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*Phil Smith Symposium Paper*

KAWAIDA PHILOSOPHY AND THE AFROCENTRIC CHALLENGE TO  
EDUCATORS: CRITIQUE AND ACTION AS ANTECEDENTS TO  
SOCIAL JUSTICE

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Kawaida evolving out of the liberational struggle of the 60's linked intellectual emancipation with political emancipation in a joint project to overturn ourselves, recover our culture and return to our history, end domination and expand the realm of freedom in society and the world. The Kawaida critique is both of the established order of things and the internal community contradictions which mask, justify and facilitate the established order's dominance over us. It is an unrelenting battle against both *ignorance and illusion*, against the *poverty of knowledge* and the *perversion of truth*. It seeks to reach beyond and below the surface manifestations of society and the world, to break through the catechism of impossibilities taught by the established order, to penetrate and grasp the relations which give them their motion, meaning and character.<sup>1</sup>

--Maulana Karenga

Growing out of an African centered tradition, Maulana Karenga's Kawaida Theory is a living paradigm that developed as a means of insuring legitimate critique of the accepted, legitimate, yet oppressive nature of the normative order.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, growing out of an African centered tradition, more than simple critique, Kawaida is determined to create productive change in the world and provide an ethical framework from which to do so. The African centered paradigm is an indispensable foundation for social justice whose principles provide a critical assessment of other paradigms that have been constructed and used to exploit and subjugate rather than build and enhance the human condition. "When a person believes that the society is only to be used, that people are only to be victimized, that neighbors are alien, he or she is capable of the worst kinds of action."<sup>3</sup> Consequently, it is the Afrocentric challenge to educators that suggests we must be more than mediums for the transmission of information. Educators must be practicing agents of change and social justice enforcers.

As Karenga explains, "This particular way of thought and practice is defined as Afrocentric. And by Afrocentricity or African-centeredness, we mean a quality of thought and practice or a methodology rooted in the cultural image and human interest of African people."<sup>4</sup> Afrocentrism challenges educators to be intellectually fearless, daring to question the status quo and

defy the normative order, while valiantly demanding that students engage in critical thinking as a practice rather than an after thought.

Philosophy with no purpose other than posing questions about abstractions is a philosophy of privilege. For is it not those with privilege who have time to focus on the abstract world and extract from it nothing more than mere rhetoric? This is why the Afrocentric project and its history, a history forged out of struggle to gain voice and be both physically and symbolically recognized, poses such an important foundational challenge to the educational system. It is the Afrocentrists that recognize their own absence of privilege, both academic and other wise, and it is the Afrocentrist that calls to question the value of philosophy that is not being used to question injustice. “Afrocentricity creates a framework for dealing with this type of dislocation.”<sup>5</sup> Only a paradigm forged from struggle can recognize the importance of critical engagement with a system that attempts to silence and discredit its potentially liberating discourse. Kwame Nkrumah suggests:

It is possible, for instance, to look upon philosophy as a series of abstract systems. When philosophy is so seen, even the moral philosophers, with regrettable coyness, say that their preoccupation has nothing to do with life. They say their concern is not to name moral principles or to improve anybody’s character, but narrowly to elucidate the meaning of terms used in ethical discourse, and to determine the status of moral principles and rules, as regards the obligation which they impose upon us.<sup>6</sup>

The problem here is that too often, for the educational philosopher, the ideas become so abstract that we focus too much on solving the abstraction rather than creating a philosophy grounded in the interest of positively impacting the educational institution as a means of making life better for all. To this end, Kawaida philosophy is a perspective that demands a constant critique of one’s position in the world, assessment of that position, and attempts to find ways to enhance and complement that position through an ethically sound set of principles designed to improve our lives. As Maulana Karenga explains:

To characterize Kawaida as an ongoing synthesis is to emphasize its open texture, its unfinished and developing character. Moreover, it is to suggest its capacity for self-critical and self-corrective thought and practice. It reaffirms the fact that Kawaida is a living philosophy and thus does not remain static and unchanged over time. Because it seeks to address the ongoing aims and interest of African People. It must and does engage the issue of the day and age in which it finds itself. Moreover, it is constantly engaged in an intense questioning of itself seeing its teaching in a new light and time as circumstances warrant.<sup>7</sup>

Kawaida’s seven key areas of focus illustrate its practical use and demonstrate its ability to be utilized by educators as a philosophy to promote

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action. These areas, as defined by Karenga are: “philosophy and practice; culture and community; tradition and reason; dialog and recovery; language and logic; critique and corrective; and synthesis and exchange with the world.”<sup>8</sup> It is the demand for critique that allows practitioners to utilize Kawaida philosophy as an epistemological starting point from which to construct a pedagogical platform across disciplines, varying by context rather than being limited by the idiosyncrasies of a single discipline. This new pedagogy can be used in the creation of learning communities which foster intellectual growth, constructive dialogue, and academic achievement fostered by Kawaida ‘s use of the “activist-intellectual”<sup>9</sup> model which suggests that philosophy without practice and desire to enhance one’s condition is meaningless.<sup>10</sup>

Kawaida, as all other African centered philosophies, is a way of life, much more than a philosophical position to be debated and interpreted. Kawaida is a paradigm of action causing actions. Belief and behavior are at the center of any African centered paradigm; that is what makes the African centered paradigm strikingly different from its Eurocentric counterpart. Thus, behaviors are a product of a deliberate set of ethical principles driven by constant critique, evaluation, and a desire to understand what is best for communal prosperity. Maulana Karenga explains:

Kawaida is both a philosophy and practice. The interrelatedness and close interaction of philosophy and practice in Kawaida can be seen in one way by defining Kawaida as both a philosophy of practice and a practice of philosophy. It is philosophy of practice in that it is critical and systematical thought about engaging the world, acting in it and on it. And it is a practice of philosophy that it is a practice rooted in and reflective of a certain philosophy, that is to say, a certain world view and value system.<sup>11</sup>

Consequently, Kawaida as a paradigm is rooted in the unique cultural experiences of African people throughout the Diaspora with every group bringing their own unique epistemology to offer as a contextual foundation for engaging in discourse and actions producing ethical and equitable pedagogical practices as a means of embracing social justice through institutional reform. Nonetheless, for those that have been forced to exist on the margins of society, we know that “survival is not an academic skill.”<sup>12</sup> This is why Kawaida insists on being more than a philosophy but rather, Kawaida serves as a philosophical platform that prescribes the work that needs to be done and demands its practitioners to labor both intellectually and physically to complete the tasks whose ultimate goals are to insure social justice.

#### BLACK POWER AS A PEDAGOGICAL FOUNDATION DEFINING CORRECTIVE ACTION

The Black Power Movement and subsequent intellectual critiques driven by the discourse offered from Black Studies helped to call to question

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the curriculum of the educational system in the United States in general and higher education in particular.<sup>13</sup> A push for inclusion and full participation in the American social structure was felt in all areas of society, a society whose very social fabric was founded on the premise of inclusion for some at the exclusion of the masses. The struggle for inclusion began when the ethnocentrism of one culture suggested, rationalized, and legitimated the conquering, subjugation and dehumanization of another culture. Consequently, this dehumanization has gained its greatest legitimacy in the educational institutions established by, and still under the control of, the ideological framework of those who conquered this land mass.

Maulana Karenga suggests that the creation of Black Studies was grounded in four essential needs: to question the dehumanizing effects of the current curriculum for all non-White participants in the educational process, to assess the presence of Eurocentrism and its debilitating effects on all non-Whites in the educational process, to create a discipline that would critique rather than defend the status quo, and finally, to construct a discipline that would be taught, understood and maintained based on the unique epistemologies of the people it claimed to represent.<sup>14</sup> “On the academic level, they were concerned first with the intellectual inadequacy and injurious nature of traditional white studies.”<sup>15</sup> Moreover, this concern was legitimated by a sophisticated understanding of power relations which suggests that education was never meant to truly educate the conquered but rather, train them to acculturate in order to support the interests of those they were conquered by. Nowhere is this idea more poignant than in the words of President Woodrow Wilson, who explains: We want a class of persons to have a liberal education and we want a class of persons, a very much larger class of necessity in every society, to forego the privilege of a liberal education and fit themselves to perform specific difficult tasks.<sup>16</sup> The original Black Studies proponents assuredly knew who would be the winners and losers in this camp, thus their suspicions surrounding the curriculum were not without just cause.

Kawaida’s insistence on critique leading to action is what makes Kawaida philosophy a valuable antecedent to the practice of social justice. Here I use the term practice to denote that often, social justice is reduced to a philosophical proposition of powerful speeches and huge conferences for a privileged few which calls no one to action other than going home and preparing for the next conference. Subsequently, the Afrocentric challenge to educators can be best articulated in the Fanonian proposition which suggests “each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it.”<sup>17</sup> This proposition is especially poignant for those of us who are the survivors of the “Holocaust of Enslavement”<sup>18</sup> and continue to persevere as educators in a system that champions aesthetic rather than true ideological diversity. Meaning, the administration runs to check a box to show the world there is a Black face on campus while simultaneously attempting to silence any

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unique insights that my Black experience might add to the discourse on social justice. This is why Manu Ampin's critique of the deficiencies of a strict lecture model in education is so timely.<sup>19</sup> Ampin's critique suggests that the current presence of the lecture model developed out of the oral cultural tradition of various African nations.<sup>20</sup> What once worked as a unifying force to ensure the transmission of culture, family cohesion, historical accuracy, group solidarity, ancestral communion, spiritual development, and even entertainment, has been often turned into a sophisticated analysis of social phenomena driven by a sincere attempt to educate on the part of the speaker; nonetheless, the information is often meaningless to the students who we have the privilege of educating.<sup>21</sup> This is why Kawaida emphasizes the necessity of combining philosophy with practice, and it is this emphasis which makes Kawaida a practical pedagogical force for all educators interested in making education a life preserving, self-improving, community developing, nation building, and socially corrective entity.

Theoretically the current educational establishment appears to be innocent of many of the accusations of inadequacy the founding principles of the Black Studies Movement suggested. However, in practice the institution and its ideologies are often oppressive as a result of being grounded in cultural ideological traditions which believe in a social justice that maintains the power of one group over another. Frances Cress Welsing argues that these ideological traditions are grounded in racism, exploitation, and domination, thus the possibility of true ethical behavior toward those who are victimized by racism, exploitation, and domination is tenuous at best, if not impossible.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Welsing suggests that exploitation and domination are part of the cultural traditions of the United States, a tradition which leads to alienation and stands in direct opposition of progress of those who have been historically exploited by the normative order which produced these ideological traditions.<sup>23</sup> Welsing's discussion of alienation and its harmful social implications complement the Duboisian notion of *Double Consciousness*<sup>24</sup> and the time consuming, often self defeating struggle that ensues as a result of one's attempt to define oneself by the definitions supplied by institutions that treat individuals as objects rather than subjects of intellectual investigation. This is why the Afrocentric challenge to educators is an indispensable framework of timely critique because, "Afrocentricity is essentially the idea that African persons are subjects, that is, human agents, working out our own destinies within the context of our historical experiences as opposed to being objects in the margins of European experiences."<sup>25</sup> Subsequently, the African centered orientation has been developed and sustained by the use of African scholarship and the establishment of an African worldview.

The African worldview places Africa and Africans at the center of the discussion and treats us as subjects rather than objects to be acted upon.<sup>26</sup> This worldview is held together by a unifying thread that focuses on cultural continuity throughout the African Diaspora. The Afrocentrist works diligently

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to reclaim, restore, and reconnect with the frameworks presented by these beliefs both on the continent and throughout the Diaspora. Without this reconnection one is left to deal with the oppositional identity created by conflicting and dehumanizing definitions imposed by an educational institution that views the oppressed as objects to pity, critique, and later blame for their position in society. On this *Double Consciousness* W.E.B. Dubois writes:

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.<sup>27</sup>

Not only does one become alienated from society, but one is also separated from the capacity of self-definition and constantly looking for approval and acceptance from the system which caused this separation from the beginning.

In his monumental work *The Mis-Education of the Negro* Carter G. Woodson focuses on the lack of information generated by the educational system about the presence and subsequent contributions of not only Black people, but other oppressed groups in the United States and abroad. Woodson argues that this exclusion from the curriculum has created a curriculum which only supports the values and interest of the dominant culture, while simultaneously perpetuating feelings of inadequacy in those who have been systematically excluded.<sup>28</sup> This type of system is not education at all but rather meaningless rhetoric which trains students to memorize definitions, theories, and histories that have no practical use. Woodson writes specifically of the political, psychological, and sociological impact of an exclusionary curriculum filled with the propaganda of the powerful when he suggests:

The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other people.<sup>29</sup>

Although Woodson speaks specifically of the exclusion of Black people from the curriculum and society, his analysis can be applied to all groups whose so-called education does nothing more than train them to become what the dominant group's reality defines them to be. A training system of this nature

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does nothing more than produce intellectual slaves who, although they appear to be free because of a lack of visual chains, are actually enslaved by their socialization within the system.

It is this exact education, or training, that was called into question by the Black Studies critique. In the name of inclusion, the Black Studies Movement demanded a radical critique and subsequent change of a curriculum and educational system designed to train and assimilate rather than educate and empower. “The irony of the present conflict is revealed in the fact that the current emphasis on multiculturalism was made possible because of the Black Studies revolt of the 1960’s.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, our present push for multiculturalism in education is grounded in the same spirit of inclusion we saw perpetuated by reform movements throughout the twentieth century. Nonetheless, many who champion multiculturalism still work as adversaries of Afrocentrism, although both movements are grounded in the spirit of inclusion. “In this regard, multiculturalism is an echo of integration; both have been highly promoted as methods of education reform which purport to correct past injustices.”<sup>31</sup> To correct the past suggests that we must correct the fallacious systems put in place in the past, systems established to insure, justify, and promote social inequality.

Growing out of a need to move away from self-defeating, dehumanizing, and destructive definitions provided by a history of oppressive education, Kawaida demands a constant critique of one’s position in the world, assessment of that position, and attempts to find ways to enhance and complement one’s position through moral, culturally based principles designed to construct a more ethical world. Kawaida is a paradigm of growth. Growth constitutes constant critique, the ability and commitment to change when necessary, and a profound commitment to serve the best interest of the community.<sup>32</sup> Unlike other paradigms, Kawaida’s demand for constant reflection allows its adherents to develop and nurture a philosophy of social justice that speaks from the unique voice of the oppressed without being bombarded by hegemonic rules of engagement outlined by the dominant (oppressive) group.

As an institution within a social space whose cultural landscape is built on racism and racist discourse, education has become a literal battlefield which has a clear dividing line between those who feel that education is doing its part to perpetuate racism and those who feel that it should and can take a more active role in the construction of a philosophy focused on social justice. The educational system, like every other institution in society, is steeped in the rich cultural traditions of a country whose inception saw the production of a system of exploitation as a justifiable condition of which to be constructed up on. It is out of this system that we see a colonial legacy which produced colonial scholarship for a colonial school system. Thus, those who acquired power through exploitation were able to deify their cultural traditions, beliefs

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and values; disguised them as the ultimate truth; and through the process of acculturation, past them on to those who had been the victims of their earlier exploitation.

## CONCLUSION

Through Kawaiida philosophy, the Afrocentric challenge to education is clearly suggesting the educational system is overly represented by European thought, thought which, through hegemony and other invisible social mechanisms of exclusion and subjugation, denigrates and devalues non-Europeans and views the world in relationship to Eurocentric social structures and world views rather than constructing any meaningful dialogue which suggests that other groups have contributed positively to human history and the development of the human potential.<sup>33</sup> Jacob Carruthers writes:

The European quest for omnipotence and omniscience seems to be at odds with freedom, the work ethic, and the scientific method; but they are quite unified at a deeper level. Those themes have also been consistent with significant aspects of European thought in antiquity. Obviously, insight into the historical and philosophical relationships among these aspects of European thought will be of significant interest to African people as we attempt to liberate ourselves from enslavement to Europeans. The actual liberation must be preceded by the liberation of our minds from intellectual tyranny. When we understand the mind of oppressors then we can develop a successful plan.<sup>34</sup>

Carruthers paints a vivid picture of the system of exploitation as being a system of control through means of information. If Carruthers is accurate, then there is no way to engage a discourse of social justice in education until we critique the curriculum which has been established by oppressors whose major concern was the continuation of the system of oppression. Until we critique the system, its curriculum, and those who have been charged with the duty of transferring information, we will never have an educational system that embraces social justice and works to develop the best in human potential. If the system, its curriculum, and its teachers are not assessed, the system will continue to perpetuate inequity disguised as sincere intellectual discourse.

Only by educators taking a lead and becoming intellectually fearless enough to question the current system will education ever produce what it is capable of producing: a philosophy centered in the advancement of human potential and possibility. Only through the creation of a curriculum which identifies and embraces the existence of cultural pluralism, will the educational system ever be able to get away from the one dimensional, divisive, devaluing, racist, tendencies that it has created and fostered over the years. As Molefi Kete Asante (1993) writes:

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If one takes anthropology, sociology, and psychology as examples of the social science enterprise, the perspective of those fields is almost always Eurocentric. This means that the vantage point of the theorist and researcher is determined by a European-centered consciousness. Thus, phenomena are viewed almost exclusively from a Eurocentric point. Social scientists can speak of primitives, huts, Hottentots, bushmen, non-logicals, minorities, culturally deprived, ad nauseam, because they operate from a Eurocentric perspective.<sup>35</sup>

The “European perspective” has caused the current curriculum in the nation’s schools to fall short of the philosophies of social justice and inclusion of all human beings. Subsequently, Kawaïda does not allow the African to embrace the ideologies of alien cultures that may be detrimental to the African. On the contrary, Kawaïda as a system of critique illustrates the contradictory manners of which others’ operate in the world, and demonstrates how the acceptance of those “other” cultural nuances might be detrimental to the African psychologically, sociologically, spiritually, economically, and physically. “Kawaïda is a philosophy of life in the fullest sense, a way both to think about the world and to approach it.”<sup>36</sup> Again, more than just ideas, Kawaïda is a position for and philosophy of action.

Action is produced by Kawaïda’s demand to improve the human condition and demonstrated through its insistence on critiquing the way in which reality is defined by the normative order. Kawaïda suggests it is the acceptance of this reality that gives the reality its power.<sup>37</sup> Here we must look at Karenga’s argument at some length as he asserts:

Kawaïda is, of course, a language and logic of liberation. In this regard it makes two fundamental and continuing assertions. The first is that: until we break the monopoly that the oppressor has on our minds liberation is not only impossible but also unthinkable. And if it’s unthinkable, it’s at the same time unachievable, for what you can’t conceive you can not achieve. In a word, if you can’t imagine even reform, you can’t make it, let alone revolution. Secondly, Kawaïda contends in this regard that: one of the greatest powers in the world is the ability to define reality and cause others to accept it. This power is even increased although negatively when one can define reality and make others accept it even when it is to their disadvantage.<sup>38</sup>

It is in the name of liberation that ideology and behavior intersect to form complementary forces to put an end to oppressors and oppressive regimes, both ideologically and physically. Without practice, ideology becomes meaningless diatribes to be debated by a privileged elite or lost to a different, more dangerous group that accepts the ideology for its aesthetic value but still refuses to embrace its practical use. The question of where to begin the establishment of such a curriculum is best answered by the words of Molefi Kete Asante when he writes:

The meaning of this school of thought is critical for all Americans. I make a claim that we must see ourselves within the American society with points of references in our culture and history. Our children as well as other children must know about us in the context of our own history. The Afrocentric School of thought becomes useful for the expansion of dialogue and the widening of our discourse—the proper function of education. The white self-esteem curriculum now present in most school systems is imposed as universal. Of course, we know it is not universal but specific social studies and humanities information centered on a particular culture. There is nothing fundamentally wrong about a Eurocentric curriculum so long as other cultures are not denied. The real question is whether Eurocentrism can exist without denial of others? To speak arrogantly of this model as a conquest model is to assert a claim of right by force neither on the basis of facts nor on the grounds of what is useful for this society. We ought to be able to develop a curriculum of instruction that affirms all people in their cultural heritages.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, the Afrocentric challenge to educators is clear: critique the old way of doing things, struggle to create a new, defend the necessity of ideological diversity, and be intellectually fearless enough to demand critical thinking from our students as a means of promoting not only social justice but improving the human condition for all. The pedagogy of social justice and its presenters must speak to the unique realities of various groups, their social histories, and the role race relationships have played in forging these realities.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Maulana Karenga, *Kawaida and Questions of Life and Struggle* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 2008), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Karenga, *Kawaida and Questions of Life and Struggle*, 1-20.

<sup>3</sup> Molefi Kete Asante, *Malcolm X as Cultural Hero and other Afrocentric Essays* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1993), 124.

<sup>4</sup> Karenga, *Kawaida and Questions of Life and Struggle*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Asante, *Malcolm X as Cultural Hero and other Afrocentric Essays*, 124.

<sup>6</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism* (New York: Monthly A Review Press, 1964), 5-6.

<sup>7</sup> Karenga, *Kawaida and Questions of Life and Struggle*, 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

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- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., 3-12.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., 4-25.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., 3.
- <sup>12</sup> Cherrie Moraga ,and Gloria Anzaldua, eds. *This Bridge Called My Back* (New York: Kitchen Table Women of Color Press, 1983), 99.
- <sup>13</sup> Jacob Carruthers, *Intellectual Warfare* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1999), 87-128.
- <sup>14</sup> Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 2002), 3.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., 17.
- <sup>16</sup> Lewis Lapham, "Achievement Test," *Harper's Magazine*, (July, 1991):10.
- <sup>17</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 206.
- <sup>18</sup> Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 134-141.
- <sup>19</sup> Manu Ampin, *Toward Black Community Development* (Oakland, CA: Advancing the Research, 1996), 62-155.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> Francis Cress Welsing, *The Isis Papers* (Washington, DC: C.W. Publishing, 1991), 1-39.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Buccaneer Books, 1976), 16.
- <sup>25</sup> Asante, *Malcolm X as Cultural Hero and other Afrocentric Essays*, 124.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., 99-124.
- <sup>27</sup> DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 16-17.
- <sup>28</sup> Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Chicago: African American Images, 2000), 1-37.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., 1.
- <sup>30</sup> Carruthers, *Intellectual Warfare*, 128.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.,
- <sup>32</sup> Maulana, *Kawaida and Questions of Life and Struggle*, 3-15.
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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-15.

<sup>34</sup> Carruthers, *Intellectual Warfare*, 33.

<sup>35</sup> Asante, *Malcolm X as Cultural Hero and other Afrocentric Essays*, 158.

<sup>36</sup> Karenga, *Kawaida and Questions of Life and Struggle*, 4.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-29.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>39</sup> Asante, *Malcolm X as Cultural Hero and Other Afrocentric Essays*, 90.

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