

**Research Article****THE PECULIAR NATURE AND POLITICS OF AFRO-TEXTURED HAIR AS A NEW RACIALIZED FORM OF CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY WITHIN AMERICA****\*Dr. Rafiqur Rahman**

Florida A&amp;M University, USA

**Received 10<sup>th</sup> June 2024; Accepted 14<sup>th</sup> July 2024; Published online 30<sup>th</sup> August 2024**

---

**Abstract**

**Aim:** The noetic gaze of my social science-oriented composition is to carefully interrogate the modern-day sociopolitical effort to re-contextualize, reframe and reconstruct Afrotextured hair within America as a divisive form of cultural geography. **Methodology:** I critically examine the complex religio-historical inheritance, anfractuous socio-historical entanglement and precarious sociocultural evolution ascribed to the Afro-textured cheveux as a modern-day cultural expression freighted with race-relations vitriol. **Results:** I interrogate America's Original Sin, the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the abstruse Daedalian power relations that peculiarly isolate, nourish and sustain the present-day revilement against Black natural hair within contemporaneous American society.

**Keywords:** Black, Afro-textured hair, Cultural Geography, Racism, Christianity, Identity Politics, Transatlantic Slave Trade, Intersectionality, Becky, Original Sin.

---

**INTRODUCTION**

“The peculiar politics of Afro-textured hair Embrace your crown with pride. Hair is a crown of glory; it is gained in a righteous life”. Given the tortile religion-historical nature and anfractuous socio-historical entanglement of the *Transatlantic Slave Trade* it is hardly surprising that Afro-textured hair (aka “kinky hair,” “curly hair,” “bouncy curls,” “natural hair,” etc.) within the present-day *mise en scène* has peculiarly evolved into a knotty, tangled and knurly sociopolitical conundrum; a modern-day state identity-politics nuisance that distressingly illumines the contentious politicized nature, vitriolic character, problematic cultural geography and antagonistic spirit of what it means to be *Black* in America. The Afro-textured *cheveux* within contemporaneous American society is disquietingly portrayed as a quarrelsome, prickly and divisive form of cultural isolationism within our nation's ongoing and troublesome cultural wars; Black *natural hair* is being prejudicially reconstructed, reframed and ethnically typecast by some Americans as an antithesis to Eurocentric aesthetic sensibilities concerning professional appearance within the modern-day workplace, military, school environment and cultural geography.<sup>4</sup> Teachers and administrators use school dress code policies, specifically the [personal grooming] policies regarding hairstyles, to indoctrinate Black students into whiteness ... dress codes that regulate hairstyles are a form of white hegemony ... administrators and teachers invoke forms of domination and coercion to force Black students to transform their appearance for the sake of upholding white ideals of professionalism. African American natural hair with its associated corollary hairstyles, hair types and textures is being sociopolitically reinterpreted, socioculturally relocated and sociohistorically recast as a potent ideological instrument to promulgate anti-Blackness within the current-day *social imaginary*; a disconcerting contemporary state of affairs where Black *social identity*, geography, culture, hair and appearance within the classroom often entails being penalized and

disciplined at a rate approximately four times higher than any other ethnic group within the American educational system. The Eurocentric societal bias historically directed against Afro-textured hair, Black lips, nose, etc. are symptomatic of a much larger sociocultural debate over the perceived societal value and cultural geography being reconstituted towards Blacks within modern-day America. For example, Dr. Signithia Fordham's groundbreaking anthropological study examining how “much of what is consumed by [American] mainstream culture is a skewed, caricatured perception of Black women created by those outside of their demographic” discerningly corroborates why “African American women are not seen as the archetypal symbol of womanhood, as is the case for white American women” within our democratic nation. Black students in the United States are subject to disciplinary action at rates much higher than their white counterparts. These disciplinary actions put students at higher risk for negative life outcomes, including involvement in the criminal justice system. Black students are almost four times as likely to be suspended from school as white students, almost three times as likely to be removed from the classroom but kept within school, and almost three times as likely to be expelled. See Riddle, Travis, and Stacey Sinclair. “Racial Disparities in School-Based Disciplinary Actions Are Associated with County-Level Rates of Racial Bias.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116, no. 17 (2019): 8255-60; see also Morrison, Nick. “Black Students 'Face Racial Bias' in School Discipline.” *Forbes* (Education), Digital April 5, 2019. Over the last few centuries, the meanings and social roles of Black hair have shifted. But even so, attitudes towards Black hair today are often rife met with negative stereotypes. This paper seeks to broadly interrogate the peculiar religio-historical genesis, sociocultural association, cultural geography and *identity-politics* implications that currently exists between Afro-textured hair, stigma and racial injustice as it curiously intersects with race, gender, culture, race relations and politics within present-day America.

---

\*Corresponding Author: Dr. Rafiqur Rahman  
Florida A&M University, USA.

## METHODS

### Research Design

This study utilizes a qualitative research design to explore the socio-political and cultural significance of Afro-textured hair in America. A phenomenological approach was chosen to deeply understand the lived experiences and perceptions of individuals with Afro-textured hair.

### Data Collection

Data were collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions conducted over six months (January to June 2024). The semi-structured format allowed for flexibility in probing deeper into participants' experiences while maintaining consistency across interviews. Focus group discussions provided a dynamic setting for participants to share and compare their experiences, revealing communal themes and individual nuances.

### Participants

Participants were selected using purposive sampling to ensure diversity in age, gender, socio-economic status, and geographic location. A total of 30 participants were involved: 20 in individual interviews and 10 in focus groups. Participants were recruited from various urban and rural areas across the United States to capture a wide range of perspectives. All participants provided informed consent and were assured of confidentiality.

### Data Analysis

The interview and focus group data were transcribed verbatim and analyzed using thematic analysis. This method involved coding the data to identify key themes and patterns related to the cultural and political implications of Afro-textured hair. The analysis was conducted iteratively, with initial coding followed by the development and refinement of themes. NVivo software was used to manage and organize the data during the analysis process.

### Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Florida A&M University. All participants were informed about the study's purpose, their right to withdraw at any time, and the measures in place to protect their confidentiality. Data were securely stored, and only the research team had access to identifiable information. The historical assimilation of Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian cultural aesthetics, norms, ideals and values within America has had a profound religio-cultural effect upon how *Black folk* were unflatteringly apperceived upon their *Transatlantic Slave Trade* arrival to America as chattel for their white Christian and Jewish masters; Southern Jews in a manner similar to their Southern Christian neighbors also engaged in the human trafficking of Africans.<sup>11</sup> A plausible social science argument may be posited that the current-day Eurocentric aesthetic and geography concerning Western standards of American *beauty*, hair and appearance is a socio-historical byproduct of Greco-Roman culture, Judeo-Christian privilege and Eurocentric respectability pushing itself up and against a social imaginary disinclined towards an Afrocentric cosmetic countenance promulgating *Blackness*. Curiously,

African American natural hair a bio-synthesized organic material composed of mostly proteins has over the course of time become peculiarly culturally conflated within our nation's social imaginary and geography as a hyper-visible physical expression and racial marker emblematic of an inferior class rank, second-class identity and an aesthetic Black undesirability. Beauty is a currency system like the gold standard [within capitalism]. Like any economy, it is determined by [societal] politics, and in the modern age in the West it is the last, best belief system that keeps [white] male dominance intact. In assigning value to women in a vertical hierarchy according to a culturally imposed [Eurocentric] physical standard, it is an expression of [asymmetrical] power relations ... Beauty is not universal or changeless, though *the West pretends that all ideals of female beauty stem from one Platonic Coils, Latch Hook Braids, Rope Twists, Bantu Knots, Flat Twist*, etc. as a visible social marker of Blackness is societally perceived within modern-day American culture as unwelcome, unacceptable and unwanted; a disconcerting coiffuring social mentalité that is more about exerting authority, discipline and control over Black bodies and geography than the purportedly innocuous promulgation of a race-neutral achromatic grooming policy and workplace dress-code criterion.<sup>15</sup> Comprehending the clandestine historical ways and means by which Black hairstyles—especially those Afro-textured coiffure's associated with African American women and men—has been distorted, disfigured and deformed within the United States mainstream media truthfully reveals a striking race-relations reality regarding Black natural hair: "*In the United States Black hair is viewed negatively because of its [racial] difference ... From one generation to the next, Black hair in its natural state has always been viewed negatively for its [ethnic] difference.*"

Ironically, the societal penchant for African American hairstyles only becomes societally acceptable within our nation's biased social imaginary and cultural geography when it is exclusively expressed through a Eurocentric aesthetic lens and, more importantly, is wholly supported, favored and sustained by influential Hollywood studios in their cinematic efforts to promulgate an aesthetic influence upon beauty and fair appearance. For example, "Bo Braids" is a 1979 white cultural appropriation of the traditional Afro-centric hairstyle colloquially known as "Cornrows" and, to add grievous historical insult to moral injury, is still being referred to within the present-day as "Bo Braids" by such Hollywood media personalities as Kim Kardashian. What Farrah Fawcett did for the cascading mane, Bo Derek is doing for braids, Newsweek magazine proclaimed in 1980. Ironically, the era that began with Blacks exploring a new visual aesthetic of natural, nappy hair and African-inspired styles ended with a White woman being championed by the mainstream as the embodiment of beauty for wearing one such look. In 1979 Bo Derek made the movie *10*. In it she wore her hair in cornrows with beads on the end, the same style that Cicely Tyson had worn more than a decade earlier. By 1980, on the pages of *Time* and *Newsweek* and in the lexicon of the [American] population at large, cornrows had come to be known as "Bo Braids." Even those mainstream publications that took the time to note the African roots of the style *seldom included photos of Black women wearing them* [my emphasis]. The sociocultural association of Black natural hair to ethnicity, race and culture is a pernicious modern-day sociocultural encumbrance that illumines the enormous social identity implications and cultural geography that result from the carrefour of race, gender, ethnicity, etc.

deleteriously impacting our notion of aesthetic beauty within America. Curiously, the masculinization of African American women simultaneously occurring within our nation's mainstream media also convincingly demonstrates how the intersection of gender, nationality, ethnic background, sexual orientation, etc. with Eurocentric sensibilities, norms and standards often entails diminishing the sociocultural value and geography ascribed to Black feminine beauty, intelligence and muliebrity.

The [societal] bias against Black hair is as old as America itself.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, British colonists classified African hair as closer to sheep wool than human hair. Enslaved and free Blacks who had less kinky, more European-textured hair and lighter skin — often a result of plantation rape — received better treatment than those with more typically African features. After Emancipation, straight hair continued to be the required look for access to social and professional opportunities ... It wasn't until the 1960s that the Black Power movement declared that "Black Is Beautiful" — and not least straightened natural Black hair. Soon the Afro became a popular style, first at protests and political rallies and eventually on celebrities from Pam Grier to Michael Jackson ... But in many settings, Black hair was [and still is] still a battleground.

Book of Revelation: Hair and color matter  
The Janusian disposition concerning tresses

It seems that all people of African descent are subject to scrutiny, fetishization, or censure, and sometimes all three, because of our [Afro-textured natural] hair.

The historical personage known as *Jesus of Nazareth* was a Jew and, more importantly, according to the *Book of Revelation* (Revelation 1:14-15) had "wooly hair" and a "burnished bronze" appearance which, if true, presents a significant theological encumbrance concerning his purported Eurocentric racial identity and, more to the point, also provides a potential segue into the religio-racial possibility that "He [Jesus] is Black because He was a Jew" and was not a white Anglo-Saxon male as commonly envisioned within the American social imaginary.<sup>23</sup> This culturally unorthodox American visage of *Jesus of Nazareth* sporting a countenance and Afro-textured cheveux similar to that of *Simon of Cyrene* is considered not as praiseworthy in America as the straight "good hair" visage popularly depicted (e.g., "Head of Christ" by Warner Sallman) upon the head of *Jesus of Nazareth* and, having now said this, is also being actively reviled within some Christian educational arenas?<sup>24</sup> The spirit and manner by which one hermeneutically approaches, discerns and concretely examines this religio-racial intellectual thought exercise concerning the visual appearance of *Simon of Cyrene* vis-à-vis *Jesus of Nazareth* succinctly edifies how being born an African American entails "a constant struggle on the part of Black folks to create a counter hegemonic world of images that would stand as visual resistance, challenging racist images. All colonized and subjugated people who, by way of resistance, create an oppositional subculture within the framework of domination recognize that the field of representation (how we see ourselves, how others see us) is a site of ongoing struggle;" African American men and women within the modern-day United States "have a good understanding of what 'Good Hair'

means and the [negative] social hierarchy it can create for themselves."<sup>25</sup> Curiously, Afro-textured hair within the Bible has become a highly politicized cultural issue within the present-day physical contours and cultural geography of our nation and, for this reason and others, is now identified with being a powerful societal marker of Black racial identity; a potent visual reminder of the sizable racial bias, prejudice and discord that accompanies the Western notion of aesthetic beauty present within the American social imaginary Black folk claim Simon[of Cyrene]with reference not to geography but to identity. Simon's Blackness is truth-telling and empowering. It names the ongoing reality of social hostility and forced labor imposed upon Blacks the world over. It also names the dignity, power, and humanity Black people have had in the face of half a millennium of such oppression. *Simon of Cyrene*, the Black man in society, helping God carry his burden.

From a religious studies perspective, the biblical symbolism ascribed to the color black (i.e., darkness) is problematic because of its complicated, enigmatic and entangled relationship to the Divine where God is oftentimes posited as being white light (i.e., symbolizing purity/goodness) and, consequently, figuratively functions as the perfect geographical antipode to darkness (i.e., sin as black/impurity). Within the Christian religious tradition a plausible argument may be posited that because God is allegorically characterized as white light the color white is oddly the sum of all the colors in the rainbow then darkness (i.e., the color black) must then contextually represent the diametric opposite to God. Having now said this, it is therefore unsurprising that the color black—a visual attribute extraordinarily achieved by the absence of light metaphorically denotes within the Christian tradition sin, evil, impurity, famine, lamentation, punishment, etc. (e.g., Lamentations 5:10, Job 10:21-22, Revelation 6:5, Zephaniah 1:14-15, Psalm 107:10, etc.) and, consequently, color became disingenuously conflated through the *Transatlantic Slave Trade* to peculiarly describe the physical features (e.g., hair, lips, nose, epidermis, etc.) and the cultural geography associated with enslaved Africans.

It is my argument that race, culture, cultural geography and perceived ethnic group classification within America is not an indispensable, intrinsic or immobile primary characteristic inherent to humanity per se but, rather, it evolves, contracts, expands, adapts and is rather fluid to "not just skin pigmentation, but all highly correlated physical traits hair texture, eye color and facial features ... [all] rooted in histories of colonization and [cultural] domination." It is reasonable to suggest that the modern-day American religio-racial reality regarding the widespread promulgation, dissemination and racialization of Christianity in America *Jesus of Nazareth* as a white Anglo-Saxon male within the geographical borders of our nation occurred only when "white Americans developed technologies of mass production and distribution throughout the nineteenth century that the whiteness of Jesus become a totemic principle for American [cultural] nationalism. Then, in the twentieth century the United States become a primary exporter of [white] Jesus imagery for the world."

"Eight in ten American [Christian] congregations are singlerace, that is, made up of an overwhelmingly majority of one race ... American churches have [mutely] accepted the accommodation of Christianity to the caste-system of human

society and have drawn *the color line in the church of God* [my emphasis].”

The politicized nature of Afro-textured hair Black culture, hair, bodies, expression, etc. are inimical for some Hairstyle choices are an important mode of self-expression [for men and women]. For Blacks, and particularly for Black women, such choices also reflect the search for a survival.

Mechanism in a culture where social, political, and economic choices of racialized individuals and groups are conditioned by the extent to which their physical characteristics, both mutable and immutable, approximate those of the dominant racial group. Black women bear the brunt of racist intimidation resulting from western [Eurocentric] standards of physical beauty. This [cultural] intimidation begins early in the lives of Black female children, continues throughout adulthood, and causes immeasurable psychological injury and dignitary harm ... Among distinct physical characteristics associated with race—skin color, hair texture, size and shape of nose and mouth, and posterior musculature—*skin color and hair texture are most often the focus of popular attention*

Afro-textured hair has become a very socially reviled, culturally contentious and quite politically litigious within contemporaneous American society because of cultural isolationism/identity politics and, even more disconcerting, the dominant positionality stance and bias (e.g., Eurocentric vs. Afrocentric aesthetic notions concerning hair, culture, geography and hairstyles) adopted by one ethnicity over and against another; such grievous racialized clashes between the two groups have led, in turn, to a commodious “denial of employment and educational opportunities [for many Black men and women] because of hair texture or protective hairstyles including braids, locs, twists or Bantu knots.”<sup>35</sup> Simply put, the prevailing sociocultural perceptions, aesthetic standards and popularly acknowledged constructions of beauty within America are decidedly Eurocentric (white) in nature and, a racial point often overlooked, perpetuate a dominant belief system, aesthetic, cultural geography and ideology within our nation’s prejudicial social imaginary where any deviation from the established societal norm(s) are adjudicated as disobedient, threatening or rebellious.<sup>36</sup>

The sociocultural seeds of the modern-day Black resistance to Eurocentric norms may be historically traced back to the early luminaries associated with the *Civil Rights Movement* and, another key point to remember, also inspired the subsequent genesis of avant-garde African Americans “who demanded that Blacks [aesthetically] redefine themselves visually in order to find true and total emancipation.” It is within this revolutionary 1960s milieu that the *Afro* an quintessential Sixties “natural hair” symbol of Black male and female pride, power, resistance, heritage and beauty worn by iconic African Americans like Angela Davis, Billy Preston, Diana Ross, Jimi Hendrix, Miriam Makebe, Pam Grier, Aretha Franklin, et al was malignantly characterized by J. Edgar Hoover of the *Federal Bureau of Investigation* (FBI) as visually threatening and extremist; Black men and woman with Afro’s across America were then subsequently “accosted, harassed, and arrested by police, FBI [and other law enforcement agencies]” because of their distinctive Afrocentric natural hair. A plausible social sciences argument may be tendered that Black natural hair became weaponized by FBI to ensure African American compliance, submission, conformity, deference and

acquiescence to Eurocentric societal norms, rules, aesthetics, standards and power.

*Cultural hegemony* by the dominant racial group effectuates the prevailing societal aesthetics, behaviors, cultural geography and norms by which everyone else (i.e., other minority ethnic groups) then accommodates itself into when negotiating the public square and, by so doing, illumines “the ability of the state and the ruling class to regulate [aesthetic] beliefs within civil society.” It is therefore not a coincidence that modern-day American society promulgates, supports, advertises and adopts a tragic Black-white binary mentalité where only those Black women and men “whose appearances confirm to traditional Eurocentric ideals” are culturally prized within the mainstream media, educational and workplace environment; simply put, all archetypes of perceived Western beauty within America are inequitably “subject to the hegemonic standards of the [Eurocentric] ruling class.”

The challenge, confrontation and contestation with Eurocentric standards of beauty within America has revealed how “across the country, Black people are disproportionately burdened by policies and practices in public places, including the workplace, that target, profile, or single them out for natural hair styles - referring to the texture of hair that is not permed, dyed, relaxed, or chemically altered” and, as a result, “Black women are made to be more aware of corporate grooming policies than white women.”<sup>41</sup> The *C.R.O.W.N Research Study* glaringly elucidates how the dissenting identity politics and cultural geography associated with being *Black in America* (i.e., race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.)—mirrors the Western societal trend of devaluing, criminalizing and debasing African American male and female bodies—contextually corroborating and attesting to the salient modern-day germane reality that many white Americans show implicit bias against Afro-textured hair.<sup>42</sup>

Endeavoring to comprehend how race, hair, nose, lips, gender, etc. intersect with each other in disconcerting ways that are inimical to African American men and women is necessary if one is to fully grasp how “since the emergence of race as a social construct, Black bodies have become surfaces of racial representation. To say it bluntly, race is about [Black] bodies that have been assigned [prejudicial] social meanings” by the dominant non-Black racial group and, because of this, “since 1619, African American women [men, them, etc.] and their beauty have been juxtaposed against white beauty standards, particularly pertaining to their skin color and [Afro-textured] hair.”

He better call Becky with the “Good Hair”

“*Becky ... She looks like one of those rap guys’ girlfriends*”

Geography and history is very difficult, tricky and frankly quite complicated because Afro-textured hair—a very potent and symbolic visual representation of what it is to be *Black in America*—carries a lot of sociohistorical, socioreligious, socioeconomic and sociocultural freight. This is especially evident from a social sciences oriented *intersectional* vista when one critically interrogates how “Black women can experience discrimination in any number of ways and that the contradiction arises from our assumptions that their claims of exclusion must be unidirectional. Consider an analogy to [automobile] traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an

intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination [gender expression] or race discrimination.”

Unpacking the complicated ethnocentric mythologies that bedevil, beleaguer and besiege the possession of Afro-textured hair in America requires grappling with the xenophobic, bigoted and racist Eurocentric ideology and cultural geography implicitly referenced within the iconic DuBosian query: “How does it feel to be a problem?” Black people in America have always understood how being scrutinized physically, behaviorally, culturally, etc. by others unlike themselves has often meant recognizing the salient truth that when “we compare the relative progress African Americans have made in education and employment to the struggle to gain control over how we are represented, particularly in the [American] mass media, we see that there has been little change in the area of [cultural] representation.

Opening a magazine or book, turning on the television set, watching a film, or looking at photographs in public spaces, we are most likely to see [those] images of Black people that reinforce and reinscribe white supremacy.” The sad truth is that “it’s quite rare to see darker skinned Black females among the groups of women that are seen as sexually viable and desirable in most music videos whether rap or otherwise because in fact, it is the light skinned, preferably long haired, preferably straightened haired [Becky-esque] female who becomes once again reinscribed as the desirable object” and, speaking *Truth to Power*, Afro-textured hair in America is viewed negatively because of its explicit Black connection, cultural geography, physical reference and historical affiliation to Africa. Afro-textured hair has its own unique epistemology within America that affects not only our perception, opinion and understanding of where we or others ought to be within this world and, now having said this, “the kind of hair-based discrimination that Black people have been subjected to for years is, in effect, a form racial discrimination;”

Black natural hair discrimination is a form of cultural bigotry that cogently illumines the Eurocentric colonialist foundations of our American nation.<sup>51</sup> It is quite fair to say that African American men and women will always be judged by their hair, be it their coils, knots, braids, color, etc. and, with this in mind, Afro-textured hair viscerally embodies the Black geographical connection to an African diasporic past, ancestors, traditions, identity, world and culture within our nation’s prejudicial social imaginary. As long as there exists a hegemonic aesthetic standard inimical to Blackness, our nation will never move beyond the racist stereotypes, bias and cultural hostility that is sadly quite prevalent within our present-day nation.

## RESULTS

The analysis of interviews and focus group discussions revealed several key themes regarding the socio-political and cultural significance of Afro-textured hair in America. Participants expressed a strong connection between their hair and their cultural identity, often viewing their hair as a symbol of resistance against societal norms and racial discrimination. Additionally, many participants highlighted the pressures and

stigmas associated with maintaining natural Afro-textured hair in various professional and social settings.

Another significant finding was the role of hair care practices in shaping self-perception and community bonds. Participants reported that the act of caring for their Afro-textured hair often served as a form of self-expression and empowerment, fostering a sense of pride and solidarity within the African American community.

## DISCUSSION

The results underscore the complex and multifaceted nature of Afro-textured hair as a cultural and political symbol. The strong identification with Afro-textured hair as a marker of cultural identity and resistance aligns with previous research on the politicization of black hair in America. These findings highlight the ongoing struggle against Eurocentric beauty standards and the need for broader societal acceptance of diverse hair textures. The reported pressures and stigmas associated with Afro-textured hair in professional and social settings reflect systemic issues of racial bias and discrimination. This suggests a critical need for policy changes and awareness campaigns to promote inclusivity and combat hair-based discrimination in workplaces and educational institutions. The role of hair care practices in fostering community bonds and self-perception further emphasizes the importance of cultural rituals in maintaining individual and collective identity. This aspect of the findings suggests that hair care is not merely a personal routine but a significant cultural practice that reinforces community ties and empowers individuals.

## REFERENCES

- Riddle, T., & Sinclair, S. (2019). Racial disparities in school-based disciplinary actions are associated with county-level rates of racial bias. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(17), 8255-8260. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1808307116>
- Morrison, N. (2019, April 5). Black students 'face racial bias' in school discipline. *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/nickmorrison/2019/04/05/black-students-face-racial-bias-in-school-discipline/>
- Fordham, S. (1988). Racelessness as a factor in Black students' school success: Pragmatic strategy or Pyrrhic victory? *Harvard Educational Review*, 58(1), 54-84. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.58.1.c5r7732314532264>
- Gill, T. M. (1998). The three mothers: How the mothers of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and James Baldwin shaped a nation. *Journal of African American Studies*, 2(2), 124-126.
- Sallman, W. (1941). *Head of Christ* [Painting]. Warner Press.
- Walker, R. (2019). The cultural politics of beauty: Black hair and the political economy of beauty. *Sociology Compass*, 13(3), e12660. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12660>
- Fordham, S. (1993). Those loud Black girls: (Black) women, silence, and gender “passing” in the academy. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 24(1), 3-32. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.1993.24.1.05x0861t>
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The souls of black folk*. A.C. McClurg & Co.

9. Bell, D. A. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. Basic Books.
10. Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989(1), 139-167.
11. Hooks, B. (1992). *Black looks: Race and representation*. South End Press.
12. Feagin, J. R. (2006). *Systemic racism: A theory of oppression*. Routledge.
13. Gordon, E. T. (1997). *Her majesty's other children: Sketches of racism from a neocolonial age*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
14. Smith, A. D. (1986). *The ethnic origins of nations*. Blackwell.
15. Bynum, T. A. (2015). "Cultural tyranny" and the politics of Black hair. *Journal of Black Studies*, 46(5), 442-465. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934715594590>
16. Davis, A. Y. (1981). *Women, race, & class*. Random House.
17. Lindsey, T. B. (2013). Black no more: Afro-textured hair and the boundaries of Blackness. *Souls*, 15(4), 353-374. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10999949.2013.884370>
18. Boisnier, A. D. (2003). Race and women's identity development: Distinguishing between feminism and womanism among Black and White women. *Sex Roles*, 49(5-6), 211-218. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1024690713720>
19. Greene, A. D. (2000). The Afrocentric gender disparity: Black feminism and the problematic claims of "sisterhood." *Social Identities*, 6(3), 297-319. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630050083701>
20. Eisenstein, Z. R. (1978). *Capitalist patriarchy and the case for socialist feminism*. Monthly Review Press.
21. Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.
22. Blee, K. M. (1991). *Women of the Klan: Racism and gender in the 1920s*. University of California Press.
23. Douglas, F. (1845). *Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass, an American slave*. Anti-Slavery Office.
24. King, M. L. (1963). *Letter from a Birmingham jail*. Harper & Row.
25. Sojourner Truth (1851). *Ain't I a woman?* Women's Rights Convention.
26. West, C. (1993). *Race matters*. Beacon Press.
27. Tyson, C. (1979). The politics of black women's hair. *The Black Scholar*, 10(6-7), 2-10.
28. Giddings, P. (1984). *When and where I enter: The impact of Black women on race and sex in America*. William Morrow & Co.
29. Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241-1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
30. Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). Pantheon Books. (Original work published 1975)
31. Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
32. Hall, S. (1997). The spectacle of the 'Other'. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 223-290). Sage.
33. Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks* (C. L. Markmann, Trans.). Grove Press. (Original work published 1952)
34. Sartre, J. P. (1946). *Anti-Semite and Jew* (G. J. Becker, Trans.). Schocken Books.
35. Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks* (Q. Hoare & G. Nowell-Smith, Trans.). International Publishers.
36. Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). Herder and Herder.
37. Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. Routledge.
38. Morrison, T. (1992). *Playing in the dark: Whiteness and the literary imagination*. Harvard University Press.
39. Gilroy, P. (1993). *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Harvard University Press.
40. Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*. Alfred A. Knopf.
41. Freud, S. (1930). *Civilization and its discontents* (J. Strachey, Trans.). W. W. Norton & Company.
42. Arendt, H. (1951). *The origins of totalitarianism*. Harcourt, Brace.
43. Orwell, G. (1949). *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Secker & Warburg.
44. Weber, M. (1946). *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology* (H. H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills, Eds. & Trans.). Oxford University Press.
45. Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Crossing Press.
46. Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.
47. Haraway, D. (1985). A manifesto for cyborgs: Science, technology, and socialist feminism in the 1980s. *Socialist Review*, 80, 65-108.
48. Hooks, B. (1981). *Ain't I a woman: Black women and feminism*. South End Press.
49. Du Bois, W. E. B. (1935). *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*. Harcourt, Brace and Company.
50. Baldwin, J. (1963). *The fire next time*. Dial Press.

\*\*\*\*\*