This paper examines how the educational philosophies of two representative African American women university professors were influenced by multiple sojourns between Africa and North America. Two African American women born in the 1940s were interviewed about their early educational experiences, racial identity, and experiences in Africa. Each woman had spent a minimum of 3 consecutive years in a West African country. The interviews indicated that these women's educational philosophies had developed over time and that a firm grounding in African American culture influenced their lives and work. Their early experiences with racism, familial philosophy and community bonds, and careers in international development helped shape the women and influenced how they navigated the world of academia. The paper traces their shift in identity from Black to American, to the combination of an identity that includes one of an African American academic and all of the complexities that this possesses for the two women. (Contains 26 references.) (MDM)
African Sojourn: Two Narratives of African American Women Educators' Educational Philosophies

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to consider how the educational philosophies of two representative African American women university professors are influenced by multiple sojourns between Africa and North America. These women began their African sojourns in the 1970s and continue to travel between cultures today. Each woman has spent a minimum of 3 consecutive years in a West African country. Each woman has a career in international development as well as teaching at the college level. They travel annually to different African countries, and sometimes take multiple trips during one year.

I collected data from each woman during a six month period. The data collected includes interviews, observations, and document analysis. I conducted a series of intensive two hour life history interviews over six weeks focusing on career development. For this paper, the main data sources are the interview transcripts. Using narrative analysis (Linde, 1993; Riessman, 1994), I reviewed these interview transcripts for themes and patterns.

I show that these women’s educational philosophies were developed over time and that a firm grounding in African American culture influences their lives and work. In this paper I examine the influence of three factors on the development of their educational philosophies: early educational experiences, identification with African American culture, and how careers in international development shape their college curricula.

This paper raises issues of the influence of attending integrated schools in the development of educational philosophies of these two women. The most important implication is of the impact of racism in early educational experiences and affect of familial philosophy and community bonds as factors of resilience in the lives of these two African American women. It is a grounding in African American culture more than any other factor that shapes who these women are and how they navigate the world of academia. This paper traces their shift in identity from Black to American, to the combination of an identity that includes one of an African American academic and all of the complexities that this possess for these two women.
African American women educators have a long tradition of working internationally, yet little is known of how this influences their educational philosophies. In the 1800s African women from America went to Africa as missionaries. At the turn of the twentieth century, historian Cynthia Neverdon Morton (1989) documents African American women's involvement in education worldwide through the "International Council of Women of the Darker Races." This organization was founded by prominent women in the African American community to promote the education of Black girls and women in Africa and in the United States. These educators shared a dedication to strengthen and make connections between African and African American people.

Few nonfiction texts record the experiences of African American women in Africa. These accounts include writings by missionaries (Broughton, 1907; Smith 1893), personal archives of a labor union organizer (Kemp-Springer, 1955); and a few biographical and autobiographical reminiscences (Angelou, 1986; Bell-Scott, 1994; Walker, 1993). Pauli Murray (1988) includes reflections of her teaching experience in Ghana as a chapter in her autobiography. There is one full length book of an African American woman Fulbright Fellow educator who spent a year teaching in Pakistan.

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2 Neverdon-Morton states that women such as Mary McCleod Bethune, Nannie Boroughs, and Adelaide Casely-Hayford from Sierra Leone worked in collaboration.
This autobiography documents both her experiences of teaching cross culturally and her educational philosophy (Adams, 1956).

The purpose of this paper is to consider how the educational philosophies of two representative African American women university professors are influenced by multiple sojourns between Africa and North America. These women began their African sojourns in the 1970s and continue to travel between cultures today. Each woman has spent a minimum of 3 consecutive years in a West African country. Each woman has a career in international development as well as teaching at the college level. They travel annually to different African countries, and sometimes take multiple trips during one year. I collected data from each woman during a six month period. The data collected includes interviews, observations, and document analysis. I conducted a series of intensive two hour life history interviews over six weeks focusing on career development. Additionally, I took observational notes of each woman as they worked with colleagues outside of the classroom. I reviewed a portion of each woman's professional publications, written speeches, and articles written about each woman in newspapers and magazines. For this paper, the main data sources are the interview transcripts. Using narrative analysis (Linde, 1993; Riessman, 1994), I reviewed these interview transcripts for themes and patterns. I will show that these women's educational philosophies were developed over time and that a firm grounding in African American culture influences their lives and work. In this paper I will examine the influence of three factors on the development of their educational philosophies: early educational experiences, identification with African American culture, and how careers in international development shape their college curricula.
Barbara and Alma\(^3\) were born in the 1940s, so they are between 50 and 60 years old. They were both grew up in California. They attended integrated elementary and secondary schools during a time when most schools in the deep South were segregated. They both were raised in middle class families. Alma’s father was a medical doctor. Barbara’s father worked for the United States Post Office. Their fathers played extremely important roles in their young life shaping their political commitment to the advancement of African American people. Alma’s father head of the local NAACP, got her involved in political action when she was old enough to hold a picket sign. She says that her father had his “troops”, this included his children, and she remembers marching for justice:

“I was in Junior High School, and I did not want to be out there picketing Woolworth’s...But my father decided that we should have some sort of sympathy with the National N double A CP’s boycott of Woolworth’s.....It was the first time I was ever on a picket line, and my father was leading it.”

Barbara states that her father was her “favorite person”, a “social activist,” who was “always concerned the people who were left out”. Their mothers did not work in the traditional sense. Their mothers were homemakers. They worked with the local churches and oversaw their children’s education. Their early family life provided them with strong connections to the struggles of larger Black communities and a security in their sense of themselves as young African American women in the world.

The early educational experiences of Alma and Barbara have a defining role in their educational philosophies. Their stories reveal the impact of racism in the lives of young African American women and the power of resilience that was found in the home.

\(^3\) These names are pseudonyms.
and in some Black communities. Their philosophies rest on a strong connection to their communities and the value of learning.

Alma spent her kindergarten through second grade in a segregated school in the deep South. She says that it is the teachers whom she had in the South that provided her with the message that would follow her and guide her personal philosophy. She states, “Teachers frequently told us that we were the future of the race. So, you were being educated for a purpose that was connected with the race.” This message stayed with her long after her family migrated West.

Alma’s family migrated to California when she was in the second grade. Her classmates included Latinos, Native Americans, and Japanese. Her teachers were mostly Americans of European descent. It was a vastly different experience than the insular and protective world of the segregated South. Alma was teased about her accent by other students and teachers assumed that she did not understand the lessons. The teachers frequently told her that they did not understand her speech. Alma says her early education felt like “someone stepping on your fingers.”

Alma’s experiences of racism throughout high school and college form the basis for her teaching practice. She thinks that she was not judged on the merit of her work, but on the color of her skin. In her college classes today she grades one of her examinations as “blind” by concealing the names and races of her students as a way to ensure fairness in her own grading policy.

The dual influences of racism and connectedness to the Black community shape Alma’s educational philosophy. The message she received in the segregated

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4 “The Black community” refers a specific part of African American culture. Before the civil rights movement, and due to the segregated nature of society, there may have been a perception of cohesion.
school system that she was educated to do something for the race, echoed in her mind during graduate school. Alma explores what it means to “do Africa” as a young Black woman:

“I started noticing who wrote the books, and almost everything I was reading seemed to be [written] by White people. So, it became clear to me that there didn't seem to be, at least a lot of Black people who were writing about Africa. As I started thinking about what my 'doing Africa' meant, it really meant that I wanted to spend my life learning about Africa and sharing what I learned with other people.”

Today Alma shares what she knows about Africa by encouraging African scholars to publish about their own countries and by teaching classes on Black Political Thought and African Political Economy. Alma is one of very few Black women directors of programs in international affairs. She encourages Black students around the university to take classes about Africa, taught by African Americans and Africans to gain their perspective on political and social problems in modern day Africa.

On the other hand, Barbara's early education stories do not include such harsh reports of direct racism experienced at school. In junior high school she was one of only four African American students. She states, "Our parents brought us up as if we could do anything that we wanted to do and did not feel that was a dominion of White people." In accordance with her family philosophy, her race did not stop her from involvement in student government and other extracurricular activities. Perhaps it was because the small number of African American students in Barbara's school that she was not targeted by the White students and teachers. Barbara's stories of her early life center around the comfort and security she found in her family, and in her involvement among African Americans who made up this community. Today, “the Black community” is recognized as having great diversity including differences of class, sexuality, and political beliefs among its people.
with a local Black church. Smitherman (1994) reports “The Black church has been the single most significant force in nurturing the surviving African language and cultural traditions of African Americans.” Barbara has maintained a relationship with many different Black churches and has consulted on many international development efforts of these churches.

Understanding, utilizing, and building Black institutional structures is at the heart of Barbara’s philosophy. She teaches not only about Black culture (which includes a Pan-African viewpoint), but also about international human rights. Her belief is that more young college students of African American heritage should be involved in issues that involve world peace and conflict resolution because too few African American students are consciously involved in struggle on an international level. In teaching and in life she her philosophy includes respecting other cultures and connecting to her past as an “American whose ancestry is African”. She challenges African American students, and all students, by asking them to consider what they can learn by connecting to others:

“All you need to be able to do is to say this is another human being, what can I learn? What can we share? It’s very, very shortsighted vision of who we are and what we are about, people’s negative attitude about Africa; which I find so painful. I’m not saying that Africa is perfect, or Africans are paragons of virtue, because they aren’t. But the whole question of being able to connect to your historical roots and connect. You know some good, some bad..but it’s the whole question of connecting.”

Barbara’s philosophy includes connecting to many different people and cultures. However, she states unapologetically, “I focus on Black (institutions, students, issues) because that is who I am.” Perhaps her commitment to the Black race was shaped by
her father's commitment to social justice. Her tolerance and appreciation of others may have grown out of her positive multi-racial early educational experiences.

The worlds of home and school were traditionally separate, but they collided through parental intervention. In times of outright discriminatory practices, the family advocated on the behalf of each young woman. Both Alma and Barbara had strong relationships with their fathers, but their mothers guided their early education. Their mothers oversaw their educational curricula. In addition they provided each young girl with a wide array of extra curricula activities that included dance and music lessons, sewing and typing instructions, attendance in Sunday School, and going to the local symphony. Their families and communities have provided them with a firm sense of Black identity that is pervasive in their work and teaching.

Barbara and Alma have reputations as professors that are “hard”. Their classes are not to be taken lightly. They demand a high standard of work from all of their students. They encourage intellectual curiosity. Perhaps this is a result of the value of learning that was encouraged by their parents. Their parents’ involvement in their education, direction of their social activities, and spiritual guidance gave them a firm foundation in Black culture that forms the basis of their current educational philosophies.

Black culture includes the ideals, customs, skills, language, and arts of African American people. Black culture concerns itself not only with beauty but also with morality and has within it a value system (Neal, 1968). Black culture extends to family and community by stressing an honor of mothers (or “the motherland”), and it fosters an ethic of hard work and social justice (Karenga, 1972). Major (1994) states that most
African Americans, like most Americans of any ethnic group, are skilled in what is commonly called "American culture"—but that each individual's cultural identity is essentially established through a bond of its own distinctive expression. Culture expresses itself in a language and behavior that is carried out in Black organizations such as the church, or in sororities and fraternities, or on city streets. It can be witnessed in art museums, Black literature, and music.

I provide a definition of Black culture to establish its intersections with Black racial identity theory. William H. Cross' (1991) *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity* is the first psychological model that maps Black racial identity as the Black individual's relationship to African American culture, without indulging in the deficient models (Cole, 1979; Quarles, 1969) or models of Negro self-hatred (Clark & Clark, 1955). Cross' Black racial identity theory first appears in the 1970s. He presents a developmental stage theory that traces Black identity from assimilationist attitudes to culturally Black centered world views. In 1991, he amends his theory to include an Afrocentric or African centered world view.

Cross (1991) states that Black identity has several components. The self-concept (SC) consists of Personal Identity (PI) plus one's Reference Group Orientation (RGO), or SC = PI + RGO. The Personal Identity (PI) refers to measurements of psychological functions, such as self-esteem. The RGO delineates parts of the self that include culture, class, and gender. RGO studies establish the content, context, symbols, values, world views, lifestyles, perspectives, and the reference groups of the self.
Cross' racial identity theory maintains that it is a person's relationship to the RGO, or larger racial group, that undergoes a change, not the individual person. In order for a person to be considered "Black identified," race must be the most salient part of the personality. He asserts that healthy Black racial identity develops as a Black person reaches a consciousness that is Afrocentric or Black identified. Many Black female scholars critique Afrocentricity for its negative view of women's roles in culture (Davies, 1994; hooks, 1993; Sanders, 1994). There is an underlying assumption in Cross' theory that to be Black identified is to be Black male identified and that Black males define Black culture. Cross (1991) states that Black women "bridge back and forth from their Black identity to their gender, feminist, or womanist orientation" (p. 219). This implies that many Black American women are not, and cannot be "Black identified". In order for a person to be considered "Black-identified" as defined by Cross' model, the most important RGO is that of the Black or Afrocentric culture. His model leaves little room for individuals to hold multiple RGOs that change as context changes. For instance, what becomes the most salient part of a an African American woman's identity when she lives and works in an African country/culture?

I use the concepts from Cross' (1991) Black racial identity theory to understand the possible implications that cross cultural travel may have on Black identity development (Pollard, 1995). One hypothesis is the more exposure a person has to African cultures the broader her concept of "Black" culture would become. However, I have found that the longer women like Alma and Barbara linger in other cultures, the closer they identify with African American culture and traditions. Their concepts of Black culture do not change, but their understanding of themselves in relation to other
cultures becomes clearer as they travel. These women begin their lives with a commitment to Black culture and the Black race, and come into an understanding of what it means to be American in a foreign culture.

In addition to identifying as African Americans, the narratives of Alma and Barbara reveal that they also have identities as women, academics, and that their relationship to cultures (African and American) shift. What it means to be an African American is a question as old as the founding of this country. Alma and Barbara's narratives reveal that they view themselves differently in regard to race and ethnicity. Furthermore, this understanding of themselves changes over time and by location. Today, Alma views herself as 'a race person':

“I am a Black nationalist. I became a Black nationalist in terms of sentiment and orientation. Meaning that I am, I consider myself -- A race person. This probably goes back to being told that I was the future of the race. When I went to school and decided, even before I went to school and I knew what I wanted to do. It seemed to me that what my life was supposed to be about was trying to advance the race.”

Alma was not always so comfortable with her identity. There was a time that she faced the idea that she indeed was an American. An identity that is separate from the African American cultural identification and involves understanding the political and economic stance of Americans world wide. During this study, in interviews (Pollard, 1992a;1992b) and literature reviews (Pollard, 1995), most African American women report that it is in Africa they first discover their “Americaness”. When Alma was a young woman working in Africa, she came to the realization that she was indeed American:
I first went to Africa and the Peace corps when I was at what I call the height of my Black power phase. It was a very rude awakening to discover that I was an African American.

This woman lived in a thatched hut. And when I got to her house, um.. She, we started, and maybe it was repair solution for diarrhea. I forget now what it was that I was making. We're talking and it was when I was feeling very good. It was when I had learned enough Hausa to have a conversation without having to read from notes. My hair had sorta.. It was braided. I had Henna on my hands and feet. Sat down on the mat, and we were talking and in the middle of the conversation she called me Nasada.5

And I kind of lost it. I stuck my hand, my arm out to her and I said to her in Hausa,' why are you calling me Nasada. My skin is darker than yours!’ And she said to me, ‘I remember you when you first came here.’ She said ‘You remember how you used to wear your hair? You remember what kind of clothes, those short dresses that you had on?’ And then she said to me, ‘When your mother nursed you, at her breast, what language did she speak to you? When you sit down at your house to eat , do you sit on a chair and eat from a table with a spoon, or do you sit on a mat?’

And I looked at her, and I said to myself, ‘She’s saying that culturally you are Nasada. You are White.’ And I thought to myself, now I should know this, and on a certain level I know this..I mean I’ve studied anthropology, this woman had never been to school. And she’s telling me something that I should know.

And then she said to me, ‘But I’ve been watching you. You know you’re learning to speak now, and you’re , you’re actually becoming Black.’

And in terms of the little few things that she said to me, I had come to her house to show her how to make repair solution for diarrhea for her babies, but she gave me this lesson in my own identity, that since that day, I’ve felt very comfortable in who I am. Of being and African American who has the capacity, as I learn more about Africa, I have the capacity to become more African. And I’ve always appreciated the fact that she was able to teach me this lesson in a way that no anthropology course I had taken had been able to teach me.

Most studies of African American identity focus on African Americans as minorities in White America. What can we learn about culture and cultural definitions when the element of race is removed? Alma’s narrative shows that she associates her main cultural affiliation with African American culture. This association affirms her sense of self and where she fits in the world.

5 Nasada refers to a White person, it is derived from Jesus of Nazareth.
Barbara's narrative reveals that she places her American ethnicity before her racial status, "I see myself as an American whose ancestry is African." This is how she defines herself after many years of reflecting on her place in world:

When I grew up of course I was very patriotic. Having you know, "American the Beautiful" was my favorite song. Oh beautiful with waving whatever. I just used to imagine that and think, oh just tears would come to my eyes and that kind of thing. And then you grow up and you find out, "Oh my God, these people are outrageous!". And of course it is the 60s that were so instructive, first the Vietnam war, and then Black Power, and the Black Panthers and all of that was just very instrumental in molding my vision. When I went to Nigeria I had pretty much dealt with my Blackness, given the 60s. Um.. I think I had deal with my femininity, my being a woman and what all that meant. At some point I was much clearer on the sequence here. But um.. clearly it was in Nigerian that I dealt with being an American, because I realized that I wasn't a Nigerian and I wasn't a Liberian and I wasn't a Sierra Leonine and I wasn't any of these things. And I realized that there were certain benefits that I had every right to claim. You know, as an American. And that made it very interesting.

Barbara reflects back on the pain of integrating her identity, "When I deal with the various categories that I occupy in terms of identity, I think accepting being an American was the most difficult". Barbara becomes aware of her "American" status in Africa while interacting with White Americans in the international context. Barbara relates a story of "we" Americans:

I remember in our training, there was a Black woman who was the Director of Peace Corps in Malawi, and she said I found this very interesting, 'This is the first time I've ever been called an American by White people.' And that's right. And now we're going to Africa and it's "we" We Americans. but excuse me. And it is very funny cause I'd be in Nigeria and they say one American has just moved on your street and I'd say 'White or Black?'. And if it was a White person, I said, 'Oh I'll find her sometime'. if it was a Black person. I was like (Mig-where are they at?). Yeah. And you know the Nigerians could never understand our making those distinctions until they came to America. And then they were like, 'Oh Okay'.

And um, in an international area I'm very sympathetic because I'm interested in other cultures and other people. And especially people of color, and I identify with them. I also work with Scandinavians and others who are interested in what's going on the ground, but I have a real empathy for people of color, because there has been so much shared in terms of colonialism, in terms of empowerment, in terms of self-esteem. You know, both on the individual and the level of the state. Um.. So, I never think of it. I never go around and think of myself as being Black or whatever I see myself as an American whose ancestry is African"
Neither “Americaness” nor “Blackness” or the combination of the two is the identity most relevant to Alma and Barbara. They define themselves as academics. As they work to make a difference in the world, it is the work that they have done as academics that encompasses their “African Americaness.” Barbara states:

“African American studies is something that I am more interested in than anything else. I’m interested in a theory of African American thought that would include the African connections, refugees, peace education, and international development. I think that where I could do my institution building in terms of an academic construct that makes sense to people who would participate. I think when all is said and done, I’m really an academic.”

Alma sees herself as an “activist scholar” --this notion of herself began as she was a young professional: “I’ve always defined what I do as being a scholar activist.” Alma continues, “What I’m coming to recognize is that what I am is an academic...If I’m going to be able to have any impact any place...It probably will be as an academic.”

Alma and Barbara are making changes inside the academy. Alma makes changes in the academy as the director of an International Relations program, and in her work with African scholars. She is creating spaces for African scholars to publish work and have a dialogue about their intellectual processes by networking with them, bringing people together both here and in Africa. Barbara has secured funding for a program in Peace Education, to encourage “minority” students and African American students, in particular, to pursue careers in this area. These two women are building institutions without walls. They are increasing the intellectual capacity of students and peers by enhancing their understanding of the many dimensions of Black culture.

Alma and Barbara have worked in the many countries in Africa, South America, and Asia. They have worked in countries whose names have changed over the past few years and may change again in the coming years. They work on different issues at
different times. Barbara says “Education and teaching is what predisposed me to issues having to do with culture and language. But you know, now I’m working on health issues. I find this very interesting.” Because work abroad called these women away for large amounts of time, I thought that perhaps working in the field of international development and teaching are incompatible. Barbara disagrees. She offers the connections that she makes:

“There’s an aspect of my work that obviously influences my teaching. When you deal with the refugee situation, you’ve got to deal with issues of health. And I think that anthropology gives me the broad framework to deal with these issues in development. It’s been an interesting phenomena in terms of who I have become and in terms of what kinds of visions I have as a result of my experiences.”

The way the work influences her teaching philosophy is that her classes always have an international component, focus on the teaching of international issues, or how to be more than just a “development tourist”. In a seminar she taught at a prestigious Northern ivy league school, Barbara challenges her students on their practices in the field:

One, the things that we talk about in the class that I teach. But when I taught the development class at XX, it was about being a development tourist. And lots of people are development tourists. The one shot deal, not far from the urban area if they go. If you go to urban Africa, you’re not dealing with Africa. Seventy-five percent of the people live in the rural areas. I mean that is where Africa is.

When I taught this course, I always have students introduce themselves, tell me who they are, so I can get a sense. My classes are always small and they are very intimate and I like that. So, one of the students from upstate, was like. ‘Oh yes, I have this organization and I take students to Africa, and we have this little village and we take clothes to them and we do this and we do that..’

And I’m like, ‘Oh dear’. She was just so proud of herself. I said ‘Oh that’s very nice and I hope you’re doing a good job’. One of the books (we use in the class) is a critique of the whole development community, and it talks about the development tourist. Well, one day, She herself said, ‘Oh! My God! I’m a development tourist.. We’re going to have to restructure and re-order how we go to Africa.’ And she went on and on. I said ‘Girl, I am so glad you got that insight.’
Barbara's narrative shows how her work informs the content of her classes. Her educational philosophy includes a work ethic and demands a high quality of scholarship. Her story shows how she complicates students' simple notions of Africa and its people, and helps her students evaluate their interactions while abroad.

Alma's work and connection to Africa provide her with a sensitivity to how Africa is presented in her international relations program. One of Alma's interventions happened during the production of a brochure that advertises her department's research travel grants. The production team had chosen two photos. For the front cover of the brochure they chose a photo of a young White girl in South Africa hugging a monkey. For the inside cover there was a photo of a young White boy in Mexico spread eagle over the pyramids "as if he had just conquered it." The team changed the pictures because Alma questioned how these visions of Africa and Mexico promoted their research based program. In her classes she stresses the role of African women, and asks students to challenge their assumptions. She presents them with her "lived experience" working with women in traditionally oppressive societies and shows how these women have control over many aspects of their lives. Alma's influence is both in the classroom and in overseeing the direction of a program's focus in international relations.

Alma and Barbara's careers in international development shape their educational philosophies and focus their course content beyond a myopic American viewpoint. Barbara teaches a traditional class in African American studies and gives it an international focus by showing the connections between Black people worldwide. Alma's classes focus on the fundamentals in economic development, but she
encourages students to evaluate the implications of governmental policies locally as well as internationally.

Alma and Barbara’s narratives show that three factors contribute to the formation of their educational philosophies. First, their early childhood experiences provide them with a foundation that is apparent in their world views today. For Barbara these early childhood experiences left her with a world view that is tolerant of many different races and cultures. Alma’s early years in a segregated school where she was valued and thought of as “the future of the race” has left her with a commitment to teach and write about her African experiences from her viewpoint as an African American woman. Second, each woman strongly identifies with African American culture. They first became aware of their positions as African Americans, in childhood through the philosophical standpoints and political actions of their fathers. Barbara became involved in her Black church. Alma’s position as the daughter of the community’s medical doctor placed her in a pivotal position. During their first trips to the African continent, they came to terms with their identity as “Americans,” understanding the political and economic ramifications of this identity. This new awareness brought about an appreciation and deeper understanding and identification with their “African Americaness”. Finally, each woman’s work in international development provides her with a platform to teach from an international point of view and allows her to share her practical experiences. It is their work in international development that shapes the content of their courses. Barbara lectures on issues of human rights and international peace initiatives. Alma focuses on issues of political economy and the development of political thought both in African American communities and abroad. These are the
unique narratives of a few women who have dared to take their work and make their mission international. They provide stories that can help others in the field of educational research understand the links among early educational experiences, cultural identity, international work experience, and the development of educational philosophies.
References


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