and others fail to mention some of the standards for qualitative research which constructivist, naturalistic, and interpretive proponents have presented.

Karenga makes a statement which confounds the question by combining contradictory purposes:

The essential need, then, is that we do our work so well that even when other scholars are emotionally or culturally unable to accept our conclusions, they are still compelled to concede the rigor of our research and the groundedness of our theory. It is upon such critical work that both the continuing legitimacy and academic life of Black Studies depend (Karenga, 1988, p. 413).

Asante advocates that two researchers be involved in any project and that "assessment of the data" be done by two evaluators (1990, p. 26). At least one of the two researchers and of the two evaluators "must be from the social or cultural context" being studied (p. 26).

There is also a fundamental question unanswered in the lack of discussion about data analysis and interpretation. Whose coding categories are used for grounded theory building? What is the role of a priori theory in defining the "location" perspective, versus allowing the language, images, and coding of a context to "emerge?" How will it be possible to reconstruct what any given researcher did in order to ensure replicability and the integrity of the data gathering process?

The tensions over validity are at the center of the contradictions in definitions of Afrocentricity. Over time, Asante has refined certain elements of his subjectivist, holistic, position. Perhaps because there has been so little actual research published which employs these assumptions, the epistemological and ontological definitions of the Afrocentric paradigm have yet to congeal. (One might question whether the search for a cohesive definition is itself inappropriate given an interpretivist approach).

Ethics

Principles of fairness and openness in the design, conduct, and dissemination of research are advocated by Asante (1990). Methodologies need to be "correspondent with the field's metaphysics and values" (Stewart, 1992, p. 15). The definition of Afrocentrism requires that African ideals be at the center of any analysis.

Exploitation by Eurocentric social science is a key theme throughout the Afrocentric literature. Therefore, as Thomas (1985) writes:

Every theory, research design, social policy, and human services program needs to be scrutinized according to the following:

- (1) Value orientation that is used
- (2) Cultural elements used for networking
- (3) Validity of the assumptions made
- (4) Potential for a more significant change (Thomas, 1985, p. 333)

Human beings are placed at the center of the Afrocentric "human science." Scholar/activists are held accountable to a wider audience than their disciplinary peers. The focus on rejecting Eurocentrism and the idea of intervention is clear, and strong, albeit ambiguous, ethical standards are put forward in the formulation of an alternative Afrocentric approach.

No contradictions in the discussion of ethics are readily seen in the literature, but this may be a function of the fact that little if any direction is provided to researchers on the actual ethics of gathering and interpreting subjective data. There are some gaping holes in the core literature, such as on the involvement of respondents in analyzing, editing, and interpreting their own data. Member-checking is not discussed at all.

The Emerging Paradigm of Afrocentric Research Methods

Are the apparent contradictions between positivism and anti-positivism and between functionalist sociology and radical change sociology to be expected in the development of the discipline of Black Studies, African-American Studies, and Africana Studies? Are these a sign of the discipline's lack of maturity, or should these tensions be seen as strengths? Is a core group of scholars pushing Afrocentrism to a cutting edge of social science methodology, carving out new paradigmatic assumptions, while others struggle to catch-up?

These questions are useful only up to a certain point. It may not be possible to understand where the discipline is heading and what its relationship is to critical theory, feminist theory, constructivism, and naturalistic inquiry.

While it may be an obvious regression back into Eurocentrism, I am unable to resist my inclination to chart the emerging paradigm of Afrocentrism on the Burrell and Morgan paradigm schema. Doing this, I place the core Asante writings in the Radical Humanist paradigm, with most of the attendant scholars in the Radical Structuralist paradigm. The struggle over positivist, nomothetic, and realist ontology and epistemology is a source of confusion and contradiction among Afrocentric scholars. Clearly, though, Asante is pushing Afrocentric social science towards interpretivist, anti-positivist, idiographic, and subjectivist assumptions.

I do not believe that Afrocentrism may successfully bridge these two radical paradigms. Without resorting to a dualistic and dichotomous mindset, one must realize the fundamental differences between them. What I think I am beginning to see is a true radical humanism paradigm emerging in the Afrocentric movement.

Asante's concepts of Afrocentricity and location, taken to the extreme, require scholar/activists to abandon all social theory and social science methodology which does not have African ideals at its center. If the functionalist search for cumulative knowledge is abandoned as well, then the emerging paradigm of Afrocentric knowledge is starting completely from scratch. Arguments that this position is anti-intellectual fail to understand the lessons of quantum mechanics and constructivism.

What then are the emerging principles of Afrocentric research methodology? The following statements suggest some of the important concepts and ideas:

- (1) Afrocentricity offers a new paradigm of social theory and social science which represents a major departure from critical theory, feminist theory, constructivism, and naturalistic inquiry.
- (2) Afrocentricity provides a unique lens for analyzing all forms of oppression at the same time and with the same degree of commitment, among them race, gender, and class. Critical theory, Marxist, and Feminist paradigms are valued for their contribution to

the intersecting issues of oppression.

(3) Knowledge which is inherently Eurocentric is abandoned. All knowledge, whether it comes from the traditional disciplines or from Black, African, and African-American Studies, must be scrutinized for Eurocentric bias.

(4) If necessary, Afrocentric knowledge starts from scratch. New Afrocentric research must be located in the culture, ideals, religion, history, etc. of the African and African-Diasporan peoples. All research must be grounded in the ideals of the African and African Diasporan peoples through orientation and location to Afrocentricity.

(5) Scientific principles of empiricism are exchanged for an idiographic and interpretivist approach which recognizes the holistic, subjective, phenomenological, and collective nature of human consciousness. There is no desire to predict or explain, only to explore the metaphors, patterns, contexts, and processes of subjective knowledge.

(6) Polyrythm, polycentrism, dimensionality, repetition, and curvilinearity in Zimbabwe dance are important metaphors for the new physics of subjective, Afrocentric knowledge.

(7) The researcher/scholar is equally an activist/practitioner who is accountable both to disciplinary peers and to larger communities. She/he is responsible for the ethical design, conduct, analysis, dissemination, and presentation of research for social and economic development.

(8) The life of the researcher/activist is interwoven with her or his research agenda. There is no artificial separation between roles, as there is no barrier between the academic and the larger community, and there is no separation between researchers and respondents. Researchers are actively engaged in a political work which takes many forms, but is ultimately accountable to the people they are trying to help.

(9) Replicability, integrity, and trustworthiness are critical to the validity of research findings. Afrocentric researchers must incorporate the principles for qualitative techniques found in constructivism, naturalistic inquiry, and interpretivism in their data gathering and analysis.

(10) If the paradigm of Afrocentrism is to emerge, then the contradictions which are evident in the core literature need to be recognized as critical moments in the development of competing assumptions about radical sociology and social science. As Asante and others push Afrocentricity to the cutting edge of radical social science, the tensions and confusion over the changing discipline of Black, African-American, and African Studies must be valued as a necessary kind of dissonance.

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