6. Consider, for instance, the general treatment of W.E.B. DuBois’s *Black Reconstruction*, a work that eventually brought about a general revision of the history of that period.


10. The strengths in history had to do with the fact that Afro-American history was a lively and developing area in American history. Black scholars, of course, and many whites—Leon Litwack, Winthrop Jordan, Eugene Genovese, Herbert Gutman, August Meier, Lawrence Levine, etc.—were building reputations in the field.

11. Wesleyan appointed a new chairman/director in 1981: Robert O’Meally, a fine scholar with strong academic interests. He plans to establish a strong program with interdepartmental cooperation. The center remains quasi-independent, however, and it has withstood, because of student loyalty, past attempts at reform.

12. The Afro-American Studies program at UCLA, for instance, is a quasi-institute. It offers no instructional courses but provides means for research for graduate students and postdoctoral scholars.

13. My information about IBW comes from the pamphlet “About the Institute of the Black World” and from manuscript reports, copies of which are in my possession.


15. Undergraduates also report considerable parental pressure to follow courses of study with a “payoff.” Black students, often able to attend college only as a result of great sacrifice by their parents, are especially susceptible to parental pressure to make their education “practical.”


Editor’s Note: This selection is excerpted from Nathan I. Huggins’s (1983) *Afro-American Studies: A Report to the Ford Foundation.*

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25.

What Happened to Black Studies?

St. Clair Drake

As the black studies movement became depoliticized and adjusted to the existing educational system, the universities accepted the concept of a multi-ethnic constituency and permitted ethnicity some form of institutional expression. That was the trade-off.

During the sixties, Afro-American student leaders, like some of their white counterparts, were seeking a “more relevant” education. By 1967 they were involved in negotiations here and there with college and university administrators for the acceptance of what they had begun to call “black studies.” After the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968 requests became demands, and campus confrontations were prevalent throughout 1969. Black Studies programs, departments, centers, and institutes at predominantly white institutions trace their origin to that time a decade ago.

Beginnings

The primary goal of the black studies movement during its early stages was to utilize the classroom as well as extra-curricular activities for raising the consciousness and heightening the group pride of black students so that they would be transformed from “Negroes,” anxious to be integrated, into “blacks,” convinced that “black is beautiful” and ready to struggle for Black Power. The need for self-definition was considered urgent at predominantly white universities and colleges because there were so few black role models functioning as administrators, professors, or counselors, and white middle-class values were dominant.

Black studies would foster an alternative value-system expressed succinctly and ritualistically in the seven principles of black solidarity that had been popularized by author Leroy Jones and student organizer Ron Karenga as Swahili slogans: KUJICHAGULIA (self-determination); UJAMAA (collective work and responsibility); UMOJA (unity); KIWITANA (collective work and responsibility); UJIMA (collective work and responsibility); and UJAMAA (cooperative economics). Black studies were to provide the much-needed “supplementary education” that would help black students steel themselves against the seductive pull of integration and develop attitudes, knowledge, and skills needed to build institutions for serving poor and neglected black communities in Africa and the Caribbean as well as in the U.S.

The still-active Institute of the Black World, founded in Atlanta in 1969 by historian Vincent Harding, was one of several agencies that formally expressed a sharp distinction between Negro studies and black studies. Negro studies accepted white norms and values as correct and desirable. Black studies would approach history and
the social sciences from a black perspective, from the viewpoint of what Frantz Fanon called a "colonized people" in the process of liberating themselves. Black studies sought, too, to develop a black aesthetic and a philosophy — negritude — grounded in what were assumed to be sound African values that neither slavery in the New World nor colonial imperialism in Africa had erased. The Institute fellows pleaded for more than a reluctant acceptance of the fate of being born black, urging a positive affirmation, a "celebration of blackness," which would involve participation in black music, dance, drama, and religion, and appreciation of black literature. They also emphasized disciplined scholarly work.  

Simultaneously, some black historians, including Professor John Henrik Clarke of Hunter College, who founded the African Heritage Studies Association, emphasized "reclaiming" African and Afro-American history. Dr. Harding called for "exposure, discovery, or reinterpretation of the past" from a critical, black point of view, while historian Lerone Bennett, an Institute fellow, presented African appreciation of communal concern as a value worthy of adoption by Afro-Americans.  

To create a focus for black students on a predominantly white campus, the student leaders considered it imperative to lay claim to a special niche. Thus their demand for autonomous departments, centers, or institutes offering courses designed by students working together with black faculty members. The militant student leaders refused to accept the view that only those with traditional academic credentials should teach in black studies programs, believing that rich experience could outweigh formal training. They wanted all faculty and administrators in the programs to be black and some of the courses to be for black students only. They asked that black students have a dominant voice in faculty recruitment, evaluation, promotion, and retention. They insisted, too, that a satisfactory educational experience should provide some contact with off-campus black people; students were to serve as interns in black institutions, as tutors and aides in ghetto schools, or in other socially useful community roles.  

All of this went against the grain for those, black or white, who believed strongly in integration or in academic traditions. Few white professors and administrators questioned the need for curriculum enrichment by incorporating more material on the black experience into existing courses in the humanities and social sciences, but the introduction of new courses was another matter entirely, even when they were not taught from a militant black perspective. In addition to budgetary considerations, black student insistence that only blacks were qualified to teach "black" courses was seen as a reinforcement of tendencies toward separatism that had appeared in other black student demands. Fears that academic standards would be lowered by unqualified teachers and easy grading were also frequently expressed.  

For administrators already under pressure to allow white students a greater role in governance and to liberalize admission procedures, distribution requirements, and grading practices, concessions to the black student movement meant setting dangerous precedents. Nevertheless, some concessions were made throughout 1968 and 1969 as confrontations continued. When the autumn term began in 1969, at least seventy institutions, half of them in the northeast, had black studies programs in operation.  

Most black studies programs were interdepartmental with all tenure-track appointments being made within an existing department but with a special chairman, director, or coordinator reporting to a faculty-student committee as well as to a university official. Some were autonomous departments having their own faculties. A few were centers or institutes devoted to research or to community-oriented action. The names varied — Black Studies, Afro-American Studies, Pan-African Studies, African and Afro-American Studies, or Africana Studies — but virtually all of them made black history the basic subject in the curriculum.  

Where departments instead of interdepartmental programs were established, they offered their own courses in literature, history, and the social sciences from a black perspective but usually allowed for the expression of a wide range of ideological tendencies. There were far fewer of what were contemptuously called "soul courses" than opponents of black studies charged, and within a few years these disappeared.  

That the quest for black studies was taken seriously from the start was apparent when Yale University moved in May, 1968, to open discussion of the new program with a symposium to which black and white professors were invited along with black students. The collected papers were published soon after by the Yale University Press as Black Studies in the University. The Ford Foundation, the Danforth Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities supported a number of conferences and workshops between 1968 and 1971 for the discussion of problems facing the new programs and for encouraging high academic standards and the utilization of interracial teaching personnel.  

### Institutionalization  

Black studies grew steadily and became entrenched in the next five years, though there were some erroneous reports in newspapers and magazines during 1974 that such programs were in decline. In fact, in 1974 there were at least 250 departments, centers, institutes, and programs in existence, and in that year alone 392 A.B. degrees were granted as well as 19 master's degrees and 3 doctorates. Between 1970 and 1975 over 1,500 bachelor's degrees were awarded as well as 99 master's degrees and 4 Ph.D.'s. Harvard, Yale, Stanford, Cornell, and the University of California at Berkeley were among the group that granted the undergraduate degrees. Other institutions refrained from offering the major but encouraged students to take black studies as electives and to participate in community-oriented projects or performing arts. Some did not have the faculty and library facilities for degree work. Yet it was clear by 1974 that black studies were here to stay at an impressive number of institutions, although perhaps barely surviving at some.  

However, what black studies were turning out to be was neither what their most youthful, dedicated supporters had envisioned nor what white faculties and administrators had wanted them to accept. The black studies movement was becoming institutionalized in the sense that it had moved from the conflict phase into adjustment to the existing educational system, with some of its values being accepted by that system. One of these was the concept that an ideal university community would be multi-ethnic, with ethnicity permitted some institutional expression, and with black studies being one of the sanctioned forms. A trade-off was involved. Black studies became depoliticized and decradicalized.  

The rate of institutionalization accelerated after 1974 because most of the students who had led the confrontations and the negotiating teams during the late sixties and the early seventies had either been graduated, dropped out, or been dropped. Also, some militant black groups had moderated their positions, while others did not feel that black studies programs were where the action was anymore. Entering freshmen, who had been only twelve or thirteen years old when King was killed and the last large-scale ghetto rebellion occurred, were less alienated and less in need of what
sociologist Nathan Hare had described in 1969 as the "therapeutic aspect" of black studies.12

Increasing numbers of graduate students with serious scholarly interests began to serve as teaching assistants and lecturers in black studies programs and became role models for some of the majors. The theses and doctoral dissertations of students working on problems in the humanities and social sciences from a black perspective became subjects for seminar discussions and a stimulus for black undergraduates to give peer approval to academic achievement instead of rhetoric and "rapping."13 Students who had chosen undergraduate black studies majors wanted their degrees to "mean something." The quieting-down that resulted was often erroneously interpreted as apathy. But it was, in fact, a change in style of expressing "blackness."

Stabilization of personnel occurred as the earlier rapid turnover in chairmen and directors ceased and more black studies professors on the tenure track were employed. Those from the original group who remained and the new faculty members tended to have a strong academic orientation in addition to their commitment to the idea of "blackness" as something all Afro-Americans should cultivate. They wanted the respect of their peers as well as realistic prospects of promotion.

However, with the process of institutionalization black studies did not revert to Negro studies. The theoreticians had invoked the mainstream social science concept of "the sociology of knowledge" to lend legitimacy to the idea that the position of black people in the social structure not only gives them insights others might not have, but also that their partial perspectives need to be known by others seeking the "truth," and that all knowledge is value-laden.14 Black studies profited, too, from the increasingly widespread acceptance among social scientists of the idea that much of what professors do be "objective" in university teaching and research is explicitly policy-related, and much more of it has an implicit action potential. It is a victory for the students who initiated the black studies movement that the intellectuals who administer and taught in the programs after they became institutionalized did not have to profess a spurious objectivity or deny their commitment to the struggle against racism and for black self-determination in order to retain the respect of their peers in other departments. Repudiation of "blackness" was not demanded as the price for survival.

Professionalization

By 1975 at least 200 black college teachers were giving their primary allegiance to black studies rather than to the disciplines in which they had received their graduate training. They did not share identical political positions or levels of zeal, but a universe of discourse existed that had been built up during a half-decade of conferences and symposia sponsored by individual black studies programs. Also, the Institute of the Black World and the African Heritage Studies Association as well as black studies centers and institutes at Atlanta University, Jackson State College, New York University, several units of the State University of New York (SUNY) and City University of New York (CUNY), and the Black Economic Research Center supplied continuity of intellectual leadership through specialized publications, seminars, and conferences.

Several journals were regularly publishing critical essays, reviews of books and monographs, professional notices, and the results of research relevant to the black experience. Of four journals that began publication in 1970, three still exist: The Black Scholar (founded by Nathan Hare in northern California); Journal of Black

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Studies (established at UCLA and now published at SUNY-Buffalo); and Black Lines (University of Pittsburgh). Afro-American Studies (Graduate Center, CUNY) ceased publication in 1976. Two new ones were established in 1977: Western Journal of Black Studies (Washington State University-Pullman) and Studia Africana (University of Cincinnati). In 1978, the former literary magazine Umajia (University of Colorado-Boulder) was transformed into A Scholarly Journal of Black Studies.

During the first five years of the movement, teachers and administrators in black studies programs were also meeting locally and regionally to discuss their common struggle for adequate funding and the problem of securing faculty promotions at predominantly white institutions, where reappointment and tenure committees sometimes refused to consider any black studies publications as well-refereed or research from a black perspective as legitimate. Also, the heavy demands imposed on faculty by the nature of innovative programs and extra counseling activities for minority students lessened their chances of success in the competition for recognition through publication. A feeling emerged of need for organizations that could present the problems of black studies faculties and administrators to public and private funding agencies and to university administrators.

In 1975, informal faculty networks in New York and North Carolina were transformed into professional organizations and state conferences were convened. One of the leaders of the North Carolina group, Dr. Bertha Maxwell, suggested the formation of a national association at a meeting in Atlanta that same year. Dean Herman Hudson and Dr. J.J. Russell of Indiana University, who had been publishing on organizational problems in black studies, offered to provide a home for such an association. The result was the National Council for Black Studies, which defined as its primary task "to insure the survival, expansion, and continued acceptance of black studies at a time of declining enrollments, fiscal stringency, and emergent policies of benign neglect towards minorities in institutions of higher education."

There was little danger of wholesale elimination of programs, but most were funded at a level that permitted only bare survival. As the leaders of the National Council pointed out, many programs were caught in a "bind." Funds for additional tenured positions and normal growth depended upon maintenance of high academic standards, continuous faculty research and publication, and efficient administration. And all of this required larger budgets. They recommended the autonomous department as the most desirable structure, with an Office of Afro-American Affairs to relieve the black studies program of personal counseling functions and to serve as an advocate in budget negotiations. Double majors for students were recommended to link them to other departments as well as to black studies. Large annual conventions in 1977 and 1978 discussed evaluation procedures and the desirability and feasibility of a standardized curriculum, or at least a standardized introductory course.

Wider Impact

After a funded, systematic on-site study in 1972 and 1973 of the impact of the black studies movement on fifty campuses throughout the country, sociologist Wilson Record noted that the standardized university procedures for curricular innovation and faculty recruitment had been either challenged directly or effectively circumvented, and he suggested that colleges and universities would never be quite the
same again. Although he approved of some of the changes, Record saw dangers in continuing black student opposition to types of research they considered irrelevant and to white professors studying the black experience. There was the possibility, too, of entrenching substandard black studies departments. He suggested that one of the most challenging pieces of research that might be undertaken would be the exploration of the actual enduring impact of the black studies movement on the institutions' structure, functions, and values.11

No such comprehensive assessment has been made of the more lasting impact of black studies on the academy, nor have any major studies of the programs themselves been undertaken since Nick Aaron Ford's survey published in 1973 and the less extensive one by Elias Blake and Henry Cobb published in 1976. That the impact on university life has not been studied may be because the sense of urgency diminished as the institutionalization process accelerated. Or it might be because of a policy of "let well enough alone" after the stormy early years. Research of the type suggested by Record might have been inhibited, too, by the virtual impossibility of separating the influence of the general black student movement from the black studies aspect of it. Nor can the impact of both of these be disentangled from that of other student movements.

In the absence of significant recent research on the influence of black studies on affirmative action, university governance, campus ethnic and racial relations, and on off-campus perception of the black experience, I made an attempt in 1977 and 1978 to gather some data by mail on the opinions and attitudes of college administrators and directors of black studies programs. These data supplement information secured through interviews and participant observation. The summary that follows uses all these sources and constitutes a basis for developing hypotheses that might be examined by carefully designed research.12

The direct role of the black studies movement in black faculty recruitment has been minimal in recent years, although at one time the programs exerted pressure for general recruitment as well as for their own staffing needs.13 They often brought the first black faculty members to the campus. The initial appointments of black studies faculty on white campuses had generated discussion among whites about the ethics and mechanics of recruiting blacks to teach. The competence of black professors, and the special problems that blacks must deal with in a racist society. Today, the quality of individual faculty members in black studies programs is no longer questioned, and the number of black faculty members outside of black studies has increased dramatically in response to a variety of pressures and emergent new values during the past decade. Still, in some situations, only the continued existence of black studies will maintain a black faculty presence.

During the sixties, the black studies movement, like the white student movement, demanded a decisive voice in college and university governance. Wilson Record wrote in 1973: "It is difficult to identify prior situations in which students were given so much control over curriculum and faculty as the black militants were during the last three or four years."14 White students, too, increased their participation in governance, but it turned out to be largely token.15 It seems probable that black students have retained a larger measure of influence in black studies than students have achieved in other departments and programs. This fact does not affect the broader institutional structure, however, despite hopes often expressed in the early days of the movement that it would.

In 1972, Professor Roscoe C. Brown, Jr., speaking as director of the Institute of Afro-American Affairs at New York University, sized up one area of influence accurately when he said: "A major impact of the black studies movement has been to provide insight into the black experience for literally hundreds of thousands of students, both black and white, who had not previously had the opportunity to study some aspect of that black experience in depth.16 The prevalence of programs with an interdepartmental structure has continued to bring hundreds of white students annually into contact with courses about the black experience, especially in history and literature, although where black studies departments exist there is still sometimes subtle pressure on the part of black students to make black studies "a black thing." With the institutionalization of black studies, however, has come a striking decrease in such opposition to white participation.

In proportion to the total number of white students on college campuses, the number who take any courses dealing with the black experience is always small. But black studies have had indirect effects that operate outside of black studies classes. With their courses listed regularly, their public events advertised in official publications, and their textbooks and collateral readings displayed in campus bookstores, black studies programs have brought about a highly visible superficial "blackening" of academia. The black presence has become inescapable and legitimized. But of even greater import, professors in the social sciences and the humanities generally cannot avoid exposing their students to the published results of a decade of research, creative work, and sheer propaganda that has been stimulated by black studies. They must react to the black perspective, even if it is disapproved, and that, in itself, precipitates student reflection and dialogue in their classes. Even institutions without black studies programs have become involved in this manner.

When black studies began, fears were expressed that a kind of "separatism" was being accepted that would be detrimental to good race relations on campus and that might set up a pattern of some classes being attended by blacks only, which in turn might lead to a deterioration of academic standards. In most contemporary situations some types of courses do tend to have a predominantly black clientele, but the administrator respondents to my 1977-78 questionnaire agreed overwhelmingly that black studies had neither created enclaves of academic inferiority nor resulted in the establishment of patterns of separatism in the classroom. Nor did they believe that black studies were presently increasing the level of racial antagonism on campus. Indeed, some educators, white and black, feel that black studies programs have a potential for use in on-campus inter-ethnic education made necessary by disquieting expressions of resurgent racism that are appearing at some institutions in the wake of the Banne decision and in the face of increasing economic retracement in the field of higher education.17

One outcome of the black studies movement has had repercussions off campus as well as on. Scores of books on Afro-Americans from the earlier Negro history movement18 were reprinted with the word Negro replaced by black, and occasionally they were revised to effect a change in orientation. More timely introductions have been written for some older books, and thousands of new titles dealing with the black experience have appeared, Alex Haley's Roots being the most conspicuous recent example. Book reviewers now discuss the implication of "blackness" in the poetry and fiction of black writers routinely. The black studies movement has thus had a profound influence through the publishing industry.

Current Status

At least 250 programs devoted to the study of the black experience in the United States exist today,19 Half of these have been operating since 1970, and of the 64 that
were granting degrees in 1971, all except four have survived. All give some attention to the implications of an African origin for black people in the New World, and increasingly a “diapora” frame of reference focuses some attention upon the Caribbean and Latin America for comparison with the United States. A few programs that carry the name Africana Studies—like the outstanding program at Cornell—or Pan-African Studies are distinctive in their emphasis upon Black Nationalism. Programs differ in emphasis and a study of the curricula, not the names, will reveal orientations that range from preparation for graduate work in the humanities and performing arts to training in community organization skills. For most, however, “supplementary education” for black undergraduate liberal arts students remains the goal. Some of the most vigorous programs are in community colleges.

There are significant regional differences in black studies programs, and variations within regions are related to size and prestige of institutions, to whether they are publicly supported or private, as well as to the most crucial variable, the proportion of black students to white. During the early 1970s, the centers of most rapid growth in black studies were New York, New England, and California. Black colleges in the South established some of the first black studies programs. Howard, Morehouse, Morgan, and a few others still have programs. But most now have the philosophy and practice of “blackening” the whole curriculum instead of offering special programs. The development of black studies in southern white institutions has been less impressive than in other regions, the University of Texas at Austin being the highly significant exception. However, as compliance with recent federal orders brings more blacks to white campuses and more whites to the traditional Negro colleges, black studies programs are likely to increase in number, some through revival of those in decline. Some may assume new functions related to what southern liberalism calls “interracial cooperation.” At previously all-black southern institutions, however, an upsurge of Black Nationalism in some form is likely to occur during the integration process.

Administrators of California universities, as well as in some of the southwestern states, have favored the organization of ethnic studies divisions with Black, Chicano, Asian, and Native American subdivisions. The more militant proponents of black studies in California have opposed this format, which seems to them to be an attempt to prevent the formation of autonomous black studies programs. They also claim that it encourages inter-ethnic antagonism in struggles for funds. Moderate black educators have been divided in their opinions, some seeing security in this structure during periods of financial stringency.

Black studies at some large midwestern state institutions have attained an impressive degree of stability and growth that have made their programs a base for the strong current drive toward professionalization. They, along with Harvard and Yale, Five Colleges, Inc. (University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Smith, Amherst, Mt. Holyoke, and Hampshire), and some SUNY and CUNY units, have announced plans for the expansion of graduate work and research. Some programs plan to stress inner-city problems and to encourage increased enrollment of white graduate students in the hope that the social workers, teachers, and civil servants of the future will have a better understanding of the problems of the minority people with whose affairs they will be concerned. Programs at the larger private institutions do not report apprehension about future financing, but those at publicly supported institutions have already experienced some retrenchment and express concern about prospects for realizing their plans for the second decade of black studies.

But no matter how receptive their programs are to larger non-black enrollments, black studies faculties and administrators feel that the primary raison d’etre for black studies must still be to serve the needs of black students, for they still have the problem of defining themselves for themselves, although in other dimensions than in the past.

The predominantly white campus is a simulation model of contemporary American society, where absence of discrimination in the public life of work and politics is gradually becoming the norm, but where neither the white majority nor non-white ethnic minorities are sure about what degree of integration they wish to sanction in churches and voluntary associations, friendship groups, dating relationships, marriage, and family interactions. Some form of ethnic pluralism is replacing caste, but its structure has not yet crystallized. Yet, within northern college communities, as in the surrounding society, the first generation of black students is being educated, some of whose members have the option of living a predominantly integrated style of life as opposed to a predominantly black one, or the opportunity to decide how much of an interracial mix is desired. Black students in their informal conversations and occasional publications, reveal an attitude of anxious questioning about how to live “integrated” without becoming deracinated, and how to occupy positions of influence that bring honor and high material rewards in business, government, or the educational system in such a way as to serve broad multi-racial constituencies without neglecting the problems of black people. Educators in black studies programs feel that one of their major responsibilities should be to assist students in coping with the problems related to this concern. One approach is through providing opportunities for discussion and debate among themselves and with a variety of role models. Another is through the serious study of biographies and autobiographies of black Americans.

Most black studies programs, in addition to their work in the humanities, try to focus attention upon the problems of the black masses trapped in rural and urban ghettos. Opportunity is provided for discussing and analyzing their problems in classes in economics, sociology, and political science as well as through special and extracurricular events. These concerns are reflected, for instance, in Yale’s courses on “Urban Ghetto Economic Development” and “Education and Low-Status Populations.” One midwestern city university includes among fifty-nine black studies courses in 1977-78 “Sociology of the Black Community,” “The Law and Black People,” and “The Black Perspective in Practice.” A small West Coast city college has a required introductory course in its black studies degree program described as “A brief survey . . . of black experience in America . . . with primary emphasis on the problems of poverty, race, and violence.” Some program directors in interviews with me have expressed the wish that every black student should be required to take such a course prior to graduation, though recognizing that this is impossible, required at a few all-black institutions where it actually occurs.

A moderate amount of student interest in registering for black studies courses is reported by program directors, with somewhat less interest in majoring. Black studies faculties now actively encourage students to develop minor sequences or to make purposive choices of electives to supplement their career-oriented major concentrations or devotion to a traditional discipline. But the widest student impact comes through sponsoring occasional lectures by eminent black visitors and organizing regular annual observances of Black History Week and the birthdays of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Remedial work, personal counseling, and financial-aid problems are generally left to other campus agencies with which the black studies program maintains close liaison.
While academic goals are central, program directors, generally, judge success not by the number of majors and degrees granted, but by the number of individuals who take the courses offered and who participate in the program's extracurricular activities. In the future, at some of the institutions, scholarly production by staff and graduate students will become an increasingly important criterion.

Black studies began with the utopian vision of a constant stream of young black people from the colleges and the universities helping ghetto dwellers to achieve Black Power and to transform their neighborhoods. Zeal, on campus and off, has cooled, and the temper of the times has so changed that suggestions are even being made occasionally that black studies programs should consider training personnel for governmental service in Africa and the Caribbean and for assisting multi-national corporations to carry out their overseas work more effectively. While a large proportion of the black population still remains consigned to low economic status in deteriorating inner-city areas and rural slums, the rapid expansion of the American black middle class due to access to occupations formerly not open to them, federal aid to minority businesses, and vastly increased political power, excited realistic expectations of "success" among the constantly growing group of black college students. Utopian dreams and revolutionary rhetoric lost the appeal they had for college students a decade ago. A "supplementary education" for upwardly-mobile black students that assists them to cope with their own personal problems as well as satisfying their intellectual and aesthetic needs, but without forgetting "those left behind," has become the goal of most black studies programs.

The value of all utopian visions lies not in the possibility of their realization but in the inspiration they give to people to move to new levels of experience and social relationships, to achieve higher plateaux rather than to scale peaks. This happened to black studies.

Endnotes


7. The figures cited and the kinds of programs mentioned in the following paragraph were derived from an annotated list of black studies programs prepared by Armstead L. Robinson for the Ford Foundation Seminar on Black Studies. Aspen, CO. Summer 1970.


19. The generalizations in the sections on Wider Impact and Current Status are based primarily on data I gathered as a participant-observer at several conferences dealing with black studies and during campus visits in 1977 and 1978, as well as through interviews, correspondence, and telephone conversations with university administrators of Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Stanford, Northwestern, Indiana University, the University of Virginia, Jackson State, Tulane, Dillard University, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, California State University at San Jose, and the University of California at Santa Barbara, Berkeley, and Los Angeles. Responses to a mailed checklist soliciting facts and opinions have also been analyzed for 67 institutions distributed regionally, varying in size, some public and some private. All of the major black studies programs are represented in either the interview sample or the mailed checklist sample. Several program self-surveys and official reports have been available as well as responses from 28 program directors to a mailed checklist, which supplies a black perspective.


26. This is a conservative estimate arrived at by adding to the surviving programs from N.A. Ford's 1973 Black Studies, pp. 191-95 and the Earned Degrees list for 1970 and 1971 of the National Center for Educational Statistics, additional programs mentioned in various journals, publications of the National Council of Black Studies, and catalogs of four-year and community colleges. The Ford Foundation survey of 1978 reported "some 300 Afro-American studies programs, about 125 of which grant B.A. or M.A. degrees." The estimate is apparently based upon data supplied by the National Council for Black Studies.


The first edition of The Cultural Studies Reader established itself as the leader in the field, providing the ideal introduction to this exciting and influential discipline. This expanded second edition offers a wider selection of essays covering every major cultural studies method and theory, and takes account of recent changes in the field. There are added articles on new areas such as technology and science, globalization, postcolonialism and cultural policy, making The Cultural Studies Reader essential reading for anyone wanting to know how cultural studies developed, where it is now, and