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Village Pedagogy

Empowering African American Students to Be Activists

Shuntay Z. McCoy and Tiffany G. B. Packer

I cannot explain the charge I feel in my soul to speak for those who either can no longer speak for themselves or are afraid to speak for themselves. —Tiffany G. B. Packer, PhD

African American educators committed to dismantling systemic inequalities often engage in pedagogical strategies that empower the next generation of activists to resist inequalities. Such pedagogy utilizes strategies designed to raise students' social consciousness regarding institutional practices and systems that dehumanize African Americans. Described in this chapter as village pedagogy, these pedagogical techniques teach students how to become activists and practitioners that understand, recognize, and challenge the power, privilege, and oppression that systemically marginalize the African American community. Critical Race Theory (CRT) is particularly beneficial for understanding why African American educators find village pedagogy essential for helping students deconstruct the inherent racism within societal institutions and practices. This chapter utilizes CRT to reveal how African American educators engage in village pedagogy that empowers African American students to become activists engaged in counteracting societal inequalities. Through the utilization of CRT counternarratives, the authors illustrate how they engage in village pedagogy. This chapter concludes with strategies educators can adapt to engage in village pedagogy that allows both African American educators to condemn “institutional policies and practices that are fair in form but have a disproportionately negative impact on [African Americans]” (Lawrence, 1987, as cited in Lynn & Parker, 2006, p. 260), while empowering students to become community leaders who resist systematic oppression.

African American educators with a passion for and commitment to social justice approach education with a unique pedagogy that empowers students to become activists for the social uplift of African American people. Such pedagogy emerges from the realization that the racial oppression and systemic marginalization of African Americans has not been eradicated, but instead has been redesigned (Alexander, 2010, p. 2). Consequently, African American educators strategically employ innovative pedagogical practices that counteract modern forms of colorblind racism and systemic oppression (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Harris,

2012). This translates into a pedagogy that supersedes traditional implementation of teaching strategies that focus primarily on covering predetermined course curriculum solely for degree matriculation, in exchange for instructional techniques that reflect the personal convictions African American educators have to enhance the quality of life for all African Americans. As reflected in Dr. Packer's opening quote, many African American educators have a deep conviction that is fueled by a responsibility to seek social justice and equity for African Americans. This manifests into educational practices that are characteristic of what Harris describes as the expression of village pedagogy where "African American [educators] create ways to advocate through education [without having] to acquiesce to alienation, instructional subordination, and systemic marginalization" (p. 336). This conviction requires us to engage in village pedagogy that facilitates learning through the racial uplift of the African American community. Thus, for African American educators employing a village pedagogy it is absolutely essential that

this generation of young people must know that the struggle predates us but the struggle still continues; the disproportionalities that plague the lived experiences of Black families, and Black males in particular, speak to this reality in spite of President Obama's significant individual accomplishment. (Douglas, 2012, p. 382)

Village pedagogy is centered on this mission. However, "the challenge is that today's students live in a cultural climate where capital advantage is increasingly privileged over community accountability" (Douglas, p. 389). In addition, this climate has an emerging subcontext of being postracial with President Barack Obama, an African American, in office (Alexander). Nevertheless, despite political, economic, and social shifts in the progress of African Americans, there remains a great deal of inequalities that keep African American educators in the trenches of empowering African American students to be activists of social justice. Consequently, this chapter provides an illustration of how African American educators engage in village pedagogy to empower their students to become activists.

It is necessary to utilize a culturally relevant framework for understanding the urgency and conviction of African American educators who engage in village pedagogy. Frameworks such as CRT are particularly beneficial for examining the lived experiences of African Americans within a societal context where we are racially marginalized (McCoy, 2013). Such frameworks are also essential for understanding why African American educators are compelled to engage in village pedagogy that raises students' social consciousness and empowers them to become activists who resist systemic marginalization. Alternatively, examining the practices of African American educators' engagement in village pedagogy from mainstream paradigms threatens misinterpretations of our pedagogical practices and contributes to the further marginalization of African American students (Johnson, 2006; McCoy). CRT offers a deconstruction of systemic inequalities that continually marginalize African Americans (Bell, 1992; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1996; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Such an analysis unveils the mandate of African American educators to engage in village pedagogy that critiques the notion of a postracial society. Consequently, this chapter will utilize CRT as a methodological tool for deconstructing systemic inequalities and institutional practices that marginalize African Americans. We will also utilize CRT to unveil how African American educators engage in collective resistance through village pedagogy.

We will begin this chapter with a brief overview of CRT. We continue with an explanation of how CRT is beneficial for understanding why village pedagogy is essential for African American educators. Next, we utilize CRT to share a counternarrative of utilizing village pedagogy as tools of resisting marginalization and systemic inequalities. We conclude this chapter with strategies educators can utilize to engage in village pedagogy.

Critical Race Theory

CRT is a culturally relevant framework beneficial for deconstructing the oppression African Americans experience within the United States. It is also a valuable tool for unveiling various ways in which

institutions become racialized by “produce[ing] hierarchies of power and privilege among races; [that] constitute the basis for racism, discrimination, and the perpetuation of inequality” (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew, & Freeman, 2010, p. 445). CRT emphasizes,

Race still matters and must be a central aspect of any discussion that is concerned with racial inequalities, because as a country, and as a community of researchers we have yet to engage one another in an authentic, honest, and sustained dialogue about race and racism. (Howard, 2008, p. 960)

In addition, CRT exposes racialized ideologies and practices at the core of systemic inequalities. Unlike traditional theories, CRT is permeated with an obligation to move beyond the realm of research to an embodied commitment to social justice. Thus, critical race theorists exemplify a responsibility to engage in scholarship and practice centered on the mission of social justice aimed at counteracting institutional oppression (Bell; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Crenshaw et al., 1996). CRT is also a vital tool for engaging in transformative education that counteracts mainstream approaches to education that trivializes the experiences of African American students (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

There are three foundational assumptions of CRT. First, CRT postulates that racism is embedded into every social institution within the United States, including the legal and educational systems (Bell; Crenshaw et al.). As a result, racism is permeated instinctively within institutional policies and procedures in ways that are virtually unrecognizable (Lynn & Parker, 2006). Thus, without a social consciousness that deconstructs how systemic inequalities are maintained, African Americans will inadvertently participate in their own oppression (Bonilla-Silva; Johnson). The second assumption of CRT asserts that the experiences of African Americans, and all People of Color, are “credible, reliable, significant and valid,” and thus do not require the validation of European Americans for a stamp of approval (Lynn & Parker, p. 260). This is extremely important, given the fact that African Americans’ experiences are often discounted as unreliable unless it attaches mainstream empirical and/or theoretical validation to solidify their claims. For example, Delpit (1988) reports the account of a Black male who states, “It seems like if you can’t quote Vygotsky or something, then you don’t have any validity to speak about your own [experience]” (p. 280). Thus, CRT employs the utilization of counternarratives, which are experiential accounts of African Americans as a methodological tool that centralizes our voices and experiences as valid and reliable truth (Lynn & Parker, 2006; Milner, 2008). Counternarratives require readers to “suspend judgment, listen for the story’s points, and test them against their own version of reality however conceived” (Stovall, 2006, p. 244). This chapter highlights the counternarrative of an African American professor who engages in village pedagogy.

The third assumption of CRT is the deconstruction and rejection of the “inherent belief in the law to create an equitable just society” (Lynn & Parker, p. 260). Given the indisputable fact that the laws were created to guarantee and preserve the oppression of African American people, laws cannot be regarded as having their best intentions at heart. Likewise, polices, practices, and procedures that reflect the same racist ideologies upon which institutions were created can in no way be expected to result in creating equality for African Americans. From a CRT perspective, the interconnection of race, privilege, and power in maintaining systemic inequalities becomes apparent, resulting in urgency for direct action that counteracts injustices. Such resistance cannot solely rely upon traditional methods of transformation, such as the incremental processes of disseminating empirical scholarship (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006). Rather methods that result in more immediate change, such as engaging in village pedagogy, are critically important. CRT reveals that incremental change is only beneficial for the comfort of those in power, whereas prolonging equity extends the dehumanization and marginalization of African Americans (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; McCoy, 2013). Consequently, CRT is ideal for understanding why African American educators are compelled to engage in village pedagogy that immediately empowers African American students to become activists.

Understanding Village Pedagogy Through Critical Race Theory

Village pedagogy is a unique approach to teaching and learning that many African American educators engage (Harris, 2012). It is characterized by qualities such as “shared power, shared responsibility and interdependence” (Harris, p. 335). Educators who employ village pedagogy create a “communal environment” that encompasses the cultural heritage of African American students (Harris). This includes building relationships that often transcend the boundaries of the classroom environment and is reflective of trust building, heightened expectations, and fostering a responsibility for the racial uplift of African American people. Within village pedagogy

our purpose is not to simply create moneymakers, but to cultivate men and women capable of social and human exchange on a larger, more meaningful scale, men and women of culture and social conscience, of vision and values which expand the human project of freedom and development rather than diminish and deform it. (Du Bois, 1973, as cited by Karenga & Karenga, 2007, p. 23)

Thus, educators who ascribe to village pedagogy are committed to enhancing the social consciousness of African American students; ensuring their experiences and issues impacting them are centralized within the curriculum; and empowering them to actively engage in resisting their own marginalization.

CRT highlights the fact that village pedagogy is essential given that “instructional practices and basic curriculum delivered within [mainstream] public schools perpetuate racist ideologies such as the intellectual inferiority of African American students” (Ferguson, 2003). Consequently, village pedagogy is education that liberates Africans by upholding a new standard of excellence where African American students are expected to succeed and are connected to the collective experience of African American people (Douglas, 2012; Hale, 2006; Harris, 2012). Hale describes village pedagogy as characteristic of “remind[ing] African Americans that they were born qualified and that they go to school to certify that fact. [It] rigorously motivates them to believe that they are capable of learning and that they will be successful if they persevere” (Hale, p. xxiii). This is essential within a racialized society where “the massive efforts to maintain the narrative of European superiority and African [American] inferiority (Hilliard, 2001), will not likely [result in] the dominant cultures’ eager sacrifice [of] resources, traditions, or power [to] more equitably share academic space” (Harris, p. 348). Consequently, African American educators engage in village pedagogy because it is our responsibility to do so, not just for the African American students we educate, but also because doing so is inextricably connected to our very survival. Village pedagogy is rooted in the collective struggle of African American people. It requires social justice action that transforms classrooms into villages by collectively resisting systemic marginalization and oppression. The following section utilizes our counternarrative to illustrate various methods in which educators engage in village pedagogy. It also reveals the passions and commitment of African American educators to create learning environments where African American students can “thrive academically, socially, and politically in spite of what those outside of the village perceive and suggest” (Harris, p. 344), thus empowering students to become activists.

Counternarratives: Resistance Through Village Pedagogy

In the fall semester of 2013, I was given the task of leading a group of students in a public history class and enlightening them about alternative ways one can practice history. In this particular teaching environment, it is appropriate to typically educate students about the importance and relevance of institutions such as museums, the practice of historic preservation, and the role historians can take working for big corporations or even the government. While all of these layers of public history are important, I felt it was equally imperative for these students to learn techniques that were going to affect their daily lives. The next few weeks were spent talking about exhibits, the role of curators, how to interpret art

and artifacts, and how museums can appeal to all five senses of their patrons. I pondered ways in which I could make this public history relevant to these students, and then it happened.

On September 14, 2013, there was yet another African American male taken down by violence. This time the shooting occurred in Charlotte, North Carolina, and the victim was unarmed. Jonathan Ferrell was gunned down by Randall Kerrick, a White police officer who was a part of the Charlotte Mecklenburg Police Department (CMPD). Ferrell, a former football player for Florida A&M University, had just moved to Charlotte one year prior to join his fiancée, Caché Heidel. On the night he was gunned down, Ferrell had been involved in a car accident that he survived. He left his vehicle, walking and looking for what is believed to be in search of help. Once Ferrell arrived at the nearest residence, he rang the doorbell. The owner of the home opened the door, slammed it back shut, and proceeded to call 911. It was understandable why she had done so. It was 2:00 a.m., her husband was at work, and she was home alone with a small child. She was convinced that the man at the door, who we now know to be Ferrell, was a burglar. As a result of the homeowner's call, four officers showed up on the scene, and at the time of their arrival, Jonathan was walking down the street. The events that happened next are sketchy. What we do know is that Officer Kerrick shot his gun 12 times at Ferrell, hitting him 10 times, fatally injuring him. Toxicology reports indicate that Jonathan was not drunk and had no drugs in his system (Severson, 2014). By all accounts, 26-year-old Jonathan was a mild-mannered young man, characterized by those who knew him as "easy for everyone to get along with" (Bush, 2013). He was an honest, hardworking man who had two jobs and aspirations to go back to college and become an automotive engineer. There were no records that connected him to any acts of aggression, criminal history, or questionable character (Bush).

Upon hearing this story, it became even clearer how Jonathan Ferrell could have been anyone, particularly any Black man. He could have been my son, nephew, any student in my class, or even me. In theory, he was everything that should have kept him safe in this society. Jonathan was educated, hardworking, loyal, and family oriented; yet that was not enough to remove the stigma of being a Black man in American society. The fact of the matter was that he was targeted and shot by the police because he was assumed to be a threat, a criminal, and, ultimately, a danger to society.

What agitated the community response of Jonathan Ferrell's death was that the country was just coming off of the heels of what many perceived as a miscarriage of justice with the Trayvon Martin verdict that past July of the same year. On February 26, 2012, 17-year-old Martin was gunned down in Sanford, Florida, by vigilante George Zimmerman, who thought Martin to be a burglar. Trayvon was not robbing anyone or breaking into any property. Instead, he was walking back to his own father's residence from the convenience store where he had just purchased a bag of Skittles and an Arizona iced tea. A little over a year later, George Zimmerman was subsequently given a jury verdict of not guilty. The senseless loss of Black life at the hand of White vigilantes does not end there. Just a few months later, in November of that same year, Jordan Davis was also gunned down. Davis was in Jacksonville, Florida, when he was parked at a local gas station with some friends listening to music. He was then approached by Michael Dunn, a White man, who demanded that Davis and his friends turn down their music. When they refused, Dunn proceeded to retrieve his weapon and shoot into the vehicle that Davis and his friends were in. Jordan died as a result of his injuries. Ironically, Davis's trial was scheduled to begin a month after the Trayvon Martin verdict, and communities skeptical of the reality of equality became even more inflamed as a result. Considering this onslaught of murders of African American men, for me Jonathan Ferrell's death was the "straw that broke the camel's back." His murder compelled me to raise students' consciousness in a way that motivated them to think beyond education just in the classroom. Rather, I felt that it was my duty as an educator to engage in village pedagogy that would connect their learning to the collective African American community. I felt doing so was essential to helping them understand that when they are fighting against injustices, they are really fighting for themselves. If the education one receives is not affecting the community, then what impact does it have in reality?

It becomes what hooks (1994) describes as “knowledge [that is] about information only [that has] no relation to our own lived, behavior, [thus it is] no longer connected to antiracist struggle” (p. 3). My passion to counteract this trend was incited upon consideration of the fate of African American men who have been historically targeted by both self-declared vigilantes and law enforcement authorities sworn to protect them.

The stories of Martin, Davis, and Ferrell were also important for the purposes of helping to connect the past to the present. Their murders revealed how historical stigmas have perpetual consequences that continually threaten the lives of African Americans collectively, and African American men especially, when it comes to race relations in America. Consequently, my village pedagogy obliged me to educate students regarding how the institution of slavery solidified a mainstream ideology of Blacks’ racial inferiority that is perpetuated through systemic inequalities. From the historical characterization of African American men as “big, Black burly brutes” incapable of controlling themselves, to the present-day notion of their very existence being a threat to American safety, this ideology continues to permeate societal perceptions. Just as historical stereotypes that were reinforced through the arts with Blackface and films such as *Birth of a Nation* (Griffith & Aitkin, 1915) falsified unsubstantiated realities of Black men, current depictions of African Americans as uneducated and violent serve as justification for carrying out violence against Blacks, particularly Black men.

By raising students’ consciousness to an understanding of how history has tragically reinvented itself to operate in institutional ways, it becomes evident that we are not as far removed from the past as we would like to think. Thus, we all are still affected and must resist further systemic marginalization and dehumanization. As a result, engaging in village pedagogy requires me to connect the historical justification of the aggressive nature of Black men as rationale for public lynchings during the early 20th century; to the recent statistics that reveal that by mid-2013, 74% of the victims shot by the New York Police Department (NYPD) were African American (Stumble, 2013). It is my responsibility to educate students that one in four African American men report being unfairly treated by the police and that current depictions of African American men as lazy, violent, and threatening are correlated with the facts that if you are Black and in NYC, you are 25 times more likely to be shot by the police (Stumble). Engaging in village pedagogy exposes the fact that even during the nonviolent years of the Civil Rights Movement, peaceful marches were often met with acts of violence from authorities. It was very common for men, women, and children to be clubbed, water hosed, and attacked by dogs.

In light of my decision to engage in village pedagogy, I decided to lead the public history students in the techniques they had learned about building an exhibit to actively resist the violent targeting of African American males. I felt that doing so was a perfect way to move students beyond the classroom into the community and to empower them to become activists who would tell the catastrophic stories of African American neighborhoods. Because Black men in particular constituted such a high percentage of those who are victims of violence, the project had to be narrowed down significantly. As a result, we decided that the exhibit would highlight Black men who had violence inflicted on them by local authorities. Recurring violence by local officials illustrated the perpetuation of historical stigmatization of Black men as dangerous, criminal, and untamable. The exhibit focused on five men. Each student chose one Black male victim and the instructor joined the project, bringing the total of the chosen victims to five. Through the exhibit, students recounted the experiences of African American men who, like Jonathan, had been murdered by law enforcement authorities. The final exhibit detailed the tragic deaths of Jonathan Ferrell, Raymond Herisse, Chavis Carter, Sean Bell, and Oscar Grant III.

Raymond Herisse was shot and killed by Miami Beach Police as he drove down Miami Beach Boulevard on Memorial Day weekend 2011. Herisse was cited as driving recklessly and potentially endangering an officer on a bicycle. Raymond cooperated by bringing his car to a stop. At that moment, he was bombarded with an avalanche of 116 bullets in which 16 hit his body. Four innocent bystanders

were also shot as a result of cops shooting at Raymond. Cops claimed Herisse shot at them first and they were acting in self-defense. Although there was a gun found in Herisse's car, it was wrapped in a towel and ballistics determined it had not been fired. Nearly three years later there have been no arrests and no answers provided to Herisse's family (Brown, 2013).

Oscar Grant III was fatally shot by Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) police officer Johannes Mehserle in Oakland, California, New Year's Day 2009. Responding to reports of a fight on the train, BART police officers detained Grant and several other passengers on the platform at the Fruitvale BART Station. An unarmed Grant was being restrained by authorities when Officer Mehserle drew his gun and shot Grant once in the back. The officer claimed he thought he pulled his taser and not his gun. Officer Mehserle was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter and was sentenced to two years in prison. He served seven months (Carter, 2013).

Chavis Carter was a passenger in a truck stopped by Police Officer Ron Marsh on July 28, 2012, in Jonesboro, Arkansas. Carter was searched twice but the only thing that turned up was a small amount of marijuana, no gun. According to police, Chavis was arrested for drug possession and a missed court date. He was handcuffed behind his back and double-locked. According to police, shortly after placing him in the car with his hands handcuffed behind his back, they heard a loud thump. When they went to check on Carter he was slumped over with a shot in his head and a small caliber gun was nearby. Experts have since tried to explain how a person with his hands handcuffed behind his back can shoot himself. However, Carter was shot in the back of his head on the right side. He was left handed (Lee, 2012).

On November 25, 2006, Sean Bell was with two of his friends in their car preparing to leave a club in Queens, New York, when three undercover cops opened fire on Bell's vehicle, shooting 50 bullets into it. Bell was fatally wounded and his friends severely wounded. The cops claimed to have heard Bell and his friends refer to going to retrieve a gun out of their car. However, Sean Bell and his friends were completely unarmed. On the same day of his death, Sean Bell was scheduled to marry his fiancée, Nicole Bell. On April 25, 2008, the three officers who were responsible for the shooting were all acquitted (Wilson, 2008).

Presentation of the exhibit took place on the campus of Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina, and was open to the city-wide community. I felt that it was imperative that the location and audience of the exhibit display allow students to connect with the community around them. The exhibit began with students' presentation of the stories of each victim honored through the exhibit, and then a panel discussion that included community activists, various educators, including myself, and Caché Heidel, the fiancée of Jonathan Ferrell. I discussed how this project emerged and the responsibility that my students and I had to assert the importance of enhancing the social consciousness of the community beyond the classroom. The community activists provided strategies for combating oppression, and Ms. Heidel discussed the harsh and unforgiving reality of losing a loved one and the impact that this violence has on the African American community. It was at that moment that the humanization of African Americans was culminated with the presentation of the project. The exhibit illustrated clearer than ever that one's status or education was not enough to save us, African Americans, against crimes against humanity within the racialized context of society. Rather, we all have an obligation to use our education, our status, our connections, and our citizenship to position ourselves to demand change, particularly through politics and economics. After the conclusion of the panel and the opening of the exhibit, there was not a dry eye present. Through engaging in village pedagogy, I empowered my students to become activists who assumed our collective obligations to speak out against the violence of African Americans. This resulted in students demonstrating an in-depth understanding of their own positionality within society, as well as their connectedness to the collective struggle of African American people. Consequently, each student has progressed into serving in public history arenas and is currently working to shape how the larger community understands injustice of all kinds.

Strategies for Engaging in Village Pedagogy

African American educators' engagement in village pedagogy is a reflection of their commitment to the "racial uplift and collective advancement" of African American people (Harris, 2012, p. 343). Although African American educators primarily engage in village pedagogy as a personal conviction, village pedagogy may be employed by any educators with a passion and commitment to actively counteracting the marginalization and systemic oppression of African Americans, while simultaneously empowering students to do the same. There are many strategies educators may engage in to employ village pedagogy. Although presenting an exhaustive list of such strategies is beyond the scope of this chapter, we conclude by highlighting three strategies that we employ through our village pedagogy.

There are several strategies that educators committed to engaging in village pedagogy can adapt to empower students to become social justice advocates. Douglas (2012) describes educators who engage in village pedagogy must address "issues of gender, class, and racial diversity" (p. 393). CRT offers a culturally relevant perspective that is particularly beneficial for deconstructing how these issues are racialized within societal institutions to perpetuate systemic inequalities for African Americans (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). From a CRT perspective the urgency to engage in village pedagogy is accentuated by perpetual systemic inequalities, such as the continual marginalization and dehumanization of African American males. CRT counternarratives emphasize the realities of African Americans by revealing how historical depictions of African Americans have been redesigned in ways that result in our continued marginalization.

Another strategy for engaging in village pedagogy is to equip students with the ability to critically analyze and critique institutional practices that contribute to the institutional marginalization of African Americans. As illustrated in the above counternarrative, educators engaging in village pedagogy are strategic about connecting students' current positionality to the collective struggle of African Americans. Thus, the history of African American people becomes relevant to the current events that take place within the African American community. Connecting historical perceptions of African Americans with existing stigmatization reveals the systemic nature of existing inequalities. Thus, the notion of the United States as a postracial society is unmasked by deconstructing how institutional oppression is reimaged (Alexander). Alternatively, educational practices that inadequately prepare African American students to critically analyze and critique how they are systemically marginalized puts them at risk for participating in their own marginalization. Douglas suggests that undereducating African Americans is an oppressive tactic "that reduces the civil rights movement to one man [i.e., Martin Luther King Jr.] and elevates another [African American] man [Barak Obama] to the highest position in the world—all without ever addressing systematic oppression" (p. 397). Thus, when students are led to believe that racism and oppression are no longer an issue they accept the insidious ways in which systemic oppression is perpetuated.

Empowering African American students to become social justice activists is another strategy for engaging in village pedagogy. This is done by engaging in educational practices that foster a social consciousness that connects African American students' current positionality to the larger historical context. Social justice activists must be accountable to the larger community for representing the collective needs of marginalized populations. As illustrated by the counternarrative, African American students who are led to engage their community develop an understanding of their connection to the collective African American community. They begin to understand the importance of activism and the impact that they can make in resisting their own marginalization. Thus, village pedagogy is a collective approach to education that fosters students' responsibility and commitment to the collective African American community. Consequently, they begin to internalize their ability to condemn "institutional policies and practices that are fair in form but have a disproportionately negative impact on [African Americans]" (Lawrence, 1987, as cited in Lynn & Parker, 2006, p. 260), while becoming skilled community activists that counteract systematic oppression.

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