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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, Spiritual Blues: A Blues Methodological Investigation of a Black community's culturally indigenous ways of knowing and citizenship praxis, by Melissa Speight Vaughn was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education and Human Development, Georgia State University. The Dissertation Advisory Committee and the student's Department Chairperson, as representatives of the faculty, certify that this dissertation has met all standards of excellence and scholarship as determined by the faculty.

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SPIRITUAL BLUES: A BLUES METHODOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF A BLACK COMMUNITY'S CULTURALLY INDIGENOUS WAYS OF KNOWING AND CITIZENSHIP PRAXIS

by

Melissa Speight Vaughn

Under the Direction of Joyce E. King, PhD

ABSTRACT

This interdisciplinary study devised a Blues Methodology to investigate how a historically marginalized Black community conceives, practices and theorizes about citizenship in community-based pedagogical spaces (Douglas & Peck, 2013). Guiding questions were 1) How does a historically marginalized Black community conceive and practice citizenship? 2) How does the community's conception and citizenship praxis compare to the dominant society's conception? And 3) How can both conceptions inform citizenship education and citizenship research?

To conduct this qualitative cultural study, I extended Clyde Woods' Blues Epistemology and Sylvia Wynter's theoretical construct of alterity into a methodology capable of illuminating the community's culturally indigenous knowledge (ways of knowing) using cultural tools meaningful to them. Blues Methodology is a community-based inquiry approach employing a reflective researcher strategy that positions researcher in dialogue with community members to uncover culturally indigenous ways of knowing as well as hegemonic perspectives and community agency.

The historically marginalized Black community of focus is located in “The South” where inhumane violence was routinely practiced against Africans and African Americans during and after enslavement. Terrorism was particularly brutal due to the intense labor required by the agrarian economy. Marginalization is a lasting legacy of enslavement, Jim Crow and structurally other forms of embedded racism. Twelve long term multigenerational community residents ranging in age from 17 to 80 years old, participated in this study. Two types of data were collected: oral and written. Oral data were collected from conversations and interviews with participants, written introspective data were collected from journaling. Researcher reflections also consisted of conversations with fictional characters who were constructed to protect my relationship with community participants and present childhood experiences that informed the research. Findings reveal that community conceptions of citizenship foster belonging and identity. Citizens theorized about their social economic historical political selves in the context of the local landscape. In contrast, the dominant society’s citizenship conception is an inclusion/exclusion dialectic that generically defines citizens selectively while excluding swaths of the U.S. population from curricula thus devaluing certain students and communities and relegating their knowledge to the margins at the expense of human freedom.

INDEX WORDS: Blues epistemology, Alterity, Culturally indigenous ways of knowing, Citizenship praxis, Urban renewal, Gentrification, citizenship education research, Black Studies

SPIRITUAL BLUES: A BLUES METHODOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF A BLACK COMMUNITY'S CULTURALLY INDIGENOUS WAYS OF KNOWING AND CITIZENSHIP PRAXIS

by

Melissa Speight Vaughn

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in

Educational Policy Studies

in the

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my children Jordon, Briana, Tyler and Miles Vaughn. Thank you for your patience.

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1 THE PROBLEM

Chapter Overview

The concept of citizenship informing citizenship education excludes large swaths of the U.S. population from citizenship curricula thus devaluing some students and the communities they represent. I contend that communities that are historically excluded from citizenship curricula and routinely denied citizenship benefits do socially theorize and intellectually interrogate their social, economic and political positioning in local and global contexts. This is an inquiry to understand how a historically marginalized Black community of citizens conceive, practice and theorize about citizenship within community spaces.

This chapter presents the problem caused by exclusion of citizens from citizenship education curricula and citizenship research. I also discuss the purpose, guiding research questions and significance of the study. Those elements are followed by an overview of the conceptual/methodological framework and research assumptions and limitations. This chapter concludes with an overview of the dissertation.

Introduction

Mainstream citizenship education in the U.S. is based on a narrow conception of citizenship that is rooted in ancient imperialistic Rome (Hingley, 2005, Richard 2010). That society created a nation-state of homogenized citizens that institutionalized “otherness” (Isaac, 2006) that sealed a bond between race and humanity (Mignolo, 2006) that continues to exclude indigenous and Black communities from citizenship and humanity (Sium, 2013). This inherent injustice (Mignolo, 2006) prevails at the expense of human freedom. Wynter’s Black Studies analysis situates this exclusion within the West’s racialized conception of humanity as “Man” (Wynter, 1982).

Previous research suggests a need for a more inclusive and contextualized conception of citizenship (Anderson, 1994; Banks, 2008). This study will explore the possibility that communities that have been systematically denied, conceive, practice and theorize about citizenship differently.

Informed by a Black Studies perspective, this interdisciplinary qualitative study proposes that such community-based citizenship praxis has the potential to expand present understandings of citizenship education and citizenship research. Wynter (1984) argues that a new ceremony must be found to join all humankind together based on our common experience of being human, which challenges our present "conflictive modes of group integration" (Wynter, 1984, pp. 51-52). The ceremony that joins humanity together as humans, all equal and equally different, frees the Black subject from constant negation of her humanity and frees "Man" from overrepresentation as White, male, bourgeoisie.

In this work, spiritual blues is a metaphor for the ceremony Wynter prescribes. The spirituals and the blues are often considered two separate genres of music or visions of life. However, in the African American community, it was common practice for members of the community to be in the blues juke joint on Saturday night and in church on Sunday morning (King, 2015). Therefore, spiritual blues is an African American way of synergizing structural opposites. Stated otherwise, spiritual blues represents a social vision inclusive of spiritual and secular ways of knowing. The ceremony of this present work is to investigate citizenship praxis and culturally indigenous ways of knowing within a conception of citizenship beyond the dominant epistemology of coloniality.

Purpose

The purpose of this investigation is to conduct a social investigation of a historically marginalized Black community using a methodology that is consistent with the culture of this community. Woods (1998) recognizes indigenous African American forms of consciousness embedded in local/global and geographic knowledge as Blues Epistemology. I extend Woods' concept into a constructed Blues Methodology used to collect and analyze oral and written data. This research seeks to expand the definition of citizenship and citizenship practices, foster student belonging, encourage intergenerational communication, connect classroom learning to lived experiences and promote community engagement with educational research and policy.

This research seeks to expand the concept of citizenship in ways that connect with lived experiences and knowledge of people in historically marginalized Black communities. This study contributes a conceptualization of citizenship that recognizes the importance of culturally indigenous ways of knowing and theorizing about citizenship in such communities. This research aims to expand our understanding of broader possibilities of citizenship in order to demonstrate how previously excluded communities can be included in citizenship education curricula and research.

Research Questions

To conduct this research I constructed a Blues Methodology that values community members as knowledge holders and privileges their culturally indigenous ways of knowing, including the community's geographical and spiritual knowledge. This methodology was constructed to 1) investigate a historically marginalized Black community's social interrogations, theorizing and citizenship praxis; 2) explore the relationship between culture, place and citizenship in community spaces; and 3) compare the community's citizenship concept and praxis with

the dominant society's to determine educational implications of these similarities and differences. Research proceeds with the following guiding questions:

1. How does a historically marginalized Black community conceive and practice citizenship?
2. How does the community's conception and praxis of citizenship compare to the dominant society's conception?
3. How can both the dominant society's conception and community's citizenship praxis inform citizenship education and citizenship research?

Significance of the Study

This research makes significant contributions to citizenship education and citizenship education research. It contributes research from a Black Studies perspective by conducting a study that values community as knowledge holders who theorize. Understanding a historically marginalized Black community's citizenship conception, ways of knowing and praxis is intended to broaden the dominant society's definition of citizenship and impact how citizenship and citizenship education can be researched more critically and inclusively. By bringing concepts of race, place and education policy into conversation, this research considers the politics of how the dominant society's exclusionary citizenship practices impact the everyday lives of people in historically marginalized Black communities.

Second, this research is of particular importance for citizenship education in the region of the American South where the greatest proportion of Black citizens reside in urban and suburban spaces (Rastogi, Johnson, Hoeffel, & Drewery, 2011). Economic and educational disparities in the South region impact Black populations making them more vulnerable to community dis-

placement via urban renewal, gentrification and transportation schemes (Pyke, 2016). Displacement further severs the relationship between the individual and her first society, effectively removing her educational, economic and social support systems. This research highlights intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge, community cohesion and community-based pedagogical spaces (Douglass & Hayden, 2015) as structures of social support for students from historically marginalized Black communities and communities of color.

Third, research offers a culturally appropriate approach to social investigation: The Blues Methodology. This research prioritizes Black subjects and culturally indigenous ways of knowing that can powerfully connect students' lived experiences with curricula. This methodology permits a researcher to use community knowledge to address significant problems of equity, displacement and intergenerational education and cultural transmission. This research is intended to be useful to teacher education programs, citizenship education researchers as well as students, educators, citizens and historically marginalized Black communities. The aim is to make apparent the need for community voice in school policy and educational research.

Conceptual/Methodological Framework

Black Studies/Blues Epistemology. This study is guided by a Black Studies theoretical perspective that frames what Woods (1998, 2007) defines as a Blues Epistemology. Black Studies focuses on Black people as knowledge creators and Blues Epistemology focuses on their intellectual tradition. This historical cultural perspective on citizenship has the potential to illuminate ways that Black subjects theorize about and practice citizenship in their everyday lives. For example, history from the perspective of Black citizens in the South is a counter voice that exposes how worldviews, institutions and policies influence historical events (Riseman & Wineburg, 2008; Woods 1998; Wynter, 1992). Their knowledge and understanding of these histories reveal

a particular perspective of struggle (Wynter, 1989) counter to the dominant hegemonic narrative that incarceration, lawlessness, homelessness, joblessness and oppressions are normal, expected futures of Black citizens (McKittrick & Woods, 2007).

Black community histories, culturalized by space and place demonstrate everyday practices of activism, social commentary and civic engagement. While these histories are forgotten in textbooks or retold as vessels emptied of political/civic engagement and indigenous knowledge, these narratives are retained within the community as counter knowledge to school curricula. Epstein (2010) notes that counter knowledge and community histories are not validated in social studies classrooms. Therefore, understanding citizenship in a historically marginalized Black community is deeply embedded within a longer history of citizenship struggles contained in Black histories of place (Harding, 1983).

Investigating how a historically marginalized Black community conceptualizes and practices citizenship is a blues research question. Woods (1998, 2007) describes the blues as an indigenous knowledge system of working class African Americans that documents histories of place, social interrogations and visualizations of democratic freedom. Moreover, beyond the musical genre; blues is "an intellectual tradition that embeds local geographical knowledge, philosophical insights, social interrogations, and self-definition in dynamic socio-linguistic traditions" (Woods, 2007, pp. 49). While blues represented specialized local knowledge, the tradition also served to unite communities across counties, states, regions and nations. Woods specifies the importance of the indigenous knowledge in social construction: "cross-generational experience of African American history teaches the lesson that democracy can only be secured through reliance on the experience and thoughts of the masses and through strict adherence to participatory forms of governance" (Woods, 2007, pp. 53).

Wynter (1992) created the concept of alterity to define the impact of the social/economic/epistemological location of populations of people within existing societal structures of "otherness". While Red and Black people are outside of whiteness, Black Americans exist on the farthest edge of the outside category as the most permanent liminal subjects (Maldonado-Torres, 2006). According to Wynter, this liminal location provides a perspective advantage (Wynter, 1992, pp. 16). This research investigates the perspective of liminal citizens, Black Americans in a historically marginalized community whose intellectual traditions, political organizations, spiritual beliefs and cultural expressions exist outside the bounds of dominant conceptions of citizenship in academic scholarship and social practice.

Citizenship Education Studies. Citizenship education curricula in the U.S. represents one ideal image of a citizen from the European Western white, male, colonialized cultural worldview (Ladson-Billings, 2010) that has dominated through the epistemology of coloniality (Mignolo, 2010). Mignolo explained the epistemology of coloniality "creat(ed), develop(ed) and maintain(s) a hierarchy of knowers and knowledge" based on cultural identity (Alcoff, 2007, pp. 83) where the identity, rationality and humanity of people were put on trial by colonial conquerors (Zea, 1989). Thus colonial conquerors defined themselves as humans within the bonds of citizenship and all "others" as subhuman, non-citizens (Mignolo, 2006). Sylvia Wynter (2003) examined a Black Studies perspective of the coloniality experience that she named the over representation of "Man". Wynter found that the definition of Man and human is a product of colonial modernity (Drexler-Dreis, 2016). The descriptive statement of Man (and human) as white, bourgeois, heterosexual males began in a theocratic binary where Man was characterized as divine and not demonic. The definition shifted to political centric and then our present biological centric

definition of Man. Throughout the modernity shifts, Man and human were continually "re-presented" as white, bourgeois, heterosexual males and set in opposition to the alter ego, sub-human, demonic, alien Black person whose knowledge is invalidated and voice silenced (Wynter, 1984). This citizenship study examines these two epistemologies as related to citizenship. This work meets Wynter's challenge to investigate how subjects outside the domain of Man imagine and live in ways that offer different conceptions of the human (Drexler-Dreis, 2016).

A Black Studies Perspective on Citizenship. The West African concept of coolness is a conception of citizenship that fosters connection through social stability and self-mastery simultaneously. According to Thompson (1973), coolness has multiple interconnected layers of meaning. It denotes balance as the ability to navigate the spirit world and the natural world communing with ancestors and speaking words of diplomacy. Coolness is personal responsibility for "internalized nobility" and recognition of the God essence in others. Coolness is required of leadership, achieved through purity, not predetermined by bloodline. West African communities were established and sustained by using the power to create, otherwise known as "ashe."

Thematic Analysis and Hermeneutic Interpretation. This dissertation utilized thematic analysis and hermeneutic interpretation to make sense of oral and written data collected to understand the community conception and praxis of citizenship. I collected oral data from community participants via interview conversations, Community Historian Member Check-In Conversations, Follow-Up interviews and Community Walk conversation. Written data included reflexive and reflective journal entries and field notes. All data were combined and preliminarily coded in the field using value, attitude and praxis coding. This level of coding was performed from the perspective of being a community member. Initial codes had a dual purpose of organizing data in

the field and informing subsequent interview, community historian member check in and community walk conversations. Themes emerged from the coded transcripts in and out of the field. Interpretation of data was an ongoing cyclical process using hermeneutic circle interpretation. Hermeneutics considers the social, cultural, historical context of understanding (Gadamer, 1982). The back and forth "play" between present understandings, experiences and reinterpretations is the process of understanding. Ultimately, thematic analysis and hermeneutic circle combined as a strategic approach to help me make sense of the data and formulate meaning (Kozinets, 2010).

Assumptions and Limitations

Assumptions I make in this research also present limitations for my findings. Primarily, this research assumes that the community under investigation is itself a source of knowledge. The second assumption is that a culturally-based research methodology is necessary to investigate the community's culturally indigenous ways of knowing and being. Third, this research study assumes that the Blues Methodology that I devised will provide access to the epistemology and social consciousness of the historically marginalized Black community that is the subject of this investigation. I assume that the culturally indigenous tools of investigation are appropriate for this community context.

Additionally, increased land values and tax assessments have interrupted the chain of long-term community residents, which restricted youth participation in this research. However, my childhood citizenship experiences inform the study and were included to connect with the experiences of school-aged children. I also draw on my childhood experiences because my dual researcher role includes Community Daughter.

Indigenist Worker/Blues Methodologist and Community Daughter (Dual Role of the Researcher). Denzin and Lincoln (2003) describe data is mediated through the human instrument that is the

qualitative researcher. Here, I disclose aspects of myself relevant to this research as well as define my role and responsibilities as researcher. My role is both researcher and participant because I am a product of the community whose knowledge, ways of knowing and praxis I am investigating. My understanding and experience of citizenship is partially a result of growing up in this community and I take my tensions with citizenship back home with me as both a researcher and daughter of the community. Going home is my choice of research location. Blues methodology does not require membership in the research community.

Having left the community and studied the Black experience as an educator and scholar, I am aware of some of the ways that my community has been exploited and is threatened by larger societal forces of displacement and dispossession. I wonder how my experiences of citizenship and belonging growing up can be transmitted to the next generation to protect ways of knowing and being and traditions that have shaped me. Still, I view home, my community of origin as a place of peace and pastoral living regardless of spatial changes. Because I conducted this research at home, I have a need to protect that place and the people there. The duality I feel conducting research at home is not uncommon to researchers. Fournillier (2005) describes multiple dualities negotiating the power of a native Trinidadian/American/colonialist/foreigner. Similarly, I went home as the indigenist worker, community daughter challenged with the need to protect and shield the community of my origin. I struggled to tell the full truth and nothing but the truth of my research experiences and findings.

Citizenship Tensions. I felt citizenship before the feelings had a name. Feelings came first in my family where I felt the warmth of security, like being wrapped in a blanket and held close. I felt citizenship as the peaceful feelings of love and trust that come from parents who nurtured through experiential lessons, storytelling and fussing. Citizenship was that satisfying feeling

from catching lightning bugs at dusk, playing with cows in the pasture and fishing in the lake on land my grandparents owned. To me, citizenship was feeling full like after Thanksgiving dinner; living between my grandparents and my aunt meant I had access to three dinner options.

I also felt citizenship in my community. It felt powerful, like winning a foot race, from my personal connection with my school librarian down the street on the right and the restaurant owner down the street on the left side. Citizenship felt validating like touching soft calf suede, when neighbors know my name and ask if I'm still asking a lot of questions. Citizenship felt joyful like my body is full of soda bubbles when my father affirmed my spiritual gift of dreams. Citizenship felt exciting because I had the freedom to be comfortable in my skin and be my full eclectic self. At home citizenship always felt like belonging.

At times, citizenship also felt sad like when my favorite cousins leave after a long visit. These times came often when my family and church friends went to the orphanage to take Christmas, Easter and school year gifts. Citizenship felt exuberant like when I nailed my first oratorical speech at the annual contest. Citizenship felt hot from dancing at the annual summer Bembe Music Festival featuring musics from Africa and throughout the diaspora. These feelings of acceptance held my place in history, family, community and humanity. They also molded my identity, validated my inherent worth and framed my understanding of freedom.

My understanding of citizenship education in school and citizenship experiences throughout undergraduate and graduate school did not align with the citizenship I knew and the practices of my community. In school citizenship was defined as an individual's relationship with the nation state; in contrast to my layered understanding of myself and my identity as a communal individual. What I knew about citizenship was not welcomed in my social studies classroom because

it contradicted the textbook. But the textbook definition of democratic equality, citizenship benefits and civic responsibility contradicted the reality of my experiences in school and society. My citizenship status as an African American rendered me invisible during class discussions whenever I was first to raise my hand. Citizenship was not enacted when my Physics teacher didn't believe me when I told him my Chinese classmate was cheating off me in the lab. I felt like a foreigner when I walked into retail stores in the white part of town and was ignored. Every spring, my lack of full citizenship was reaffirmed in social studies class in the one paragraph that determined my abject status was due to my enslaved ancestors. In all these and graduate level coursework, citizenship and the practice of citizenship education excluded me, my community, my knowledge and my experiences along with other Black students and students of color in citizenship classrooms.

Personal Political Researcher. With respect to the researcher role, the interplay between personal experiences, political position and intellectual pursuits influences all aspects of research such as questions to be investigated, ethics, data, data collection methods, data analysis and participants (Holliday, 2007). My personal tensions with academic understanding of citizenship and citizenship practices drive this investigation. This research is political because culture is political, I want to remain transparent in the decisions I make as researcher. I want to maintain connection with my cultural groundings and my choice of culturally indigenous tools of investigation, data and data analysis. I made a deliberate choice not to divorce myself from being a Black woman from the South and a researcher. Thus this research is process-oriented to untangle the knots of tension between community and academic notions of citizenship, which is messy business. The messiness is dealing with the ways that coloniality infiltrates our minds, our logics and can cloud judgments and decisions. The messiness of this research is the process of recognizing how I

drank the proverbial (settler colonial) Kool-aid too, and internalized the oppressive task of citizenship, that is deciding who belongs and who does not, whose knowledge counts and whose does not.

My role as researcher is to maintain authenticity throughout the process, be reflective and reflexive. Figure 1 below is an entry from my Reflective Journal recorded October 12, 2014 at the outset of this research when I reflected on the research experience. This entry records an epiphany.

Figure 1: Reflective Journal Entry

… there is a constant negotiation the researcher must grapple with. Creation of this study was purely spiritual, purely ancestral, partly self-exploratory. Articulating it was challenging, but shaping it into academic form for approval required that European mind, which did not wear off until I'm in the field. These participants restored my "coolness". Not the obvious rituals of pouring water over the head, change in diet, burning herbs and offering sacrifice were not performed, but the practice of connection, the ritual of "seeing" the practice of remembering, testifying and telling, the practice of patience and "sitting a spell" were ritualistic in that they bought me back to myself, they reminded me of a painful past, my arduous journey trying to make sense of my difference, trying to find reason for my different ways of being: inquisitive approach to life, exploratory and experiential way of learning, multiperspectival way of thinking, outdoorsy inclinations, introverted demeanor, soft voice, bright skin, thick course hair, hearty laughter, ageless wisdom, deep intellect. But they also reminded me of the value of that difference. This research restored my cool in a profound way because the experiences that made me feel different in a negative way, sub tractable, fearful, less than, not enough, criticized, victimized are purified and placed in proper perspective and social balance. That process of purification has left me with the gems of those experiences and with the truth that I have always been loved, valued, validated, memorable, unique, perfect, accepted and worthy. I have belonged since the beginning of time because I am a Divine spark from the collective immortal soul of the universe. But that purification process that released a profound truth tasks me with the responsibility of using this knowledge toward social balance.

Nevertheless, there is a dance blues methodologists must do to disrupt the two systems of thought while maintaining cultural grounding. The blues methodologist dances among the demonic and divine negotiating tensions between the community and the university.

Overview of the Study

This dissertation is composed of six chapters, including this chapter introducing the problem. In Chapter 2, I present a review of the literature in three sections. First, I review the cultural worldview and epistemological foundations of citizenship. Second, I review citizenship education literature to discuss two dominant concepts of citizenship that determine curricula and restrict citizenship education research. Third, I review literature on citizenship education research and citizenship education curricula focused on urban renewal. In chapter 3 I present the conceptual framework that informs this study. My dual roles in this research infused all aspects of my dissertation project, including my introduction to the blues as epistemology. I present my culturally informed way of knowing the blues in chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I present my constructed Blues Methodology, research setting and participants. I discuss data sources, data collection methods, analysis and interpretation and data representation. I further discuss my researcher positionality and expectations of the research. Chapter 5 presents research findings in descriptive thematic form and interpretive form. Chapter 6, the final chapter discusses my findings and the literature informing this study. I also discuss implications this study and the methodology I constructed to conduct this research. Chapter 6 concludes with suggestions for further research.

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I review relevant literature in three sections. First, I review citizenship education literature pertaining to the role and function of citizenship education in the U.S. Also discussed is the power of the concept to determine citizenship curricula, prescribe citizenship practices and restrict citizenship research. Second, I discuss the cultural and epistemological origins of the citizenship concepts that inform citizenship education and research. Finally, I discuss citizenship education research.

Introduction

Traditional citizenship education in the United States functions as an instrument of the nation-state to promote assimilation and demonize difference (Anderson, 1991; Banks, 2006; Gillner, 1983; Lefrancois & Ethier, 2007). Since the days of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and George Washington, citizenship has dually been the aim of education as well as the expected outcome of education (Parker, 2014). The white male elite charged with creating the nation, recognized that a democratic society depended on citizens' knowledge, skills and civic virtue. They also understood that compulsory education provided the opportunity to educate the population to become competent citizens. The bond was sealed between education and citizenship when school became the vehicle that transformed students into citizens.

Citizenship education is called by many names based on the content focus. For example, moral education focuses on developing students' value system and character education focuses on student's identity development (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). Both values and identity were deemed necessary virtues for citizenship. Citizenship education is linked to participation in a democratic society, a willingness to volunteer, and understanding multiple moral and political

perspectives (Schuitema, Dam & Veugelers, 2008). Citizenship is most generally defined as the relationship between citizens and nation state that confers the benefits of membership, bestows national identity and instills moral values in exchange for civic participation and patriotism (Biesta, Lawy & Kelly, 2009; Lister, 1997). Citizenship is granted to individuals based on blood, land, naturalization or marriage (Castronovo, 2001). Good citizenship is realized when individuals sacrifice their freedoms for the "common good" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Over the past half century, the social climate of civil and human rights unrest, protests, civil wars and transnationalism has expanded the definition of citizenship to include critical (Kaye, 2001; Kincheloe, 2001), feminist (Heater, 2004; Pateman, 1988), transnational (Enslin, 2000; Nussbaum, 1997) and cultural (Banks, 1990; Rosaldo, 1989; Silvestrini, 1997) perspectives. Two main citizenship concepts inform citizenship education in the U.S.; they determine the content students are taught, prescribe what counts as civic participation and restrict how citizenship education is researched. However, these citizenship concepts remain in academic silos and they have not impacted citizenship education in classrooms, citizenship education curricula or citizenship education research (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006).

The two dominant citizenship conceptions that drive citizenship education are civic republicanism and political liberalism. Both conceptions are based on the needs of the nation state as opposed to the needs of the people. Chiefly comprised of religious morality, individual responsibility and national identity; both conceptions focus on civic participation. These conceptions are used to universally define all individuals and communities within the nation state regardless of contrary experiences of violence and demonization. Both conceptions are born out of a particular ancient socio-cultural society and still influence our citizenship identity and civic re-

alities (Mills, 1997). The ancient ideology informing citizenship education does not reflect present day realities and lived experiences of students or communities. Instead, they negatively impact student civic engagement and lifelong political participation.

Ladson-Billings (2004) asserts that "the basis of one's citizenship is an outgrowth of the prevailing worldview of her society" (p.100). The dominant conceptions of citizenship are grounded in the colonial project that created, developed and maintains a racial hierarchical structure that privileges whiteness and demonizes Black and indigenous cultures. While colonized indigenous subjects amassed fortunes for Europeans, they were bequeathed the rewards of disproportionately high incarceration rates, high levels of substance abuse, and high dropout rates (McKittrick & Woods, 2007). Historically marginalized Black communities occupy a contradictory territory, while they are visible in classrooms, they are invisible in citizenship education textbooks and disappearing from urban landscapes. The cultural worldview that informs these two pillars of citizenship education will be briefly reviewed next.

Section 1: Cultural Worldview and Epistemological Foundations of Citizenship

Loring (2013) and Schudson (1996) describe citizenship as an unnatural term created to fill the need for a public in the democratic state. Prior to Rome's military campaign to increase the country's territory, the Greco Roman clan of Latin tribes had established a way of living, being and seeing the world (Hingley, 2005). They were highly ritualized, they worshipped in warfare through patriotism and common good and worshipped their families at home (Richard, 2010). Ignorant to their own diversity, the eclectic mix of Grecians, Romans and various Latin tribes believed they had a homogeneous society (Isaac, 2004). Their society represented one way of being among many ways, they were "one nation among many nations" (Wynter, 2005). Along with the expansion of their territory into an empire, the Greco Roman Latin group also advanced

their culture, their images, their value systems and their worldview at the expense of other cultures, images, value systems and worldviews. The clan forced indigenous nations they captured to adopt Greco Roman Latin tribal clan values, beliefs and worldview (Isaac, 2004). The genesis of imperialism is important in the context of citizenship because the imperialist worldview arrogantly attests to one Truth, one reality, one worldview, one set of values at the expense of all others. Notwithstanding the particulars of the ancient society, more important is the epistemological structure they created. The pre empire Greco Roman clan of Latin tribes spread their hierarchal system of the thought that determined who was a valid, worthy, knowledgeable citizen and who was not. Value was based on biocentrism that is biogenetic phenotype or race.

Sylvia Wynter's grand social analysis illuminates the epistemology of coloniality as the history of Man. In her article entitled "The ceremony must be found after humanism," Wynter (1984) argues that social, economic and environmental problems are mere symptoms of the struggle between Man and human where Man is defined as white, male, bourgeousie and has been represented and re-presented as the only way of being human. According to Wynter, the history of man reveals a fusion between the concepts of Man and human that originated in man's quest to be heavenly.

The theology binary oppositonally defined spirit and flesh where spirit is defined by what it is as much as it is defined by what it is not. Therefore spirit and flesh need each other for definition and validation. In terms of citizenship, inclusion (considered good) is dialectically opposed to exclusion (considered bad), thereby establishing a hierarchy and fragmenting knowledge. In that time, theology oppositionally defined behavior, geography and difference.

Categorized together in the divine order are spiritual, sameness, nobility, life and order, which are all conceived of as being inside God's grace. Concepts within the divine order

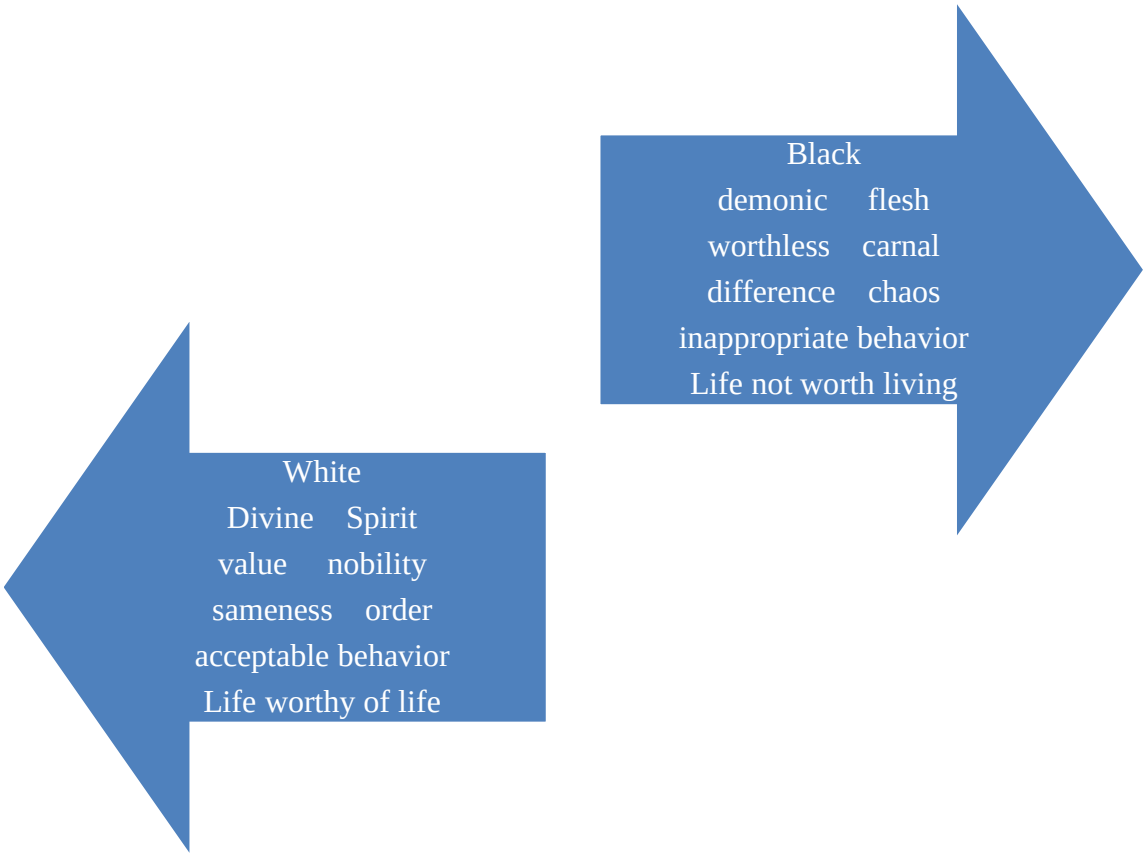
symbolically represent health, habitable landscape and acceptable behaviors. Cultural solidarity and homogeity determine what is truth. Each subsequent shift in thought fragmented more knowledge and people, but maintained the connection between Man and human.

Similarly, in the pre-empire Greco Roman clan of Latin tribal culture, the first citizens were a small group of male landowners were a visual representation of who a citizen is, as white, male elite. The elite class of white landowning men, defined citizenship duties based on their ritualistic, war- mongering, patriotic worldview (Richard, 2010, p. 3). Wynter argues that imagining and reimagining an idealized cultural version of self immortalizes a specific cultural representation and establishes idealized versions of good and conversely evil. However, Wynter cautions against using one cultural representation to define all cultures. She admonished that the "local template" is but "one local example of the forms human life has taken, one case among cases, a world amond worlds" (Wynter, 2005, pp. 361-366).

As white male Greco Roman Latin landowners established themselves as inside or included in citizenship the antithesis/negation or exclusion was simultaneously established to define and validate what it means to be inside. Outside of citizenship were indigenous "forms of social, economic and political organization and intellectual traditions" (Vallat, 2001) that were different from the Greco Roman Latin culture. Outside the bounds of citizenship lie all non-white groups, however, Black exists as the antithesis/negation of white. Wynter (1993) describes the special location of Black subjects as the abject alter ego of white, male, bourgeoisie. Therefore, white and black are not only structurally opposed, white is bonded with human, citizenship and divinity. Conversely, Black is joined with subhuman, alien, chaos, demonic and their knowledge is not validated. Due to this exclusion of Black and indigenous groups from the bonds of citizenship, justified by the negation of their humanity, citizenship functions as a reference

code for white, male, bourgeois. Figure 2 visually represents the structurally opposed, dialectic between white and black humans.

Figure 2: Theology Established Dialectical Opposition



In the interest of human freedom, Wynter calls for a ceremony to join structural oppositions together to redefine human as “both” white “and” black instead of “either white “or” black. The ceremony will liberate Black people from the role as alter ego and validate their knowledge based on the “common environment” of being human. Discussion of Wynter’s analysis necessarily precedes a review of dominant conceptions of citizenship that inform citizenship education. Both conceptions oppositionally define citizenship inclusion and exclusion. The two pillars of citizenship education, civic republicanism and political liberalism are presented in the next section.

Section 2: Two Pillars of Citizenship Education

Civic Republicanism. Civic republican citizenship education primarily aims to firmly establish national identity through knowledge of national facts. Primacy is placed on patriotism, folklore, myths, and ritual observances. Central to civic republicanism is a commitment to political party and public life (Delanty, 2000). Similar to the ancient Greco Roman clan of Latin tribes, civic republicanism is based on the elites of society. Civic Republicans sever the individual from their family and society by mandating that the individual’s personal, familial, cultural and ethnic identity be subsumed under the common national identity. Within this perspective, citizenship participation is described as an innate characteristic of the civic republican that assumes bloodline inheritance. Elements of civic society, public voice and political participation are membership criteria for civic republicanism. Public voice in the form of free speech is a coveted and protected human right prized by civic republicans.

The conception of citizen in a civil society fosters individual responsibility, cultural connections and solidarity (Alexander, 2006). Ideally, they self-govern and advocate for small government. Members of civic republican citizenship are conservative elites with strong religious

passions. It is the ideological choice for curriculum developers as civic republican principles easily relate to the civics standards. In this way, the standards continually reproduce its brand of xenophobia, as conflicts from racial, ethnic, cultural and gender biases do not go unnoticed (California State Department of Education, 1998).

Good civic republican citizens are well versed in national folklore, national myths and allegiances that are ritualistically performed as an act of democratic participation. Their establishment of goodness indicates the knowledge hierarchy inherent in the definition. Citizens' national love and loyalty should inspire patriotic passion and political action (Finn, 2001). Civic republicanism adheres to the elitist social structure of ancient Greco Roman Latin society. Membership is largely based on sameness and cultural solidarity and everyone outside of those parameters is excluded.

Outside of the bonds of civic republicanism citizenship are citizens who retain ethnic, racial and communal affiliations (Schlesinger, 1991), do not exuberantly rehearse patriotic songs, myths and folklore (Ravitch, 1993). Also excluded from citizenship are border crossers and non-party affiliated citizens (Abowitz et al., 2006).

Citizenship research that epistemologically aligns with civic republicanism, will investigate citizenship based on parameters set by civic republicanism. This includes research on Presidents' names and personal stories, knowledge of national landmarks, identification with national symbols, patriotism, political beliefs and voting participation (Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal & Dam, 2013). These parameters are blind to other ways citizens within the nation state can practice citizenship. The elitist structure of civic republicanism excludes wide swaths of citizens from its citizenry and maintains religious notions of good (Parker, 2014; Redish & Lippman, 1991).

The two pillars of citizenship education in the U.S. are oppositionally defined, yet originate from the same Greco Roman Latin tribal clan (Sturgis, 1994). They both act against citizens and react to true democratic civic engagement similarly. Research on citizenship education and citizenship practice narrowly defines civic participation as well, thus restricting what we can know about ranges of citizenship definitions and practices.

Civic republicanism and all its forms is a nationalist class based form of governance. The party's priority on patriotism and common good were required for empire building. In that era, individuals were necessary for military use. During the era of Enlightenment, reasoning and intellectualism was prized and the "new elite" gained social standing and demanded governing power, or the power to participate in governing decisions. Opposite of civic republicanism, classic liberalism assumes individuals disagree on citizenship practices and participation (McLaughlin, 1992). They conceived of citizenship as individual rights to define and pursue a "good life" within reasonable constraints (Abowitz et al., 2006). Where republicanism assumed individuals were inherently political, liberalism assumes individuals are inherently moral and law abiding (Macedo, 1990). Therefore, the reasonable constraints of individual definition and pursuit of good life are governing laws and personal values and beliefs (Strike, 1994). Liberalism also focuses on property rights, limited government and social process (Bramsted, 1978). In opposition to civic republicanism, liberalism rejects structures of control and champions individual liberty and individual autonomy (Shafir, 1998). Political liberalism highlights individual's use of their political autonomy. Public liberalism is the second pillar of citizenship education.

Political Liberalism. Political liberalist citizenship education is focused on critical reasoning skills and neutrality. Citizens in a public liberalist democracy possess the intellectual ability

to objectify political issues, “intellectual skills were described as abilities to identify and describe, explain and analyze, and evaluate and take/defend a position” (Abowitz et al., 2006, p. 663). Description of innate skills and abilities hide the biocentrism foundation of the concept. Additionally, a student Student’s focus on liberty and individual rights and protections makes them critical of personal beliefs, religions and family values (Kymlicka, 1999). Citizens are expected to differentiate claims from truths and engage in discourse from a position of neutrality. Additionally, they can negotiate equitable solutions to common problems (Rawls, 1993). Political liberalism is the foundation of citizenship education in democratic schools where students participate in school based decision making (Taylor, 1995) and debate (Boyer, 1990). Research with a political liberalist understanding of citizenship focuses on civic knowledge and dispositions. Civic knowledge includes knowledge of individual rights, judicial processes and individual responsibilities.

Political liberalist research is reasoned problem solving and debate. In theory it focuses on critical reasoning skills of using historical events to inform present day dilemma from a critical frame. In practice, the neutral stance that political liberalist espouse outweighs critical skills. Research investigating how students exercise their rights and demonstrate responsibility through thoughtful deliberation has a political liberalist focus. Discourse in political liberalism follows similar topics of individual freedom, respect, tolerance and civil liberties.

The two dominant concepts informing citizenship education maintain their cultural grounding in an ancient worldview based on dominance and division. While they incite debates over definitions of “common good” and “good life,” they are not inclusive of all populations represented in society. They maintain the ancient clannish cultural structure and epistemological groundings, as such they continue to exclude Black and non-white populations from citizenry.

The ancient European clan concept of citizenship is inherently flawed because citizenship is biocentrically determined. Shrouding the cultural and epistemological foundations of citizenship obscures white priviledge and normalizes Black agony (McKittrick, 2007). The dominant citizenship concept re-presents white, male, bourgeoisie as Man and human. This research seeks a definition of citizenship that breaks the bonds of the ancient tribal clan mentality moves closer to human freedom.

Critical discourses of citizenship challenge exclusive civic republicanism and political liberalist definitions, but they remain marginalized in citizenship curricula, as Abowitz et al. (2006) stated:

> The relative silence of critical language, values, and practices in curricular and taught texts of citizenship in schools speaks volumes about the power of dominant discourses of citizenship to shape how present and future generations do, and do not, think about democratic citizenship. (p. 666)

Groups routinely excluded from citizenship and citizenship practices have defined and practiced citizenship differently. Critical citizenships challenge political liberalism's lack of focus on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality and socioeconomic class (Banks, 1990; Dillabough & Arnot, 2000; Foner, 2003; McLaren, 1999; Rosaldo, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 1997).

In contrast, Blues Epistemology engages diversity and accepts difference. Clyde Woods (1998) maintains that Black Americans are indigenous people throughout the Diaspora. In part, to these individuals, indigenous knowledge reflects the dynamic way that they have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organize that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs and history to enhance their lives. Embedded within these forms of knowledge is the value system of the local community. Blues epistemology, is an example of indigenous knowledge and social theory and practice. Locally based, Blues

epistemology is geographic knowledge, symbiosis between nature, economy and culture, dynamic socio linguistic traditions, and "structures of feeling" (Harvey, 2001, p. 211). Indigenous knowledge structures the cultural framework of a people or community.

Indigenous groups are spiritual as opposed to religious. Their knowledge involves every aspect of life: linguistic communication, oral tradition, sacred practices, ecological knowledge, belief/value system, creation stories, metaphors, philosophy, technologies, local history, symbolism, musical expression, intuition, dreams, prayers, visions and messages from the dead (Dei, 2000). It is based on the knowledge traditions of communities that through centuries of unbroken residence, develop an in depth understanding of their particular place in their particular world (Battiste, 2002).

Civic Republican education advances a body of knowledge and a national identity. The Blues advances Black histories as a body of knowledge and social theorizing as citizenship practice. The Blues are integral to understanding Black people's citizenship stories. "It is an intellectual tradition that embeds local geographic knowledge, philosophical insights, social interrogations, and self-definition in dynamic socio-linguistic traditions" (Woods, 2007, p. 52). The Blues tradition enabled impoverished Black Americans to document historical events and visualize democratic freedom. While the Blues represented specialized local knowledge, the Blues tradition served to unite communities across counties, states, regions and nations (p. 53). Woods specified the importance of the indigenous knowledge in social construction, "cross-generation experience of African American history teaches the lesson that democracy can only be secured through reliance on the experience and thoughts of the masses and through strict adherence to participatory forms of governance" (p. 49).

Section 3: Citizenship Curricula

Contemporary academic debates have expanded the conception of citizens' political affiliation and national identity. Empirical research in citizenship studies focused on teacher perceptions (Akar, 2011); pedagogical practices (Epstein, 2010); youth engagement (Manning & Edwards, 2014); student perception (Veloso, 2008); civic engagement, and multiple national identities (Vaughn, 2007).

Dominant citizenship conception influence citizenship identity and citizenship realities. The disconnection between citizenship education and lived experiences negatively affects students' citizenship identity. Gillborn's (1992) research found that teacher perception of race and school structure provided a hidden citizenship curriculum for Black students. Similarly, Terrie Epstein's (2010) research found that Black students enter class equipped with community knowledge about history that is rarely validated by teachers. Geboers et al. (2012) research revealed citizenship can be learned in out of school spaces, indeed, "home environments play an important role in the development of citizenship" (p. 13). Similar research notes the importance of community "funds of knowledge" (Gonzalez, 2001; Moll, 2001)

What previous research failed to do is examine how to access community knowledge in historically marginalized communities that are systematically being targeted for destruction by regional planners. Urban renewal, or what King (2016) calls "negro removal" is an everyday reality in the lives of students in historically marginalized communities (Fullilove, 2004; Highsmith, 2012; Rowan, 2012; Tate, 2008; Woods, 2005). I presume that the forced movement of Black bodies throughout the landscape is a chapter in the longer history of enslavement where Black bodies were forcibly taken (removed) from their indigenous homelands and enslaved (re-

settled) elsewhere. While urban renewal is not an explicit focus in citizenship education literature, it is examined as an approach to critical literacy in English/Language Arts (Bailey & Robertson, 1997; Goodman & Cocca, 2014; Kinloch, 2010).

While I advocate dismantling disciplinary boundaries that insulate research in discipline specific methods and inquiry (Gagne, 2007), I do argue that urban renewal and gentrification are a by-product of the dominant society's conception of citizenship. Urban renewal and processes of gentrification that function as "Negro removal" are made possible by citizenship education within this paradigm. The biocentric definition of citizen normalizes forced removals of Blackness in the form of bodies, families, histories and knowledges throughout the landscape. The dominant concepts of citizenship are directly accountable, as they have effectively taught the general public that Black lives do not matter. Additionally, gentrification and Negro removal are local place based realities. These realities incorporated into citizenship education have the power to engage youth in historic preservation and bring into question citizenship identity, values and practices of the nation state.

Urban Renewal and Citizenship Curriculum

Citizenship education is a federally mandated course. All schools within the nation state must deliver citizenship education throughout K-12 schooling (Congress, 1994). The 103rd Congress issued the curriculum goals for citizenship education in Public Law 103-227. The goal and objectives specific to citizenship education are:

> (3) STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP.—
> all students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics and government, economics, arts, history, and geography, and every school in America

> will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our Nation's modern economy.
> (B) The objectives for that goal -
> (i) the academic performance of all students at the elementary and secondary level will increase significantly in every quartile, and the distribution of minority students in each quartile will more closely reflect the student population as a whole;
> (ii) the percentage of all students who demonstrate the ability to reason, solve problems, apply knowledge, and write and communicate effectively will increase substantially;
> (iii) all students will be involved in activities that promote and demonstrate good citizenship, good health, community service, and personal responsibility;
> (iv) all students will have access to physical education and health education to ensure they are healthy and fit;
> (v) the percentage of all students who are competent in more than one language will substantially increase; and
> (vi) all students will be knowledgeable about the diverse cultural heritage of this Nation and about the world community.

As the national educational policy dictates, every school in America is responsible for teaching students a body of knowledge pertaining to civics and government, developing skills and virtues that are necessary for responsible citizenship. Each state is given the authority to adopt a curriculum to meet federal standards.

In North Carolina, the research project has adopted character and civic education to meet the national standards. The state partnered with an organization, the North Carolina Character Education Partnership, to research, design and implement a model character education initiative. The initiative provides guidelines and support for each school system to develop their own individual plan appropriate for their location. Each system creates and implements an "innovative"

project. The projects are intended to stimulate critical thinking skills and engage students in service learning projects.

This North Carolina project is governed by the Student Citizen Act of 2001 that directs the State board of Education to modify school curriculum in prescribed ways. Four high school modifications are related to the students' access to governmental structures. For example, "1. Having students write to an elected official about an issue important to them." An example of a middle school modification is "1. Tour of a local government facilities such as the local jail, courthouse or town hall." Additionally, eight character traits should be demonstrative in the project. The Act also encourages behavioral and dress codes as acceptable.

A handbook features prize-winning projects in a guidebook. The following project is most closely associated with urban renewal and regional planning:

> "Why Can't I Go to School with You?" asked students in Susan Taylor's ELPS class at Leesville Road High School, frustrated that they were often reassigned to school and could not attend schools with their closest friends. To answer that question, students investigated the various methods that school systems across the nation use to determine student assignment and weighed them against Wake County's assignment method. School board members were involved in this exploration and helped judge the final presentations. Most students ended up agreeing that Wake County's assignment system was one of the fairest methods for high-growth school systems, which was not their belief before the project began (State Board of Education, 2001).

Another educational partner, the NC Civic Education Consortium is one component of the Program in the Humanities and Human Values at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The Program and the Consortium are committed to diversity of backgrounds, experiences and worldviews of individuals and groups. In partnership with university cultural centers and de-

partments of ethnic studies, the Consortium provides teacher seminars and a K-12 curriculum database. The civics curriculum has lesson plans on North Carolina history, economics and government. The plans espouse a liberalist conception of citizenship that biocentrically determines citizenship and represents Man. The curriculum features the topic of African American History and contains lessons on slavery, civil rights, military, Reconstruction, leadership and sharecropping. The program contains thirty six lessons that depict Black life as an ancillary experience in North Carolina history. Five lessons focus on Black leadership and accomplishments. Seventeen lessons have themes of conflict and violence. The curricular material do not depict Black people as passive, instead they are linked to violence and set against an objective legal system. The objective legal system or power structure obscures white people as the authors of violence, particularly in the forced movement and placement of Black people. The Consortium provides one lesson on urban renewal as a singular event in the history of the state. This lesson stands in defiance of regional planning that has moved and removed Black people across the landscape of North Carolina (Governing, 2016).

The lesson on urban renewal is entitled "Durham's Hayti Community – Urban Renewal or Urban Removal" (Consortium, 2012). Similar to the project described above, this lesson encourages neutrality. It leads students through court documents, pictures and land maps before culminating in a discussion-oriented activity. The lesson was designed to engage 8th grade students with historical documents on Durham's Hayti community. The lesson encourages students to consider the perspective of a life-long Hayti resident who has to move without giving them community perspectives. The standards addressed in the lesson do not engage students' higher-order thinking skills. Additionally, the standards specific to race do not challenge student's critical thinking skills. Vocabulary used in the lesson are typical labels used in urban renewal

schemes: blight, renew, redevelop, disrepair, ruin. This vocabulary suggests that Black constructions, Black spaces, Black geographies are always already decrepit and dilapidated. It reminds me of the metanarrative that Black people and Black spaces are always in need of White salvation to save them from themselves. The perspective of the lesson creator is evident in this product. This lesson commits "social injury" because it does not acknowledge the social vision or way of seeing life in the vitality of social activity and vestigial areas (Rowan, 2012). The choice of vocabulary words used to describe "The Black Capitol of the South" negates the economic dominance and social activity of the Hayti District. Instead this vocabulary re-inscribes the dominant citizenship narrative of who is and who is not a citizen.

The Education Commission of the States (Kahne & Middaugh, 2010) issued a policy brief that correlated civic knowledge and participation were significantly lower for lower socioeconomic and non white racial groups in comparison to white students. While the participation parameters were restricted to voting and political party commitment (civic republicanism) the results do reveal a disparity in access. These findings reveal that citizenship is not available to the excluded, marginalized and poorer citizens of the nation-state. In the midst of disparaging statistics regarding citizenship education achievement, there are examples of curricular materials that effectively engage community members in student learning and address the reality of urban removal. Following is a summary of three examples.

Holton (Holton, 1990) suggests walking tours effectively provide students what Rowan (2012) calls "sidewalk narratives" of urban history. Walking tours can be coordinated with curriculum standards and research to engage students in periods of history, social ecology, invasion and succession and gentrification. These tours customize to educational needs and engage students with the local urban landscape in a way that "replace(s) common misconceptions and fears

of cities with more realistic viewpoints" (p. 14). The walking tours are much like the community walk research method I discuss in chapter 4.

The Y-PLAN (Youth-Plan, Learn, Act, Now!) is a model for engaging youth in urban planning and redevelopment of urban areas slated for renewal (McKoy & Vincent, 2007). Y-PLAN establishes a community of practice with youth, graduate students, private interests, government agencies and other community parties interested in urban improvement. The model fosters learning outcomes of all participants, thus students are actively engaged in all aspects of inquiry, planning and project implementation. This model effectively engages students in theorizing about their social worlds which is a blues citizenship praxis.

Finally, I am encouraged by Carter G. Woodson, who challenges Black people to use our own cultural tools for personal improvement and for the improved well-being of our communities (Woodson, 2010). Our own cultural tools are our own stories in our own voices. Therefore, the final example is information that can be structured into lessons that expose students to the long history of Negro removal in the U.S. Using oral histories, narratives and stories from community members provides students with a community perspective of urban renewal. For example, Shakelford & Saunders (2005) published an oral history of the demolition of Vinegar Hill, an African American neighborhood near the downtown district of Charlottesville, Virginia. According to the history accounts, Black businesses thrived from Black and white patronage. The hill also served as a safe meeting place for Black citizens after dark. This oral history is from a Black community member perspective, which benefits all students.

Another example of information that can be used to create lessons that link urban removal to the longer history of Negro removal is the historic accounts of the Shaw community in

Washington, D.C. The Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site provides a historic resource study entitled "Willing to Sacrifice." This resource contains oral histories about the Shaw community where Woodson lived and worked. The community was also home to Duke Ellington and other notable Black professionals and entertainers. The Shaw community was a segregated Black community that evidenced citizenship in the form of self-definition, self-determination and social support. Katheryn S. Smith, a community resident provides a description of the community:

> Here was a community that, despite acknowledge divisions based on color and class, functioned well for its members. Shaw was a dense weave of personal acquaintances and lifelong friendships based in strong families, churches, schools, fraternal and social clubs, black owned businesses, and other local institutions. These provided support, training, and opportunities for important individual and group achievements. In this setting, described by many as a village or small town, people felt valued, comfortable and safe… What the residents of Shaw created under segregation- faced with a larger society that refused them dignity and opportunity- was a lace to act and decide. It was a place where they could shape their own lives…Those blacks remembered Shaw for its class diversity, communal family ethos, strong educational systems, committed teachers, active churches, businesses, racial uplift organizations and programs, and its sense of known community."

Similar to dominant conceptions of citizenship, citizenship in the Shaw community was racially homogeneous, but they accepted difference in the form of economic diversity. The segregated Shaw community was a free market, self-governed community that touted various black businesses, organizations and institutions. The well-being of the community was preserved in the multiple connections of relationship, communal and mutual support.

The Shaw community in Washington, D.C. was a historically marginalized community in the District of Columbia (Sheir, 2011). The area was named after Colonel Robert Gould Shaw leader of one the first official black units in the Civil War was the Black Broadway in 1936. A high concentration of free Blacks after the war ensured educational and communal supports for

the community which has remained predominately Black until gentrification shifted in 1997 with the when a metro rail stop made the area accessible. Since then, tax assessments increased upwards of 300% which quickly destroyed the Black Shaw community, but resulted in a mass exodus of Black households. Shaw's history mirrors many other historically marginalized Black communities destroyed through urban renewal, gentrification, land grabs and transportation schemes. Shaw is a citizenship story of culturalized by people and place.

3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter Overview

This chapter is devoted to the conceptual framework that supports this research. I discuss personal theories, formal theories and theoretical concepts that together create the lens of perception that I wear throughout this research. Additionally, my dual researcher roles of indigenist worker/blues methodologist and community daughter inform all aspects of this research. Therefore, I present my introduction to the blues as epistemology in a culturally informed way of knowing using "generative stories" to further illustrate my journey into this research.

Conceptual Layout

Scholars agree that knowledge is not objective (King, 2006), by extension, neither is research as personal, political and intellectual issues intersect (Alford, 1998). The interplay among personal experiences, political position and intellectual pursuits influence all aspects of research such as questions to be investigated, ethics, data, data collection methods, data analysis and participants (Holliday, 2007). While this study is no different, I seek to maintain what Koro-Ljungberg, et al (2009) referred to as epistemological awareness and methodological transparency. My assumptions about reality and knowledge that underpin this investigation are explicitly stated in this discussion of my Conceptual Framework. This section is organized into three parts. First is a discussion of the relationship among philosophical elements of the research, followed by a description of concepts and theories.

Relationship among Theory, Epistemology and Methodology. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) stimulated discussion about the relationship among research, imperialism and power in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies*. As a Maori scholar, she argued from an indigenous perspective, she argued that research is inextricably tied to colonialism as "a process that exploits indigenous

peoples, their culture, their knowledge and their resources" (p. xi). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) agreed that historically qualitative research has been an "objective way of representing the dark skinned Other" (p. 1). The process of exploitation is embedded in the set of beliefs, assumptions, values and practices that determine problems, participants, methods, interpretations and power distribution throughout the research process. These researchers caution that the philosophical systems that align with particular ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies are representative of particular worldviews (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 6) that are implicated in the "interpretive, material practices that make the world visible" (p. 3). Indigenous understandings of these foundational philosophical principles, along with the understanding expressed by Denzin and Lincoln are consistent with the ontology and epistemology Wynter and Woods delineated as Alterity and Blues Epistemology respectively. These understandings also align with my constructed Blues Methodology.

Ontology is the philosophical branch that involves the study of the nature of being. Ontology queries the nature of reality, specifically if only one reality exists, or if multiple realities exist. Ontological questions may not be explicitly answered prior to research, but a set of beliefs regarding what reality is and how that reality is justified determines the researcher's approach to research. Ontologies informed by colonialism support a singular reality, which cannot coexist with other realities or other ways of knowing the world (Wilson, 2008). Wynter's position, with Fanon is that "beside phylogeny and ontogeny stands sociogeny" questions the biological determination of who is considered human (Wynter, 2001). The rupture Fanon created with the statement, allows us to move beyond the biocentrism and toward a nature-culture conception that does not need an alter ego to understand self (Gagne, 2007).

Beliefs about what constitutes reality bleed into how we can know that reality (epistemology). For this reason, Crotty (2005) argued that ontological and epistemological questions arise simultaneously in research and are conceptually conflated in research literature (p. 10). While delineation is challenging, epistemology fundamentally focuses issues on knowledge, specifically what we know, how we think about it and who can know. Blues epistemology positions Black people as knowers actively creating their worlds (Woods, 1998). According to Woods (2007), Blues epistemology is the indigenous intellectual tradition of African Americans that embeds forms of philosophy, social theorizing and social practice in local socio-linguistic patterns.

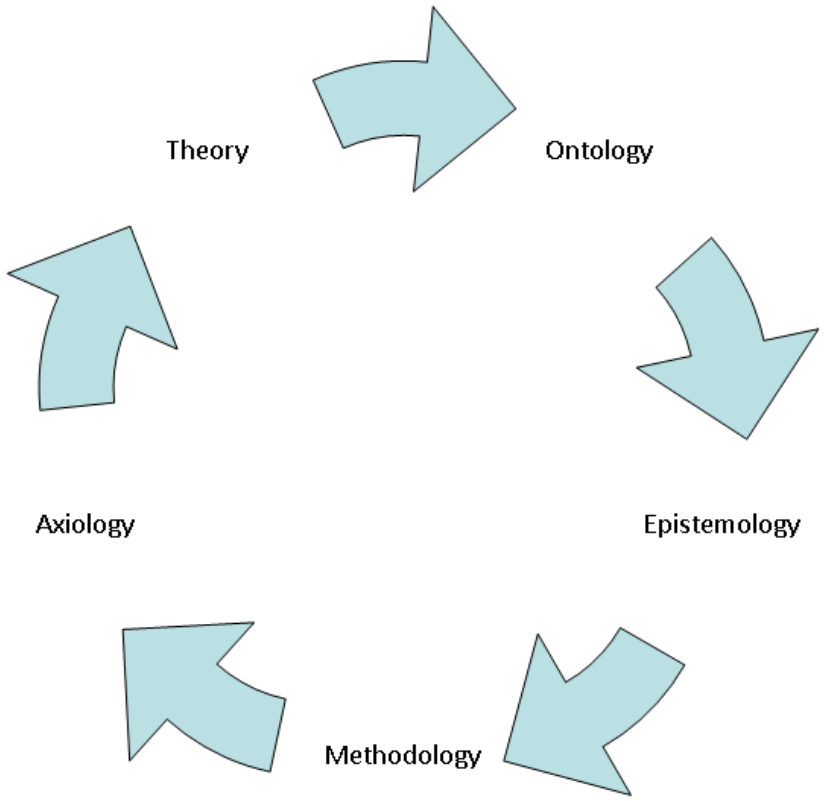
Methodology is the theory of how to study reality. Methodology guides the approach one takes to knowledge in research. In research, methodology answers questions such as: What is considered data? What represents reality in the research process and what tools are used to gather that data and analyze it? Methodology is usually conflated with methods in research inquiry. Clough and Nutbrown (2002) explain that methodological theory is always at work in the research process making decisions about research methods, data, data collection and data analysis. Ontology determines what reality is, epistemology is how we know it, and methodology is how we know more about it and axiology are the ethics and morals that guide the search for information.

Axiology as a separate concern in qualitative research is typically omitted from research texts (Crotty, 2005). As another branch of philosophy, axiology queries the value and morality of research (Wilson, 2008). Axiology has merit in indigenous research frameworks because the value placed on research findings is determined by the researcher's ethics (entering the field), use of knowledge gained and morality of the study (Kershaw, 1989; Wilson, 2008). Axiology questions can be addressed within theories.

Theory is a way of explaining what has happened, what is happening and predicts what will happen. Theories are political stances toward reality or how knowledge has been obtained or represented. Theories can be personal or formal. I choose the term “personal” to describe theories from my cultural and community upbringing that explain the world and the way things work (LeCompte, Priessle & Tesch, 1993). Organized bodies of concepts, generalizations and principles that explain how the world works are formal theories (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Stinson, 2009). Theories advance particular worldviews, adhere to ontological and epistemological perspectives and preference methodological procedures and methods (Stinson, 2009). Woods (1998) reminds us that working class Black people theorize about their lived experiences – in the blues for example.

The philosophical components of ontology, epistemology, methodology, theory and axiology are interconnected in this research as they should be. Carew (1988) stated that separation is European and connection is indigenous. Figure 1. Philosophical Circle is included to explicate visually the connections among the philosophical elements. This visual representation was recreated from Wilson’s (2008) medicine wheel demonstration of his Indigenous Research Paradigm. I opted not to confine my visual adaptation within a wheel because this diagram is a part of my whole conceptual framework. The next section will explain the concepts, philosophies and theories that compose this research.

Figure 3: Philosophical Circle



Concepts, Philosophies and Theories. In this section, I introduce the concept of Blues Rhizome to describe not only the relationship among the concepts, philosophies and theories that inform this research, but also explain the importance of situating this investigation of citizenship knowledge within the historically marginalized Black community that is the focus of this study.

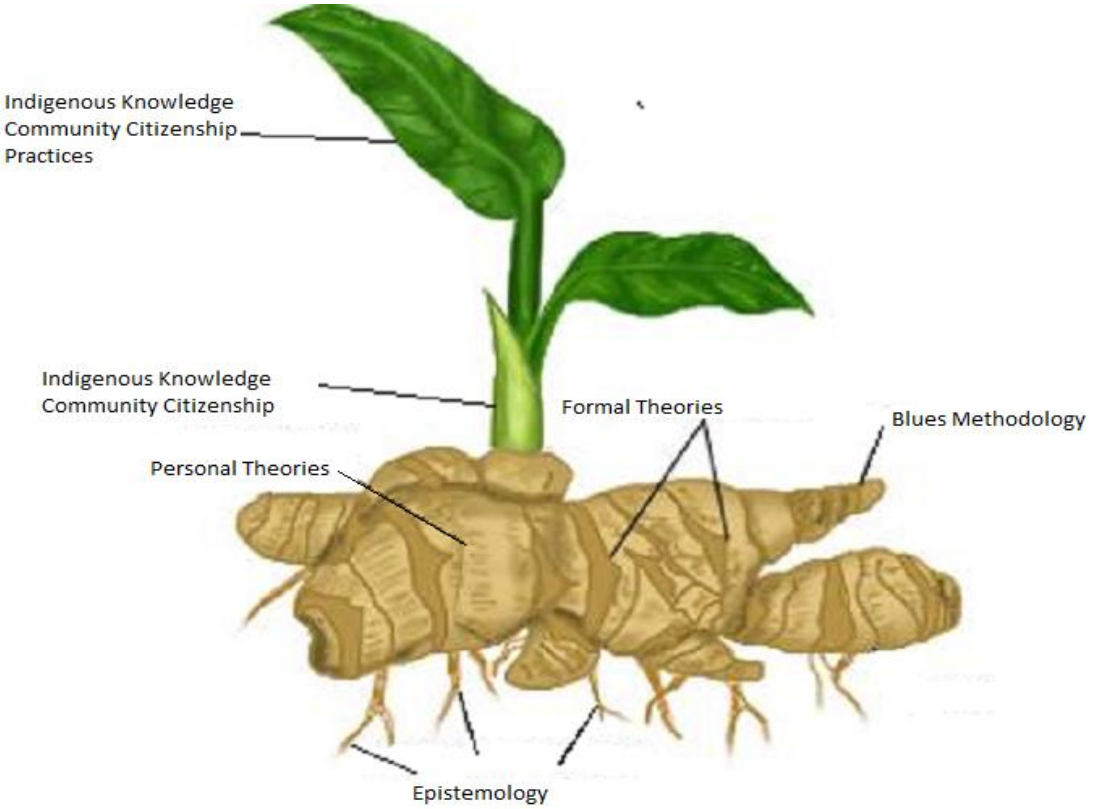
Delueze and Guattari (1987) offered the rhizome as a natural representation of "multiple connections that can exist between organizations of power … and social struggles" (p. 7). The rhizome is an acentric, non-hierarchial network of roots and offshoots knotted, folded, and looped together with various entries and exits (deFreitas, 2012). Rhizomes represent interdisciplinary connections within and among collectives that can morph into other forms. Similarly, Blues localizes geographic knowledge, defies disciplinary boundaries and maintains "historical

continuity" (Woods, 2007, p. 51). A rhizomatic representation of the concepts, philosophies and theories informing this inquiry suggests that multiple senses of belonging can coexist as autonomous parts without exclusion. That is, a network of relationships and ways of belonging can exist in community spaces as individual events or as layered and dynamic.

Figure 4. A Blues Rhizome visually represents the personal, socio-political and theoretical elements of citizenship knowledge within a historically marginalized Black community as a rhizome. This visual is called a Blues Rhizome because it symbolizes a continuously expanding subterranaean feature intimately related to its soil, but not exclusive to it. Rhizomes have a demonic characteristic in their unpredictable, differently organized configuration (McKittrick 2006, p. *xxv*). Similarly, Woods (1998) described the Blues as an "ever-expanding" indigenous community knowledge system embedded with social theory, social practice and geographic knowledge. Moreover, a historically marginalized Black community's conception, practice and praxis of citizenship is also demonic in that it is outside the "pre-prescribed" notion of citizenship (McKittrick 2006, xxv). In this way, the Blues Rhizome represents the spiritual blues, which is an African American way of being in two worlds at the same time.

Figure 4 also represents my journey to this research that consists of a series of connections among these conceptual, philosophical and theoretical components. The interconnections, nodes and loops of my journey will be explained through the telling of stories followed by a discussion of concepts, philosophies and theories that interconnect in this research. Appendix A contains a glossary of terms to facilitate the reader's understanding.

Figure 4: Blues Rhizome



Generative Story 1

The concept of citizenship has intrigued me for quite some time. In my community of origin, I recall watching the news reporting of "The Atlanta Child Murders" with my mother from 1979 until 1981 and following the same story in the newspaper with my father, but hearing a different story told in community spaces; a telling that my parents validated! The news reported that victims of the Atlanta Child Murders were most likely abducted by someone they knew in their immediate neighborhood (Alexander, 2016). The community story was that White folks were involved and no one would be surprised if it all came out years after these Black babies were forgotten. As the number of abducted children steadily increased past 20, community members marked their word that a Black man would go down for this, even if he didn't do it. My heightened sense of contradiction between the news reports and my community knowledge led

me to question this inconsistency. My mother's response shaped my understanding of reality and knowledge. She said, "To be Black is to be political." This was not the first time she made the assertion, and it would not be the last.

My mother explained that Blackness is like a powerful root that is so expansive it is part of the earth itself, therefore, it cannot be destroyed. The root is so much a part of the soil that it's everywhere and some people view it as a threat, so they make it their mission to destroy it. She advised that anyone looking like the root or resembling it in any way is perceived as part of the problem, regardless of their awareness or lack of awareness. She added, "Black people see differently, they have a vision of the heart of the matter, because to be Black is to be political." These teachings were mutually supported by the cultural knowledge of the community where I grew up in Durham, North Carolina. This knowledge informed our community ethics of behavior and our engagement with politics and various apparatuses of the government. Teachings at home and in community spaces maintained internal consistency because I believe they came from the same root configuration my mother referenced. However, this community constructed knowledge was based on the spiritual, cultural and communal experiences of my parents and their predecessors. Their experiences were very different from mine, that of my siblings, and our classmates. In community spaces of fields, cleared yards and gardens, we reconstructed the knowledge of our collective experiences intergenerationally by adding another dimension to the knowledge that already existed. From that time, those experiences operated just below the surface of my consciousness, implicitly guiding my understandings of the politics and sacred geographies of Blackness and community citizenship until these constructs were explicitly brought back into my purview during a pilot study.

Working as a graduate research student in an after-school program, I was interested in connecting students to the community's history through oral interviews. My gift to the school for making space for my project was a written record of the history of the community. My research revealed this community was the residence of some of the children abducted in the Atlanta Child Murders! This community was also the residence of Wayne Williams, the alleged serial murderer! The media portrayed the community as deeply impoverished economically and morally, but oral interviews with long-time residents revealed not only a counter story to that of the Atlanta Child Murders portrayed in the media but a fiber of collective knowledge that hearkened to my youth also emerged (Baldwin, 1985).

These stories are represented as personal theories on the Blues Rhizome. They are intimately connected to my recollections and influence my personal understandings. My understanding of reality, knowledge, community and politics is based on stories I heard in community spaces, that is a culturally indigenous way of knowing. These stories also connect to my deep-seated concerns about citizenship education. I realized that these stories are actually citizenship stories. According to Mignolo's (2006) definition, citizenship is a sense of belonging. These stories demonstrated a sense of belonging within my cultural community. They show how knowledge exists outside of school spaces and dominant discourses are challenged and negotiated at the community level. These stories also demonstrate a different dimension of citizenship knowledge. This critical knowledge has the potential to expand the present conception of citizenship promoted in citizenship education. It could offer students a wider range of opportunities to practice citizenship and engage with society. Unfortunately, this knowledge scarcely enters educational arenas.

This research is at the intersection of my personal, political, intellectual and social interests. I held the lofty desire to weave all of my issues into my research project. I perused critical paradigms that left me unfulfilled until a summer Reading Group introduced me to alternative frameworks that theorized my experience and provided insights on the relationship between space/place and knowledge, epistemological agency, politics of knowledge and cultural materiality.

The Reading Group. In May 2009, I enrolled in a Reading course specifically designed to locate alternative methodological and pedagogical approaches for emergent scholars. The mixed race, mixed gender, mixed research interest group was comprised of doctoral students preparing to enter the field of research. Our advisor introduced us to the discipline of Black Studies. We sensed the impact Black Studies could have on our individual projects, but none the less we struggled to make sense of the wide body of knowledge. Black Studies was a grassroots movement, an epistemological perspective, a methodology, a theory and a discipline. Some scholars struggled with the "holy grail" aspect of Black Studies purporting to be the answer to all unanswered questions. Some agreed with critics of Black Studies' lack of disciplinary structure arguing that a movement cannot form into a valid discipline (Kershaw, 1989). However for me, the discipline of Black Studies opened the door to my conceptual, philosophical and theoretical home. Through Black Studies, I understand my experience and found grounding for my research.

Black Studies connected me to an intellectual moment that shifted consciousness. Intellectually challenging global systems that produce and support a historically absent Black existence (McKittrick, 2006). As academic space was made for Black Studies departments on college and university campuses, space was made for Black agency in the general consciousness (Brown, 2007). On the surface, Black Studies has a constructivist ontology. Multiple realities are

acknowledged because what was purported as the truth excluded Black people from humanity. However, Black Studies' critical interdisciplinary framework acknowledges the continuity of knowledge and connections across disciplines.

Epistemologically, Black Studies located knowledge in Black people, Black histories and Black experiences. Black people are valid knowers and creators of knowledge, epistemologically grounding them as agents of change. This shift empowers Black agents to holistically solve community problems, to critically contribute to social change and to advance human freedom (Karenga, 2002). But while Black Studies provided ontological and epistemological grounding, I still needed theories that provided context and logic for my hypothesis that a historically marginalized Black community conceive and practice citizenship differently. Enter Sylvia Wynter-

Sylvia Wynter's grand analysis of systems of thought provided me with context, logic, theory and concepts not only to ground my research, but also to make sense of my citizenship experiences. Next, I flashback to another generative story that informed this research interest, followed by a discussion of Wynter's theories of Alterity, Alter ego and Indigenization.

Generative Story 2. During graduate school, I was excited to work with an activist group mobilized to preserve a community burial ground. The burial ground was the only remnant of the community dispersed by urbanization in the form of an international runway addition to the local airport. The burial ground was the final resting place for generations of community members and their enslaved and emancipated predecessors. The land was under the ownership of a local waste management company who desired to develop the land the burial ground was on. The company petitioned the county's commission board to intern the bodies to a local cemetery. The activist group formed in protest of the action.

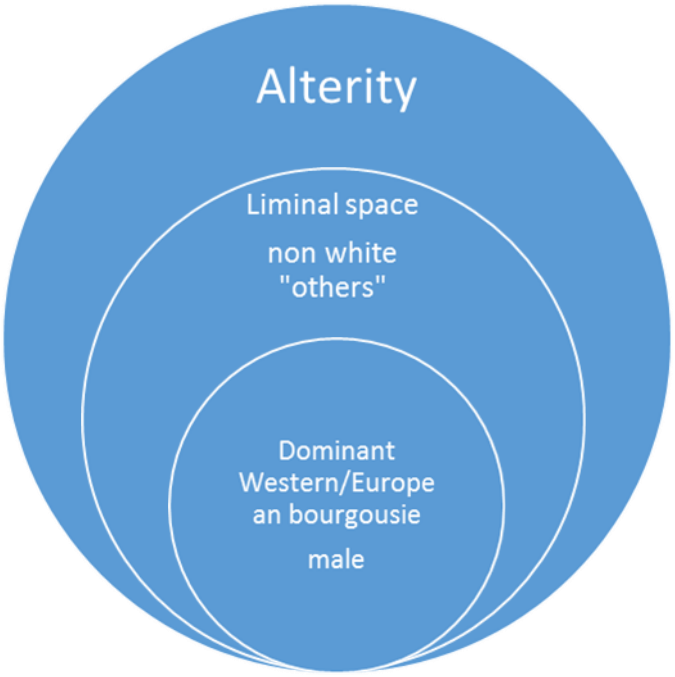
I planned to join the group's protest prior to the Commission Board's meeting on May 8, 2008. I asked my 14 year old daughter if she wished to accompany me on the research adventure. I briefly apprised her of the protest against the internment of the bodies. Her reaction is still with me now. She exclaimed, "They can't do that! That's a burial ground, a final resting place! The slaves didn't have peace when they were living; they should have peace in death!" My child's reaction was profoundly intuitive, spiritual, ethical, cultural and communal; evident of values I did not have the full opportunity to impart to her. Her reaction made me want to know more about the knowledge existing in Black communities.

Alterity. Sylvia Wynter's theoretical conceptualization of Alterity gives me insight on the particular position of Indigenous Knowledge Communities in the socio-political landscape of the U.S. According to Wynter (1992) the "historico-existential community" that formed the United States of America consisted of Native Americans (Red), Africans (Black) and Europeans (White). Each group was integral in the making of America, yet as the result of a "historical(ly) specific process" Red and Black exist outside the boundary of citizenship. Prescriptive rules of our order define everyone in relation to the dominant perspective, that being White bourgeois ethno-class "Man" (Gagne, 2007). All nonwhite "others" are in the liminal category outside the bond of Whiteness that determines citizenship and humanity. However, "Black Americans occupy a specific role in the nation-state" (Wynter, 1992, p. 16). From the dominant perspective, Black Americans exist on the nether edge of the outside within the liminal category. This position provides a unique vantage point to grasp and challenge the prescriptive rules of knowledge of our present episteme. Alterity is a position of perspective advantage that I privilege in this research.

Alterity is the location/space/place of agency to "produce special knowledge" to challenge the status quo (Bogues, 2006). According to Bogues, Wynter meditates on the peculiar position of alterity and at times likens alterity to Frantz Fanon's damnès (Fanon, 2004) to denote "liminal to the 2nd and 3rd degree… the most permanent liminal subject" (Maldonado-Torres, 2006) that has special knowledge to challenge the prescription of predominant conceptions of citizenship. Wynter's analysis helps me understand the genesis of citizenship in the United States as a formal structure that excludes Black people from the category of humanity.

Wynter's theoretical conceptualization of alterity also suggests degrees of citizenship. Figure 4. Alterity and Citizenship visually represents the location of people within the United States democracy. The location represents degrees of citizenship and value of knowledge from particular spaces.

Figure 5: Alterity and Citizenship



Subaltern communities occupy “geographies of exclusion” outside and beyond the “limits of citizenship” (McKittrick &Woods 2007, p. 4). Socio-political processes of racial, economic and educational segregation locate Black geographies in the farthest forgotten spaces of neglect and violence. These racially constructed outer boundaries “naturalize black agony, distress and death” that justify violating basic human rights (p. 2). These same politics of place can eradicate these communities from the natural landscape and remove them from historical memory through land dispossession and other mechanisms of control (Woods, 1998).

Applying Wynter’s conception, Black and indigenous peoples occupy the entire region outside of the dominant society’s conception of citizenship knowledge and practice. These groups occupy a region of visible invisibility based on the social, economic, moral and political need of dominant society. The Blues tradition of social explanation recognizes the researcher and participants are in the liminal position of Alterity; or otherwise, free from the confines of American/European inspired definitions of identity, community and citizenship (King, 2006; Wynter, 1992). The Blues, a genre of indigenous African music, is autochthonous, meaning it is native to the land and experience where it was produced. Also endemic to Blues is an ethic of community building, knowledge creation and citizenship practices. Communities of citizens existing in the liminal category can contribute citizenship knowledge and practices that can significantly impact citizenship education. But what does indigeniety offer to the conceptual understanding of citizenship?

Wynter’s (1984) discussion of the process of “indigenization” more generally provides a relevant context for the African American Blues tradition. According to Bogues (2006), for Wynter, folk arts recreated an equitable community and society that was “cultural guerilla to the Market economy” (p. 330). Explaining Wynter further, Bogues continues

> In the interstices of history, we see, in glimpses, evidences of a powerful and pervasive cultural process, which has largely determined the unconscious springs of our beings; a process we shall identify and explore as the process of indigenization a process whose agent and product was Jamaican folklore, folksong, folktales, folkdance. (Bogues, 2006, p. 331)

In other words, resistance to dominance created these spaces for the indigenization to take place. Similar to the Jamaican folklore that Wynter references, the Blues is a space that relocates its subjects. Therefore, persons the dominant society labels as rebels, the Blues renames as "revered, divine, worth and fearless" (Woods, 2007, p. 71).

The constant flux between epistemology and theories deepens the material meaning of citizenship that can be gained from this research. The impact of a Black Studies perspective on citizenship has the potential to expose ways that Black subjects understand and practice citizenship in their everyday lives. Black histories, culturalized in space and place, locate everyday practices of activism, social commentary and civic engagement in the local landscape of policy, worldviews, institutions and circumstances that influence historical events (Riseman & Wineburg, 2008; Woods, 1998; Wynter, 1992). These histories reveal a particular perspective of struggle (Wynter, 1989) against dominant "epistemologies of ignorance" that include substantive cognitive practices that obscure social realities" (Alcoff, 2007, p. 82) of incarceration, lawlessness, oppressions, invasion and natural disaster (Goodwin & Swartz, 2006).

A Black Studies theoretical perspective of citizenship unearths "hidden geographies" of citizenship knowledge within forms of community civic practices designed to resist colonial epistemological power (Alcoff, 2007, p. 86). Knowledge and action are interrelated in a Black Studies perspective. Therefore, when Black Studies meets citizenship studies, the terrain of citizenship knowledge can be investigated holistically because disciplinary boundaries between citi-

zenship, education, epistemology, geography and sociology become “obsolete” creating a conceptual space to forge a “new language” that does not fragment knowledge, inquiry, methods and methodology into already prescribed disciplinary molds to re-write these molds that serve to maintain the colonial hierarchical system of knowledge (Gagne, 2007; Meacham, 1998).

I hypothesize that historically marginalized Black community citizenship praxis is multifaceted, multilayered and dynamic. Analysis of the multiplicity inherent in this knowledge can only be realized as a “new language” educational researchers need to examine separate domains of citizenship as mutually constructed (Meacham, 1998). Citizenship knowledge in a historically marginalized Black community is both traditional and contemporary, it is also past and present simultaneously; it occupies what McKittrick (2006) terms as a Black geographical space that has the capacity to impact the curricula of citizenship education and civic engagement.

A historically marginalized Black community’s conception of citizenship and citizenship praxis benefits all students. All students develop critical thinking skills to challenge the national historical narrative and the contemporary definition of citizenship. Students are liberated to accept counter stories, linguistic variance and cultural contributions (Epstein, 2010). Clyde Woods (2002) urged scholars to excavate “the construction and reproduction of indigenous knowledge systems within the boundaries of the U.S.” (p. 66). This dynamic knowledge was coded, hidden and transmitted intergenerationally. This knowledge and worldview enabled historically marginalized Black communities to create and maintain a holistic view of what it means to be a citizen instead of adopting the narrow fractured ideology of Western man. Through the process of merging local history, nature, economy, diasporic/global culture and traditions, a dynamic layered knowledge of citizenship could be created. The purpose of this research is to expose that knowledge because it is inextricably linked to liberation of all humans.

The constant flux of personal theory and formal theories ingrained in me that communities can be bound together by knowledge that is reinforced in community spaces through experience. I am equally impressed that in historically marginalized Black communities, citizenship can operate like a code of ethics steeped in the historical Black experience and the social/spiritual/spatial aspects of the Black community. These constructs are evident in the two Generative Stories I have included. These constructs also inform the Blues Methodology that I will use to conduct this study in a culturally consistent way to be explained in the next section. The dynamic interconnectedness of constructs provide space for me to investigate how historically marginalized Black communities remain epistemologically independent to construct their own citizenship knowledge and practices powerful enough to liberate all students from cognitive distortion and constraints of our present order.

Tenets of the Blues Methodology Important for this Study.

Blues Tenets and Place. Tenets from Woods' (1998) Blues epistemology analysis are relevant to this research project. Specific tenets highlighted for this research were embedded within the Blues tradition. They do not occur as discrete concepts, but interrelatedly compose an essence of Blues. I entered the community fully cognizant of the negative effects of distance between the researcher and community participants. I classified myself as an "indigenist worker" conducting research within the tradition of a historically marginalized Black Indigenous Knowledge Community (Bogues 2006, p. 330). As a displaced community member, I engaged with the community without the subject-object divide that Odora Hoppers (2009) incriminated as "endemic to scientific practice (p. 174). Moreover, I was not alienated from who I am, so I entered this research wholly human, wholly divine, fully Black and fully feminine. I chose to focus

on tenets that defined the social research process of traveling Blues artists, female artists in particular, as ethics of entering a historically marginalized Black community. Blues artists, as social scientists, functioned in the way Odora-Hoppers suggests all scientists should.

Blues Woman Researchers. Blues women in particular were organic intellectuals, researching the human experience. They were in a continual state of collecting stories that evidenced the range of emotions that constructed the human experience. Blues women remained in a constant loop of data collection, analysis and feedback because they established the call and response type of engagement within the field. The women sought out stories, analyzed and extracted the humanness out of the experience and performed it back to the community. The blues provide a deeper understanding of life that is not restricted by blackness. In mapping Black and blue experiences specifically, all humans were located within the bounds of humanity.

Blues people were knowledgeable and governed by the wisdom that community members were the owners of the knowledge and experience they represented in song. What's more, the community members validated the research. Within the tradition of Blues, the "scientific community" had the burden to prove their research findings in civic debate and public discussion that is synonymous with the performance. Odora-Hoppers (p. 174) demanded that scientific results be "valid outside the laboratory," and researchers "recover the basis of their citizenship" by "demystifying" themselves. She used Galtung (1967) to support her admonishment for researchers to become "one among the rest of humankind, with goals built into her daily life making herself accountable to others by making open what her preferred future is – not pretending to be like a famous, recently deceased European statesman" (pp. 64-71).

Blues women were warrior pioneers. As the first recorded Blues singers, Blues women made Black working class social consciousness public in their recordings. Historically, Black

women have always occupied “demonic grounds” or the most extreme territory on the outskirts of alterity. Thus, they were powerfully equipped to critique coloniality and community; a fete their male counterparts were unable to perform. Blues women navigated dangerous lyrical, visual and material territories within the colonial regime, as well as, in Black communities. The character of the ‘Blues woman’ as a strong, fearless, sharp tongued, sexual activist cosmopolitan citizen of her day has been duplicated and fictionalized throughout history. However, Blues women were not only warriors pioneers, they were also researchers.

Blues women were cartographers; they mapped the landscape of Black and blue experiences upon existing maps of humanity. They mapped what no one wanted to talk about in public, the underside, the emotional, the part of who we are as human beings, the essence of humanity that is the appeal of blues music. They took their experiences of oppression on the road with them. Traveling was a dominant theme particularly with female and male Blues artists (Garon, 1996). Traveling symbolized freedom and protest (Cone, 1972). Similarly, Blues traveled and transcended spatial and disciplinary boundaries, connecting experiences regardless of socially constructed boundaries.

Scholars locate the birth of Blues on the continent of Africa (Barlow, 1989; Cone, 1972; Jones, 2002; Kublik 1999), as an oral tradition of recording history. While Blues were transported in the spirit of captured Africans on the Middle Passage, they not only retained their original purpose, they morphed into a different expression on American shores. Cone (1972) maintained that Blues were a continuity of spirituals. Disciplinary boundaries may have acted as blinders, preventing scholars from appreciating the Blue root of spirituals, work songs and Blues. Blues and primitive spirituals were sites of interdisciplinary social commentary and protest.

Blues go beyond the particularity of space and place, while simultaneously linking African descended people by their experience of oppression. Cone (1972) interpreted the Blues as an expression of "the feeling and thinking of an African people, and the kinds of mental adjustments they had to make in order to survive in an alien land" (Cone, 1972, p. 98), noting that transcendence was a function of survival. Blues were about survival on one's own terms, which is equitable to protest (Cone, 1972). The interdisciplinary nature of the Blues requires the researcher to investigate the community holistically and dismantle boundaries imposed and maintained by coloniality.

Spatial Transcendence. The spatial transcendence of Blues allows me to research contemporary community issues within the context of local social protests and global oppressions. Woods (1998) contends Blues is indigenous knowledge of local geography. However, I seek to extend Woods' localized conception into the Black Diaspora because Blues spread into a global phenomenon. Blues in a Diaspora context, is cognizant of the influence of Black people throughout the Diaspora, as well as, migrations of people intra-regionally and internationally that contributed to knowledge creation and Black history in a local space. Black Americans have a Diasporic consciousness of being indigenous here (in the U.S.) and there (Africa), as well as a consciousness of inclusion and exclusion. African descendants knew inclusion within their own communities while being segregated and excluded from the "native model."

The global phenomenon of Black exclusion is most evident in local geographic contexts. Moreover, geographic narratives of exclusion make visible hidden shifts of knowledge and expose social processes of spatial demonization (McKittrick & Woods, 2007). Social spatial demonization is the product of social processes of geographic marginalization and exclusion of Black spaces (Woods, 2007). A question embedded within the research questions guiding this

study is how does indigenous knowledge survive under consistent hegemonic attack? Clyde Woods' socio-spatial analysis deems this question a necessary investigation of the social processes of citizenship within the Indigenous Knowledge Community as well as social processes acting against the community.

Investigating how a historically marginalized Black community conceptualizes and practices citizenship is a Blues research question. Black histories of protest and activism not only demonstrate acts of citizenship, they chronicle Black histories of place. While these histories are forgotten in textbooks or retold as vessels emptied of political/civic engagement and indigenous knowledge, these narratives are retained within the community as counter knowledge to school curricula. Epstein (2010) cites that counter knowledge and community histories are not validated in social studies classrooms. Therefore, understanding indigenous knowledge community citizenship and practices is deeply embedded within a longer history of citizenship struggles contained in Black histories of place (Harding, 1981).

Traveling Blues artists connected to the history of place. Through prolonged engagement, the artists sought community knowledge through active participation. Participation in community required close connection with community members. Artists were not selective in their choice of informants. "Blues performers represented the pantheon of Black American personalities and practitioners who were condemned as rebels by the larger society while simultaneously being worshipped, celebrated, envied, and feared by the Black community" (Woods, 1998). Blues lacked a capacity to exclude; therefore, Blues lyrics span all facets and faces of Black communities. This inability to ignore, provides rich, deep data for the Blues artist to represent in song. For example, Bessie Smith sang Black Mountain Blues and St. Louis Blues. In each of these songs,

she not only connected with the experiences of people in place, she merged her individual experiences with the collective experience. While Smith performed the Blues, in place, her vocalized calls, shouts, hollers and grunts connected individual lives with social movements and acts of activism (Woods, 1998). Within her performance, Smith chronicled original collective responses to actual historical events (Palmer, 1981) and created a new reality of "democracy, cooperative, and belonging" (Woods, 1998). This tenet of cultural preservation focuses on "oral text(s)" as a historical resource in indigenous knowledge communities, as well as, Black histories of place. Oral history is an "umbrella term" comprised of practice and product (Abrams, 2010). Cultural preservation deems it necessary to collect oral history narratives and conduct oral interviews and culturally appropriate group conversations.

The tenet of cultural preservation is interconnected with community participation, both elemental to the Blues. Woods (2002) locates knowledge "embedded in the consciousness of repressed groups, communities, and families, who are entangled in a growing web of inequality" (p. 64). The call and response nature of Blues performances required the Blues artist to engage in naturalistic observation of the underside of the community. Likewise, these tenets require the researcher to engage with the community holistically. A holistic perspective of historic social movements and activisms contextualize Black histories of place and couch contemporary issues in a continuum of citizenship practices. A holistic investigation of an Indigenous Knowledge Community requires a perspective on data collection and analysis.

Sium (2013) described the European settlement of the Americas as a process of "Killing Indians and Making Niggers" (p. 11). He asserted that clearing the land for European settlement and industry required extermination of Native Indigenous people and enslavement of labor/slavability of Africans. Native American and African cultures are Indigenous cultures in so far as their

belief and value systems, ways of being and senses of belonging are embodied in their way of knowing the world. Their knowledge systems prioritize relationships. Red, Black and White were together in the historico-existential community that founded the United States of America, white was included, Red and Black were excluded.

Biogenetic Determinism. Sylvia Wynter (1992) explains the biogenetic determining system of thought that made exclusion and inclusion a habit of mind. Because the exclusion of certain racial groups from the bonds of citizenship is justified on the basis of the negation of their humanity, citizenship as an instrument of coloniality joins race and humanity together (Mignolo W. D., 2012, p. 318). Wynter (1992) postulated that race as a biological referent of "Man" is an artifact of the episteme of our current cultural model; that is race is a social construction, not a naturally occurring phenomenon. Humanity, on the other hand, includes all humankind; redefined as a "purely organic species" based on culturally specific modes of being (Wynter, 2003, p. 330), all equal and equally different (Mignolo, 2012, p. 314). This redefinition of what it means to be human removes limits of knowledge, behavior and "Truth" and allows us to experience ourselves as "purely flesh-and-blood beings" in our cultural-historical context (Ambroise, 2006, p. 232). In that sense, redefinition of human (what it means to be human/the experience of being human) is free from the representation of Man as White, Western/European, male and bourgeoisie.

Black people are historically marginalized citizens in the United States of America. Due to the atrocities of enslavement, Jim Crow and segregation, Black citizens have been victimized by all agencies of the nation-state including education and research. Black citizens have been victims of research exploitations, therefore, the use of a culturally sensitive research approach is paramount. Positioning the community as knowers adheres to a culturally sensitive research

methodology that Tillman (2002) suggests. The Blues Methodology considers the cultural foundation of citizenship as well as the social location of Black citizens in the democratic state. These two aspects of citizenship are missing in citizenship research.

Blues is the "critical attitude" embedded throughout this research study. The Blues tradition critically links knowledge to place and expands our understanding of citizenship and the politics of cultural knowledge in the U.S. A Blues Methodology was constructed to investigate cultural ways of knowing and citizenship practices of a historically marginalized Black community in the south eastern part of the United States where enslavement was particularly brutal to Black people. The Blues are necessary to understand the lived realities of Black people, equating to "a willingness to fully uncover the beauty and horror of the past and present (Jess, 2004, p. 19). The construction of the Blues Methodology is discussed in the next chapter. This chapter is devoted to explicating my journey into the Blues and its significance in this research. Interspersed throughout this chapter are textboxes containing dialogue and journal entries that explicate my evolving understanding of the Blues intellectual tradition.

My commitment to investigate citizenship from a cultural perspective was solidified early in my doctoral program, however, I struggled to find a methodology that fit my frame. Critical and ethnographic methodologies either excluded culture or too focused on (biocentrically determined) race. I had almost grown weary in well doing, when I was introduced to Clyde Woods' Blues Epistemology.

Blues Epistemology. The text of Clyde Woods' chapter entitled "Sittin' on Top of the World: The challenges of Blues and Hip Hop Geography" (2007) was a sight for my sore eyes. I felt like all my prayers were answer, I felt like the rain suddenly stopped and immediately the sky was blue! It was as if I could see clear straight to heaven when Clyde Woods put a name on

the theorizing, philosophizing and commentating activities of community people. He explained the way that Black people make sense of the world and their place in it is called Blues Epistemology. “This is what I’ve been looking for all along!” I exclaimed. I could identify with Wood’s social analysis, his words validated my childhood experiences of citizenship as he eloquently expanded the definition of indigenous knowledge to include cultural ways of knowing. That initial experience was empowering! I talked my friends’ ears full of Blues idioms, tenets and liberating tropes. I anointed myself the self-proclaimed minister of Blues knowledge and the Blues tradition. Unbeknownst to me, I was a zealot

Figure 6: Blues Horizon

Conversation in 2013…

Me: I’ve got it now! I’ll use the Blues Epistemology as a methodology to do my research.

Nana: Oh! So what are the blues?

Me: The Blues are the experience of the African in America, but originate in the oral tradition of African peoples. Blues are social protest, philosophy and social inquiry. The Blues are an intellectual tradition.

Nana: Are those your words?

Me: (despondently)… no, Clyde Woods’...

After the initial euphoria, rain clouds rolled back in, the rain resumed and struggle ensued. I toiled to convert Woods’ Blues Epistemology into a methodology to research community citizenship and practices because my understanding was limited. I understood Blues activities of social theorizing and philosophizing, or what we called pontificating in my community. However, I did not understand the origins of the Blues or the relationship between them and the spirituals.

Figure 7: What do blues mean to you?

… in 2014 Nana: What do the blues mean to you? Me: The Blues are the emotional responses to everyday life. They are the cries and hollers of people bending but not breaking under pressure. The Blues represent liberation from enslavement, but only with one's skin and body, not with basic needs to live. The Blues are a secular understanding of struggle, survival and hope. Nana: Your words? Me: (downcast) … No, James Cone's…

I sought the tutelage of Blues artists to deepen my understanding of the body of knowledge and hopefully get the question correct. Famed Blues artist Howling Wolf explained "Blues is when you don't have your basic needs. It's the response to do devilment" (Convention, 2015) His personal story of estrangement opened another dimension of blues to me. Wolf's basic human need of unconditional love and acceptance was not met by his mother. Instead, she withheld those emotions because Wolf did not follow her rules, causing her shame. Howling Wolf taught me that blues men and women were empowered by shame to explore liberation through it. In doing so they defined new standards of behavior. The blues is about rejecting the structure that has failed to provide security, validation and self-worth.

Howling Wolf also demonstrated the griot roots of the Blues. Blues men and women have a responsibility to their craft. When Wolf was heckled during a performance by Sam House, a pioneer Bluesman, Wolf rejected Sam because he moved to New York, started working and stopped singing the Blues (Convention, 2015). Blues is truth, memory and emotion; Blues men and women are haunted by them. Much like the priesthood, Blues people can't put their hands to the plow and turn back they have a charge to tell, like in the scriptures. The Blues is a responsibility to truth that endears and alienates at the same time. Blues is looking at and dealing

with the realities of life without judgment, but with the courage to feel the emotions of it, but not be consumed by them. Blues is a ritual call and response between personal and communal. Blues are unapologetically Black.

Figure 8: Now you've got it

... in 2015
Nana: What do the blues mean to you?
Me: The Blues are the gap between reality and possibility. They are the raw truth of human experience. For me, Blues also means the color, blue is a cool color, a healing color. The Blues are stories of people who took their lives in their own hands. The Blues are courage to be vulnerable and honestly connect a personal experience to a community experience. The Blues are authentic meaning they are unpretentious, but also unpredictable. The Blues are being so close, yet so far away…
Nana: Now you've got the Blues!

My knowledge of the Blues as community pontification, an intellectual tradition and a music genre was abstract and limited until Howling Wolf provided me emotional insight. I understood the connection between the Blues and the reality of Black lives. The Blues is being vulnerable and honest about the emotional response to life's struggles while remaining hopeful. Blues is understanding "what it is to bend and not break, to bear up under pressure and keep on keepin' on" with the essential motive of acquiring "insight and wisdom "(Jess, 2004). Then I discerned that my advisor was testing these levels of understanding in our ongoing conversation. While I thought I chose the Blues because its cultural and intellectual coffers would enrich my research investigation, I soon realized that "The blues choose you, you don't choose the blues" (Jeffers, 2000).

The Blues provided me a way to think about the connection between the concepts of Black is Political, citizenship and place. Scholars describe the Blues as a secular ritual of reading

the world as text through the lens of social and political oppression and orally expressing the most gut level defiance and human experience, while revealing profound insights (Neal, 1972; Jess, 1994; Jones, 2002; Scheiber, 1974). The Blues Tradition maintains the ritual and includes a wellspring of cultural expressions, including, but not limited to music, poetry, literature and art (Neal, 1972). The Blues Tradition also includes historical record, philosophy, psychology, poetry, language and most importantly truth (Jess, 2004; Jones, 2002). Honoree Jeffers, a blues poetess, asserted "there is no way to write Black history without writing blues" (Jeffers, 2000). The Blues is endemic to the African experience of slavery and oppression in the U.S. but its roots reach back to West African oral and social structure. As a function of African culture, singing was connected to life experiences. The oral tradition of singing and practice of civic participation were culturally engrained in the African when captured and enslaved on American shores.

The Blues were birthed from the memory of African society. Pre-colonial West Africans participated in varying aspects of their sophisticated intellectual, political and economic social centers, however, in the U.S. Africans were totally emerged into an alien social system that excluded their intellectual and political participation (Jones, 2002, p. 15). The secular ritual of reading the world and expressing that truth culturally in song emerged after the horrors of enslavement and unrealized hopes of Reconstruction. Jones describes Blues as the activity of grieving what was stolen, realizing what was found and reimagining a future.

As a music genre. According to Jones (2002), blues bears witness to social, economic, political, racial and emotional realities of African captivity in the U.S. It is "primarily a post-slavery view of the world" (p.45). They are linked to a freeing of the individual spirit. The Blues is about African Americans' struggle for freedom and citizenship. The tradition recognizes the realities of Blackness and politics. Jones describes "the most expressive Negro music of any period

will be an exact reflection of what the Negro himself is at the particular time, what he thinks he is what he thinks America to be given the circumstances prejudices and delights" (p. 137) Jones contends that labor is central to the blues song (p. 67). However, the Blues tradition also includes historic record, philosophy, psychology, poetry, language and most importantly, truth (Jones, 2002).

The Delta has been a place of violence since the appearance of Europeans in the region. As a result of Native American massacres and forced removals, "the ideological and territorial consolidation of the Deep South plantation regime" was realized. Expansive slave labor camps, also named plantations and "factories in the fields" were established to farm the fertile Mississippi land requiring concentrated numbers of enslaved Africans. Desire to control the majority African American population and avoid devastation of periodic flooding led to class and ethnic solidarity. The plantation regime was wrought with barbaric assaults on humanity: institutionalized rape, year round labor, unjustified murder, routine torture, geographic confinement, and family fragmentation. Enslavement in the Delta was an assault on the human; body and soul. Blues emerged as protest to that plantation ideology. The history of Blues music in the United States questions past and present citizenship practices of the nation state.

Here, I discuss the three roots of Blues Methodology and discuss the longstanding link between humanity and race and how power is worked out in the politics of citizenship.
Jones says blues music is a tonal expression that imitates the human experience bridging the divide between personal and human accomplishments (p. 63). Blues music is played on an African musical scale that is flexible and rhythmical. Blues notes cannot be reproduced on the fixed Western musical scale. The music cannot be understood separate from the Black experience in

America (p. 67). Jones (2002) articulated the Blues aesthetic as consistency between expression and real world experience. I use this aesthetic to judge goodness in my research.

Many scholars define the Blues as working class ethics. Jones (2002) postulated that the tension between African and American produced the Blues. When Africans ascend the social ladder and become more American, they eschew the blues as they represent a basal musical expression. Clyde Woods does not advance such argument in his articulation of Blues Epistemology, instead, he states the Blues are the property of the working class and the dispossessed. My claim is that middle class Black Americans can have Blues ways of knowing because they are subject to the same ills that affect their differently moneyed cultural citizens.

The subaltern have the ability to speak to all of these contexts. African Americans have transnational experience of being indigenous to two lands. They have cultural connections with African ascendant people in this hemisphere and they have centuries of uninterrupted occupation in local contexts. In addition, African American people have the unique experience of always looking up from the underside of democracy and not only chronicling historical events, but leaving record of personal and community experiences of perseverance in the blues.

Blues is being vulnerable, honest that means brave and courageous. Howling Wolf also demonstrated the responsibility of Blues people to their craft. When he was heckled by Sam House, a pioneer Bluesman, Wolf rejected Sam because he moved to New York, started working and stopped singing the Blues (Wolf). Blues is truth, memory and emotion; Blues men and women are haunted by them.

The Blues are interpenetrative dynamic, multilayered and fluid making them messy. They (Yancy, 2013) “will inevitably challenge one’s sense of reality, one’s place in the normative order of things, one’s epistemic assumptions about what is known and what is knowable” (p. 67)

The Blues challenged my notions of research problems, scientific outcomes and researcher roles. The messiness also deals with the ways that coloniality infiltrates our minds, our logics and can cloud judgments and decisions. It is about the process of recognizing how I've imbibed the Kool-Aid so to speak and internalized white supremacist agendas that prescribe my actions in the field. The messiness is also the constant need to reexamine myself in this process, using the Blues tradition as the grounding wire.

4 METHODOLOGY

Chapter Overview

According to Schwandt (2001) "methodology is a theory of how inquiry should proceed" (p. 161). This chapter discusses the components and procedure of this research inquiry. I will discuss the conceptual framework and methodology for this research before introducing the research setting and participants. The last half of this chapter is devoted to discussion of the instruments used to conduct this research including data collection, analysis, interpretation and representation. This chapter concludes with discussion of researcher positionality and ethics.

Introduction

The conceptual framework that grounds this study is Black Studies theoretical perspective of citizenship. Within this framework, I designed a Blues Methodology to unearth "hidden geographies" of culturally indigenous citizenship knowledge and ways of knowing that are connected to place in forms of community civic practices (Alcoff, 2007, p. 86). This research is located within a Black Studies critical interdisciplinary framework that informs the culturally appropriate methods I employed in this study to investigate community conceptions, theorizing and praxis of citizenship.

When Black Studies theorizing meets citizenship studies, the terrain of citizenship knowledge and praxis can be investigated holistically because disciplinary boundaries between citizenship, education, epistemology, geography, and sociology become "obsolete" creating a conceptual space to forge a "new language" that does not fragment knowledge, inquiry, methods and methodology into already prescribed disciplinary molds that serve to maintain the colonial hierarchical system of knowledge (Gagne, 2007; Meacham, 1998). Moreover, by valuing the community participants as knowledge holders and by investigating what citizenship means to

them, Black Studies theoretical perspective on knowledge and action provided the ontological and epistemological framework for this investigation. Within a Black Studies framework, the Blues Methodology functions as a counter ideology.

The purpose of Blues Methodology is to illuminate and expand indigenous forms of consciousness, social investigation and democratic governance through a culturally appropriate process of inquiry defined by the Blues tradition (Woods, 1998). The Blues Methodology assumes that long term residents in a historically marginalized Black community will understand themselves and their place in the world through dynamic interactions with geography and spiritually informed reflective relationships with other community members.

According to Crotty (2005) qualitative inquiry is effective for social research investigating "culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (p. 67). An interpretivist approach considers the social constructions of meaning and reality (Crotty, 2005; p.8). Interpretation is mired in "tangled ambiguity" with the task of "evok(ing)" the meaning of actions as an attempt to understand "what they are saying to us about our shared lives" (Agrey, 2014, p. 398).

The Black Studies framework uses community history and culture to interpret collective experiences. Using a qualitative research design within an interpretivist approach in the Black intellectual tradition, the Blues Methodology I constructed shifts the investigation of the relationship between knowledge, power, social structures and race in a historically marginalized Black community to the center.

Blues Methodology

Black Studies scholars Clyde Woods' (2007) and Sylvia Wynter's (1992) respective social analyses of Blues epistemology and alterity provide a methodological springboard for this

present work. The Blues Methodology prioritizes the community's socio-economic-political liminal perspective advantage of alterity. Woods and Wynter recognize that although community knowledge can be hegemonic, cultural ways of knowing can also resist hegemonic conceptions.

Blues Tenets. In the study of culture, Van Maanen (1988) asserts "method and methodology are inseparable" (p. 12). The same is true in the Blues methodology. Key tenets of Blues meaning making occur as interrelated themes throughout the research. These blues tenets influence data, data collection methods and data analysis. Tenets foundational to the Blues methodology are:

1) Call and response- The oral soundscape is an elemental component of the Blues that contribute to it being a form of "cultural resistance" (Barlow, 1989). The oral tradition is maintained in research through call and response. Call and response is a form of social cultural communication. Similar to dialogue, call and response is governed by egalitarian rules of exchange and turn taking. The exchange pattern is dialectical and cyclical, with each round going higher and higher. The cycle begins communally with shared knowledge and each subsequent call deepens in knowledge as the caller adds her personal experience. Call and response explores the personal/collective nexus as individual and collective experiences compress together through oral community participation.
2) Philosophical insight- Blues are the "conscious codification of African American folk wisdom" (Woods, 1998). The blues depict the realities of living an inhumane experience and retaining the capacity to love, feel and hope (Jones, 2002). "The essential motive of the blues is the acquisition of insight and wisdom" (Neal, 1972). The blues intellectual tradition "embeds local geographic knowledge, philosophical insights, social interrogations and self-definition in dynamic socio-linguistic traditions" (Woods, 2007, p. 52).

Yancy (2013) suggests the interpretive search for meaning of such dynamically coded linguistic systems requires a cultural form of hermeneutics "that is itself grounded" within the social ontology of the people (p. 69).

3) Indigeneity – Blues as an oral tradition of recording history and genealogies, originated as an African tradition. On U.S. soil, the blues emerged from the indigenization process (Wynter, 2001) where spaces of resistance emerge from oppression. African Americans have the dual peculiarity of being indigenous here (in the U.S.) and in Africa. Spady (1989) cautions us to pay attention to sites of indigeneity because they are always at work "resisting fixity" that oppresses Black people's creative authority over their own bodies, voices, and geographic spaces" (p. 67). The Blues Methodology considers all forms of ethno poetic cultural expressions as potential data in research. Correspondences between the three tenets of the Blues Methodology will be discussed in the Data Collection section later in this chapter.

Research Setting

The community is a case unit of analysis purposefully sampled based on four criteria: 1) a socio-economically-historically marginalized community of long-term Black residents; 2) located in "The South" of the U.S.; 3) undergoing urban renewal; 4) multiple generations are living in the same community and 5) the historico-existential community is represented in the history of the place. The purposefully selected site for this investigation met the stated criteria.

I choose to reveal the city and state where my research site is located (but not the specific community) because this research connects knowledge and place. As detailed in chapter 2, the city of Durham exists historically at the intersection of transportation, slave-based agriculture and commerce that developed in this region. Resistance to each of these historical developments

has occurred not only as protest, but also as attempts to establish and preserve community. Similar to other spaces in The South, the region developed in the settler colonial fashion of clearing the land of Native Americans through a series of bloody skirmishes and wars. The second development was the plantation bloc where plantations served as cities monopolized agriculture and human capital. However, North Carolina's soil composition did not contain fertility necessary to support cash crops prior to the Civil War. With fewer than seven thousand residents in 1860, Durham had few large plantations serving as insulated, self-sufficient towns and the bulk of land owners were yeomen farmers owning smaller plots and working side by side with enslaved Africans (Anderson, 2011).

The Piedmont Blues Arise. Tobacco in a New South tradition. Increased demand for tobacco after the Civil War, catapulted Durham to the national stage relatively overnight by 1910. The tobacco crossroad, Durham boasted two tobacco auction houses, tobacco warehouses and processing plants (Anderson, 2011). Tobacco increased the population substantially, established "Hayti," and ushered in the Piedmont Blues. Hayti was a burgeoning entrepreneurial center of over 100 Black owned businesses and stores dubbed "Black Wall Street" in Durham. The establishment of a Black bank, corporations, hospital and churches on tobacco philanthropy advanced white patriarchy and created a Black elite. Nevertheless, the bustling Black culture was not devoid of its musical heritage.

Scholars agree that the sense of peoplehood amongst Africans in American was forged through music (Jones, 2002; Neal, 1972, Reagon, 2001; Sublette, 2009). While spirituals were raised as work songs in tobacco factories all day long, the blues were sung on the street corners and in juke joints that dotted the Hayti landscape (Anderson, 2011, pp. 375-379). The tobacco

industry positioned Durham as the center of Piedmont Blues. As a product of the plantation regime and Black Wall Street successes, Piedmont Blues were upbeat, ragtime, toe tapping ballads devoid of religious constraints (Anderson, 2011). Blues artists traversed spiritual and secular worlds. Sister Rosetta Thorpe, Reverend Gary Davis, Reverent Pearly Brown and Sister Gertrude Morgan, to name a few, exemplified this tradition (Society, 2016). Regardless, the blues represented the daily struggles of working class Black people in the tobacco plantation-based tobacco industry of Durham.

Union Church Community. Union Church is the fictional name for the actual community under investigation. It is one of a dozen long-term Black communities surrounding Durham, North Carolina. Union Church comprises a 5 square mile area of rural farmland. Three main thoroughfares define the triangular shaped community geographically, however, in conversation, residents draw cultural parameters that include the larger Black Durham community. The community has one main street that bisects the community with a simple maze of side streets.

A community church on the north end of the street was organized the seven original families in 1942. The Union Baptist Church grew from prayer meetings hosted by community members until Clove Judah donated land for building a church and community members donated time and talents to erect a small edifice on the property. I remember the first building on the property at the northern corner of the community. The church had hardy plank floors and the uncomfortable wooden pews. The building was so small that Vacation Bible School was held outside under the oak tree. As a girl of six, I recall thinking the limbs of the tree were so big that they covered all the grounds that surrounded the church. I remember having school outside under the tree that provided cool shade to such a degree that it seemed like an actual room with windows that

blocked the heat of outside from coming in to bother us. Eventually the congregation swelled and a new church was built to accommodate church goers in 1974. The same structure stands today.

Patterson Street is lined with a pastoral mixture of bungalows, split levels and ranch-styled constructions positioned on 2-3 acre plots of land. In addition to the church, the community contains an elementary school and two locally owned businesses. The streets are not lined with sidewalks, but walkers are accommodated with a wide shoulder on both sides of the street. When the community was established in the minds of community members when the seven families bought land in the area. Union Church lay outside the city of Durham and for much of its history, Union Church was not included in city conveniences such as trash collection, water and sewage, and street lights, for example. Due to marginalization of the community, community members fought a decades-long battle to get the main road paved. Union Church is also historically marginalized socially. School aged children were bused across town to attend segregated school regardless of their closer proximity to local schools reserved for whites. I chose Union Church community to investigate how community members conceived and practiced citizenship in out-of-school community spaces; specifically how epistemological agency can be a form of protest.

Participants

In this section, I describe the twelve community members who participated in this research. Each participant is described in context of the family unit they represent and their longevity in the community. These descriptions are intended to provide the reader with a context of the characteristic elements involved in community-building in this place. This research started with the identification and getting the informed consent of a Community Historian. The Community

Historian is a person well versed in the community's history. That is, the Community Historian has specialized knowledge of the history, landscape and practices of community members.

Community member participants in this study are long-term residents of the community: they are acquainted with each other and have witnessed spatial changes in the local area. For example, commercial activity increased with the addition of a 60, 000 square foot shopping center with numerous outparcels, small office condominiums, gas stations, hotels/motels and fast food restaurants that caused steady increases in property taxes. Due to these property tax increases, many landowners can no longer afford to live in Union Church. In fact, two participants had relocated to other parts of Durham.

Original Families. Table 1 below presents demographic information about the participants based on their connection to the seven original families. These seven families have been pillars of the Union Church community, a safe space for themselves, their families and a place to build community. Descendants of six of the original families are still residents of the community, the seventh family is deceased with no heirs. Descendants of four of those original families, and members of a late arriving family identified as "transplant" in Table 1, participated in this study. Of the 12 participants, seven are female and range in age from 17 – 90 years old.

Table 1.
Study Participants

Original family	Name	Years of Residence	Sex	Land Owner	Business Owner	Generation	Current Resident
Benjamin	Ester	55	F	Y	N	1ST	Y
Joseph	Samuel	63	M	Y	N	1ST	Y
Judah	Anna	17	F	N	N	3RD	Y
Judah	Aaron	77	M	Y	Y	1ST	Y
Judah	Agnes*	80	F	Y	Y	1ST	Y

Judah	Hannah	37	F	N	Y	2ND	Y
Judah	Zora	74	F	Y	Y	1ST	N
Reuben	Elijah	68	M	Y	Y	Transplant	Y
Reuben	Elisha	21	M	N	N	3rd generation trans-plant	Y
Reuben	Victoria	65	F	Y	Y	Transplant	Y
Simeon	Deborah	62	F	N	N	1st	N
Simeon	Naomi	55	F	N	N	1st	N

***Community Historian**

The Benjamins. The Benjamins migrated to Union Church from Mississippi. Mr. Levi Benjamin was educated at Tuskegee's Preparatory School. He moved to Union Church, North Carolina to start a grocery store, which he established in the Hayti district. His vision expanded into a southern cuisine restaurant and "Benjamin's" became renowned for their food. Mr. Benjamin and his family purchased 3 acres of land on Patterson Street near the intersection of Parrish Street. In 1960, the first phase of urban renewal of Hayti's Black Wall Street moved their business south, closer to the Union Church community. Mr. Benjamin operated the restaurant while his wife reared their son and daughter. Mr. Benjamin's daughter, Ester, completed Master's level education at NC University before joining him to run the business. Ester participated in this research.

The Joseph Family. The Josephs were originally from Easton, North Carolina. Mr. David Joseph was stationed in the Navy Yard in Baltimore, Maryland during World War II before they moved to Durham. The family settled on the western side of the city before moving to Union Church. The patriarch purchased one hundred acres of land on Patterson Street halfway between Parrish Street and Virginia Avenue. Initially, they moved into a small house on the property before building a modest four bedroom two and a half bath home. Mr. Joseph used the majority of

the land to grow tobacco. He also maintained a small garden for family consumption. Mrs. Ruth Joseph worked at home rearing their two daughters and one son. One member of the Joseph family participated in this research, Samuel. Samuel was in the first generation to grow up in Union Church. After high school, he joined the military and traveled extensively. He returned to Union Church after retiring from the military. He built a home across the street from his childhood home. The Josephs lived within a quarter mile of the Judah family. Both households had children that grew up together.

The Judahs. Mr. Clive Judah moved to Durham, NC from West Virginia to start a business. His cousin Olly made the move a few years before him and had established contacts with business owners in the Hayti community. Hayti was a thriving dense Black business center and residential neighborhood (Ehrsam, 2010). Clove Judah and his brother Clive Judah moved to Durham to join the league of Black business owners. They invested in small businesses, which was lucrative enough for Clive and Clove to purchase land in the Union Church community. Between the two of them, they owned over one hundred acres of land on Patterson Street halfway between Parrish Street and Virginia Avenue. Clive owned and operated multiple businesses on Black Wall Street in the Hayti district. During the first phase of urban renewal, the business relocated to the corner of Umstead and Parrish Street farther from the center of town. The second phase of urban renewal moved the business to the Union Church, within a mile from his modest home.

Clive started a family with a Gullah woman from Gaffney, South Carolina. They birthed three daughters and two sons. The eldest man-child completed university education in mechanical engineering and become the chief owner/operator of the latest iteration of the family printing company located in Union Church. Three members from Clive Judah's family participated in this

research: Aaron, Zora and Agnes. Clive Judah gave each of his children an acre or more or more of land when they were young children. He surveyed the land and had the plots designated before the children entered high school. When they married, Mr. Judah signed the land over to a male heir. In the case of his daughters, he signed the land over to his sons-in-law. Agnes runs the office of the family business and is the official/unofficial community historian and networker. Agnes agreed to serve as the Community Historian for this research. She is well versed in local community history and also the history of Durham. Aaron is the father of Hannah, an entrepreneur. Her office is located in a startup collaborative business space in the gentrified downtown Durham district. She is third generation community member. Through her business, Hannah has lived in other cities in the south and north eastern sections of the United States, but she maintains home in Union Church. Hannah's daughter Anna is the youngest participant in this research study. She is a tenth grade student at Durham Performing Arts School located in downtown Durham.

The Reubens. The Reubens were latecomers to Union Church. They moved into the community in 1971 from a neighboring county. Low crime and shopping accessibility made the area attractive to their small family. The Reubens purchased 3 acres of land dense with fruit their trees produced. Mr. Reuben is in higher education and Ms. Reuben is a retired educator. Their two daughters do not live in the community, but one of their daughter's sons does. Mr. and Mrs. Reuben's grandson Elisha operates the fruit stand. Mr. Elijah, Ms. Victoria Reuben and their grandson Elisha were participants in this research.

The Simeons. The Simeon family moved to Parrish Street in 1958 from a neighboring county. A close relative preceded them in the Union Church community. The family bought a 5-acre plot near the northern point of the community. Mr. and Mrs. Simeon met as students at

North Carolina University a historically Black University located four miles north of Union Church Community. Their family included six children, five daughters and one son. Two Simeon daughters Deborah and Naomi, participated in this research. Deborah is the eldest of the sisters. She attended U.N.C. University in town, a fictional name. She has remained in eastern North Carolina all her life. Deborah is a Human Resource Manager. Naomi spent her married life in Atlanta, Georgia. She moved back to Durham after retirement.

Recruitment Procedures. Participants were recruited through snowball sampling. The Community Historian was the first contact. During the research planning stage, I contacted this long-term community resident with extensive historical knowledge of the people and space of the Union Church Community. A list of possible participants was generated in a brainstorming session with the Community Historian. The possible participants were contacted by telephone and asked to participate in the study. From the list, eleven community members volunteered to participate in the study. Informed consent was obtained at their home or a mutually agreed upon location.

Data Sources

This research investigated community's culturally indigenous conceptions and praxis of citizenship using three data sources 1) oral data transcripts from interview conversations 2) Reflective/Reflexive introspective written data recorded in my Journal; and 3) Field notes that include notes from cultural artifacts such as social event programs, business meeting minutes, newspaper clippings submitted during the research process. All data was analyzed using a hermeneutic circle "grounded within the stylizations and shared epistemic spaces of those Black people who inhabit those spaces" (Jones & Neal, 1968, p. 639). Specific thematic and value coding and analysis procedures are discussed fully in the data analysis section of this chapter.

Oral Data. Orality defines the oral mode of cultural transmission common among African American descended (Smitherman, 2000). Its importance rests on the belief that "all the movements of nature rest on the word and the productive power of the word" (Hamlet, 2011). For example, in the Dogon culture of West Africa, the word Nommo, denotes power, responsibility, commitment and life force. Nommo is maintained and passed on from generation to generation through stories, songs, sayings, proverbs and other cultural products containing philosophical insight and wisdom. According to Garon (1996), Jones (2002), Kublick (1999) and Woods (1998), the Blues continues the oral tradition of naming the experience of African people in (the U.S.). In this research, orality of Black communities is preserved in the research through the data and methods of data collection and data analysis.

Oral data was afforded primacy in this research, therefore the preponderance of data is oral, collected via oral methods. Oral data includes audiotapes of Interview Conversations, Follow-Up Interviews, Community Historian Check-In Conversations and Community Walk Conversation. The community favors orality as a cultural form, but they also place primacy on relationships and connections that are established and nurtured through the human contact orality provides.

In Speaking Power: Black Feminist Orality in Women's Narratives of Slavery, Fulton (2006) characterizes Black women's orality as a form of empowerment, protest and conduit of healing. Following Fulton's lead and the Blues tenet of philosophical insight and wisdom, I use orality in the form of hermeneutic circles to analyze data and excavate narratives of empowerment and protest that can serve as conduits of healing for the audience of Black communities of readers. With such positionality as both a community member and researcher, I seek to maintain

authenticity through relational validity and answerability that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Written Data. Written data consists of Reflective journaling, Reflexive journaling, and Field notes. Reflective journaling was a research activity that took place in and out of the field. This qualitative data collection method began prior to entering the field.

Blues and the Reflective Reflexive journal are tools I choose because journaling is a truth telling process for me. The truth of my innermost desires and needs come forth in the writing process, "bringing the unconscious into the conscious" (Ortlipp, 2008). Reflective journaling helped me simultaneously construct the Blues Methodology and develop as a Blues researcher. The Reflective Journal satisfied the need for an introspective tool and aided me in the "indigenization" (Bogues, 2006) process by increasing my level of self-awareness required of blues work (Garon, 1996, p. 10).

Reflectivity paired with reflexivity enabled me to reflect upon and adjust my role as the research instrument in the moment and adjust. Researchers as instruments influence research findings and affect the body of knowledge produced (Sandelowski & Borroso, 2003). Through journaling, I "demystified" myself and the research field, maintained transparency and increased self-awareness (Odora-Hoppers, 2009).

Field notes. Field notes were written to record my observations of community interactions and engagements witnessed in the research field. These notes were written during the research experience and included my childhood experiences growing up in the community and prior knowledge of people, places and events. Some documents are referenced in my field notes but not identified.

Table 2.
Data Sources, Collection and Analysis

Research Questions	Data Sources	Data Collection Methods	Method of Analysis and Interpretation
How does a historically marginalized Black community conceive of citizenship?	Oral data Written data	Interview Conversations Audio recorded Follow Up Interviews Audio recorded Community Walk Audio/video recorded Community Historian Check- In Audio recorded Journaling Field notes	Value codes, Thematic codes, Hermeneutic circle
How does a historically marginalized Black community practice of citizenship?	Oral data Written data	Interview Conversations Field notes Community Walk Community Historian Check- In Reflexive Journaling	Value codes, Thematic codes, Hermeneutic circle
How does the community conception and praxis compare to the dominant society's conception?	Oral data Written data	Interview Conversations Community Walk Reflexive Journaling Field notes	Hermeneutic circle

Data Collection Methods

This study employed six culturally appropriate data collection methods: (1) Community Historian Check-Ins; (2) Interview Conversations; (3) Follow-Up Interviews; (4) Journaling; (5) Field notes; and (6) Community Walk. A brief description of each data collection method follows.

Community Historian Check-Ins. Community History Check-In conversations constituted a form of member checking between the Community Historian and researcher. The Community Historian functions similar to the griot or networker in indigenous communities. This person

maintains community history and welcomes new members into the fold. The person in this position is a valued research participant because not only do they know all community members by name, they can connect the Blues Methodologist with research participants. Conversations with the Community Historian served as a sounding board for research findings and member-checking provided a historical perspective grounding the narratives of other research participants.

Interview Conversations. Interview Conversations were constructed with an interpretive constructionist view focused on the expectations and meanings people use to interpret their realities and pass the meanings from one generation to the next (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

"Sitting" or visiting with a community member is a community practice. It involves conversation about newsworthy topics, life events, family updates or community events. The practice of "sitting for a spell" focused on relationships and the oral tradition of the community. Conversation fit more with the daily life in the community because this mode of interaction is more social than interviews that tend to be more formal and rigid. A conversional structure was also chosen over an interview structure to maintain a relational balance of power. However, these interview conversations did not undergo conversational analysis because the investigative goal of this research is the illumination and interpretation of community knowledge and ways of knowing. Conversational analysis focuses on the minute details of participants' knowledge of conversation etiquette, for example, rather than the information or knowledge that is held and transmitted by the participants in the conversation instead of focusing on the intentionality of the conversation segment the aim of this data collection method is to make the deeper interpretation of the conversation as text available. The conversation style interview allowed me to bring other participants into our interview conversation as well in a very natural way. This method was used in an

effort to stimulate an ongoing conversation, one long conversation with each community member participating. In my dual role as researcher and community member, I "gently guided the discussion, leading it through stages, asking focused questions, and encouraging the interviewee to answer in depth and at length" (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 110).

Conversations were semi-structured around a topical Conversation Guide (see Appendix #). The conversation focused on the topics of community values, boundaries, traditions, practices, transmission, institutions and spatial changes. These conversations were audiotaped and lasted no more than an hour. Conversation structure was used because it allowed immediate follow up with participant to clarify responses or to probe during the conversation or during the follow-up. Due to the age and mobility of elder community members, they elected to have conversations at their homes.

Follow-Up Interview. A second conversation was conducted to further probe emerging themes or stories from the initial conversations with participants and to allow participants to add additional information as they saw fit. Follow-Up Interviews were more formal than Interview Conversations as these were organized around specific questions to further explore or clarify oversimplified, generalized or dogmatic responses (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The Follow-Up Interview was conducted after the initial Interview Conversation and lasted approximately 30 minutes. The focus was on topics discussed during the initial conversation. I engaged each participant in a Follow-Up Interview and compiled a transcript that incorporated both interview segments.

Journaling. Journaling was used to define my role as an instrument of research, reflect on my thinking patterns in my researcher role and to process participant responses (Slotnick & Janesick, 2011). Reflection is a combination of cognitive activity and action where the researcher

provides a measure of perspective, in terms of the self, by writing down and evaluating research experiences (Ellis, 2001; Yinger & Clark, 1981). The action of journaling requires higher order thinking processes to expand, analyze and qualify thoughts (Schon, 1991). Reflective journaling also connects theory to practice (Schon, 1991). My journaling also included Reflexive introspective written data. Sandelowski and Borroso (2003) explain reflexivity in social science research:

> Reflexivity implies the ability to reflect inward toward oneself as an inquirer: outward to the cultural, historical, linguistic, political and other forces that shape everything about inquiry; and in between researcher and participant to the social interaction they share (p. 781).

Reflexivity allows me to reflect on the "intimate relationships" between researcher and participant as well as the intimate relationship within myself. Cynthia Dillard calls these relationships of studying and engaging "re-search" or searching again.

Field notes. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) contend that field notes should not contain personal reactions, emotions or reflections; instead the focus should be fixed on framing knowledge and concerns (p. 12). I also took notes on "naturally occurring" conversations that took place when I was in the field (Chase, 2005, p. 670). Included in field notes was information on cultural artifacts donated to me during the research project. Artifacts included church event programs, meeting minutes for local businesses, and city redevelopment plans.

Community Walk. The Community Walk had a trinity of purposes in this research design. It was a cultural activity, a method of data collection and a metaphor for data representation. The Community Walk hearkened back to the predominant Blues theme of traveling (Garon, 1996), that symbolized freedom and protest (Cone, 1972). Traveling Blues women were cartographers; they mapped the landscape of "Black and Blue" experiences on existing maps of humanity. That is, they took their experiences of oppression on the road with them, as I have attempted to do in

this research. Walking was significant within local communities as well. I grew up taking walks with my grandparents and parents. Walking had purposes beyond mere exercise or getting from one place to another. It was a way of knowing the geographical landscape and connecting with space and place. Walking was a method of spiritual meditation and a way of "claiming territory."

The practice of walking was crafted into a data collection method that connected the significance of walking and talking to gather information about community knowledge and spatial location. The Community Walk was implemented as an audio and videotaped conversation while traveling through the community space. The Community Walk was purposed to locate community institutions and spatially map them. Lastly, the structure of the Community Walk defined the travelogue experience depicted in the results of this investigation in chapter 4.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Coding. In the field, field notes and interview data were provisionally coded for values, beliefs and praxis. During the interview conversations, I jotted notes on spatial information, dates and locations that were mentioned. Outside the field, oral data were transcribed, coded and organized. Codes generated from the responses to the research questions developed. I listened to the audio recordings and re-read interview transcripts simultaneously as I coded. I wanted to remain close to the data. As I examined the codes generated from the responses and field notes, codes were combined under descriptive themes. I used the themes to code the data one last time then uploaded interview transcripts, thematically coded journal entries and field notes into the nvivo software program. Nvivo was used to organize oral and written data by themes that were used to answer the research questions.

Hermeneutic Circle Interpretation. This research employs hermeneutic interpretation to reach deeper critical meanings beyond the literal word. Interpretation is a process of deepening and

widening the text within the frame of community. Hermeneutic interpretation aligns with the Blues Methodology in several ways. This method of interpretation acknowledges that people come to know themselves in relation to others. Hermeneutic interpretation is a back and forth cyclical process between the part and the whole (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It starts with the researcher's intuitive and vague understandings and expands them. It also resembles call-and-response in that it is co-constructed as it spirals (p. 210). Hermeneutic interpretation, like call and response in African American oral communication and creative expression involves a process of personal evolution through reflection. Broadening understandings requires the researcher to be willing to be read by the participants and evolve in mutual understanding (Moules, 2002).

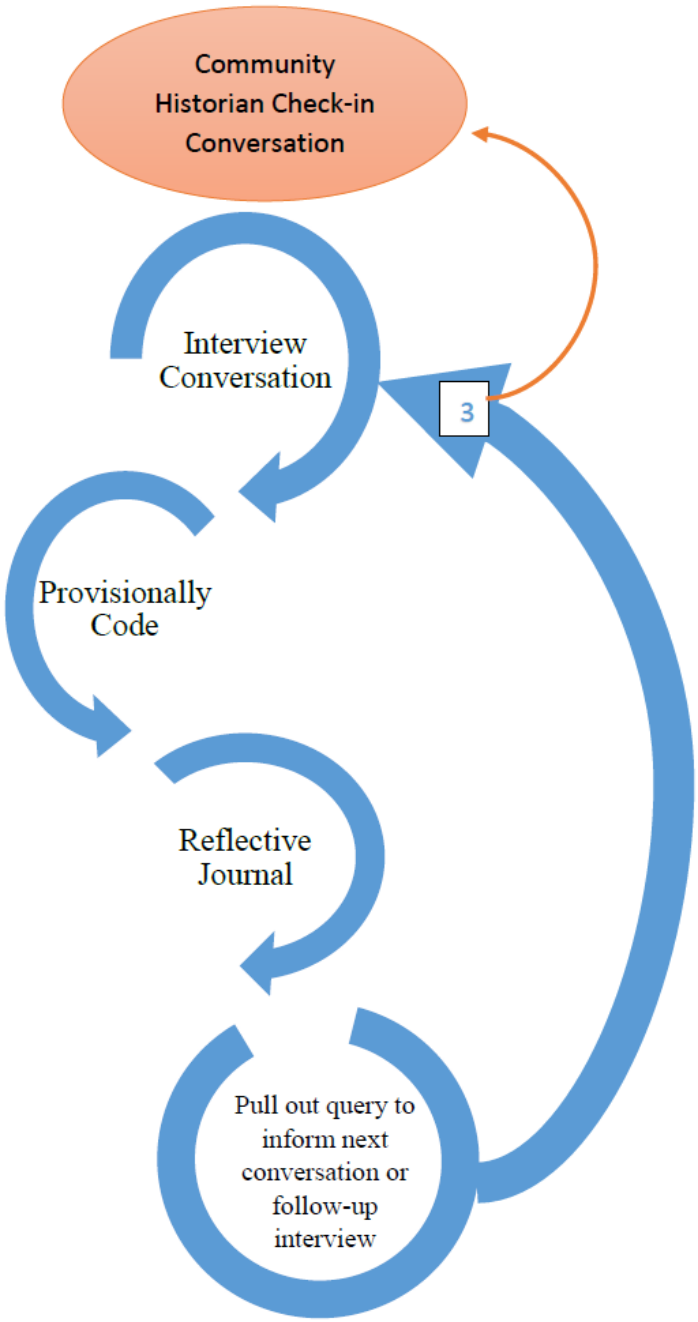
In hermeneutics, analysis is synonymous with interpretation. Interpretation begins with reflection and continues throughout the process. In the field analysis was appropriate because interpretation is what we do as humans, therefore the activity of processing situations and circumstances for meaning is active all the time. Being aware of this human proclivity helped me to be authentic to my understanding consciously and unconsciously.

I designed the Blues Methodology as a cyclical process of introspection, data collection and data analysis and interpretation done in three phases. In the first phase, entitled Survey and Planning, the research began with my personal experiences, memories and quandaries. This is because the blues is primarily a visceral relationship with self that sets the tone for interpretations, critiques and speculations about socially constructed, spiritual and imagined worlds (Garon, 1996). The blues values truth telling in a world that prioritizes illusion (Mignolo W. D., 2012), therefore, introspection is a necessity of the Blues Methodology. Theoretically and intellectually, I understood that hegemonic complicity operates among oppressed groups. I under-

stood how marginalized groups behave towards and sometimes internalize their hegemonic descriptive (Wynter, 1984). I had observed hegemony behaviorally in other people, but had not closely examined the nuanced ways my cognition and knowledge may be informed by hegemony. However ideologically biased knowledge is systemically embedded in U.S. educational, social, political, economic and spatial institutions and structures. Stated differently, racism is in the air we breathe, particularly in the South where I was born, reared, educated, and where I continue to reside. Therefore, self-awareness was critical to excavate my level of consciousness and "dysconsciousness" (King, 1991). As noted above, I chose the written method of Reflective journaling to increase my level of self-awareness and gauge it in the research process.

In the field, the hermeneutic circle recreated the passing along of information in community spaces, to maintain the dynamic nature of conversations and to validate data. Written data from my journal partially informed my initial Community Historian Check-In Conversation that was provisionally coded in the field. Extractions from coding the Community Historian Conversation informed my first community member Interview Conversation, which informed subsequent conversations and the Community Walk; interview transcripts informed the follow-up interviews. The hermeneutic circle also mirrors the relational and reflective nature of Blues and cultural knowledge. Collaboration of oral and written methods reflects the data back to community members in a collective call and response manner. Figure 9 below diagrams the flow of information in the hermeneutic circle. Figure 9 demonstrates the flow of information in the hermeneutic circle.

Figure 9: Hermeneutic Circle



I continued to listen to the interviews like a playlist. I listened and re-listened and re-membered as a process of establishing close familiarity with the data (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). I was fully aware that understanding entails process, an ongoing, co-evolving relationship

between doing, knowing and being. I agree with Madison (1988) that we understand retroactively, forward and backward. All understanding does not come at once as an illuminative epiphany moment in time that is thrust upon the researcher. Instead understanding evolves out of location, position and perspective. Understanding some of that came in the field, some evolved outside the field and still some more came through the writing process. Writing was integral in the interpretive process. Understandings emerged through journal writing as well as composition writing.

The last method of analysis was comparing theory with the data. Clyde Woods' (2007) Blues Epistemology and Sylvia Wynter's (1992) concept of alterity framed my thinking in every phase of this research. The research questions were initially worded in the language of these Black Studies theoretical analyses. I compared the data I collected with the conceptual texts and constructs of Woods and Wynter. Key constructs included Blues Epistemology and Alterity.

Procedures

This research proceeded in three phases: (1) planning research activities, (2) in field research activities and (3) out of field research activities. Appendix C contains a chart of all research activities.

During the first phase, I carefully planning the research process based on the knowledge traditions of the community (Bogues, 2006). I researched the history and culture of the community and aligned with their philosophical orientation. As an indigenist worker, I was responsible for planning research using tools and seeking answers from the spiritual and blues intellectual traditions. Data, methods of collection, and data analyses were planned step by step for the in the field phase of the research process. I chose methods of data collection based on the community's

value of oral traditions and relationships. The first phase of research concluded with a planned agenda for research in the field. Reflective journaling began in phase one.

Phase Two of the research process was entering the field to conduct research. Reflective journaling continued throughout this phase, however journal entries included reflexive information also. Reflexivity is an important aspect of qualitative research and Blues Methodology. Paired with reflectivity, reflexivity enables me to reflect and adjust my role as the research instrument in the moment. In the Field, the hermeneutic circle recreated the passing along of information in community spaces, to maintain the dynamic nature of conversations and to validate data in the field. Written data from my journal partially informed my initial Community Historian Check-In Conversation that was provisionally coded in the field. Extractions from coding the Community Historian Check-In informed my first community member Interview Conversation that informed subsequent Follow-Up Interviews and the Community Walk. The hermeneutic circle also mirrored the relational and reflective nature of blues and Heritage Knowledge. Collaboration of oral and written methods reflects the data back to community members in a collective call and response manner. In the field, oral data was provisionally coded for values, beliefs and attitudes. During interview conversations, I jotted down spatial notes on dates and locations mentioned. I combined these notes with preliminary values codes before leaving the field.

Phase Three, entitled out of field I continued to journal and provisionally code journal entries. Outside the field, I transcribed oral data and coded all written and oral data. Data was coded in two cycles. Codes were organized into themes. Oral and written data was uploaded into Nvivo software program to sort data based on themes. I compared data for each theme and examined similarity responses for nuances. I noted ideas of consensus and ideas of disagreement. I

summarized participant responses, journal entries and field notes to the theme and selected narrative examples supporting the summary. Themes from the data were used to answer the research questions and narrative chunks were used to maintain participants' voice and agency.

Representation

In this research, orality, philosophic insight and indigeneity are fundamental in all elements of research as well as the representation. All three elements overlap in the cultural practice of walking, transmission of knowledge through cultural stories and fiction. The Community Walk Conversation is a qualitative cultural research method that connects place, knowledge and citizenship through oral history. On the walk through community space, the community elder provides an oral history of the community to the researcher by identifying significant places and relaying historical facts of the community. Then the researcher begins the interview conversation focused on connecting community history to the present condition of the community. The Community Walk prioritizes community knowledge and community elders as resources to investigate the natural landscape and the human geography of the neighborhood over time. The walk is a method of investigating what has happened in communities.

Long term community residents had a history of walking. The main street that bisects the community was a dirt road when the original families established the Union Church community. Walking was the daily activity of most residents, particularly women of the community because they were not employed outside the home. Walking is also significant in the African experience in the U.S., a fact we learn from the Slave Trail of Tears (Sublette, 2009). The Trail of Tears spanned over 300 miles from Virginia to Mississippi, requiring three months to traverse. During the domestic slave trade, the Virginia colony, a non-agrarian state, became the slave breeding capital of The South. Enslaved persons including women and children, were coffled and marched

from Richmond, Virginia to the Mississippi Delta. While on the trail, they were commanded to sing as entertainment for their overseers. Ned Sublette (2009) theorizes that on that long arduous march, they sang and became one people. The act of singing equalizes heartbeats and body rhythms just like walking.

Walking (and talking) is a culturally indigenous way of knowing. Using Clyde Woods (1998, 2007, 2008) culturally indigenous ways of knowing are spiritual, musical, communal and geographic ways an individual comes to know herself in her skin, environment and the world. One way cultural knowledge is transmitted is through parables, stories, narratives and fables. As sociocultural constructs, stories typically do not follow the western dominant traditional linear plot sequence. Instead, sociocultural constructs have a unity "similar to an embroidered quilt" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1986) with the point being gaining wisdom. Walking in community spaces is a demonstration of knowledge. The connection and information shared on walks is a site of cultural transmission.

Blues Tenets in the Research Process

Table 3 demonstrates how the Blues Tenets are represented in each aspect of research. The Blues Tenets influence data, data collection methods, analysis and representation in the research.

Table 3.
Blues Tenets in the Research

Blues Tenets	Data Sources	Data Collection Methods	Data Analysis and Interpretation
Call and Response Orality	Oral data	• Interview Conversations • Follow-Up Interviews • Community Historian Check-Ins • Community Walk	• Value coding • Thematic coding • Researcher generated codes • In field hermeneutic circle

			• Out of field theoretical mapping
Indigeniety	Written data Blues lyrics Blues biographies Slave narratives News clippings	• Cultural Artifacts Collection/Analysis • Blues lyrics • Blues biographies • Slave narratives • Reflexive Journaling • Field notes	• Value coding • Thematic coding • Researcher generated codes • In field hermeneutic circle
Philosophical Insight and Wisdom	Oral data Written data	• Reflective Journaling • Interview Conversations • Follow up Interviews • Community Historian Check Ins • Community Walk	• Thematic coding • In field hermeneutic circle

Researcher Positionality

My Story. I am a native of the Union Church community. I grew up there with a palpable sense of ownership and belonging, a sense I have not found in other places I have lived. I feel that sense of ownership and belonging slipping away each time I visit and notice the luxury apartment complex half a mile down the street, or the rerouted streets or the new fire station located on the west side of the community. In this research, I have bought my tensions with contradictions around citizenship back to the community of people who taught me, back to the place where I grew up. I am still a member of the Union Church community. My family and extended family still live in and around this community space. I am doing research at home with family and neighbors I have known all of my life.

Ethics. Madison (2012) explains the ethical responsibility of critical ethnographers:

> Critical ethnography begins with an ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular *lived* domain. By "ethical responsibility," I mean a

> compelling sense of duty and commitment based on moral principles of human freedom and well-being, and hence a compassion for the suffering of living beings. The conditions for existence within a particular context are not as they *could* be for specific subjects; as a result the researcher feels a moral obligation to make a contribution toward changing those conditions toward greater freedom and equity (p. 5)

Similarly, I have a commitment to human freedom and a compassion for all forms of life, however, I approach research as a spiritual practice (Dillard, 2003) that compels me toward compassion, empathy and understanding of all subjects and contexts. Unlike Madison, I am morally obligated to contribute to my transformation, the transformation of my community, then the transformation of humanity. In the research field, I seek to do good and not cause harm (Childress, 2006), as I am answerable (Patel, 2014) not only to the participants and other visible stakeholders, I am answerable to the Divine, the ancestors, the universe (Karenga, 2016). Ethics is not a professional dress or hat I don on my way to the office, ethics is who I am.

Going home to do research gave me "feelings of ease and unease" (Fournillier, 2005) because I had a need to protect my family, my community, myself. Prior to entering the field, I chose to preserve community relationships and protect the anonymity of the community. To protect the anonymity of the community and maintain the confidentiality of the participants I interviewed, the name of the community, Union Church is fictionalized as well as the names of the participants. Details have been changed to protect the identity of other community residents as well. None of the fictional identities assigned related to the original names of people or actual places in Durham, North Carolina. In the representation of the findings, I included three composite characters as fictionalized representations of people, places, and events I have known and experienced growing up in this community.

Fictional Characters. “Daddy”, my Community Walk participant, represents a fictionalized composite figure who incorporates some elements of my own father, grandfather and great uncles. The figure also represents other elder men I have known in community spaces.

Cat is a composite fictional character constructed to embody what I have been taught in community spaces about the responsibilities of citizenship. She also represents my perception of community citizenship and criteria for membership. Cat’s vision regarding community conveys my sometimes idealistic, sometimes not realistic vision of community.

Cat was a chocolate hued, stately woman standing at least six feet tall. Her hair was salt and pepper colored, wavy and long. It was so long she could sit on it, but she never wore it loose, it was always braided in one long ponytail and wrapped in a bun. Her face was round, cheekbones high and small piercing green almond shaped eyes. She dressed stately and elegant as if she were expecting a presidential motorcade to pull up at any moment of any random day.

Cat was a deaconess and a blues woman. She had a raspy singing voice that was an octave off from blending in on hymns in church, but just right for metered hymns and sultry blues. Sister Cat’s heavy voice evidenced her pack a day cigarette habit she displayed every day of the week except Sunday.

James is also a fictional character representing White paternalistic settler ideologies I have known in community spaces. He believes he is using his resources to advance Black causes. James is an historical composite of people and places in the broader Durham area where citizenship is also practiced. He represents the complexities between Black and White Durham. James is Cat’s father but Cat is unaware.

Cat and James are spiritual beings. Together, Cat and James represent the cultural history of people and place. They appear in the Dream Sequence in physical human form visible and interacting with each other and community members. They also interact with me on the research journey, prompting me to ask deeper questions.

Ultimately, Cat and James represent me. They function of cultural tourists in data representation activities. I created these fictional characters to ask questions I am too conflicted to ask and reveal information I am uncomfortable sharing as a community member. Cat and James are constructed from my field notes.

Expectations

I hypothesize that citizenship conceived in a historically marginalized community is multifaceted, multilayered and dynamic. Citizenship knowledge in a historically marginalized community is both traditional and contemporary, it is also past and present because my participants are from different generations. I also expect the constructed Blues Methodology to access community conception and citizenship practices.

5 RESULTS

Chapter Overview

This chapter presents research findings in narrative form. Two interrelated stories with fictionalized and creative elements present the findings in forms that maintain anonymity of the community under investigation and protect my relationship with the community. This representation also symbolizes the dual roles of researcher and community daughter I navigated throughout the research process.

In this chapter, results of research are reported. Research questions were answered using themes, text form a combination of interviews, journal entries and field notes. My interpretations are evident in the findings. Findings will be presented in the following order: (1) summary of research findings, (2) the descriptive thematic findings and (3) an interpretive representation of findings. This chapter concludes with a summary of how the Blues Methodology made these findings possible.

Summary of Findings

Union Church community members' conception of citizenship was based on belonging to people and place and bound together by a common sense of divine purpose. Agnes, the Community Historian stated "In Union Church we belonged".

1) How does the community's conception and praxis of citizenship compare to the dominant society's conception?
2) How can both the dominant society's conception and the Black community's citizenship praxis inform citizenship education and citizenship research?

Descriptive Thematic Findings

The following table lists themes that emerged from the data that answer each of the research questions. To simplify the correlation between research questions and answers, questions were reworded to have a single focus. Following the chart are descriptive themes.

Table 4.
Research Questions and Themes

Research Questions	Themes
How does a historically marginalized Black community conceive and practice citizenship?	• Community • Spatial boundaries • Interdisciplinary knowledges
How does a historically marginalized Black community practice citizenship?	• Relationship connections • Youth engagement • Local linguistic connection
How does the community's conception compare to the dominant society's conception?	• Everyday Practices • Citizenship knowledge
How does the community's praxis compare to the dominant society's conception?	• Intergenerational relationships • Everyday practices • Citizenship knowledge • Community • Institutions • Spatial boundaries
How can both the dominant society's conception and the Black community's citizenship praxis inform citizenship education?	• Intergenerational practices • Business ownership • Land ownership
How can both the dominant society's conception and the Black community's citizenship praxis inform citizenship research?	• Institutions • Transmission practices

Community. Generally, a community is a group of people bound together by space or interest. Agnes, the Community Historian in reference to the Union Church community in her youth "We were a cohesive, a beautiful community because neighbors worked together." Likewise Aaron, stated "We had a congeniality that was second to none, a lot of comradery… It was nothing for Mr. Gad to walk by and put sweet potatoes on your porch. Mr. Joseph would leave some corn, vegetables or something. Everybody ate! No one was in starvation."

Participants defined community as an extension of family because common values were reinforced in all the homes, "*Values of this community had to be the love of people, the closeness of families … we were taught in all of the homes*" Agnes explained. Community cohesion extended through two more generations, as Hannah expressed similar sentiments "*you know where community meant your whole street. If you got in trouble at school, your whole street knew about it before you got home, and then you got spankings all the way down the street until you got home.*"

Spatial Boundaries. Community Historian Agnes described the spatial boundaries of community citizenship by using family names and property location.

> *There were only 7 houses on the street, on Patterson Street. The Benjamins, Josephs, Simeons, Judahs, Gads, Ashers on our side of the street. Ms. Dan was on the opposite side of the street. Not only did people of the community come together, but one of the first contributions came from Mr. Jerry Whiteman to the church and for every year, he gave a contribution to our church. He was not a member, but he always supported whatever we did as a part of the community.*

Jerry Whiteman was a white man living on the outside perimeter of Union Church. Daddy mentioned that Jerry Whiteman sold land to Clive Judah.

The Black community was surrounded on all sides by white residents. Agnes, Community Historian, explained that community activities were created to keep Black children "*from wandering into the white neighborhood… so we stayed pretty much to ourselves*."

Deborah described spatial boundaries based on location of Black bodies." *So the community, you have to move on up to North Carolina University, Durham Technical College, all the businesses on Parrish Street. Right? So why? Because this is where our people were.*"

Interdisciplinary knowledge. Aaron' understood multiple levels of history in a different way *" We come from a long ways, but what we have done with it has not been to our advantage and somewhere along the way we dropped the ball as to just divorcing ourselves from our own heritage.*" His understanding of history transcended place.

Relationship connections. Agnes on the uniqueness of connection

> *The closeknittedness of this community was of great value. And it does not exist all over the world, but in Union Church Community, it existed. We belonged.*

Business Ownership. Ester collapsed boundaries between geography, history and indigenous knowledge, synthesizing human geography, social history and indigenous knowledge. In discussion of her family owned restaurant, a popular cultural and economic institution, she personified the business, describing it like a business partner.

> *"I tell people, we had a great run and it took me and your dad and other business owners, not only did we survive segregation. We survived integration. We were able to integrate. You know a lot of businesses didn't make it once Black people had different choices. At one time we were totally in our community and you could buy… but then when the doors opened up Blacks went other places. Forty years ago when I was growing up, downtown was thriving. There was where we did all our shopping. There were no malls. It was downtown Durham. But then all of a sudden, they started building malls and shopping centers, and so downtown Durham dried up. But that was by design. I think*

when they pulled the plug. I think when the people and the owners and the powers that be. They shut down everything understanding 30 years down the road, we're gonna come back and we'll rebuild it (referring to whites). That was the plan all the time. It wasn't urban renewal. It was to wipe out and totally obliterate any Black sense of ownership. And they had to let it lay dormant for 30 years to make sure there wasn't any residual.

Citizenship knowledge/Land ownership. Ester defined responsibility as investment in community space:

The kids left and didn't come back. Yeah, you've got beautiful homes out there in Checkerwoods where the parents are living in their children have 300, 400 thousand dollar homes somewhere else. No one's coming back to invest in the community. Everybody wants a part of that white world, not understanding the price that was paid to get them there. It was understood that if I can help you up, but everybody's taking and nobody's putting back in. Everybody's investing in that false stuff."

Aaron shared similar sentiments about valuing whiteness more than Blackness: "*I've seen that be destruction for a lot of our families because we do that because we though that's what the whites were doing.*

He also believed community members had a responsibility to maintain family homes and keep property in the family. On the Community Walk, Aaron pointed out the property of an original family with exuberance:

Aaron: That's the log cabin people I told you about. That was their family property.
Me: It's not their property anymore?
Aaron responded with disappointment: No, the heirs lost it 5 or 6 years ago." Later in the Community Walk Conversation, MS points out a transplant family home.
Aaron: That's Goody's house.
Me: Oh yeah!
Aaron: "Well, he passed and I'm not sure if it's the son or daughter, but they are remodeling that home. Look a there! Looks like they're taking the whole face off of it. Might be expanding it too. Guess they'll bring their families for Christmas or holidays."

Local linguistic connection. Spirituality is an indigenous way of knowing. Elijah Reuben, fruit stand, demonstrated this way of knowing in the following passage discussion the future of the Union Church community. "*at a certain point you lose that (the sense of community in the past). Because you catch a fresh vision and you work towards that. And the other slowly recedes*." He explained the importance of balancing the past, present and future using a conversation as an example "*I was talking to a psychologist she talked about how from the age of two up, things (in her life) had changed. What she was expecting didn't come to pass. I asked her, What was in its place? She calmed down*". He used spiritual knowledge to reiterate the unknown future direction of community: "*Where communities are going … we won't know till we get there. But when we get there, we know we're there. So, that always has a look, there's a haze always there, over the future. We really don't know what the future will be. What it's going to be. We're hoping, we're building towards something, but we don't know how it's going to come out."*

Relationship connections.

> "Your school teacher was like your second mama. We had teachers that would communicate with parents. Students very seldom got expelled! My teachers would take so much pride (in their class achievement). We had very few renegades in the class. Once in a while, you had some of them… most of them (renegades) the other students could bring in that wild one." (Aaron Interview Conversation)

Interpretive Analysis of the Findings

The dream sequence represents some of the research findings in the form of a historical narrative with two principal characters. I chose to use a dream sequence because it allows me the creative structure to infuse culturally indigenous ways of knowing in the representation. For example, time is cyclical, not linear in this fantasy. The characters have the ability to move in and

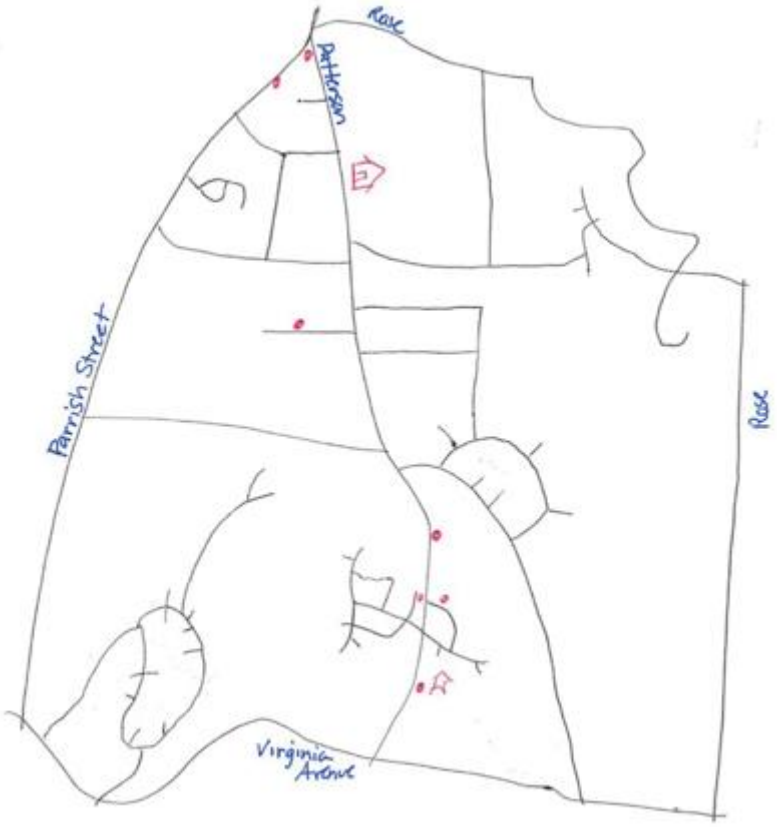
out of time, in fact, they control aspects of time. The sequence is set in various times and places within the history of Durham as supported by in text newspaper articles and photographs.

I also represent the data findings in the structure of a sacred Community Walk. The Community Walk holds community space sacred and hallowed ground. Karenga (2016) reminds us "issue(s) of struggle, righteous and relentless struggle that provides and produces the hallowed ground on which we must ultimately stand" (A6). The Community Walk signifies the hallowed space and place making that occurred through the struggles of urbanization and movement of black bodies in visible and invisible spaces in and outside of the city landscape. The Community walk also a "site of fundamental significance" (Karenga, pA6) because it is a place of history, it is a place where our person, our people our culture flourished and as so, it should be "approached with awe and practices of respect, remembrance, thoughtfulness and praise (A6). Several participants whom I interviewed joined the walk.

Community Walk. On the Community Walk, some physical structures are present, some are not. The Community Walk engagement symbolizes a rupture in the continuity of time because the significance of a place in the community history can outlive its physical material structure. A detailed description of the actual sites visited on the Community Walk is available in Appendix 1. For the purposes of data representation, the sites visited represent community-based pedagogical spaces where citizenship was conceived and practiced. However, two sites, are fictional, the burial ground and the Primitive Baptist Church. The burial ground site was included to provide a place to anchor my understandings of sacred spaces. The burial ground was also included to provide a sacred space for Deborah to tell her painful story of burying her young son. A burial ground does not exist in community space. The second site, The Primitive Baptist

Church is an actual site within the community. It was not visited or mentioned on the Community Walk interview but included in data representation to speak to White visibility and invisibility in Black spaces. Figure 10 shows sites of the Community Walk.

Figure 10: Community Walk Map



Going Home: Reflective Journal Writing. My navigation through the research process was documented in journal entries themed “becoming researcher.” Reflective journal entries revealed questions I posed, research decisions and motivations. Reflexive journal entries interpreted my own experiences, chronicled insight and revelation and challenged my theories, beliefs and knowledge.

Figure 11 is a Reflective Journal entry that reveals my "self dialogic" process as I struggle to indigenize my mind (Scott, 1990). As I prepared to enter the field, I struggled with colonial ideologies and indigenous ideologies in terms of completing the research for my dissertation. Wilson (2008) instructs me to indigenize my mind, I will need to "center the landscapes, images, themes, metaphors and stories" of place. Indigenizing the mind "requires knowledge be viewed differently, purposefulness in representation, articulate scholarship differently than dominant system scholars" (p. 55). It requires being responsive to community concerns and actively interrogating researcher privilege throughout the research process. The messiness of rooting out the residue of over two decades of mainstream hegemonic schooling enters into this research.

Figure 11: Reflective Journal Dated 9/29/2014

> Do I have everything? I wonder how this will go. I've done research many times before, but not at home. I'm feeling some kinda way about this, a lot is riding on this research, this research has a lot (of work) to do!!!! It has to validate me, redeem me from years of inactivity, certify everything I've ever known, elevate me above the population of mere mortals, and most of all graduate me! My ****ing life depends on this research!!!!
>
> -Back it up, we can't let the participants know that though… What have the gazillion researchers before me done? Oh, I know use the data that validates their hypothesis. But I want this to be a full circle ceremonial process though. I want some healing to come from this, even if it's the space to tell stories and (have) someone listening intently, but that's still intention that I'm taking with me into the field.

Figure 12 is a reflexive journal entry I wrote after the 1st Interview Conversation. This journal demonstrates the ongoing struggle in the research field.

Figure 12: Reflective Journal Writing

> I went into the field with a European mind and African tools.
> I have to interrogate the questions I'm asking, data I'm collecting and how I'm analyzing and representing it. I know I did this initially, but methodologically, it has to be done throughout the research process because the air we breathe is saturated with white patriarchal bourgeois ideology that is the default habit of mind because it's easier, it's linear, it isn't very complex, but doing a Blues study, an African project, an indigenous endeavor, requires feeling. It requires intuition; it requires wisdom and connection with participants and also the ancestors.
>
> Journal after 1st Interview Conversation

I drove through the area that is the Union Church Community noticing what I have chosen to ignore in previous visits home. In addition to the church, I note other community institutions. I assume the school, family owned businesses, gas station are community institutions because they are within community space and I surmise they serve as community-based pedagogical spaces (Douglas, 2013) for knowledge construction, knowledge transmission, and cultural practice.

I arrive at my home base for the duration of the in-field research phase, my childhood home. I pull into the driveway of the pink split level house with green shudders. The house sits atop a small well-lit hill perched in the middle of a sloping well-manicured lawn. The back yard was not as visible in comparison to the front. The driveway is located on the north side of the house. Seven stones lead the pathway from the driveway to the paved walkway that curves around to the front porch. As I walk around the front of the house, the large picture window captures my attention.

The living room had a large picture window facing the street. I recall mother sitting in that window staring at the tobacco field across the street from our house. The expansive plants were evenly lined in rows and wide leaves of one plant flopped out and upward as if sunbathing

and tanning unhampered by trees or shadows of any kind. The plants lay lazily all day as if it was an occupation. The large sunbathing leaves seemed to reach out to touch the sprawling leaves of the neighboring plant. When the wind blew strong enough and low enough it looked like the leaves held hands as they swayed, holding on to make sure none of them got caught up in the whirlwind. The picture window was full with the tobacco plants and Mommie would just sit there peering at them as if they were a focal point for Zen meditation. When I inquired about her frequent activity, she told me about her experience picking tobacco as a young teenager. She told the story with such a disposition of disgust that she looked away from the window to emphasize the arduous back breaking work of picking tobacco. She explained the multi- level in field "factory" system of personnel required to harvest tobacco. Then she ended with the "but" tobacco put a lot of Black children through college, so it was a means for us to get over. Then she would peacefully return to meditation. This was the same story as we traveled through the southeast and my siblings and I saw fields of white stuff we couldn't identify. Daddy left the explaining to Mommie who told stories of sore fingers gained from picking cotton. The backbreaking work and field factory production of the raw materials for clothes, curtains, bedding and furniture coverings, to name a few. My siblings and I begged to stop on the way to the beach to pick some. Disdain shown on both of my parents' faces as they stopped and picked one cotton plant for all four of us to share while blaming each other for complying with our requests and deciding who would do the talking if the police pulled us over for stealing the cash crop of The South.

I walk inside and take in the view from the picture window. The view has changed drastically. The tobacco field across the street has been translated into a small subdivision. From the window, I can see the fence surrounding the neighborhood and the sides of the first few houses. The subdivision bears no resemblance to the landscape I knew in my youth.

I spent the remaining daylight hours reminiscing the landscape of the less populated community that I grew up in. I journal before going to bed and think about the research and visualize how I hope it turns out. Before drifting off to sleep, I pray for success and fall fast asleep.

The next morning, I wake with the vivid memory of a dream. I embark on my usual response of writing down the details of the dream when they come. I have dreamed since I was little girl. My dad reminds me of that fact even to this day. I recall waking after a dream and telling him about the people, places and situations revealed to me while sleeping. While he couldn't interpret them for me, he always encouraged me that dreaming is a spiritual gift to be valued and nurtured. I followed his directives and have witnessed my gift of dreaming mature over time. Dreams remind me of the deeply spiritual aspect of research.

Figure 13 is a Reflective journal entry written after the 4th Interview Conversation. The fourth interview was the third interview in a row that contained (what I received) as spiritual content. Those experiences employed my spiritual ways of knowing myself as a researcher.

Figure 13: Journal Entry After 4th Interview Conversation

For me, as a researcher, this practice is inherently spiritual. What do I mean by this? Do I mean that the researcher has to disclose her spirituality because their underpinnings can influence the research? I mean that the research is led by the heart and not the head.

Dream Sequence. The following column excerpt and explanation provides the setting for the dream state that will follow

Figure 14: Excerpt from "A View from Here"

> HAYTI IS DYING, BUT THE SECTION IS NOT DYING A DEATH OF OBSCURITY, IT LIKE THE FABLED PHOENIX BIRD, IS FALLING INTO THE FLAMES ON THE FUNERAL PYRE OF PROGRESS, ONLY TO RISE AGAIN IN REBORN SPLENDOR. BUT THE NEW HAYTI WILL NOT BE THE HAYTI OF BLACK PEOPLE. WHITE PEOPLE WILL TAKE OVER THIS TIME.
>
> MILTON JORDON
> THE CAROLINA TIMES
> NOVEMBER16, 1969

Regional planning of the interstate highway system debilitated, dissected and destroyed communities of color. Anthony Foxx, the Secretary of the Department of Transportation lamented the legacy of the highway system that relocated an estimated 500,000 households between 1957 and 1977 (The Washington Post, 2016) that included the household and community in Charlotte, NC where he was reared. Ladders of Opportunity, Anthony Foxx's new transportation plan comes almost half a century after the fall of Hayti, Durham's Black Wall Street.

The Dream Sequence 2

The characters swooned in like eagles. Cat landed first and James a few seconds after. The two alien spirits landed and began to walk in sync. Their handcrafted leather shoes struck the asphalt making and keeping a rhythmic beat. Cat gazed at James' clean pressed Victorian blouse and neck scarf. She smelled the fire and the hot iron that pressed out all the wrinkles, she marveled at the brass cuff links handcrafted from this land. The brushed metal was the trade of her forefathers whom James and his family owned. Cat's eyes met James's momentarily. James's recessed blue eyes were not innocent, they were deep and dark, but he shivered when he read trouble in Cat's eyes. Her piercing green almond shaped eyes were haunting, like a woman whose eyes remember. They continued to walk, side by side, the white settler and the Black colonial subject. They walked, one distrusting the other, one loving

the other, their two worlds were joined by Cat's determination to heal the people and the land.

"*Do you think we're too late?*" James asked worriedly.

"*It's never too late to re-member history, re-claim heritage knowledge and reconnect community. Haven't we always found a remnant waiting for us to return?"*

"Yes, you are correct. What then is the troubled look in your eyes?"

"We have always been a cohesive community unit, working together toward the same divine goals."

James said, "*That may be lost, the community is falling into disrepair and blight"*

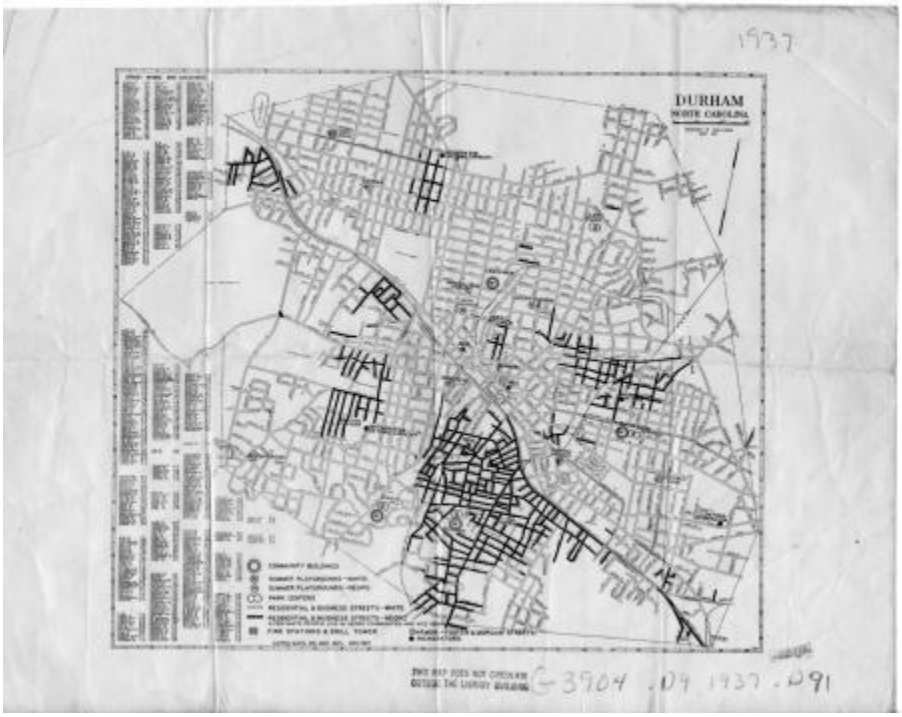
James' resignation fueled Cat's mistrust of him. She ignored his comment, thinking to herself *You need a healing too!*

Their trek began at the intersection of Mangum and Wingate Streets. They passed people on the way reading newspaper articles forecasting death for Durham's Hayti community. The walked in step in rhythm for 5 blocks. Cat and James were in this world, but not of this world. They were time travelers journeying in, out and through time. They are the last of the living undead, the cultural protectors of the universe. They choose to show themselves or cloak their visibility.

Their expressions were serious and unsmiling with cold determination. They made a right turn onto Parrish Street. They stepped off the asphalt of Mangum Street into the year 1937 and onto the unpaved main thoroughfare of Hayti, Durham's Black Wall Street.

Figure 15 is a map of Durham's racially segregated neighborhoods in black ink. Hayti is located in the bottom middle section of the map. The Hayti neighborhood was destroyed with the construction of NC highway 147. Hayti is the cultural and business center Cat is seeking to salvage.

Figure 15: 1937 Map of Hayti



(Works, 1937)

Their pace quickened to match the heartbeat of the booming Black metropolis. Their faces remained steely. The night time street was bustling with well-heeled women and well-dressed men. Cat took in a deep breath. Wafting in the air was the smell of chitins, barbeque and moonshine. She smiled when she heard the music.

Cat turned to James "*Why would you destroy this energy? There are over a hundred black owned businesses here!*"

James responded "*Progress comes at a cost*… "

"*Progress for whom and who bears the costs?*" Cat quipped.

The two weaved in and out of the crowd of blacksmiths, carpenters, lawyers, physicians, teachers, factory workers and domestics (Brown, 2008). James grabbing Cat's hand when she lingered too long in conversations. They passed seven music venues before arriving at Blues Alley. Tobacco made Hayti the center of Piedmont Blues, an upbeat ragtime tempo blues. They were half an hour late, and right on time. Cat and James donned the doorway, as if they were on cue. Blubber, the portly comedian/master of ceremony was introducing Cat.

"*Now, we welcome to the stage, the one, the only Catwoman! The incomparable Caaaaaaat (pause for breath) Ta-l-lu-lah! Yall make her feel at home*!"

At the applause, the audience turned expectantly to the club entrance. Cat could thank the crowd of drinking smokers for her extravagant entrance. Clouds of cigarette smoke created a mirage of her sultry figure in the doorway. Admiring, jealous and adulterous eye gazes, whistles and applause ushered Cat onto the stage. James allowed the crowd to caress her with their eyes before he joined her on stage. Cat acknowledged the washboard player, then gave the guitar player a furtive wink. James was ready with harmonica in hand. They played in unison when she belted…

I want all the people of Hayti to listen to me
Listen to your heart, don't trust what your eyes see
Remember apple pie and cherry trees were not dreams for you and me

When they come knocking on your door
Don't you dare let them in
Even if they flash some cash, betta know you caint win

They're coming to steal your house, land and your Daddy Boo
Tell them to go to hell and take their trinkets too

Cat's plea was interrupted by a loud siren that threw the crowd into an uproar. Men grabbed their drinks and coats, women clutched their purses and ran screaming toward the exit. Cat and James knew this was the first wave of urban renewal bulldozers ...

The Community Walk. My community walk participant is Daddy. I meet him at the family owned and operated printing shop. This particular print shop is the third location of Judah's Words. The original shop was located at the corner of Parrish and Mangum Streets during the height of Hayti, Durham's Black Wall Street. Hayti was the experienced two phases of urban re-

newal. The first relocated Judah's Words to Umstead Road, and the second relocated to this location. The building structure seems larger than necessary for a print shop. It is more than adequate space to house the printing press, management offices, and two small self-service rooms. The business structure is slightly dated, but its age adds community character and family owned charm.

Judah's Words, the printing shop serves as one of two landmarks signifying entry into the Union Church community from the north. It is located at the three-way intersection of Parrish, Patterson and Rose Streets. The intersection creates the shape of an inverted Y. The shop sits in the space between the top two appendages of the letter. Parrish Street makes the bottom part and the right side of the letter. Patterson Street begins at the point of connection between the parts. The shop sits in the valley of the V with the hills of Parrish and Patterson Streets on either side. Across the street on the Patterson Street side, three older homes line the opposite side of the street. The houses are evenly spaced apart, equipped with separate driveways and car porches. Directly in front of the shop is a grassy knoll. Across the street are trees partially obscuring an exercise path. This section of the paved path connects a longer path that crawls for 12 miles throughout the landscape of Durham. The Parrish Street side is lined with wooden Victorian styled homes not visible from Judah's Words parking lot. Then I hear a whisper…

> ***Cat appears: "The Cat's Meow was here before Jacob's Words was built. It was a blues club named after me, Cat Tallulah. I lived in this community before the Josephs, before the Simeons, before the Judahs, before them all! In fact your great uncle Clive was my landlord (said with a smile). He accumulated about 50 acres of property at the northern end of Union Church. He purchased this plot of land from Mr. Whiteman while my place was still booming. He also purchased the land across Patterson Street and donated it to the community for the construction of the church. Clive was a great landlord and customer. He'd come to Cat's Meow on Saturday night and go right***

across the street to Union Church on Sunday morning. Now, these people won't tell you that story! I'm going on this Community Walk! I'll tell you what you need to know."

"Daddy" agreed to participate in this research activity if we went mid-morning before lunch. He walks outside in full conversation with another gentleman. The pair walk and talk toward me. As they come closer, I recognize Dr. Fitzgerald, a longtime family and community friend. Dr. Fitzgerald is not a customer of the business, he is frequent visitor. I hear the topic of their conversation regarding what should have been done to save Mechanics & Farmer's Bank. I guard my reaction because I have heard this never-ending conversation cooked up many different ways. I struggle to maintain what I think is a neutral facial expression. I greet my father and the departing Dr. Fitzgerald.

Me: What was here before the shop was built?

Daddy: Nothing was here. Uncle Clove purchased the land many years before we ever built here.

Me: What was the Cat's Meow?

Daddy: Hahaa! Who told you about that? It was a small club that was on this property. It closed down long time ago.

Me: What type of music did they play?

Daddy: Rhythm and Blues

Before we walk, I query him about land ownership. He responds,

"This land was cheap, maybe $700 per acre when it was purchased. The price was based on the virgin state of the land and the location. My father and uncles had the forethought to purchase land years before finding use for it."

As he finishes his sentence, my aunt, his sister approaches us in her midsized sport utility truck. The shop is her first stop when she comes to town. Zebulon parked, got out of her car and joined our conversation. She adds,

> *"I was given an acre of land as a child by my parents and the intent was that it would live on and I want to honor that. It is the evidence of blood, sweat and tears because my parents worked hard to get it and maintained it well until recent years. My opinion is that actually, it's a part of the Judah tradition going back to slavery when the plantation owner gave Gray Judah his house and the land it was on. Since then, it's been passed down to every generation. I have no intention of selling it either. It will be occupied with something, not sure what that is right now. I'll know when I know. I love that land. I grew up knowing it was mine. The land and all the vegetation and life that is on it." She proceeds into the shop.*
>
> ***Cat interrupts: "I bet she doesn't know that the land wasn't given to her until she married. Clove and Sarah did give each of their children an acre of land down the road, but your father was the only one with his name on the land deed. His sisters' land was gifted in their husband's name. So! The acre that your auntie so proudly talked about is owned by her husband."***

Daddy looks at his watch, turns to me and provides explicit directions on where we will go and what we will see. I smile in agreement yes sir with a head nod. Let's go he says in a chuckle. I assume the position his left and attempt to match his foot strike. His 5'10" lean frame is spry compared to mine. We make a right out of the parking lot onto Patterson Street. The street does not have a sidewalk, we walk on the shoulder to avoid oncoming cars. The leaves have turned a collage of colors ranging from bright persimmon orange to water pipe rust. They haven't started falling off the trees in droves, only trickles of leaves ore evident on the sprawling well-manicured lawns that line the street. The mid October wind occasionally blows east, hindering our gradual climb up the long incline. The temperature is appropriate for October, not cold, but cool enough for the jackets we both have on. Daddy's work jacket is a navy blue *Member's*

Only style. Blue long sleeved oxford shirt, dark blue khakis and a ball cap complete his uniform. His pace is swift, similar to my mother's exercise walking pace that started my running career. He walks and talks:

> *You asked how we think about citizenship in this community. Well, citizenship in Union Church is made up of three things: belonging, history and connection. When I was growing up, we all belonged, we belonged to each other. No one would have made it if they didn't work together. Their working together created the community that holds us together. I can't talk about citizenship in this community without talking about community people, values and institutions.*
>
> *When I was growing up, the community was made up of families. It started with seven families: The Josephs, The Benjamins, Simeons, Davids, Gads, Ashers and Judahs. They were strong family units because they had children and they taught values. Well, one, the Ashers did not have children, but Ms. Asher had all the children come to her house every Sunday for chocolate cake. Anyway, all children were taught the values of love, relationship and hard work. Those values were taught in everyone's household, so community is an extension of that. Everyone on the street is family because no matter where you went, you had to follow the same guidelines. The families were close knit.*
>
> *Shoot, it was nothing for Mr. Gad to walk by and put sweet potatoes on your porch. They even bring them to the shop. Mr. Joseph would leave some corn, vegetables or something too. Everybody ate! No one starved. The mothers of the community exchanged canned fruits and vegetables. My mother canned strawberries, Ms. Joseph made cha cha, Ms. Simeon canned string beans and Ms. Gad made grape preserves. Each of them had a specialty and they prepared enough for everyone and exchanged them.*
>
> ***Cat: "He's not telling you the full story. See, the people of this community are simple and modest. They don't want think of themselves as worthy subjects of research even though they think very highly of themselves and their accomplishments. They share because that is what they know to do. Most of those families he named came from other parts of North Carolina and Virginia. Their parents were enslaved or not far from it.***

In this area, plantations were small cities, therefore Black people maintained and practiced community and belonging. They continued those practices with their own families."

"All of the land that makes up Union Church was owned by the Jones family."

"No, that is not true!" – James interrupted

"After the Native Americans lived on the land, John Patterson and his family bought the land from the Granville District in 1700. When John died, he left 250 acres of the land to his lover Martha and their children. That was before the end of slavery, so Martha fought hard to keep the land in her family and she did for two generations when the Jones swindled her grandchildren out of the land by using fake deeds and promissory notes."

Cat: "Ok, thank you (rolling her eyes) she continued…After the Civil War, the Jones' divided the land among family and relatives. The cousins were given smaller plots of land that they resented because they fell short of the hundreds of acres their cousins had, so they rented and sold the land. Promoted by word of mouth, proximity to downtown and lured by the wide open land where they could carve out their existence, three families bought land in 1936. Shortly after World War 2, six veterans and their families moved into the area. The veterans were armed with their housing allowance, used their money to buy land, but more importantly security for themselves and their families. This community was the result of the vision of those founding families. The community was formed when the first Black family moved here, from then on the family unit was the basic unit. Each family purchased at least 3 acres of land and built their family home on the property. In fact the whole property was family land."

He paused at the site where Mrs. Iris and Mr. Boris Gad lived. On the site where the house sat there is now a small subdivision. I recall Mrs. Gad operated a small candy store in their detached garage. My siblings and I were granted permission to walk to the Candy House only during summer breaks. The site of the Gad's house causes me to ponder the ways that commu-

nity institutions can be obscured from the naïve researcher. Yards and spaces that have community significance are also community institutions. My mind wanders back to Sunday rides with my father, an entrepreneur who instilled in me an abiding commitment to support Black owned businesses and to look to community members for talents, skills and areas of expertise such as sewing, cooking, plumbing, painting, etc. He believed community members should help each other and in so doing, built and strengthened community connections and community pride.

> *This is where the Gads house was located. Even though they did not have any children of their own, Ms. Gad organized a Boy Scout Troop and Sunder afternoon activities at their house. We looked forward to Sundays because we could go to her house and eat chocolate cake. She would bake a chocolate cake every week and hide a prize in the cake for us.*
>
> *The Gad's house is where the first church meeting was held. The original members would gather in her living room and have Bible Study and church until they built a building. Everyone loved the Gads, they moved to Tennessee about 10 years ago to be closer to Ms. Gad's niece. Up until they couldn't travel anymore, they would come back twice a year to visit. The Gad's house represents how youth and people were treasured. All the other households had children but Ms. Gad, but she still taught and reinforced manners and obedience.*
>
> *Daddy: Let's keep going…*

We continue our journey. This leg of the walk is single file because the shoulder is narrow. I walk behind him, trying to keep pace and step in the barely visible footprints he leaves behind. We stop at the neighborhood fruit stand. When our feet stop, the narrative resumes. You know this business has been here since the 1970s and it's still thriving. This is a testament to community-based businesses. I come here to purchase all of our produce because we have to support the businesses we love or they won't be there anymore.

At that moment, Elisha Reuben approached us. Elisha is the Chief Operating Officer of the Orchard Farms. He joins the conversation:

> *I took over daily operations of my grandfather's fruit stand at the age of 10. I would visit my grandfather and go with him to meet the growers he bought the produce from. They saw a young child interested in agriculture and produce, so they embraced me. At that young age, I was building relationships with the farmers and ever since then it's been a solid connection. This fruit stand correlates to my overall goal and interest of being a meteorologist. It's a direct correlation between what grows outside and the weather that it grows in.*
>
> *Under my management, I shortened the work day, expanded the produce selection and established a market season because it's important to have something sustainable for the community to rely on as far as fresh fruits and vegetables. And with us being the only outdoor produce market in Durham open 7 days a week, I fill that vacuum for local residents. The fruit stand sustains itself each and every year. Another big project I did for the business was bringing it up to date. When I took leadership of the business, I went to my granddad and said, hey grandad, we need to update the honor system. Grandad was not excited about that because the honor system had been in place for over 40 years. But we talked about it and my grandad explained to me that honor and trust are the foundation of the business, so I found other ways to maintain trust and honor with customers. I offer full refunds for overripe fruit, donate food to shelters and food banks. I also connect customers with local community vendors through biography cards and support local vendors. After I established those practices, he let me expand the payment options. I love being outdoors, talking to people and cooking food. This is the perfect job for me.*

I see Mr. Reuben peer out of his family room window. He comes outside to speak to me and Daddy.

Elisha catches him up by giving him a summary of our conversation.

Mr. Elijah says: *This fruit stand is probably older than you Melissa, but not as old as your dad. You probably don't remember when we moved to Durham in the early 1970s.*

We moved here from Baltimore, Maryland searching for a slower pace of life and we've been caught up in the spirit of Durham ever since then. That's why we're still here.

Elisha has slipped away to help newly arriving customers. We say goodbye to Mr. Reuben and continue on our way.

Cat interrupts: Mr. Reuben employs both of his grandsons in his businesses. Eric, Elisha's older brother works at Mr. Reuben's school. Mr. Reuben's daughter, Enon, lives on the other side of town, but both of her sons reside within Union Church. The school and the daughter are outside the community, while the grandparents, grandsons and the fruit stand are in Union Church. Think deeper about how the community members define the boundaries of their citizenship. They may not think about it the same way you do.

We make the next right on to Bebe Drive. Bebe drive is named for Mr. Bebe, a councilman and Mechanic's & Farmer's Bank loan officer. Mr. Bebe serviced the majority of the home loans and military benefits for the residents. The street is paved like a residential subdivision street. No yellow median lines are painted on the street. We walk between four cozy brick homes nestled on half-acre wooded lots. The homes are constructed in the same ranch style with different colored shutters. Three yards have brightly painted, well-worn lawn furniture on the patio that suggests frequent outdoor conversations are taking place among residents. I imagine they have three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a simple kitchen and a family room. On this day, empty driveways imply that residents are not at home.

As the homes slowly move behind us, a burial ground comes into view. My heart skips a beat because I am in love with burial grounds and I never knew this one was here! I found my way to this research study through my experience with burial grounds.[1]

Burial grounds have a spiritual significance to African people throughout the Diaspora as demonstrated in the inserted New York Times article clip. The article reports the public outcry of African Americans in 1993 when a burial ground with the remains of enslaved people was discovered in the heart of New York City.

I recall my first experience with graves was after my grandmother passed. From the age of 7 until I entered college, my mother and I visited my grandmother's grave monthly. After the first few months, mother put a quick end to my incessant questioning with the burial ground ritual. We meditated on the way to the site conscious that we were entering a sacred space. When we arrived, we reverenced my grandmother with silence and acknowledged her presence with us. I was taught that burial grounds are particular spaces where the cycle of life, the spirt and physical worlds meet in these places and sanctify the ground.

I was cognizant of the responsibility the living have for the dead and the unborn through burial grounds. Community members marveled more at my striking resemblance to my grandmother than the likeness I had to my mother. I was my grandmother's spitting image and that

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[1] I planned to join the group prior to the Commission Board's meeting on May 8, 2008. I asked my 14 year-old daughter if she wished to accompany me on the research adventure. I briefly apprised her of the protest. Her reaction is still with me today. She exclaimed, "They can't do that! That's a burial ground, a final resting place! The slaves didn't have peace when they were living; they should have peace in death!" My child's reaction was profoundly intuitive, spiritual, ethical, cultural and communal, all values I believe are embedded in burial grounds.

carried responsibilities. I was tasked with cleaning Muer's headstone while Mommie refreshed the plastic flowers in the vase.

This community burial ground was less than one eighth acre. It was positioned a few yards away from the street. A stone fence surrounded the outer edges of the space and an obvious entrance onto the sacred ground. Of the forty plus graves, all but four had headstones. Newer graves were above ground with long mounds of dirt adjoining the headstone. The structure of the graves is strikingly similar to the layout of the burial ground in Georgia. Older graves had made their way below ground. The space did not have visible signage indicating the name or a directory of who was buried there. Daddy does not have to tell me that Black people are buried here.

Daddy breaks the silence by motioning for me to step away from the burial ground so we can talk. He says:

> *The history of Durham is scalable levels of rebirth. So you've got your Black Wall Street, then you've got your resurgence of Research Triangle Park. Then you go down from there and you've got Durham Bulls and American Tobacco. And then you kind of plateau there and now we're in this next curve where entrepreneurship and the startup community is what they are calling it. Ha so you've got all of these hills and valleys but it's in a constant level of rebirth and it will morph and change shape again and then we will go up into another level of rebirth and then it will morph and change shape again. We've come a long way, but what we have done with it has not been to our advantage and somewhere along the way we dropped the ball as to just divorcing ourselves from our own heritage.*
>
> *Similarly, this place represents the process of death, life and regeneration. The original families had a resolve in their hearts and minds to create a safe place for families to live and be. They fertilized the land with the values of love, respect, kindness, and other things to cause their idea of citizenship to flourish and thrive. That's why they valued young people in the community and invested in their education and advancement. Every*

young person that comes from this community has a piece of each of these families in them. But they didn't only care about the young people, they cared about everyone. Each community member was viewed as a whole, complex person worthy of honor and respect (Jordan, 1985). But at a certain point their vision is reborn as something else.

Citizenship is based on the community of people who define it and practice it. The community is changing, people are more transient. Since about the 1980s, people didn't' really migrate more than 50 miles from where they were born. Now people are going to faraway places and being more mobile. And the whole farming thing has changed because people left farms then farms started getting sold or lost or whatever. So from farming it became more factory oriented, city dwellers.

I compare Daddy's metaphor to the passage of scripture in Figure 16. Local linguistic patterns referenced gardening and growing and farming.

Figure 16: Farmer's Scripture

> And He was saying, "The kingdom of God is like a man who casts seed upon the soil; 27and he goes to bed at night and gets up by day, and the seed sprouts and grows-- how, he himself does not know. 28"The soil produces crops by itself; first the blade, then the head, then the mature grain in the head.…
>
> Mark 4: 26- 28

I notice Deborah, another community member coming down the street at a normal pace seemingly on a morning walk. When she sees us, she waves.

But Daddy continues talking:

What I'm saying is that the original family's vision has to give way to a fresh vision and community members will work towards that vision as the previous one recedes. The past, present and future has to be balanced.

By the end of his sentence, Deborah has joined us.

Deborah informs me that David, her 30 year old son died suddenly two years ago. He is buried in this burial ground in the plot she purchased for herself. She is on her way to the burial ground to perform a weekly ritual she does to healthily mourn her son. She says:

> *Family relationships are the tie that binds Union Church together. When my son passed, there was such an outpouring of love and support from this community. We saw everyone come out. People do respond because there is still a cord that binds us together. I told my cousins and nephews that people didn't come out because they knew David. No, that's not why they were there. Community people were there to honor David's grandfather. They were there because of who David's grandmother was. The spirit of the family continues through the offspring. That's important to know.*

Daddy signals me that we have to keep moving so he can get back to work. Deborah asks if she can join us. She confesses that talking is part of her healing process too. We three continue on the community walk journey.

> *Deborah offers: If David was still here, I believe he would move back to Union Church. He loved it here.*
>
> *Daddy*: *Community citizenship requires investment in the community. Many of the kids went off to school and didn't come back. If they do come back, they choose to live in other places like Piney Woods. Those houses cost triple the price of these homes. But everyone wants to be in that White world, not understanding the price that was paid for them to get there. I have personally seen the destruction of our families come from following White people. When I was growing up, it was understood that we help each other, but no one is putting back.*

I compare their dialogue to Figure 17. The excerpt from the same newspaper column featured previously. The sentiments Daddy and Deborah share have a longer life in the history of historically marginalized communities.

Figure 17: Carolina Times Article Excerpt

THE YOUNG, THE STRONG, THE PEOPLE WITH THE TRAINING, THE INTELLIGENCE, THE POWER IF YOU WILL, FLED. THEY REFUSED TO HELP THE UNCROWNED KING OF DURHAMS BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS REALIZE ITS TRUE POTENTIAL. THEY FLED FROM THE DEGRADATION, THE STIGMA AND THE SICKENING STENCH OF HUMANITY DYING A SLOW AND AGONIZEING DEATH. BUT IN FLEEING, THEY ALSO BETRAYED THOSE STRUGGLING PIONEERS OF BLACK DURHAM WHO HEWED THE VIRGIN FORESTS OF HAYTI AND DREAMED OF AN EMPIRE. THEY LEFT THOSE GALLANT SOULS WHO POURED THEIR BLOOD, SEAT AND TEARS INTO HAYTI TO CARVE FROM THE UNTAMED WILDERNESS THE BEGINNING OF THAT DREAM

MILTON JORDON
THE CAROLINA TIMES

The pair step from the luxury car of the train into 1962 Durham, N.C. James retrieved Cat's luggage from the side of the train while she waited impatiently.
Cat: You go ahead and check us into the Biltmore Hotel. I'll run on to my meeting with Lacy and Callis. I can't be late for this. Let's meet at Freedom Barbeque at 6pm. "Ok. Be careful. See you at 6." **James said quizzically. Even though Catherine typically delivered the itinerary, she never went anywhere alone. He dismissively quipped, "*She'll tell me what the fuss is at dinner*." He continued loading the luggage into the cab before proceeding to the Biltmore.**
Cat was relieved to know she beat Lacy and Callis to the meeting place. This gave her time to adjust herself. Cat wore a burgundy velvet floor length dress with modest heels a tweed coat, scarf and gloves. Cat always dressed like a state's woman on her way to evening ballroom dancing. Her simple yet elegant style ushered sophistication and class into the room with her. When Lacy and Callis arrived, Cat realized why she arrived first.

Lacy and Callis were leaders of the North Carolina College chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They entered the room flanked by a dozen students from Durham Business College, DeShazor's Beauty College and Bull City Barber College. These students wanted civil rights by any means necessary. Many defied their parents by joining civil rights organizations and participating in non-violent protests. Students expected protests to lead to arrest, which they

wore like a badge of honor. This meeting was called to organize sit ins planned to challenge segregation at lunch counters in Woolworth's, Walgreen's, Kress's and Rose's stores.

The students' resolve impressed Cat, but her resolve was informed by the events her heart and eyes witnessed throughout time. She knew time was short. She had until May of the next year to interrupt this cycle…

On this visit, James is keenly aware of the racial tension. James arrives at the restaurant on time to meet Cat. Since Cat is late, James meditates on the difference of this visit. James was accustomed to seeing Black and White citizens passing each other on the same sidewalk. However, on the ride from the train station to the hotel, James noticed a dearth of White people on the sidewalk. He witnessed the same phenomenon on the way to the restaurant. As a frequent patron, James had a good rapport with the host and conversed with other patrons about various topics of mutual interest. On this visit, the host's pleasantries had become obligatory and laborious. Black patrons stared at James with disdain or ignored him all together that made James uncomfortable. For the first time, James felt fear for his safety. Cat's late arrival transformed James' fear into anger. Tension between the two that night was as palpable as the tension between the races in Durham.

James erupted. "Why would you intentionally stay after the meeting to talk with the students? Couldn't that wait until daylight hours tomorrow?"

"It was imperative that I talk with them tonight."

"At the risk of your safety?"

Cat shrugged, "*If that's what it takes?"*

"I should have gone with you. Why did you go alone?"

"I wanted to talk to the students alone… unhindered."* Cat looked defiantly at James. *"Your race is a hindrance."

James asked, "MY race is a hindrance?"

Cat: "In this situation it is."

James: "Why are we here if my race is a hindrance?"

Cat's proverbial biscuits start to burn. Her eyes narrow into slits and lips purse as she seethes. Cat is frustrated with this precarious position. James is one of the few shape shifter spirits with the hereditary gene that allows him to travel through time, but Cat virtually despises him. If she could do without him, she most definitely would. But time travel is a dangerous game. Cat needs James for protection, which is what she loathes the most. She is keenly aware that she and James are separate spheres of ideology and experience. James is unaware of this fact.

Cat tries to calm herself. She contemplates, This visit is too important to let him f* it up, so I'll just suck it up. Cat needs the silence to restore her balance. She asks James for a few minutes of silence that he initially grants then reprieves.**

James yells – "*Why are we here?*"

***"We're here to stop desegregation*."**

"WHAT?" James yell captures the attention of the entire restaurant.

"We are here to stop economic desegregation because it will lead to the destruction of Black businesses. Black businesses are the economic engine of the community, we have to preserve them. Economic desegregation is not meant to be a reciprocal venture. All the Black dollars will leave the Black community and White dollars will not come in to replace them. Our money will no longer build our community, it will build theirs."

James responds dismissively, "*White and black businesses exchange goods and services all the time, your perspective is pessimistic. Desegregation is a step in the right direction, its progress.".*

Cat, (on 100): "*My perspective is not pessimistic it is realistic! Step in the right direction, progress for whom? Who decides what progress is? Who determines directions? Don't answer that, I already know. It's progress for whites and white interests at the expense of Black people! This is why I don't trust yo ass to take the lead on N E THANG because you can't be trusted to think about anyone but yourself. Frankly, your inability to transcend that individual focused, lack based, dog eat dog competitive, take cause I want it based consciousness is disappointing and disgusting. There are*

only two reasons I deal with yo Black culture eroticizing, unoriginal, thieving white self is 1) because you can time travel and 2) because I need a white man for safety!" **She wanted to add so he can pay the bills, but she could see that James was already overwhelmed.**

Cat was already wired up. She had nothing left to state but her remorse: "*I HATE that I need you to do this work! If I didn't have to have you, I wouldn't!"*

We made a right turn onto Parrish Street headed back toward the print shop. The two community members discussed boundaries of Union Church.

Cat: "*Only long term residents know the name "Union Church" for the community. The original families believed in unity and the church."*

Daddy: The community extended to the school we attended. Because of segregation, we were not able to attend the school closest to us, we had to go farther to the Black school. But your school teacher was like your second mama. Shucks, your teacher would visit your home. Some students would miss the first part of the school year because they had to work in the fields to help their families. Some teachers would go to the students' home, talk with their parents and sometimes take lessons for them until they made it back to school. Teachers took so much pride in their classes, they believed all their students could achieve at high levels and they expected it too! Hahaaa. Our teachers enforced the same values we had at home and they would communicate with your parents if you didn't. But we didn't want anyone to get into trouble, so we kept each other straight. We had very few renegades in the class. Once in a while, you had a wild one that we would have to reel in, but students seldom got expelled.

Deborah: Speaking of education and boundaries, we have to include Durham Business College, DeShazor Beauty School and the Barber School, all the way up to North Carolina Central because those were our people too. We have to include North Carolina Central because that's where Mother and Daddy met before marrying and moving into this area.

Daddy: Well some people define Union Church by the first 7 families, if they can name them.

Some people use street names. From Parrish Street to Virginia Avenue to Rose Street, that includes everything. But once you cross Parrish Street that's a different community. So across the street over there. (Left arm outstretched and finger pointing to the other side of the street) *that's a different community*.

James offers…

James: You are standing in front of The Primitive Baptist Church, a fully white congregation! It's located on the southern side of Parrish Street that is in the Union Church community. Why didn't they include it in the parameters of the community?

We are directly in front of a small brick church painted white on the right. I vaguely remember the church growing up, but it probably has undergone improvements in the past 20 years. Over the years, Parrish Street has been paved and repaved many times. The road renovation has crept onto church property seized through imminent domain.

I attend Union Church when I am home. I wonder who attends this church. We step off the trek into the parking lot on the left side of the church to discuss.

Daddy: This church is part of the Primitive Baptist Association. The association builds the church building and assigns a pastor for a three year term.

Me: Is this church part of Union Church?

Daddy: No.

Me: It is located within the boundaries you described earlier.

Daddy: Right, but remember, citizenship in Union Church is based on relationships. Relationships between families, between individuals, between businesses, between churches. None of the original families or the ones that came after them had a relationship with The

Primitive Baptist Church or their congregation. We can't think about or practice citizenship if we aren't in relationship.

The true foundation of being a part of this community is faith and action. The original families put their values and beliefs into action. They believed in the value of love and they put it into action. They believed in relationship so they remained connected to each other. Every day and in every way people in Union Church practiced what they believed. For example, I can reference what Deborah said when her son passed. She said the community was there for her and the family. We checked on her until we felt like she was through the forest. It makes no sense to include a place and a people that we are not engaged with everyday.

In Union Church we didn't have a chain of command. We worked together to get things done. Whoever knew how to do something was in charge of doing it and teaching it, like when we slaughtered hogs.

Everyone who raised hogs along Patterson Street would slaughter them ritualistically in one day. It would start at one person's house (and proceed to each house on the street). But everyone would help. We'd have some expert shooter. He'd be the one who dropped the hog. Somebody else would take the knife, stab him and get the bullet out of him. Then the others would have to hold him and help them put him in the hot water to make the hair come off of him and stuff. And then when they got him, lay him off on the table. Everybody had a scraper or something and everyone would scrape hair off. Then we had one person, we'd hang him up on the gallatin and one person would come and their job was to cut him open take the intestines out. And then somebody would be cleaning the whole hog. It was divided labor you know. That's relationship and working together.

James interrupts…

James: Ask about Hubert Whiteman. Hubert owned the small grocery store and stone masonry on Parrish Street going into town. When the new church was being built, Hubert was one of the first persons to donate money and he was not a member of The Union Church. When he wanted to sell land, he would ask your grandfather and great uncle if they wanted to purchase it first.

At the beginning of Union Church, Black people lived in the middle and Whites surrounded them on all sides. The Blacks kept to themselves. Parents made sure children did not carelessly wander into the white part. Now there is Black and White interspersed everywhere.

Me: Were there ever any situations where Union Church community members had to work with the White people who lived around them?

Daddy: Yes, paving Patterson Street was a project that required everyone's participation even the White people. Years ago, it was an unpaved, dirt road with a lot of potholes. Many of the Union Church community members did not have vehicles, so we walked. Needless to say on rainy days, the dirt becomes mud and gets really messy.

During that time, my father sat on the Zoning Board for Union Church. He tried to push through paperwork to get the road paved, but the procedure was to have all the residents sign a petition. Naturally, all of us signed the petition because the paved road would make our lives easier. But the Whites lived on the perimeter so they did not need the road going through the community paved. Their access roads were already paved.

My father went to them every week and sometimes every day in a week asking them to sign the petition. Eventually, they signed it 20 years later. When the petition was finally completed, the school board decided the roads were not navigable for picking up and dropping off school children. The street was probably paved due to the school board not the petition.

Me: Deborah can you think of any community projects that required White and Black to work together?

Deborah: Only urban renewal…

Dream Sequence

James called a truce with Cat. They both arrived at The Union Church at the same time. Cat's distrust of James had soured into antipathy. Since he called the meeting, she waited for him to start.

James: "*Cat, you can't rid yourself of me as easily as you think*."

Cat: "*The hell I can't.*"
James interrupts: "*I am the reason you can time travel*"
Cat hesitantly: "*That means we are blood relatives*"
James: "*I am your father*"
Cat carefully removes the pink barretta from her jeweled purse. She shoots James, checks for a pulse and leaves.

Deborah continued: *but that was not Black and White working together. Whites wanted desegregation so they could take the Black dollar. The two Hayti Urban Renewal projects killed one hundred and five Black businesses. They didn't make it once Black people had different choices. At one time we were totally in our community and you could buy whatever you needed from us. Then when the doors opened up, Blacks went other places. Forty years ago when I was growing up, downtown (Hayti) was thriving. There was where we did all our shopping. There were no malls. It was downtown Durham. But then all of a sudden, they started building malls and shopping centers, and so downtown Durham dried up. But that was by design, I think, when they pulled the plug. I think when the people and the owners and the powers that be, they shut down everything understanding 30 years down the road, we're (White people) gonna come back and we'll rebuild it. That was the plan all the time. It wasn't urban renewal. It was to wipe out and totally obliterate any Black sense of ownership. And they had to let it lay dormant for 30 years to make sure there wasn't any residual Black people hanging around.*

6 DISCUSSION

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this study was to investigate a historically marginalized Black community's conception, practice and praxis of citizenship. This chapter discusses the findings within the Black Studies framework and Blues Methodology literature lenses. I will also explore the usefulness of a culturally based Blues Methodology, implications for educational research and suggestions for further research.

This research investigation was guided by three research questions:

1. How does a historically marginalized Black community conceive and practice citizenship?
2. How does the community conception and citizenship praxis compare to the dominant society's conception?
3. How can both dominant conception and Black community conception and praxis inform citizenship education and citizenship research?

Findings Conclusions

Culturally indigenous ways of knowing. Union Church community members exercised epistemological agency in their citizenship conception, practice and praxis. Participants conceived of citizenship as belonging that entailed connection to people, responsibility to community and relationship with geographic area and shared local history. Citizenship also provided consistency, safety and security within a network of relationships reflecting a common sense of divine purpose.

Citizenship knowledge in the Union Church Community was communal and geographical, both elements in Clyde Woods' (2007) definition of the African American intellectual tradition that is indigenous to the United States. He defined indigenous knowledge as culturally based on the local geographic, economy, culture and socio linguistic tradition. Embedded within the locally based knowledge is the local value system, relationship with environment and cultural beliefs (p. 49). Union Church members' relationship with the environment was fostered through garden maintenance. Each family maintained a garden for family consumption; some community members translated their gardens into profit by sharing with friends outside the community. The Reuben family demonstrated geographical knowledge of the environment and used the knowledge for economic gain. Community members actively engaged with the local environment to enhance their lives. Union Church community members shared "folk arts" by sharing produce, becoming experts on specific types of food preparation and sharing with community members, sharing technical skills such as carpentry, auto engineering, plumbing, tutoring, counseling, mentoring "resistance to dominance created these spaces for the indigenization to take place. These were all ways the community engaged with the local geographical area.

Culturally indigenous ways of knowing include spiritual, geographical, oral traditions, sacred traditions and musical expression (Battiste, 2002; Dei, 2000; Woods, 1998). The Union Church community demonstrated culturally indigenous ways of knowing that include spiritual, geographical, sociolinguistic and cultural ways of knowing, however, they did not demonstrate Blues musical ways of knowing. This omission is noted because Durham was a blues city (Duffy, 1993).

Blues musical ways of knowing. In the early 20th century, booming tobacco and hosiery industries brought Blues singers in droves to Durham. Themes of blues music varied based on local placed based geographical knowledge and social consciousness. The blues sung in Union Church were happy, exuberant, good time Blues replicating the prosperity of the tobacco industry and farmer's accessibility to money. Called Piedmont Blues, they were popularized by male Blues singers such as Blind Boy Fuller and Blind Gary Davis (NC heritage site marker). Blind Gary Davis was also known as Reverend Gary Davis, whose name alone illuminates a disconnection between Union Church community members and the city's blues music tradition. Musically, Union Church community members recognized spirituals as sacred songs instead of blues. However, scholars (Cone, 1972; Jones, 2002; Neal, 1974) describe both spirituals and blues as sacred song.

James Cone (1972) describes the blues as a continuation of spirituals. Cone interpreted the Blues as an expression of "the feeling and thinking of an African people, and the kinds of mental adjustments they had to make in order to survive in an alien land" (p. 98), noting that transcendence was a function of survival. Blues were about survival on one's own terms, which is equitable to protest. Spirituals during enslavement had a consistent theme of liberation and blues are the collective emotional response to daily life in an oppressive society (Davis, 1998). According to Cone, blues combines culture and music to reveal the "essence of the Black experience" (p. 98) a coin with two sides, one sacred, the other secular, but both are spirituals. The same coin represented the practices of some "Blues singers would be in the juke joint on Saturday night and in church on Sunday morning" (King, 2015). This combination of secular and spiritual is embodied in the Blues singer whose title is "Reverend." However, Jones (2002) cautions

that blues was not embraced by all Black communities. The Union Church community may be one of those communities.

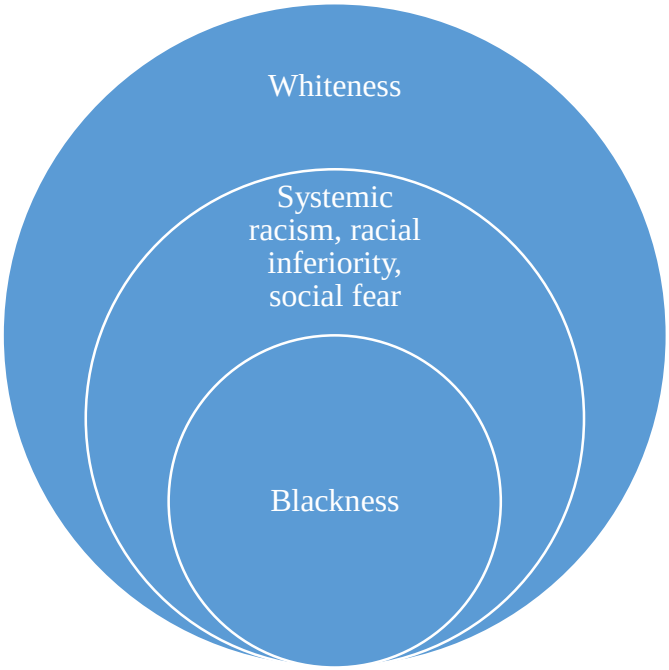
Clyde Woods (1998, 2007) describes music as a culturally indigenous way of knowing for historically marginalized Black communities. The Union Church community members' lack of connection with the local music tradition means they were not accessing a way of knowing and meaning making in their local geographical area. That lack of knowledge fragments their cognition (Gagne, 2007). Reagon (2001) explains that cultural sacred music is "our soul's life-blood". Music represents the peoplehood and nationhood of Black people in the U.S.; who are connected not by land, but by song (Reagon, 2001; Sublette, 2009).

Like the Blues tradition, citizenship knowledge in Union Church was socially constructed amongst community members. The original families established the social practice of active engagement as a foundation of community building. That practice continues among long term community members to reproduce citizenship knowledge and practices. The social aspect of community knowledge challenged the dominant society's individualistic definition of citizen.

Alterity. Union Church community's citizenship conception and praxis from alterity differed from the dominant conception. Wynter (1992) theorized alterity as the privileged positon of people in the liminal category or those considered second class citizens. Union Church community was a historically marginalized Black community that locates the community in the alterity position socially, however, community members situated themselves in the center of their world and experiences. The boundary space served as a hinterland where the atrocities of systemic racism, racial inferiority and social fear lie. Segregation, limits of freedom like urban renewal were in that space as well. On the outer edges or margins of their consciousness was whiteness. In Syl-

via Wynter's model, the liminal category held power to see all sectors of social society and provide commentary and solutions for common problems. In the case of Union Church community members, they utilized their liminal power to recast themselves in the primal space as central, as shown in Figure 18 below.

Figure 18: Union Church Alterity



The ability to recast, redefine, restructure one's social political space in society is a blues skill. The Union Church community members were exercising their blues sensibilities in doing so. Alterity is the position of historically marginalized Black communities globally, but in this socio-spatial-political space, community members did not view themselves as liminal in their community or in society. The alterity perspective may have bonded long-term community members closer together but that examination was beyond the scope of this research. The present "Black Lives Matter" movement would have a different effect in this space because from their

perspective, Black lives have always mattered, never diminished in power, influence or importance. By virtue of the fact that these citizens were excluded from mainstream society through segregation, their conception, practice and praxis of citizenship is a political act and serves as evidence of their epistemological agency.

While community member responses indicated foreknowledge of the effect urban renewal would have on long-term Black businesses and communities, they did not communicate any acts of protest or social action on their part. This may be complicity with what Katherine McKittrick terms socio-spatial displacement (McKittrick, 2011) where "specific human lives, and thus their communities" are viewed as waste, therefore disposable and movable. The elder community members grew up with memories and experiences of Hayti, Durham's Black Wall Street. Their expressed anger and knowledge of plans and schemes is accompanied with a despondent acceptance or comfortable, uncomfortable that's the way it is-ness.

Figure 19. below contains a reflexive journal entry revisiting my previous assumptions about Ester and Aaron's complicity. The entry demonstrates how journal writing was also a method of data analysis and researcher analysis. It also demonstrates the ever expanding process of understanding a historically marginalized Black community's citizenship praxis.

Figure 19.
Reflexive Writing Process

Though Union Church community members did not identify with blues music, they did identify with a blues experience. Ester and Aaron's disgust was palpable when they talked about the loss of Hayti. That is an indication of pain. Their pain of loss can be understood and reacted to differently according to spirituals and blues. While spiritual song is a way of knowing personal and cultural worth and dignity, it has an outside locus of control in the form of a redeemer, a savior, a sacrifice. Stated otherwise, spirituals provide a way of escape from touching or dealing with the pain of loss. That example is a musical way of knowing, which can be connected to what I initially perceived as complicity or passive acceptance of social spatial displacement. A blues musical way of knowing is straight, no chase in confronting the pain of loss. Instead of avoiding or hiding from pain, shame and disappointment, blues acknowledges pain, sometimes bending under the pressure of it, but ultimately not breaking. The bend, don't break blues authentic reality has an internal locus of control. The blues epistemology or blues musical way of knowing can connect to actions of defiant ownership and protest. These actions are easier to recognize and react against.

Community members created a sense of place in Union Church. They created a safe space for children to play and adults to commune. The community members established a rapport with each other that fostered comradery and unity within community spaces. The sense of belonging, commonality, caring and connection that empowered them to go out beyond community parameters. The Union Church brand of citizenship was based on relationship, connection and belonging.

Spirituality in community citizenship conception, practice and praxis. Citizenship in the Union Church community was a philosophy of being. Philosophy is defined as studying the principles

of life. Their philosophy of being was evident in their values, life experiences, environment and relationships. Prior to entering the research field, I adapted Shawn Wilson's philosophical research paradigm into a unidirectional medicine wheel. However, in data analysis process, I realized Wilson (2007) was correct in his representation of the bi-directionality of the wheel. The five elements of philosophy bled and blended together in complex ways. What is more, spirituality was prevalent throughout the research, but was not present in Wilson's paradigm. The location of spirituality was challenging.

The Union Church Community knew their world spiritually. They believed that spiritual and physical worlds are connected, but not equal. Union Church community members related to the spirit of community and the spiritual element of community. They also listed faith and belief in God as common values. Their individual and collective divinity was a spiritual knowing that was exercised in the way they practiced citizenship. Spirituality was not subsumed under one of the elements of philosophy, neither does not fit onto the philosophical circle as an additional element because it influenced each of the elements differently. Community members believed in spirit as guidance, as existence, as God.

Union Church Community members practiced citizenship through relationships and linguistics. Community members prioritized relationships in their daily lives. With the network of relationships they were a part of, they practiced community values and fostered belonging. They also communicated based on their local agrarian way of life. Wilson (2008) states that relationships are reality for indigenous communities. This is certainly true in Union Grove as well. Mutual Intersubjectivity (Jordan, 1985) is the reflective practice of seeing oneself in someone else. Community members practiced this skill particularly when engaging youth. The practice of mu-

tual intersubjectivity was infused in all levels of relationship with family, social and business relationships of community members. Hog killing, local linguistic patterns and food sharing practices were space specific citizenship practices or what Woods terms as local ways of life.

Citizenship knowledge was transmitted and produced through intergenerational and pedagogical citizenship practices. These practices involve more than one generation in a learning collaborative relationship. Intergenerational practices of land ownership and business ownership were specific sites where citizenship knowledge was transmitted with the responsibility to make it usable for both generations and the wider community. The intergenerational relationship or coming together of knowledges and experiences is where citizenship knowledge is produced and reproduced over time. These practices in addition to institutions, preserved local citizenship knowledge.

Community citizenship praxis and philosophical circle. The data revealed that citizenship in Union Church community was a philosophy for life that hearkened back to traditional African culture. Philosophy is the study of nature, knowledge and life. It is the study of the basis for being. In Chapter 2, the interconnectedness of the components of philosophy were explicated. The Union Church Community operated on a philosophy of individual and communal good that reflects Maatian ideal of unity between God, society, nature and universe (Karenga, 271). The connection between spirituality and the other elements of philosophy is demonstrated in Figure 20.

Figure 20: Philosophical Diagram

Coolness. Connection of all elements of natural and spiritual worlds demonstrates the West African concept of cool. Robert Farris Thompson (1973). The concept was proliferate in cultures located in West Africa and survived the brutality of the Middle Passage and enslavement. Thompson coolness in the West African context as “the roots of black social wisdom”. Coolness is the combination of personhood and community. It denotes social stability and self-mastery simultaneously. Coolness is an individual’s representation of “internalized nobility” and recognition of the God essence in others. Coolness is ability to commune with ancestors and speak words of diplomacy. Coolness is required of leadership, achieved through purity, not pre-determined by blood line. It is the responsibility of common people to balance personal purity and social stability. In the absence of traditional cooling rituals involving material and behavioral amends to achieve cooling, Union Church Community members adapted Christianity as a means of personal purity and common values and everyday practices promoted social stability.

Coolness is also about connection. The Union Church community demonstrated coolness through individual and family relationships. The community was founded and maintained through personal connections and mutual responsibility for community spaces. Additionally, citizenship knowledge was produced and reproduces as a result of intergenerational connections.

Ashe is a Yoroba concept that does not easily translate into English. Ashe means the power to make it happen or it is so. This value or characteristic is evident in the Union Grove Community's sustainability practices. The original families migrated to the area and decided to make community. They established practices of belonging, values and expectations demonstrating "ashe."

Similar to my conceptual framework discussed in chapter 2, philosophical elements of ontology, epistemology, methodology, axiology and theory were intertwined within the cosmology of the Union Church Community. Ontology is the philosophical branch that involves the study of the nature of being. It queries the nature of reality, specifically if one reality exists, or if multiple realities exist or if totally different worlds exist. Ontologically, members of the Union Church Community believed that God is the beginning of reality. Similar to Wilson's (2007) description of Native American ontology, community members did not conceive of God, reality or being objectively. They conceived of God being present in everything and originating everything. Their ontology can best be described as a God spark. They conceived of as an internal dimension imbued with divinity, purpose and responsibility. This ontology was present in their relationships with themselves, the environment, family and other community members. Union Grove citizens' taken for granted was that God exists, heaven and hell exist as well. Moreover, they believed in different worlds.

They believed in spiritual and physical worlds that were not equal, but are connected. They maintained the existence of a Spiritual realm or world that dictated the occurrences of the physical realities they experienced in day to day life. These citizens believed that God existed in all things and situations. Spirituality was an ontological premise in the community. The first community structure built by community members was their family homes, the second built by community volunteers was a church. However, spiritual practices of prayer and fellowship were practiced prior to building a church.

They dissected reality into parts. For example, the experience of segregation, Jim Crow did occur and did affect the future vision of community members, that experience did not usurp the "reality" that they were indomitable as in that they were smart, intelligent, and creative. Their understanding of reality defied the presence of racial agendas that planned their annihilation. They believed that they were able cast down social demonization from entering into their consciousness. This belief borne out of their ontological foundation, engrained their ashe, power to do and create. They were creators, decision makers, not victims. They understood themselves as Black people, African descended people, whose future is not determined by slavery. The concept of "minority" was not accepted philosophically. However, they could not understand a community member's disbelief in God or lack of intuition.

Their belief in themselves transmitted and reproduced their epistemological agency to define themselves. They believed that disparate beliefs could be true, different perspectives or views of an experience could be mutually exclusive and both true. Data revealed that community members had an understanding of reality within a continuum. They believed in the dramatic play of reality as a thematic, purposeful or causal unfolding of orchestrated events. They did not believe in disconnected realities, as isolated occurrences, rather they were contextualized within the

history of the particular place of the Union Church community in Durham, North Carolina within the United States of America.

Community members continually theorized, critically examining their knowledge of history, geography and citizenship and reproducing those knowledges. For example, community members neither agreed nor ascribed to a static conception community boundaries. Epistemologically, Union Church community members maintained agency and ownership over their knowledge and understanding of reality, community and politics.

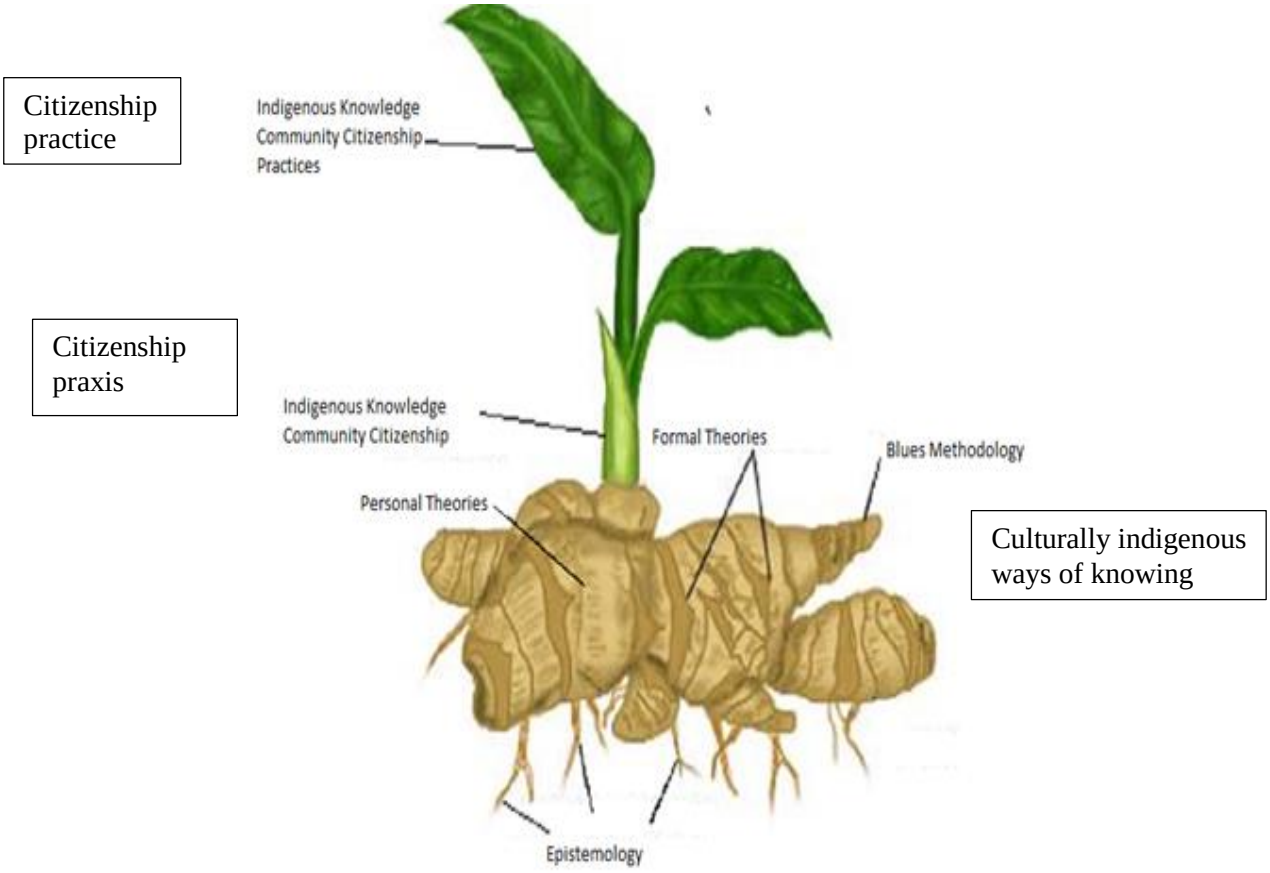
Community citizenship praxis rhizome. Citizenship praxis in Union Church was rhizomatic. A rhizome is an acentric, nonhierarchical network of roots and offshoots with various entries and exits. The original families were offshoots from other communities. The families "knotted, folded and looped" together to produce the first citizenship practices. Through the dynamic processes of transmission and reproduction, new nodes of practice and praxis were formed. As the rhizome extended and expanded in unpredictable ways, new knowledge was produced. The new knowledge in no way erased the previous. In fact, the previous stood on its own as a part of the whole and autonomous at the same time because theoretically, an everyday practice could form into an offshoot and loop back around to a previous practice and loop it back in, however, the different vitality will create another node, because the different vitality will produce a different expression of the previous practice. The concept is "ever expanding" outside previous limits and limitations of geographic space and time.

Citizenship praxis was subterranean and intimately related people and place. Historically marginalized Black communities are in relationship not only with each other and the spirit realm, they are also in relationship with their physical and geographic landscape. The relationship they have with the environment is governed by respect and reciprocity. The Union Church community

was “intimately related to the soil” through their relationship with the environment in a literal way. However the soil could also represent place locally, regionally, nationally, diasporically and globally.

Initially, I named the Blues Rhizome to represent my journey to this research. The rhizome represented the philosophical, theoretical and conceptual connections and Blues represented the Black community’s citizenship praxis. Figure 21 below is the updated Blues Rhizome.

Figure 21: Community Citizenship Praxis Rhizome



The Blues tradition was recognized in the indigeneity of the knowledge and cultural practices of citizenship, but blues was not a music form Union Church community people connected

with. Nevertheless, their citizenship knowledge was a form of Heritage Knowledge. King (2006) explains that Heritage Knowledge connects African descent people in the Diaspora to their African family in so doing, connects local issues to global social justice. Heritage Knowledge is also "a cultural birthright of every human being" that fosters community and self-pride. Heritage Knowledge aims to "liberate" people and communities from the effects of white supremacist ideology. In that respect, citizenship knowledge in the Union Church Community is Heritage Knowledge because it connected community members to each other, to liberation activities and connected them to their African homeland.

Implications

Similarities and differences between the community citizenship conception, practice and praxis and dominant society conception have implications for citizenship education and citizenship research. Most notable are the epistemological differences between the community concept and praxis and the dominant concept of citizenship. The community conception and praxis of citizenship is communal, spiritual and nonhierarchical. In comparison to the dominant conception, community citizenship does not violently relegate people and their knowledge to the margins. The connection between knowledge and action is reflected in the community citizenship praxis of valuing knowledge based on the action it produces as opposed to biocentric identity.

Redefining citizenship in citizenship curricula to include a historically marginalized Black community's citizenship praxis produces a critical practice of belonging and community investment. This community-based conception prioritizes a communal perspective of citizenship as opposed to the dominant conception's individualistic focus. Moving from an individualistic center recognizes that individuals are part of a community. Also, this conception relieves citizenship from the epistemology of coloniality and allows students to build egalitarian communities.

The definition also provides space for students to critically evaluate experiences of coloniality and the practices of the historico-existential community that founded the U.S. Through critical thinking and examination, students are able to imagine a different reality and participate in making it a reality.

Dominant society's conception of citizenship focuses on isolated acts that demonstrate citizenship in contrast to the everyday citizenship practices of a historically marginalized Black community. Community citizenship practice and praxis are everyday actions that foster belonging and community connection through relationships. This re-conception of citizenship practices permits students from historically marginalized Black communities to connect classroom learning to their lived experiences. It also shifts the power dynamic in the classroom because students from historically marginalized Black communities are knowledgeable of community citizenship practices and praxis. Citizenship praxis is totally absent from the dominant society's conception of citizenship.

The community-based conception of citizenship is useful for communities. The Blues Methodology can be used to access culturally indigenous ways to knowing to repair, build and/or sustain communities. Accessing culturally indigenous ways of knowing in community space is a way of building a knowledge tradition in a local place but also connecting to global social issues. Community citizenship praxis empowers communities to educate their children's teachers about community history and knowledge. It can also be a way for teachers to reflectively and reflexively engage in their teaching practice and challenge their personal level of dysconsciousness (King, 2005) and critically evaluate the curriculum as well.

This research has critical implications for historically marginalized Black communities as three significant geopolitical spatial movements severely impact the education of youth in the South region.[2] Urban school reform began as an experiment in Chicago public school and since has swept across the country increasing high stakes accountability sanctions and closing schools in historically marginalized Black, Latino and poor communities (King, 2016). Urban school reform has run alongside of the growing charter school movement that hands the reigns of education to private corporations (Tate, 2008). The urban school reform and charter school movements are part of a longer history of urban removal and transportation construction that targeted and destroyed poor and Black communities from Florida to New York (Halsey, 2016). A Neo-Griot article reported that after the first 20 years of the urban transportation scheme, over 475, 000 households were displaced (Pyke, 2016, p. 2). While sitting Secretary of Transportation Anthony Foxx's childhood community was destroyed by highway construction, he projects significant transportation construction over the next 40 years (p. 7) that potentially displaces more families and communities. As historically marginalized Black communities fall victim land grabs and swindles, chronicling community history becomes paramount in addition to finding ways to transmit community history and knowledge.

This research has implications for citizenship education teachers and citizenship education researchers. Calderon's (2014) research finding that U.S. social studies K-12 social studies curriculum advances a settler colonial land ethic. The settler colonial land ethic of accumulation of land operates from the epistemology of coloniality. Citizenship education teachers and re-

[2] I mention the three geopolitical spatial movements here, however the first 2 lie beyond the scope of this project.

searchers are answerable to their complicity with that project. This research reveals the social injury teachers and researchers cause by dysconsciousness (King, 2005). Teachers and researchers should be answerable to the historically marginalized Black communities their students represent.

This research provides a means for citizenship education teachers and researchers to negotiate their classroom roles and responsibilities and tensions multiple roles produce. Similar to my dual role as indigenist worker/blues methodologist and community daughter, citizenship education teachers and researchers must realize how their personal politics and allegiances play out in the classroom, the school community and the research field because failure to do so has dire consequences on the life chances of students. It also has dire consequences for personal morality.

This research has implications for future generations residing outside of historically marginalized Black communities. As property taxes increase significantly in spaces of gentrification and urban renewal, Black families cannot afford to reside within community bounds. However, research indicates the social cultural support provided by close-knit communities fosters student achievement and college aspirations (Tate, 2008). Families can remain connected through similar events practiced in the Union Church community.

The Union Church community was not teeming with school aged students playing in neighborhood yards when I conducted research. However, many families displaced from the community by marriage or employment sent their children back home during summer months. My four children were among the visiting summer youth. Extended summer visits provided op-

portunities for cultural community knowledge and history to be transmitted. Union Church community members also hosted pot luck Sunday dinners for friends and family to eat and enjoy the connecting with a network of people.

Another avenue of connecting students intergenerationally to community people and place is the Songhoy Princess Club. The club is an extracurricular cultural enrichment program focused on helping students to be rooted in heritage knowledge, academic achievement and technological innovation. Its epistemological and pedagogical framework examined heritage knowledge *From the Nile to the Niger to the Neighborhood* (Hilliard, 1997; King, 2014; Maiga, 2008). Students are pedagogically centered in the best of African culture at a time when, their school curriculum offers distortions of them. Within this pedagogy, students are culturally situated as actors in the Nile Valley which was the cradle of civilization where African people led the world in literary production, scientific innovation and wealth creation (Finch, 1998).

Students are exposed to a natural movement of people as the pedagogy progresses west to the Niger River Valley where the Songhoy Empire was the prolific cultural and educational center composed of a diversity of peoples. It was the military stronghold protecting the interior of the African continent. The Songhoy represents the best of black people culturally, educationally and militarily. Students are then situated in the history of their various neighborhoods as change agents. This club provides students an opportunity to investigate a longer history of themselves and their responsibility in community citizenship.

What Blues Methodology Made Possible

Blues is the “critical attitude” embedded throughout this research study. Blues gave me culturally indigenous tools of investigation, data and data analysis, blues made this research in a

historically marginalized Black community possible. Blues allowed me to understand the duality of my roles as researcher and community member. The blues also provided context that helped me hear community members' interviews from a perspective of agency and power as opposed to resignation. In this research, blues epistemology and alterity revealed culturally indigenous ways of knowing that would not have been possible with another methodology.

Methodological Implications. The constructed Blues Methodology provided a culturally appropriate methodology for investigating community knowledge that allowed me to address problems of equity, displacement, intergenerational transmission of community knowledge. The Blues methodology was precisely the tool I needed to examine social consciousness of the community. The methodology enabled me to use the community's culturally indigenous ways of knowing in choosing data, data collection and analysis methods. The reflective and reflexive journal writing was necessary in allowing me to interrogate my own thoughts, beliefs and actions. It also allowed me to analyze some of the data through writing. I worked out researcher duality tensions through journal writing and fleshed out some of my internalized hegemonic beliefs and actions.

Prior to entering the field of research, I detailed my conceptual framework and explained the importance of maintaining methodological transparency. I wanted to fully document my journey to, in and through the research process. I did not expect to find my personal journey was deeply connected to the Union Church Community's citizenship conception, practice and praxis. My time spent outside community boundaries is greater than the amount of time I spent there. As a product of the community, I recognize how it has profoundly shaped the way I see the world.

As I reflected on that (journal entry) organically intellectual experience, high expectations of the Blues Methodology come to the fore as demonstrated in figure 22 below. I expect the

Blues Methodology is consistent with the culture of the community and will effectively identify, collect and analyze community knowledge. I expect the methodology is consistent with the culture of the community and is usable for teachers working in communities where they do not live. I expect that that the Blues Methodology will also be usable for students interested in community citizenship. Lastly, I expect the findings to prove my hypothesis.

Figure 22.
Reflective Journal of Expectations

On a warm afternoon in early May, the Songhoy students were bursting at the seams with energy, excited about the upcoming holiday weekend. They chatted and meandered regardless of my attempts to engage them in an oral history activity. I quickly concluded that my time intensive, well planned lesson activity was obviously planned for another day. My cultural instinct engaged and Muer (grandmother) embodied me, as had happened many times before. Even though it's routine, I have no idea what will come next. This time, I said "Let's go for a walk!" Eleven middle school scholars quizzically obliged and we went for a neighborhood walk. On our 40 minute walk, one of the students pointed out local landmarks, past and present. She entertained us with her family stories situated in place. Disappointed by the amount of broken glass and trash on the sidewalk, she shared her critique of city sanitation services and her charge to community members to keep the neighborhood clean. That day, Janae was the consummate teacher even though she had not tirelessly prepared lesson plans and activities. She only shared what she already knew, that was her knowledge of people, place and power. That experience illustrates my concept of community citizenship education, where students' lived experiences connect people, place and power in unexpected ways.
Reflective Journal entry prior to entering the field.

However, if I had to do it all again, I would have developed the introspective portion of the research more. I added the Reflective Journal as a research tool to capture what I was doing in the research field and collect my field notes in the same place. I did not know it how critical it would become in negotiating researcher and community member hats or uncovering my own limitations as a researcher, and as researcher in a community I am intimately connected to. Journaling was also cathartic in the field and outside the field.

I would engage community members in data analysis and interpretation. I was the lone researcher processing the all the data of this investigation, therefore the analysis and interpretation was from my lens. The Blues Methodology is social investigation therefore the analysis and representation should be social products.

The findings of this research reveal a lineage of community building and self-governance that has sustained centuries of oppression. Citizenship knowledge in historically marginalized Black communities is inherently philosophical, which logically makes sense. I went into the field

with a European mind, but with African tools. The reflective journaling process and participant engagement reminded me of who I was as a member of this community.

Suggestions for Further Research

The methodological construction needs to be formalized into a generalizable methodology for research on community consciousness and practices of belonging. The Blues Methodology was effective in accessing the social consciousness of the community and revealing researcher bias, further research needs to be done to formalize this methodology.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Alterity/Alter Ego

Fanon (1952/2008) explains the role of the alter ego in Black Skin White Mask. The white imagination conceives of the Black man as a criminalized, psychopathic, overly virile object "dissected under white eyes" as the complete opposite of the Ideal. "For not only must the Black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man… it is a definitive structuring of the Black self and the world-because it creates a real dialectic between my body and the world" (110,116). Fanon asserted Black is necessary for white to define its Ideal. It must have an image of what not to be like. Within the dialectical relationship white has in opposition to Black, the Negro myth prevails in the white imagination. Wynter (1995) concurred, "s/he is the alter ego who embodies the alternative of chaos to the orthodox behaviors expressive of the normative national identity" (17). Alter ego is the Negro myth that creates white panic, while Alterity is a privileged position outside of the dominant ideology.

Black Studies

Black Studies emerged as a movement and discipline of "critical, intellectual study of the thought and practice of African people in their current and historical unfolding" (Karenga, 2002). As a multidisciplinary area of study, Black Studies recognized Black agency, experience and capacity to critically contribute to social change and human freedom (Karenga, 2002). Black Studies recognizes in the "historical commitment to social and personal investigation, description and criticism present in the blues" as a resource for knowledge and a source of theory" (Woods, 2007).

Blues Epistemology

The Blues are an historic record of philosophy, citizenship, failed governmental policies, Jim Crow, and local protests (Woods 1998). According to Woods (1998), Blues are a symbol of freedom. The Blues valorize Black indigenous community knowledge therefore; it is an apt tool for researching it. Clyde Woods (1998) articulates Blues Epistemology as a construction of working class Black Americans in the Black Belt South. Moreover, he states Blues is "a system of explanation that informs [their] daily life, organizational activity, culture, religion, and social movements" (15). Blues Epistemology adheres to Smith's definition of a decolonizing methodology because it not only retrieves the story of an indigenous community, but also resists efforts to dehistoricize a people (Smith, 1999).

Historically, the Mississippi Delta has been a place of extreme violence, where "the ideological and territorial consolidation of the Deep South plantation regime" was realized (Woods, 1998). Expansive slave labor camps, also named plantations and "factories in the fields" were established to farm the fertile Mississippi land that required concentrated numbers of enslaved Africans (Woods, 1998). Vastly outnumbered and periodically devastated by flooding, whites

unified into an “ethnic solidarity.” The plantation regime was wrought with barbaric assaults on humanity: institutionalized rape, year round labor, unjustified murders, routine tortures, geographic confinement, and family fragmentation. Enslavement in the Delta was an assault on the human; Black body and Black soul. Blues emerged as protest to that plantation ideology (Woods, 1998).

Blues Epistemology applies a Gramscian notion of organic intellectual and a general orientation (McKittrick & Woods, 2007). While Blues most readily lends itself to the disciplines of history, geography and pedagogy, it does not have a “disciplinary referent,” therefore, it can exist within a variety of disciplines (Wineburg & Gross, 2008). Blues Epistemology creates a methodological space conducive for this work.

Appendix B

Georgia State University
Department of Educational Policy Studies

Title: Indigenous Citizenship Education, A Community Praxis: A New Ceremony for Youth Citizens

Co-principal Investigator: Melissa Speight Vaughn

Semi Structured Probe for Conversation Circles

1. Everyone will take turns to finish this sentence… Community is…
2. Who is included in a community?
3. Who was the first person in your family to come here?
4. Why did they come to this area?
5. Describe a good citizen of this community.
6. How did they purchase land?
7. Describe important events that occurred here?
8. Is there a symbol that represents this community?
9. What values do you think are important to this community?
10. What does it mean to belong to this community?
11. Have you lived anyplace else? Why do you choose to live here?
12. Describe a normal day in this community.
13. Is there are connection between community values and everyday life?
14. Are youth in the community taught those values?
15. Thinking back to the first conversation, what did the original community residents all have in common? Is that still true today?
16. What does it mean to be a part of this community?

    Close your eyes, imagine it is year 2034, 25 years into the future. You are in a helicopter flying over Durham County. What do you see? Look at it, notice the details of the landscape. Notice where the houses are located, notice who is living in the houses and what they are doing.
17. What are the people doing?
18. What happens between now and year 2034 for your vision to become reality?

Appendix C

Research Design and Timeline of Research Activities

Phase 1: ***Planning and Surveying***	1. Begin Reflexive Journaling a. Journal about expectations of the field b. Journal 2. Planning for the field 3. Research community knowledge traditions 4. Plan community entry 5. Identify Community Historian (CH) 6. Contact CH 7. Provide overview of research 8. Ask for participation 9. Complete informed consent telephonically 10. Plan meeting date 11. Plan Data Collection Procedures 12. Code journal entries
Phase 2: In Field	1. Daily Reflective Journaling 2. Travel into community research field 3. Code journal entries 4. Identify salient themes 5. Formulate themes into query for CH Conversation Interview 6. Conduct CH Interview Conversation 7. Brainstorm possible participants 8. Reflective Journal 9. Contact Possible participants 10. Use Recruitment Script to introduce myself, provide overview of research, ask for volunteer participation 11. Schedule meeting to secure informed consent 12. Secure 12 informed consents 13. Schedule Interview Conversations
In Field Analysis (Herme-neutic Circle)	1. Arrive for Community Participant Conversation #1 at location of their choosing 2. Take Field Notes during Interview Conversation 3. Replaying audio- Provisionally value/belief/attitude code Interview Conversation 4. Reflective Journal 5. Using coded dated, formulate queries to supplement conversation guide for next conversation 6. Repeat steps 1-5 for Interview Conversations 2-3 7. Summarize written and oral data for CH Check In Conversation 8. Conduct CH Check In Conversation 9. Field Notes during Interview Conversation

	10. Using audio playback- Provisionally value, belief, attitude code the conversation 11. Reflective Journal 12. Formulate query 13. Conduct Interview Conversations #4-6 14. Repeat steps 1-5 for each conversation 15. Thematically code journal entries 16. Identify emergent themes from codes to inform CH Check In Conversation 17. Reflective Journal 18. Formulate query 19. Conduct Interview Conversations #7-10 20. Repeat steps 1-5 for each conversation 21. Code journal entries 22. Identify emergent themes 23. CH Check In Conversation 24. Journal 25. Scheduled and conducted necessary Follow Up Conversations 26. Leave the field
Phase Two cont'd Activities outside the field	1. Signed consent forms in secure location 2. Assigned fictional names to participants 3. Coded handwritten conversation notes. 4. Transcribe conversations in order of occurrence. 5. Continue Daily Reflective Journaling 6. First cycle coding of transcripts while listening to audio playback (values, beliefs, attitudes codes) 7. Compare to in field coding 8. Sent thank you cards to participants referencing an aspect of connection or revelation for me 9. Conducted Follow up Interviews telephonically as needed. 10. Identified Community Walk participant 11. Provisional working definitions and conceptions used to construct community walk conversation 12. Called Community Walk participant, scheduled conversation 13. Discussed logistics of the experience with participant
Phase 2 Part 2	1. Re-entered the field 2. Conducted video and audio taped community walk interview 3. Field Notes on experience 4. Reflective Journal 5. Debrief with CH
Phase Three	1. Transcribed Community Walk Conversation 2. Document analysis 3. Using playback, code conversation noting nonverbal communications evident in the video 4. Catalogued cultural data collected 5. Upload transcriptions, journals, and catalogue into In Vivo

	6. Code all data as self-check 7. Use Nvivo program to organize the data 8. Review data codes for themes 9. Document emergent themes in the data 10. Match themes with questions 11. Use text associated with themes to answer questions

Appendix D

Georgia State University

Department of Educational Policy Studies

Title: Indigenous Citizenship Education, Community Praxis: A New Ceremony for Youth Citizens

Principal Investigator: Dr. Joyce E. King, P.I.

Co-principal Investigator: Melissa Speight Vaughn, S.I.

Adult Community Member

I. Purpose:

I am asking you to be in a research study. The reason for the study is to find out how people living in Durham County understand and practice citizenship. I am asking you to be in this study because you have lived in Durham County for a long time. This research will happen in the fall of 2014. Four youth and 8 adults living in Durham County will be in this study. Being in this study requires a total of four hours of your time. This time is spread out over 4 weeks.

II. Procedures:

If you decide to be a part of this study, you agree to the following research activities.

You will be in two conversation circles. Persons in the circle will be me and two community members. We will talk about community history, geography and values. Each conversation is one hour long. They will not be on the same day. You will have 1 follow up conversation. It is with me, the co-principal investigator. The follow up will last 30 minutes. Last, you will be in one 90 minute group discussion. All research subjects will be in the group discussion too. All of these activities will be in a place we agree to meet. The activities will be at times when everyone can be there. I will participate in all activities. All activities will be audio recorded. They will be video recorded too.

If you agree to be in this study, you allow me to use information collected. Information will be used in journal articles, conference presentations and teacher lesson plans. You will not receive any money for being in this project. You will not receive any awards for being in this research.

III. Risks:

This study is not dangerous. Being in this study is as safe as a regular day of life.

IV. Benefits:

Being in this study may benefit you. You may learn more about the history of Durham County. We just want to understand citizenship in the Durham County community better.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Participation is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study, you can change your mind. You can stop at any time. You can also choose to skip questions. You will not lose any benefits you would receive.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. Dr. Joyce King and Melissa Speight Vaughn can read the information you provide. Information may also be shared with those who make sure the study is done correctly (GSU Institutional Review Board and the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)). We will keep your name secret. We will give you a fake name. The fake name will be used on your records. A key with false and real names will be locked in a cabinet. Only the Principal Investigator and Co-principal Investigator can open the locked cabinet. Your real name will not be used. The results will be in group form.

VII. Contact Persons:

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Dr. Joyce King. If you have concerns about this study, contact Dr. King. Her telephone number is 404-413-8265. Dr. King's email is jking@gsu.edu. If you have any questions contact Susan Vogtner. If you have concerns about your rights in this research study contact Susan Vogtner. She works in the Office of Research Integrity. Susan Vogtner's telephone number is 404-413-3513. Her email is svogtner1@gsu.edu.

VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

Please sign below if you want to be in this study. You agree to be audio and videotaped as part of this study.

_____ _____

Participant name printed and signed Date

_____ _____

Researcher Obtaining Permission Date

Appendix E

Character Sketches

Cat is a spiritual being of mixed parentage. She represents the confluence of Native American, African and White at the founding of the nation of the U.S. but also in the founding of North Carolina and Durham. Her father was from the griot caste and her mother from the Sande secret group of diviners. Cat was a griot in the sense that she kept the history of the community, but also a root woman trained in the art of potions and poisons.

The second character is James Patterson. James moved with his family to what would be known as Parrish County in 1728 with his family and human cargo. They took advantage of the 1665 law that granted settlers 50 acres of land for each slave brought into the colony (Anderson. 2010; p. 55). The Patterson family of four owned six Africans at the time of their move. They purchased Martha and her son Edward for $1200 from the auction block in Richmond, Virginia. Since that time, Martha bore two children for John, a son-Adam and daughter-Savannah that doubled the slave count and granted the Pattersons 200 acres of land in North Carolina.

The Patterson's land lay just southwest of mid- state in the traissic basin. Soil in the basin grew fertile from the combination of dense tree cover and annual precipitation. Clearing the dense landscape left undisturbed after centuries of Native American occupation, required all hands on deck in order to survive the upcoming winter. The Pattersons and their slaves cleared the land and planted crops like yeoman farmers, working side by side. Patterson purchased an additional 150 acres to build a grist mill for milling wheat, barley and corn. Public mills were lucrative for their owners because they charged a toll for public use (Anderson, 2011; p. 51). Tolls from the saw and grist mills and hiring out slaves allowed James Patterson to change his social class from farmer to planter.

As James acquired more land, he purchased more slaves to clear the land and plant crops. He purchased land from foreclosure auctions, buying 3 large plots deserted by whites in search for fortune elsewhere. Patterson purchased the land, slaves and erected buildings as is. Each tract purchased engrafted the plantation into the Patterson complex. The complex had grown to 2500 acres; it was home to over 400 slaves that outnumbered the whites. In addition to residences and quarters, the property had a store, meetinghouse and post office. The Patterson's family of four resided on the original plot. He employed his three cousins who became landless from gambling mistakes, to oversee the slaves. By the time of John's death, he left his wife Ann 900 acres of land where the grist and saw mills were located and 200 slaves to help her run it. Eldest son, William and his family were given 700 acres and 70 slaves. To his youngest son, James, John willed 500 acres and 70 slaves. To each of his cousins he gave 50 acres and 20 slaves. To slave Martha and his slave children, John left 250 acres of land and their freedom.

James entered the political life quickly becoming the district governor of the area called Patterson. Outside of his political duties, James Patterson led a private life until death. Upon his death, Durham's elite learned that James shared his life and fortune with

wife Isabel. James met Isabel Day, a free woman of color while traveling the state on business. North Carolina had a population of free Blacks employed in skilled labor jobs such as blacksmiths, tanners and store clerks. Isabel's father Thomas was a furniture maker in a neighboring county. To the dismay of both families, James and Isabel defied the law against mixed race unions that stood until 1980s. They shared their lives with each other and their five children. Upon death, James left all of his material possessions to Isabel and their children. The main bisecting street of the community bears the Patterson name.