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Josephs without Pharaohs: The Du Boisian Framework for the Sociology of Education

Jordan A. Conwell **Northwestern University**

A Du Boisian framework is outlined for the sociology of education. Because of the totalizing nature of racial inequality, W. E. B. Du Bois was forced to simultaneously consider Black students' educational experiences and outcomes at both the macro and micro levels. The framework's central problematic is the macro-micro feedback loop between racial inequalities in the U.S. political economy and discriminatory treatment of Black students in schools. For Du Bois, the feedback loop perpetuates multigenerational educational inequality. This article uses a Du Boisian framework to situate research findings on within-school racial inequalities (such as racialized tracking) and between-school racial inequalities (such as urban/suburban school segregation) in a broader analytical context. Situating previous research as such indicates avenues for future scholarship and activism surrounding the issues facing Black students in U.S. schools.

Keywords**:** *W. E. B. Du Bois, sociology of education, Black students, educational opportunity, educational inequality, scholar-activism*

INTRODUCTION

Blacks are generally disadvantaged at both the macro and micro levels of U.S. society. At the macro level, Blacks have historically suffered from low rates of social mobility. This holds whether mobility is measured as educational attainment (Kao & Thompson, 2003), residential mobility (Massey & Denton, 1993), or wealth accumulation (Oliver & Shapiro, 2006). At the micro level, Black students in U.S. schools are more likely than students from other backgrounds to have negative interactions with peers, teachers, and other school authority figures (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Both levels of inequality contribute to racial disparities in educational experiences and outcomes (Diamond, 2006). How should sociologists of education conceptualize these dual processes?

As early as 1898, Du Bois argued that Blacks' micro level educational realities—number and condition of schools, illiteracy rates, and being unwelcome in schools and colleges with Whites—were inseparable from a macro level "peculiar environment" (Du Bois, 1898). Denials of Black humanity, anti-Black discrimination, fear of large scale Black socioeconomic mobility, and resistance to widespread educational opportunities for Blacks characterized this environment. Paradoxically, it would take education for Blacks to fully recognize the extent of their oppression. Because Du Bois articulated the interplay between education and oppression in this way, his writings and speeches on education reveal an innovative conceptualization of the macro-micro link. His work, therefore, also presents one resolution to the macro-micro issue within the sociology of education (Hammersley, 1984; Mehan, 1992; O'Connor, Lewis, & Mueller, 2007; Shilling, 1992; Willmott, 1999).

In this article, the author outlines a Du Boisian framework for the sociology of education. The framework is based on Du Bois's numerous writings and speeches about the education of Black students. Also considered are sections of his major works (e.g., *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1994) that touch on education. The author uses Du Bois's work as qualitative data from which to generate a grounded theoretical framework (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Doing so demonstrates one way to connect Du Bois's broader educational philosophy to the investigation of specific educational realities facing Black students today. Du Bois is quoted at length whenever possible

to enter his own words into the lexicon of the sociology of education, from which he currently remains largely absent.

The Du Boisian framework's central problematic is the macro-micro feedback loop between racial inequalities in the U.S. political economy (Marable, 2000) and discriminatory treatment of Black students in schools (see Figure 1). The feedback loop perpetuates multigenerational educational inequality. That is, discriminatory treatment of Black students in schools is made possible by, and reinforces for another generation, racial inequalities in political economy. Du Bois's theoretical points of view on education will be identified as neo-Marxism (Bowles & Gintis, 1972, 2002, 2013) at the macro level and structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) at the micro level. Given the framework's central problematic of the macro-micro feedback loop, it is not surprising that both points of view focus on the bidirectional relationship between individuals and society, or agents and structures.

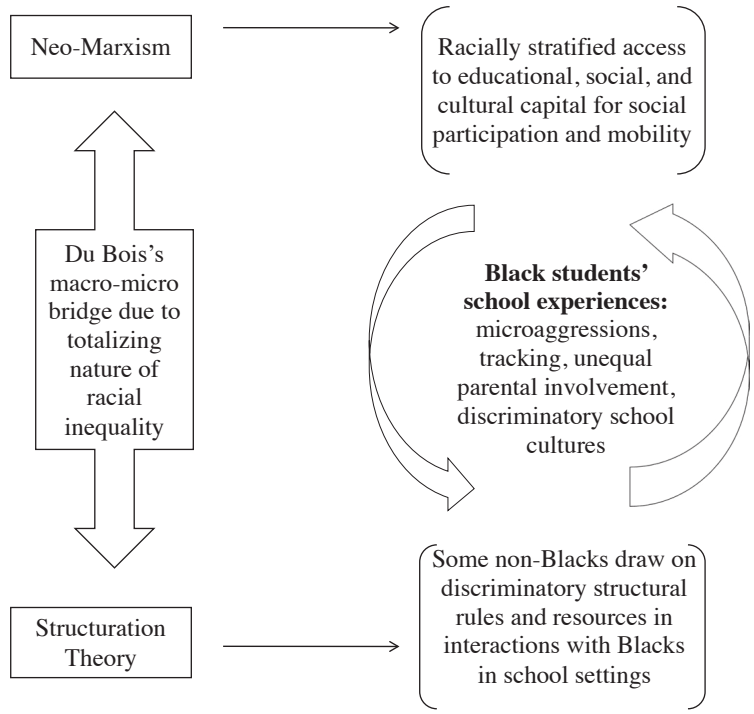

Figure 1. The Du Boisian Framework for the Sociology of Education

The Du Boisian framework reconceptualizes issues currently facing Black students, who are the focus of much sociological and educational research (see O'Connor, Lewis, & Mueller, 2007). Issues are seen as ways in which political economic inequalities affect another generation of Black youth through or by way of the institution of schooling. This new intuition applies both *within* and *between* schools. Individual schools, even racially integrated ones, can be internally organized on the basis of race. Furthermore, the distribution of educational opportunity between schools and neighborhoods in the U.S. has for long been, and still is, racially unequal. Within-school issues (such as microaggressions, racialized tracking, racial inequalities in parent involvement in schooling, and discriminatory school cultures) and between-school issues (such as urban/suburban school segregation) are all recast as mechanisms through which long-standing

macro level racial inequalities and beliefs about Black inferiority affect young Blacks. These mechanisms bar many Black students from educational experiences that would most fully prepare them to contribute to society, achieve class mobility, and combat inequality.

This author does not argue that previous studies on these issues are theoretically or analytically underdeveloped; rather, the Du Boisian framework is used to situate previous findings within a broader theoretical and analytical context. Doing so

- adds insight to previous findings and conceptualizations,
- indicates studies' strengths that may have been previously overlooked, and
- points to avenues for future scholarship based on a multilevel (macro-micro) and sociohistorically informed approach.

The suggested approach is compatible with other theoretical frameworks that sociologists often use to investigate issues facing Black students, such as Bourdieu's concepts of individual and organizational habitus.

By constructing the Du Boisian framework for the sociology of education, the author refutes in no uncertain terms the claim that Du Bois's scholarship is under-theorized. The claim is central to arguments that Du Bois should remain excluded from the canon of classical theoretical sociology. For example, Mouzelis (1997) does "not at all see why" Du Bois should be incorporated into the canon along with social theorists such as Marx, Weber, and Durkheim (see also Saint-Arnaud, 2009). Other scholars have defended Du Bois's position as a founding father of sociology (Morris, 2015) and author of an important body of theoretical work (Zuckerman, 2004). Following them, this article demonstrates that the notion that Du Bois's work suffers from under-theorization represents an impoverished understanding of his work on education.

DU BOIS'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

William Edward Burghardt (W. E. B.) Du Bois spent more than seven decades documenting, analyzing, debating about, and fighting to improve the lives of Blacks in the United States and around the world. Among other efforts, he conducted historical and sociological research; helped shape important institutions and publications, such as the NAACP and *The Crisis*, respectively; and participated in some of the great 20th century debates regarding Black life in the U.S. and elsewhere (see Lewis, 1994, 2000; Rabaka, 2010a, 2010b; Reed, 1997). Du Bois was clearly much more than just a sociologist or an education scholar. As demonstrated below, the sociology of education is simply another arena to which Du Bois's vision(s) can and should be applied.

Du Bois's speeches and writings on the education of Black students were part of his larger concern about Black children's well-being and their roles as the future of the race (see Diggs, 1976). Glascoe (1980) argued that two aspects of Du Bois's educational thought remained constant throughout his career. First, Du Bois saw Blacks as "a culturally distinct people with specialized educational needs" (p. 220). Second, Du Bois believed that Blacks had the ability to overcome the challenges facing them, once educational opportunity expanded to grant them access to necessary knowledge and skills. Around these two pillars, Du Bois's educational philosophy pragmatically evolved in response to changing economic and political conditions and in dialogue with leading intellectuals of the day, both Black and White (see Alridge, 2008).

Du Bois's work on education extends far beyond his disagreements with Booker T. Washington over whether liberal or vocational education was best for Blacks. The debates, however, did indelibly shape the trajectory of Du Bois's educational thought (Glascoe, 1980). Around the time of Washington's death in 1915, Du Bois's synthesized his and Washington's positions: In subsequent speeches and writings, he argued that education needed to be both "for use in earning and living and for use in living a life" (Du Bois, 2001, p. 112; see also Alridge, 2008; Du Bois, 1900, 1932; Lewis, 2000). Education was to provide Black students with the best of both the liberal arts and vocational training. They could then effectively participate in all dimensions of a developing, pluralistic society. For example, in the Atlanta University study

entitled, "The College-Bred Negro" (Du Bois, 1900), Du Bois asked a sample of 1,252 educated southern Blacks about their occupations, whether they had done any subsequent teaching of fellow Blacks or other philanthropic work, whether they had written any books, and whether they voted or held public office, among other topics. In Du Bois's view, while fully participating in society, educated Blacks could also critically apprehend and question contradictions between the ideals of democracy, freedom, and equality and the realities of injustices based on race, class, and gender. Furthermore, they would be prepared, willing, and eager to resolve these contradictions for the better (see Banks, 1990; Glascoe, 1980).

THE "TALENTED TENTH," "THE GUIDING HUNDREDTH," AND "JOSEPHS WITHOUT PHARAOHS"

Du Bois (1903) originally believed that all Blacks would rise under the leadership of an educated, cultured, and aristocratic "talented tenth." They would foster group uplift by, for example, teaching at Black trade schools that enrolled students from non-elite backgrounds (see also Alridge, 2008; Lewis, 2000; Rabaka, 2010a). Critics have called the idea elitist since it was introduced (James, 2014; Reed, 1997). Du Bois later admitted that his initial formulation of the "talented tenth" was misguided. He had not considered the possibility that the Black elite would distance themselves from less fortunate Blacks, instead of assisting them (Du Bois, 1995; Lewis, 1994; Rabaka, 2010a).

As a corrective, Du Bois offered a new conception of "the guiding hundredth," a group comprised of 1/100th of Blacks in the U.S. They were to take the mantle of race leadership with a spirit of character and sacrifice (Du Bois, 1995). This was arguably only a small improvement over the "talented tenth" in terms of inclusiveness. However, Du Bois's detailed plan of action for the "guiding hundredth" reveals the greater motivation behind his efforts. Du Bois asserted that educated Blacks needed to:

> [r]ecognize the fact that their own place in life is primarily a matter of opportunity, rather than simple . . . ability. . . . if such opportunity were extended and broadened, a thousand times as many Negroes could join the ranks of the educated and able. . . . (p. 351)

Whether it was the "talented tenth" or the "guiding hundredth," Du Bois sought educational plans that would eventually benefit all Blacks.

In accordance with his educational philosophy, Du Bois summarized the challenge that Black students posed for schools in the United States as follows:

> [T]here had risen in the South a Joseph which knew not Pharaoh—a black man who was not born in slavery. What was he to become? Whither was his face set? How should he be trained and educated? His fathers were slaves, for the most part, ignorant and poverty-stricken; emancipated in the main without land, tools, nor capital—the sport of war, the despair of economists, the grave perplexity of Science. . . . In a peculiar way and under circumstances seldom duplicated, the whole program of popular education became epitomized in the case of these young black folk. (Du Bois, 1932, p. 60)

In the Old Testament story, Pharaoh puts Joseph, a former slave and prisoner, in charge of Egypt. Pharaoh depends on Joseph to see the land through a great famine, but he remains above Joseph in terms of status because he retains the throne. The metaphor is religious in origin but much broader in its applicability. Du Bois relied upon it to emphasize that emancipated slaves' sons and daughters now had control over their own fates. Slave masters no longer controlled their destinies from Pharaoh-like positions, simultaneously above and dependent on them, as had been the case for their parents. Black students' schools faced the inimitable challenge of preparing them to make the most of their new rights and fight for those not yet granted.

The remainder of this article elaborates the Du Boisian framework for the sociology of education. To do so, numerous works are detailed that Du Bois produced throughout the pragmatic

development of his educational philosophy. This article focuses on the sociological relevance of these works and connects Du Bois's broader educational philosophy, *exemplified by the image of Josephs without Pharaohs*, to the investigation of specific educational realities facing Black students today.

DU BOIS AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Du Bois's contributions to the field of sociology have been largely overlooked (see England & Warner, 2013; Green & Driver, 1976, 1978; McKee, 1993; Morris, 2008, 2015; Morris & Ghaziani, 2005; Rabaka, 2010a; Rudwick, 1969; Wright, 2002; Zukerman, 2004). The oversight is troubling because Du Bois identified as a sociologist for much of his life and produced groundbreaking sociological studies. These include his study of rural Blacks in Farmville, Virginia (Du Bois, 1898) and the Atlanta University studies (see, Lewis, 1994, 2000). *The Philadelphia Negro* (Du Bois, 1996), Du Bois's painstakingly comprehensive study of Black life in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward at the turn of the 20th century, is perhaps the most notable of his sociological works. The text ushered in the empirical movement in the field of sociology. As Lewis (1994) described, the "armchair" theories of the likes of August Comte, Karl Marx, and Herbert Spencer would continue to guide scholarship, "but the watchword of [sociology] was becoming *investigation*, followed by induction—facts before theory" (p. 202, italics in original).

Accordingly, Du Bois's body of sociological scholarship features novel theoretical constructs that he derived from his empirical observations. These include his argument in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1994) that African Americans possess double consciousness, constant awareness of their often contradictory identities as Black and American (see Blau & Brown, 2001; Rawls, 2000). A small group of scholars have argued that the field of sociology should broadly reclaim Du Bois as a founding father (see Zuckerman, 2004). Due to the centrality of racial inequality to the field, special attention has been paid to Du Bois's role as the first sociologist of racial inequalities (e.g., Bobo, 2000; Morris, 2008; Morris & Ghaziani, 2005; Zuckerman, 2004). Scholars have highlighted the prescient nature of Du Bois's work on race, particularly his prediction that "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line" (Du Bois, 1994, p. v).

Du Bois's work on education has previously been recognized for its contributions to critical race theory in education and Africana pedagogy (Alridge, 1999, 2008; Anderson, 2005; Banks, 1992, 1993, 1995; Dunn, 1993; Oatts, 2006; Rabaka, 2003, 2010a). His concept of the color-line has been used in research on education and teaching (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Lewis, 2003; Orfield, Marin, & Horn, 2005; Perry, 2000; Yamane, 2002). Despite this recognition, few empirical social scientists who conduct research on Black students' educational experiences and outcomes work from an explicitly Du Boisian framework (noted by Alridge, 2008). One exception, Morris (2004), highlighted the strategies of successful, predominantly Black, urban elementary schools. His work counters dominant narratives of dysfunction in such learning environments. Clearly echoing central tenets of Du Bois's educational philosophy, Morris (2004) focuses on "how the relations among people and institutions bring about African American agency in contemporary schooling and society" (p. 72).

Within the sociology of education, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus (see Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) are frequently used to interrogate educational inequalities based on race, class, and gender (e.g., Dumais, 2002; Karen, 2002; Lareau, 1987; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; see Kingston, 2001). Du Bois's work deals with many similar issues and, as this article argues, features theoretical tools that can be profitably used in research on race- and class-based educational inequalities. However, few studies in the sociology of education draw on Du Bois. One exception is Diamond (2007), who cited Du Bois when discussing race and class stratification in access to curricula that prepare students for social mobility. Diamond's earlier (2006) "racialized educational terrain" framework is consistent with a Du Boisian multilevel (macro-micro) analytic approach, and he references Du Bois's "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools" (1935) in his

article. However, Diamond (2006) developed the framework based on Bonilla-Silva's (2001) theory of racialized social systems, rather than Du Bois's work on education.

Du Bois's work touches on many of the sociology of education's core lines of inquiry. These include how Black students are treated in school contexts; the roles of social and cultural capital in achievement, attainment, and mobility; and school segregation and between-school resource disparities. Sociologists of education can and should make better use of this congruence (Alridge, 2008). As detailed below, a Du Boisian orientation reconceptualizes issues currently facing Black students as ways in which political economic inequalities affect another generation of Black youth through or by way of schooling—barring many Black students from educational experiences that would most fully prepare them to contribute to society in diverse and meaningful ways and combat inequality in its many forms. This new intuition applies both within and between schools and points to avenues for future scholarship based on a multilevel (macro-micro) and sociohistorically informed approach.

Background for a Theoretical Innovation: Linking Education and Oppression

Du Bois's approach to education was inspired by his revolutionary sociological imagination and supported by his rigorous sociological methodology. He understood that the past, present, and future of education for Blacks were all "complicated by a peculiar environment" (Du Bois, 1898a, 1898b). Problems such as Black illiteracy were not simply issues of "ignorance." They were tied up in larger forces stretching well beyond the level of schools and students, colleges and graduates. More specifically, problems like illiteracy:

> [r]est . . . on the widespread conviction among Americans that no persons of Negro descent should become constituent members of the social body. This feeling gives rise to economic problems, to educational problems, and nice questions of social morality; it makes it more difficult for black men to earn a living or spend their earnings as they will; it gives them poorer school facilities and restricted contact with cultured classes; and it becomes . . . a cause and excuse for discontent, lawlessness, laziness, and injustice. (Du Bois, 1898b, p. 13)

In short, Du Bois connected empirical realities in education to larger social and structural forces. These forces included contemporary societal arrangements and discourses about Blacks; however, since Du Bois viewed sociology as a sort of "history abstracted" (Lewis, 1994), he also attended to the historical developments that had led to the status quo.

Some of Du Bois's major works evidence this sociological and sociohistorical orientation towards education. In *The Philadelphia Negro* (1996), Du Bois outlined the history of Black education in Philadelphia beginning in 1770, tracked subsequent changes in the number and type of schools available for Blacks throughout the 1800s, and noted Black attendance and illiteracy rates (the latter of which he disaggregated by gender and age). In *Black Reconstruction* (1999), Du Bois traced the development of public schools for Blacks in the South, noting differences in development by state.

Du Bois also discusses education in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1994). Critically, the short story "Of the Coming of John" illustrates Du Bois's belief in the process of education for liberation (see Delpit, 1992). According to Du Bois, diligent work in a wide-ranging curriculum would lead Blacks to see the sobering truth of their oppression and exclusion in U.S. society. As educated men and women, they would also possess the tools to reshape oppressive arrangements. In the story, John Jones, a young Black man, is indelibly altered after finishing college, where he studied "just why the circle was not square," "the ethics of the Fall of Rome," the solar system, Greek, and the like:

> He looked now for the first time sharply about him, and wondered he had seen so little before. He grew slowly to feel almost for the first time the Veil that lay between him and the white world; he first noticed the oppression that had not seemed oppression before, differences that had erstwhile seemed natural,

> restraints and slights that in his boyhood days had gone unnoticed or been greeted with a laugh. He felt angry when men did not call him "Mister," he clenched his hands at the "Jim Crow" cars, and chafed at the color-line that hemmed in him and his. (Du Bois, 1994, p. 144)

After completing a liberal curriculum, John Jones comprehended the color line in ways that he had not before he left his small town to go to college. Armed with his new consciousness, John opened a school for Black children in his hometown. He gave lessons on "the French Revolution, equality, and such like" (Du Bois, 1994, p. 150), much to the chagrin of powerful Whites in town. Upon hearing about the content of John's lessons, the town's judge demanded that John close the school and the students "go home and get back to work" because "[T]he white people of Altamaha are not spending their money on black folks to have their heads crammed with impudence and lies" (Du Bois, 1994, p. 151).

In Du Bois's view, once educated, Blacks would recognize oppressive forces—described as contradictions between ideals of equality and realities of injustice. However, in a vicious cycle, those same oppressive forces functioned to keep larger numbers of Blacks from receiving an education. That is, both historically and in the present, the "peculiar environment" circumscribed Blacks' educational opportunities. But, it took education to fully comprehend and begin changing that environment to create a more equitable future. This article posits that this general insight—the interplay between education and oppression—provided the theoretically generative backdrop for Du Bois's more explicit macro-micro link between racial inequalities in U.S. political economy and discriminatory treatment of Black students in schools. Furthermore, because of this insight, it is not surprising that the two theoretical points of view Du Bois brings together in a macro-micro feedback loop—neo-Marxism at the macro level and structuration theory at the micro level—both attend to the bidirectional relationship between individuals and society, or agents and structures.

Macro Level: Race, Capitalism, Social Mobility, and Educational Opportunity

Du Bois argued that Whites' fear of Black social mobility limited Black students' access to the knowledge and "social power" needed for modern industrial life (Provenzo ed., 2002). Du Bois's ideas about race, class, and capitalism are part of a Black radical tradition that incorporated (and critiqued) many perspectives; as such, they defy easy categorization (see Rabaka, 2010b). However, Du Bois was explicitly incorporating Marx's economic writings into his work on education by the 1930s (Du Bois 1933 in Aptheker ed., 2001). As a result, his thoughts on education can be put into conversation with neo-Marxian and other class-based analyses of schooling. The neo-Marxian perspective focuses on how unequal educational opportunities and experiences leave students from different class backgrounds unequally prepared for labor market participation and class mobility (Bowles & Gintis, 1972, 2002, 2013; see also more recent analyses of class inequalities in school experiences, e.g., Bennett, Lutz, & Jayaram, 2012; Chin & Phillips, 2004). In an intersectional manner, Du Bois pointed out how such social relations of schooling and production (Bowles & Gintis, 1972) were simultaneously raced *and* classed.

In "Education and Work," (1932), Du Bois discussed how the rapidly industrializing U.S. needed to spread educational opportunity to many potential laborers, including Blacks. However, questions remained about educating Blacks: Did they possess enough native intelligence to be trained as laborers? Would training open the door to social mobility for large numbers of them? The nation had to decide:

> [w]hat was the aim of educating any working class. If it was doubtful as to how far the social and economic classes of any modern state could be essentially transformed and changed by popular education, *how much more tremendous was the problem of educating a race whose ability to assimilate modern training was in grave question* . . . was [the nation] trying to displace the dominant white master class with new black masters or . . . furnishing a trained set of free black laborers who might carry on in place of the violently disrupted slave system? (Du Bois, 1932, p. 61, emphasis added)

In short, the relationship between capitalism and schooling was distinct for Blacks because questions about Blacks' ability and fear of Black social mobility remained prominent in the "peculiar environment."

Du Bois also argued that Black vocational and liberal arts schools were not reaching their full potential because educators and students did not grasp the intersection between industrial capitalism and racial inequality. Du Bois wrote that Black liberal arts institutions, educators, students, and alumni:

> [h]ave not yet comprehended the age in which they live: the tremendous organization of industry, commerce, capital, and credit which today forms a super-organization dominating and ruling the universe. . . and for the purpose of forcing into places of power in this organization American black men either to guide or help reform it, either to increase its efficiency or make it a machine to improve our well being, rather than the merciless mechanism which enslaves us; for this the Negro college has today neither program nor intelligent comprehension. (1932, p. 63)

Du Bois's macro-focused calls for educational opportunity resembled what is now referred to as radical sociology. Radical sociology links the macro and the micro with its focus on emancipated actors' contributions to society. The radical sociological ideal is a world in which emancipated people can "maximize [their] potentialities" and participate in, and partially determine, the functioning of the social organizations they are a part of (Flacks & Turkel, 1978). This point of view is very much in line with Du Bois's educational philosophy and the representative image of Josephs without Pharaohs.

MICRO LEVEL: TREATMENT OF BLACK STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS

Du Bois defined sociology as "the Science that seeks the limits of Chance in human conduct" (2000, p. 44). Not surprisingly, then, his work can be used to inject race into neo-Marxist analyses while avoiding determinism, which is one critique that has been put forth about neo-Marxism and other macro level theoretical approaches in the sociology of education (see Mehan, 1992). Schools are analytical "black boxes" (Karabel & Halsey, 1977) in macro theories that are not integrated with micro level analyses. This is because macro theories cannot provide detailed accounts of how interactions in schools also contribute to educational inequalities. But, since racial inequality has both macro and micro level instantiations (see Feagin, 2006; Winant, 2000), Du Bois was forced to consider micro level interactions with agents such as teachers that also negatively impacted Black students' school experiences. He saw discriminatory treatment at the micro level of individual schools as inextricable from macro level racial inequalities facing all Blacks in U.S. political economy.

As such, Du Bois's work on education pushes research on Black students' school experiences toward the use of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984). Structuration theory proposes a resolution to the macro-micro problem by positing that agents produce and reproduce structure by drawing on structural rules and resources within specific interactions (Turner, 1986). Structural rules "include knowledge of social conventions and their contexts of application, and provide actors with a set of 'tools' for accomplishing social interaction," while resources are the more tangible "goods and services, and the authoritative power to control both these and influence the actions of others" (Shilling, 1992, pp. 78-79). In structurationist analyses of education, "[I]ndividual teachers, students and policy makers are not collapsed into 'wider' structural supports, but themselves reproduce (or fail to reproduce) the major structural principles of society [e.g., racial inequality] in particular social spaces" (Shilling, 1992, p. 79). Instead of leading to a deterministic view of the relationship between education and society, the structurationist point of view sees change as a possibility (Shilling, 1992). Students and teachers can draw on anti-racist rules and resources, for example, and halt the reproduction of racial inequality in school settings (see also Epstein, 1993 on the relationship between anti-racist education and macro-micro links).

Du Bois's work on whether or not segregated schools were the best learning environments for Black students exemplifies the previous points. Du Bois welcomed "the time when racial animosities and class lines will be so obliterated that separate schools will be anachronisms" (Du Bois, 1935, p. 328). However, he supported voluntary segregated education when it was clear Black students would be subject to institutionalized racism and interpersonal discrimination in integrated schools, at the hands of White administrators, teachers, and classmates (see Alridge, 2008). In the language of structuration theory, Du Bois argued that integrated schools would be damaging spaces for Black students if Whites used racially discriminatory structural rules and resources in their interactions with Black students. Whites who did so would recreate systemic racial inequality in the integrated school setting.

Du Bois described integrated schools in which Whites recreated systemic racial inequality in "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" writing:

> I have repeatedly seen wise and loving colored parents take infinite pains to force their little children into schools where the white children, white teachers, and white parents despised and resented the dark child, made mock of it, neglected it or bullied it, and literally rendered its life a living hell . . .We shall get a . . . more capable and rounded personality by putting children in schools where they are wanted, and where they are happy and inspired, than in thrusting them into hells where they are ridiculed and hated. (1935, pp. 330-331).

Later in the same essay, Du Bois termed such schools places where Blacks were "doormats to be spit and trampled upon and lied to by ignorant social climbers, whose sole claim to superiority is ability to kick 'niggers' when they are down" (p. 335).

Du Bois further argued that Black students "need neither segregated schools nor mixed schools. What [they need] is education" (p. 335). Certain mixed schools and certain segregated schools could achieve this goal. Du Bois urged Black families and students to seek out such spaces. Other schools could prevent Black students from getting an adequate education, and Du Bois cautioned that those spaces should be avoided at all costs:

> A mixed school with poor and unsympathetic teachers, with hostile public opinion . . . is bad. A segregated school with ignorant placeholders, inadequate equipment, poor salaries, and wretched housing, is equally bad. Other things being equal, the mixed school is the broader, more natural basis for the education of all youth. It gives wider contacts; it inspires greater self-confidence, and suppresses the inferiority complex. But other things seldom are equal, and in that case, Sympathy, Knowledge, and the Truth, outweigh all that the mixed school can offer. (Du Bois, 1935, p. 335)

Du Bois's mention of "wider contacts," "self confidence," and suppression of "the inferiority complex" points to the core of his educational philosophy. Schools were to be places where Black students could accrue the educational, social, and cultural capital necessary for full and effective participation in society, including socioeconomic mobility (Alridge, 2008). Racism in mixed schools or general inadequacy of instruction and facilities in segregated schools would both prevent Black students from accruing this capital.

Du Bois's Macro-Micro Feedback Loop: Reconceptualizing Previous Research on Schools as Institutions Organized on the Basis of Race

Du Bois's macro-micro orientation to the educational issues facing Black students can be described as follows. Racial inequalities in political economy will exist as long as there is race and class stratification in access to the educational, social, and cultural capital necessary for full and effective participation in society, including socioeconomic mobility. Macro level inequalities feed discourses about Blacks being intellectually inferior compared to Whites and predisposed to circumscribed social participation and poor socioeconomic outcomes. Non-Blacks in integrated school settings might draw on such discriminatory structural rules and related resources (Giddens, 1984) in their interactions with Black students. These interactions and arrangements can prevent another generation of Black students from gaining the educational, social and cultural capital necessary for participation and mobility.

The Du Boisian framework situates previous research findings on issues such as microaggressions, racialized tracking, racial inequalities in parent involvement in schooling, and discriminatory school cultures within a broader analytical context, focused on long-standing political economic inequalities and related discourses of Black inferiority. All of the issues are seen as ways in which political economic inequalities affect another generation of Black youth *through or by way of* the institution of schooling. This reframing

- adds insight to previous findings and conceptualizations,
- indicates studies' strengths that may have been previously overlooked, and
- points to avenues for future scholarship based on a multilevel (macro-micro) and sociohistorically informed approach.

This section also demonstrates how the Du Boisian framework and Bourdieu's concepts of individual and organizational habitus can be combined to powerfully and critically analyze the issues facing Black students.

Microaggressions

Solórzano and others (2000) documented how Black students at elite colleges faced stereotypes of Black intellectual inferiority from other students, faculty, and school staff members. Black students also faced discriminatory treatment from authority figures such as the campus police. These attacks affected Black collegians' academic performance and lead them to create alternative academic and social spaces on campus. Solórzano and colleagues (2000) argued that non-Black students, faculty, and staff developed stereotypes based on their negative perceptions of one Black student, and then the campus climate supported their application of the stereotype to other Black students. The authors therefore framed the issue of microaggressions as a problem with "the collegiate racial climate" (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). The Du Boisian framework augments this important contribution by reframing the process the authors observed (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000, Figure 1). Non-Black students, faculty, and staff may extrapolate from their negative perceptions of Black students they come into contact with, and the campus climate may allow them to apply the stereotype to other Black students. However, racial inequalities in political economy and long-standing discourses about whether or not Blacks belong at higher learning institutions may be the true genesis of such attacks.

For example, Solórzano and associates (2000) reported that Black students found their school's science departments to be particularly unwelcoming. Black scientists have for long struggled to gain inclusion in and credentials from the academy. The first Blacks to earn doctorates in the biological and physical sciences did not do so until near the turn of the twentieth century (Titcomb, n.d.), while researchers had been carrying out dangerous experiments on Blacks (in the name of advancing science) since the eighteenth century (see, e.g., Washington, 2006). Attention to this historical background might enrich Solórzano and others' (2000) finding and other research on racial inequalities in science education. School climates are products of, and contributors to, long-standing inequalities and discourses. A Du Boisian orientation recasts microaggressions as mechanisms through which long-standing inequalities and discourses affect another generation of Black learners. The attacks Solórzano and colleagues (2000) noted are particularly devastating because they affected Blacks who were attending an elite college and were on the cusp of attaining valuable capital for social participation and mobility. These students had presumably already persevered over other local instantiations of racial inequality at previous points in their academic trajectories.

Tracking

Tyson (2011) found that Black students are likely to racialize achievement and direct the "acting White" slur toward high-achieving Blacks when they observed racially unequal achievement tracking in integrated schools. Black students in schools where achievement tracking was not

racially unequal were unlikely to racialize achievement. A major strength of Tyson's (2011) work is that she interpreted her findings within the sociohistorical context of race, school segregation, and achievement ideologies in the U.S. Specifically, she analyzed within-school tracking in the broader context of Whites' attempts to avoid school racial integration. From this analytical point of view, she argued that ostensibly integrated schools use tracking to avoid true integration and identified racialized tracking as "essentially segregation" (Tyson, 2011).

Tyson's sociohistorical approach also allowed her to refute claims that Black students' use of the "acting White" slur is the manifestation of anti-achievement ideologies or pathological cultures. Instead, she argued that "students linking achievement with whiteness emerged after desegregation and is a result of racialized tracking, which is a part of a historical legacy of strategies used to avoid integration" (p. 6). In the language of the framework elaborated here, Tyson (2011) reconceptualized tracking as a mechanism through which a long-standing inequality (school segregation) affects another generation of Black students, even supposedly advantaged Black students in integrated schools. Once this is understood, the students' response to the local instantiation of the long-standing inequality (using the "acting White" slur) can no longer be reasonably defended as the autonomous production of a supposedly pathological culture.

Parental Involvement in Schooling

Other issues in Blacks' education often portrayed as pathologies or "cultural interference" (see Crozier & Davies, 2007) may also have roots in historical inequalities. Lareau and Horvat (1999) detailed how Black parents in a small Midwestern town faced difficulties when they tried to discuss the marginalization and unequal treatment of Black students in the local schools. Parents cited racial disparities in discipline and the fact that Halloween received more celebration than Martin Luther King Day, and one family questioned their daughter's designation as language disabled. However, the schools were "relentless in their demands that parents display positive, supportive approaches to education" (Lareau & Horvat, 1999, p. 38). As a result, teachers and administrators perceived Black parents' attempts to advocate on their children's behalf to be hostile, unacceptable, destructive, and illegitimate. For the most part, schools did not address the parents' concerns, other than individual teachers making isolated concessions to avoid a "having a scene" (Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

Educators placed responsibility for the communication breakdown squarely on (and within) the Black parents. One educator reported being so frustrated with a certain Black mother that she "[woke] up in the middle of the night" to ponder "what can be done to change her?" (Lareau & Horvat, 1999, p. 43). Educators deemed White parents' styles of involvement, however, to be appropriate. Relying on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field, Lareau and Horvat argued that the Black parents were (often unsuccessfully) "drawing on their habitus and seeking to activate cultural capital" in an educational field where Whiteness itself was a valuable resource that they did not possess (1999, p. 49).

Importantly, Lareau and Horvat (1999) chronicled the town's history of race and education. The town's businesses, restaurants, occupations, and schools were segregated when the Black parents were growing up in the 1950s and 1960s. Unequal treatment of Black students in schools continued after school integration in 1964 and the inception of a busing program in 1968. In response, Black parents organized a school boycott in 1987 and the local NAACP continued to pressure the schools for answers and reforms as late as 1990. Black parents had these experiences in mind years later when they interacted with their children's teachers and school administrators.

Lareau and Horvat's (1999) analysis shows the compatibility of Bourdieu's theory of *individual* habitus, and a Du Boisian sociohistorical approach focused on issues of race, political economy, and multigenerational inequality. The authors showed how Blacks parents' habitus were shaped by historic racial inequalities that they and their parents had faced in the town in the past, as well as their own racialized experiences of schooling. As adults, their strategies for activating cultural capital in the school settings of the next generation of Black students in the town (their children) yielded negative or, at best, mixed results. In this way, racialized events in

local political economy and the local schools, which occurred before the students were born, partially bore on their educational experiences.

Discriminatory School Cultures

A Du Boisian approach is also compatible with Bourdieu's concept of *organizational* habitus. Horvat and Antonio (1999) relied on Bourdieu's concepts to analyze working-class Black girls' negative experiences at an elite all-girls school. They emphasized how White, upper-middle-class organizational habitus committed structural violence against the Black students. Academically, the all-White faculty struggled to incorporate diverse perspectives into the curriculum and made racially insensitive remarks on the rare occasions when such perspectives were engaged. Socially, White students cultivated an environment of "oblivious entitlement" (Horvat & Antonio, 1999). One White speaker at graduation said that her favorite fictional heroine was Scarlett O'Hara from *Gone With the Wind*, and, referencing the slave plantation from the novel and film, called the school "our Tara" (Horvat & Antonio, 1999). The authors pointed out that the head of school screened the student's remarks prior to the ceremony, but apparently saw no issue with this racially charged metaphor, as an example of how the school "exalts" White culture at the exclusion of other cultures. Black girls at this elite school paid the price of constant racial othering inside and outside of the classroom for the educational and social capital they gained (Horvat & Antonio, 1999).

Horvat and Antonio (1999) concluded that organizational habitus is "a useful device in revealing how the race- and class-based dispositions, practices, and rules of an *organization* structure and legitimate action" (Horvat & Antonio, 1999, p. 339, italics in original). Elite schools do of course have organizational habitus that can foster negative experiences for Black students. However, A Du Boisian macro-micro approach draws attention back to long-standing political economic inequalities and discourses of Black inferiority as the ultimate source of Black students' differential treatment in such schools. A school's organizational habitus is another mechanism whereby long-standing inequalities affect another generation of Black students. The graduation speaker who referred to the school as "our Tara" is (perhaps unintentionally) invoking sociohistorical forces that stretch well beyond the school itself. She is simultaneously reminding Black students and family members at the graduation ceremony of the school's culture *and* the legacy of slavery in the United States. The school's organizational habitus (in this case the head of school's permission to give the remarks) is the mechanism that provides her with the means to do so.

DISCUSSION: DU BOISIAN REALISM, SCHOLAR-ACTIVISM, AND THE CONTINUING RELEVANCE OF A DU BOISIAN ORIENTATION

This article has elaborated the Du Boisian framework for the sociology of education. The framework's central problematic is the macro-micro feedback loop between racial inequalities in U.S. political economy and discriminatory treatment of Black students in schools. Generation after generation, the feedback loop perpetuates inequality by keeping large numbers of Black students from educational experiences that prepare them to contribute to society, achieve class mobility, and combat inequality. The framework reconceptualizes issues currently facing Black students as ways in which long-standing political economic inequalities affect another generation of Black youth through or by way of the institution of schooling. Within-school issues (such as racialized tracking) and between-school issues (such as urban/ suburban school segregation) are recast as mechanisms through which long-standing macro level racial inequalities and beliefs about Black inferiority affect young Blacks. The author has applied the framework to social science research on within-school issues facing Black students. Doing so added insight to previous findings and conceptualizations, indicated studies' strengths that may have been previously overlooked, and pointed to avenues for future scholarship based on a multilevel (macro-micro)

and sociohistorically informed approach that is compatible with other frameworks that sociologists often use to investigate issues facing Black students.

Du Bois's two main sociological points of view on education, neo-Marxism and structuration theory, have previously been grouped under the heading of realism. Realists maintain that knowledge claims can be revised as bodies of knowledge grow (Wendt & Shapiro, 1997). The affinity between Du Bois's sociological points of view and a realist epistemology is not a coincidence. As detailed earlier, Du Bois's broader educational philosophy was pragmatic and evolutionary. A sociological framework based on his philosophy, therefore, similarly welcomes empirical testing, extension, and refinement, guided by "the Marxian explanatory project of demystifying power relations" and "the structurationist project of finding unobservable social structures that constitute agents and their practices" (Wendt & Shapiro, 1997, p. 184) within Black students' educational experiences and outcomes. As such, this article should be read as the beginning, not the end, of a conversation about W. E. B. Du Bois's writings and speeches on education and how his educational philosophy can guide sociological analyses of Black students' educational experiences and outcomes. Future work can consider how other marginalized statuses, such as gender, complicate Du Bois's work (see Hill-Collins, 2000) and by extension, the framework elaborated.

Sociologists have long been concerned with maintaining detached objectivity from the social phenomena under investigation. This tendency was on full display during the years when Du Bois published most of the works upon which the Du Boisian framework for the sociology of education is based (see Bannister, 1991). However, sociological inquiry is situated, and the relationship between sociologist and research subject is itself a social relationship (see Smith, 1974). One of the ways that Du Bois famously sought "to put science into sociology" (Lewis, 1994) was to expose researchers' conceptual, methodological, and interpretive biases. He pointed out how race and class prejudice in the relationships between contemporary researchers and their Black research subjects (as well as otherwise questionable methodology) biased supposedly objective results and rendered them unscientific (e.g., Du Bois, 1898b). Notably, and perhaps as a result of his own elite educational background, Du Bois sometimes fell victim to some of the same biases he criticized (Lewis, 1994; Posnock, 1995).

Du Bois had such a large stake in accuracy because he believed that the most systematic investigations of Black life could contribute to social change. He criticized research that took the "double aim" of making social change an "immediate" goal, but he conceived of social change as a possible "mediate object of a search for truth" (Du Bois, 1898b, p. 16). In practice, this meant that researchers could provide "statesmen and philanthropists" with "a reliable body of truth which may guide their efforts to the best and largest success" (Du Bois, 1898b, p. 17). Du Bois shares this belief about the role of science in society with today's policy-focused social scientists (see Reed, 1997). To conclude, the author discusses how Du Bois's orientation is relevant to contemporary political debates about race and education and can point to new avenues for activism.

CONCLUSION: THE CONTINUING RELEVANCE OF A DU BOISIAN ORIENTATION

The educational issues that Du Bois wrote about, such as school segregation and resource disparities, remain with us. Orfield and colleagues at The Civil Rights Project have termed the current racial distribution of students across U.S. schools a state of school resegregation (e.g., Orfield, Kucsera, & Siegel-Hawley, 2012). Schools with student bodies that are disproportionately poor and non-White are disproportionately vulnerable to sanctions (including the possibility of state takeover) under the current regime of high-stakes testing and accountability to standards of adequate yearly progress (Mintrop & Sunderman, 2009). Demands can be especially problematic for materially disadvantaged schools with Title I designations. If they do not make adequate yearly progress for three consecutive years, such schools may have to use portions of their Title I funds to pay for mandated supplemental educational services (Sunderman & Kim, 2004).

To be clear, the theoretical framework outlined does not point to specific legislative solutions to these and other issues. Research dedicated to policy implementation, standardized testing, curriculum, and similar topics is much better positioned to do so. A Du Boisian orientation does, however, push advocates and activists to find, flesh out, and publicize links between these issues and broader questions of race and political economy in the United States. For example, it may be illuminative to historicize the reality that low-performing schools with predominantly poor and non-White student bodies are disproportionately vulnerable to state sanctions. This new point of view would deeply explore the connections between issues such as school closures and the centuries-long debate about Blacks' place in the American polity and the state's role in providing opportunities for Blacks to gain the skills necessary for fully effective citizenship.

A Du Boisian orientation is relevant to the educational challenges facing Black students today. It will remain relevant as long as the fight continues to ensure that all students have equal access to an education that prepares them to contribute to society in diverse and meaningful ways and identify and fight inequality in its many forms. It remains to be seen what kinds of scholarship, activism, and social change the image of Josephs without Pharaohs will inspire throughout the rest of the twenty-first century.

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AUTHOR

JORDAN A. CONWELL is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

All comments and queries regarding this article should be addressed to jconwell@u.northwestern.edu